

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!



毛泽东

SELECTED WORKS
OF
MAO TSE-TUNG

Volume VII

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Note from Foreign Languages Press

It's with great joy that we release this new printing of Volume VII of the "Unofficial" *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*. This volume was initially released by our Indian comrades from Kranti Publications in 1991, but was out of stock by the end of the 90s and has since been unavailable in hard copy or online.

This volume covers the period from the founding of the People's Republic (October 1949) until the Great Leap Forward (1958) and contains 478 documents that are not included in the "Official" Volume V of the *Selected Works* that covered this period.

While the "Official" Volume V gave us access to documents reflecting Chairman Mao's philosophy, as well as his ideas regarding the development of the economy, this volume is mainly composed of his letters and telegrams showing all the difficulties that the chairman of the newly founded People's Republic of China had to face, including the danger of imperialist aggressions as seen during the Korean War (1950-1953), the delicate situation of national minorities in Xinjiang and Tibet and the complexity of diplomacy. These correspondences also show the challenge of how to treat all Mao's former neighbors, childhood friends and cousins and their requests for his attention, positions and recognition.

Unlike Volume VI for which we played mostly the role of "re-printer," this volume is a new edition, with over a thousand typos corrected and names and words changed from the Wade-Giles to the *pinyin* spelling. This was done both for practicality and readability, but also to uphold the *Directive on Language Reform* that Chairman Mao promulgated in 1951 (p. 148), which was the starting point of work on the simplification of Chinese characters (adopted in 1952) and the *pinyin* system (adopted in 1958).

This edition also contains new indexes of Chinese names and places, as well as non-Chinese names, which will allow the reader to navigate the 478 documents with greater ease.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS

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1949

Speech at Banquet Celebrating Insurrection of KMT Troops

September 23, 1949

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

Source: *People's Daily*, September 24, 1949.

Telegram to Xinjiang Political and Military Authorities

September 28, 1949

General Tao Zhiyue¹ and the officers and soldiers under his command, Chairman Burhan² and the government workers under him:

Your telegrams of September 25 and 26 have been received. We believe that

1. Tao Zhiyue (1892-1988), a Hunanese military officer who graduated from the Baoding Military Academy in 1916 and served in various officer positions in the Hunan Army before participating in the KMT army in the Northern Expedition period. At the beginning of the War of Resistance against Japan, he was commander of the 36th Army, and later the commander of the First Army and deputy commander. At the end of the war of Resistance he became the deputy commander of the KMT's 8th Battle Zone, and in 1946, assumed command of the KMT's Xinjiang Garrison. In 1948, the Hexi district garrison was added to his command, and he also became deputy director of the Northwest Communist-Suppression Bureau of the KMT. His defection and surrender to the Communist forces at this time (Sept. 1949) was a severe blow to the KMT forces. In 1949-1950, the PRC commissioned him as commander of the 22nd Army Group and deputy commander of the Xinjiang Military District under Peng Dehuai. In 1950 he also became a member of the Provisional People's Government of Xinjiang and a member of the Northwest Military and Government Council.

2. Burhan Shahidi (1896), also known by the sinicized version of his name, Bao Erhan, was made governor of Xinjiang Province by the KMT government in 1948. On the eve of the Communist victory. Burhan joined the Communist side and assumed the positions of chairman of the Provisional People's Government of Xinjiang and president of the Xinjiang People's Court. In 1950, he became a member of the Northwest Military and Government Council, and since then he has been a prominent representative of the people of Xinjiang in various national organizations in the PRC, such as the National Committee of the CPPCC.

your standpoint is a correct one. You have declared your severance from the remnants of the reactionary government in Guangzhou³ and your new orientation towards the camp of People's Democracy; you have accepted the leadership of the People's Political Consultative Conference⁴ and await and abide by the orders and disposition of the Central People's Government and the People's Revolutionary Military Council. This attitude conforms to the wishes of the people of the entire nation. We are most happy. We hope that you will unite all military and civilian governmental personnel in maintaining the unity of the nationalities and local order and cooperate with the People's Liberation Army, which is preparing at this moment to move northward, to abolish the old system and implement the new one, so as to strive for the establishment of a new Xinjiang.

(CO-SIGNED WITH ZHU DE AND DATED)

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

Proclamation of the Central People's Government of the PRC

October 1, 1949

The people throughout China have been plunged into bitter suffering and tribulations since the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary government betrayed the fatherland, colluded with imperialists, and launched the counter-revolutionary war. Fortunately, our People's Liberation Army, backed by the whole nation, has been fighting heroically and selflessly to defend the territorial sovereignty of our homeland, to protect the people's lives and property, to relieve the people of their sufferings, and to struggle for their rights, and it eventually wiped out the reactionary troops and overthrew the reactionary rule of the Nationalist government. Now, the People's War of Liberation has been basically won, and the majority of the people in the country have been liberated. On this foundation, the first session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, composed of delegates of all the democratic parties

3. A reference to the KMT Government which had its headquarters in Guangzhou and which was nominally headed by Li Zongren since the "retirement" of Chiang Kai-shek in January 1949.

4. The First plenary session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) was held on September 21-30, 1949 in Beijing.

and people's organizations of China, the People's Liberation Army, the various regions and nationalities of the country, and the overseas Chinese and other patriotic elements, has been convened. Representing the will of the whole nation, [this session of the conference] has enacted the organic law of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, elected Mao Zedong as chairman of the Central People's Government; and Zhu De, Liu Shaoqi, Song Qingling, Li Jishen, Zhang Lan, and Gao Gang as vice chairman [of the Central People's Government]; and Chen Yi, He Long, Li Lisan, Lin Boqu, Ye Jianying, He Xiangning, Lin Biao, Peng Dehuai, Liu Bocheng, Wu Yuzhang, Xu Xiangqian, Peng Zhen, Bo Yibo, Nie Rongzhen, Zhou Enlai, Dong Biwu, Seypidin, Rao Shushi, Chen Jiageng, Luo Ronghuan, Deng Zihui, Ulanhu, Xu Deli, Cai Chang, Liu Geping, Ma Yinchu, Chen Yun, Kang Sheng, Lin Feng, Ma Xulun, Guo Moruo, Zhang Yunyi, Deng Xiaoping, Gao Chongmin, Shen Junru, Shen Yanbing, Chen Shutong, Situ Meitang, Li Xijiu, Huang Yanpei, Cai Tingkai, Xi Zhongxun, Peng Zemin, Zhang Zhizhong, Fu Zuoyi, Li Zhuchen, Li Zhangda, Zhang Nanxian, Liu Yazi, Zhang Dongsun, and Long Yun as council members to form the Central People's Government Council, proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China and decided on Beijing as the capital of the People's Republic of China. The Central People's Government Council of the People's Republic of China took office today in the capital and unanimously made the following decisions: to proclaim the establishment of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China; to adopt the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference as the policy of the government; to elect Lin Boqu from among the council members as secretary general of the Central People's Government Council; to appoint Zhou Enlai as premier of the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government and concurrently minister of Foreign Affairs, Mao Zedong as chairman of the People's Revolutionary Military Commission of the Central People's Government. Zhu De as commander-in-chief of the People's Liberation Army, Shen Junru as president of the Supreme People's Court of the Central People's Government, and Luo Ronghuan as procurator general of the Supreme People's Procuratorate of the Central People's Government, and to charge them with the task of the speedy formation of the various organs of the government to carry out the work of the government. At the same time, the Central People's Government Council decided to declare to the governments of all other countries that this government is the sole legal government representing all the people of the People's Republic

of China. This government is willing to establish diplomatic relations with any foreign government that is willing to observe the principles of equality, mutual benefit, and mutual respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT AND THE PRC)

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

Telegram to the Communist Party of the United States

October 6, 1949

Dear Comrade Foster and Comrade Dennis, and all comrades of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America:

We are extremely grateful for your enthusiastic congratulations on the founding of the People's Republic of China. Please convey our gratitude to all members of the Communist Party of the United States of America, and to all the people who love peace and justice and bear goodwill toward the Chinese people in the United States.

Indeed, as you yourselves said, the triumph of the Chinese people is a triumph over imperialism, first and foremost over United States imperialism. This victory is a part of the results of the general struggle which the working-class and progressive people in the whole world are waging against the world camp of imperialism. In this struggle the Communists of the United States and all sincere advocates of democracy are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Chinese people.

In the assistance given to the Chinese people in their cause of justice and in the heroic struggle to resist the reactionary policy of opposing China on the part of the US imperialists, the Communists of the United States of America hold a place of exceptional honor. In spite of the fact that the reactionary government of the United States is savagely persecuting the Communist Party of the United States and progressive forces in the United States, and is illegally interrogating eleven leaders of the Communist Party of the United States, namely, Comrade Dennis, Comrade Williamson, Comrade Winston, Comrade Stachel, Comrade Davis, Comrade Winter, Comrade Thompson, Comrade

Gates, Comrade Potash, Comrade Green and Comrade Hall,⁵ it has ultimately been demonstrated nonetheless that the Communist Party of the United States and the forces of progress in the United States of America are correct, and it is their Chinese friends who have triumphed, whereas the current imperialist government of the United States, which violates the principles of justice, has consequently gone down in shameful defeat. This fact cannot but give courage to all the forces of democracy in the world who are but temporarily in a position of being oppressed; it cannot but educate all people who are momentarily under the rule and deceptive sway of the reactionaries.

Long live the friendship of the people of China and the United States of America!

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, October 8, 1949.

Letter to Wang Shoudao

October 9, 1949

Comrade Shoudao:⁶

Yang Kaizhi⁷ and company should not come to the capital. They should be given appropriate jobs in accordance with their abilities in Hunan. No unreasonable request should be approved. If his old mother is in difficulty, certain

5. In October 1949, Eugene Dennis, John Williamson, Henry Winston (Organization Secretary), Jack Stachel, Benjamin Davis, Carl Winter, Robert Thompson, John Gates, Irving Potash, Gilbert Green and Gus Hall (National Secretary), all members of the National Committee of the CPUSA were convicted for violation of the Smith Act which was passed in June 1940 and which made a crime of "teaching and advocating the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence." Convictions of other lesser communist leaders in the United States followed.

6. Wang Shoudao (1906-1996), was at this time a member of the Hunan Military and Administration Committee and deputy director of the Changsha Military Control Committee. He joined the Communist Youth League in 1923 and the CPC in 1925. In 1927 he was a leader of a series of peasant uprisings in northeastern Hunan. In 1928 he took part in the forming of the southern Hunan Soviet.

7. Yang is the brother of Yang Kaihui, Mao's former wife who died in the "Great Revolution" period.

assistance can be given to her. I am sending out a separate telegram; please send someone to relay it.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters (Mao Zedong Shuxin Xuan-ji, Beijing Renmin Chubanshe, 1983), p. 342.*

Letter to Yang Kaizhi

October 9, 1949

Mr. Yang Kaizhi:⁸

I hope that you will stay in Hunan and await the Hunan Provincial Committee of the CPC to assign you to a job that is appropriate for your abilities. Do not harbor any unrealistic hopes and do not come to the capital. Whatever job the Hunan Provincial Committee assigns you, do it. Everything should be done in accordance with normal rules. Please don't put the government on the spot.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters, p.343.*

Telegram to the French Transportation Labor Union

October 9, 1949

Comrades of the French Transportation Labor Union:

We express our deepest thanks for your telegram congratulating us on the birth of the People's Republic of China.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily, October 11, 1949.*

8. For Yang Kaizhi, see the notes of the preceding text.

Telegram to General Zhao Xiguang

October 10, 1949

Dear General Zhao Xiguang⁹:

Your telegram of the first instant has been received. The whole country is rejoicing at the peaceful liberation of Xinjiang. We hope that all the officers and soldiers of the troops now stationed in southern Xinjiang will unite as one and strive to transform themselves so as to become a people's army.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, October 12, 1949.

Telegram to Insurrectionists on the "Changzhi"

October 10, 1949

To all the comrades who took part in the insurrection on the "Changzhi"¹⁰:

Congratulations on your heroic insurrection. Owing to the continuing insurrections of the patriotic officers and soldiers within the navy, the People's Navy is already expanding rapidly. We hope that you will be industrious in learning and active in taking part in the construction of the Chinese People's Navy and in accomplishing the great task of liberating the whole of China.

(CO-SIGNED WITH ZHU DE AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, October 12, 1949.

9. General Zhao was former deputy commander of the Xinjiang Garrison and a Commander of the Southern Xinjiang Garrison under the KMT.

10. The "Changzhi" was the flagship of the First Naval Defense Fleet of the KMT.

Telegram to the United States Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy

October 12, 1949

We are deeply grateful for your congratulations on the establishment of the People's Republic of China, and for your efforts in promoting the friendship between the Chinese and American peoples.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily, October 13, 1949.*

Telegram to Five-man Independent Group of the British Labor Party in the House of Commons

October 12, 1949

Pritt, Hutchinson, Solley, Mills and Zilliacus, Esq.:

On behalf of the Chinese people and the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I express thanks for your message of congratulations. May the worthy efforts on your part and on the part of the broad masses of the people of Britain to further the friendship between the Chinese and English peoples be successful.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily, October 13, 1949.*

Letter to Feng Youlan

October 13, 1949

Mr. Youlan¹¹

11. Feng Youlan is one of the modern and contemporary China's noted philosophers.

I have received your letter of October 5. We welcome people's making progress. It is very good for someone like yourself, who has committed errors in the past, to be prepared to correct them now, if this can indeed be carried out in practice. You do not need to be overly anxious about seeing results in haste; you can come around gradually. In any case, it is appropriate to adopt an attitude of honesty.

This, in reply, and with respectful regards and best wishes for your work in teaching.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 344.

Letter to Zhou Shizhao

October 15, 1949

My dear senior Classmate Dunyuan¹²

I have received your several telegrams as well as your long letter of September 28. Your sincere and diligent words made it possible for me to believe I was actually seeing you in person. When I was in Yanan I received a letter from you. The letter you sent to Chongqing, however, I did not receive. Although you did not join the revolutionary struggle of the past, my friend, teaching is itself an occupation that is beneficial to the people. The telegram from the various friends of the Chengnan Xueshe [South City Study Society] has also been received. Please convey this information to them and thank them for their good wishes. I deeply applaud the fact that you are now the principal of First Normal; you are best for the job. I can also see that there is yet much life in those bones¹³! If it is possible, I would like you to copy and send me some

12. Zhou Shizhao was school mate of comrade Mao in the late 1910s when they studied together at the First Normal School of Hunan Province. Dunyuan is one of Zhou's many *zi* (honorific name).

It is customary to address one's friends by this honorific as a sign of intimacy. Comrade Mao also used the term *xuezhang xiong* in which *xuezhang* means "elder in learning" and used customarily in addressing one's class mates or schoolmates, and *xiong* means "brother".

At the time of this letter Zhou is the Principal of the above school. He was also a member of the *Xinmin Xuehui* (New People's Study Society) which was formed by comrade Mao and his friends during the May Fourth movement period.

13. Mao used here the sentences: "*jun gu wei diao, shang you sheng qi*", which translates

of your works and your old poems. The more the better.

With the exception of Taiwan and Tibet, in approximately a few more months we shall be able to complete the military occupation of the country as a whole. Even then, with the great calamity just over and the people's lives drained and exhausted, it will take several years' time before the people's economy can be restored to health. The tasks of completing the reforming of the land[-ownership] system and raising the level of the people's political consciousness need the cooperation of the cultural and educational work [circles].

I have received and read Mr. Chen Zetong's¹⁴ letter of opinion, and I will forward it to the industrial [work] organs here for studying. Please convey thanks to him on my behalf. As for the question of his work, please ask him to go directly to the authorities in Hunan and ask for a solution, and do not await my reply.

Sincerely in reply, and respectfully sending my best wishes for your work in teaching,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, pp.345-346.

Reply to Ambassador of the Soviet Union

October 16, 1949

Mr. Ambassador [N. V.] Roshchin:

It is with great pleasure that I accept the letter of credence from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics presented by Your Excellency, and I am sincerely grateful for Your Excellency's congratulations.

Since the very beginning of its establishment, the People's Republic of China has been honored by having the government of the Soviet Union take the lead in expressing its willingness to establish diplomatic relations with our country. We are confident that as a result of this decision on the part of your

literally as "the stallions bones have not yet withered and there is yet the spirit of life"

14. This refers to the plan that Chen, an engineer in Changsha. Hunan submitted, to Mao in 1949, in which he proposed that a region of some forty li along the eastern banks of the Xiangjing River in Hunan should be transformed into a model "Xiangtan Industrial Zone" This region lies under the jurisdiction of Xiangtan *xian*, Mao's native district.

government the friendship between China and the Soviet Union will grow and become more consolidated with each passing day. I warmly welcome Your Excellency's appointment as the first ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Soviet Union to the People's Republic of China. We believe that through Your Excellency's efforts, the cooperation between your country and ours will grow ever closer and will also be beneficial to our common quest for a lasting peace in the world.

We herewith sincerely wish for the prosperity of your country and the prospering of your people, and wish for the excellent health of your head of state.

Source: *People's Daily*, October 12, 1949,

Telegram to the German Democratic Republic

October 16, 1949

President Wilhelm Pieck and Premier Otto Grotewohl of the German Democratic Republic:

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the entire Chinese people, I extend my warmest congratulations on the founding of the German Democratic Republic and warmly congratulate Herr Wilhelm Pieck and Herr Otto Grotewohl on your respective elections to the offices of president and premier of the German Democratic Republic.

The founding of the German Democratic Republic signifies a fundamental change in the history of Germany. The masses of the people have replaced the monopoly capitalists and the big landowners as the masters of Germany. Owing to the founding of the German Democratic Republic, Germany which was the spawning ground of two world wars and the focus of militarism and fascism, has now joined the ranks of the People's Democracies in the world. This is a decisive defeat for the criminal policy of the imperialist front led by the reactionary government of the United States of America of splitting Germany in the period after the Second World War and of reviving Germany as a reactionary state and a base for war. This is a great victory for the camp for world peace and democracy led by the Soviet Union.

People's Germany and People's China are both standing in the front lines of the great struggle against imperialism. We are particularly glad on this occa-

sion of the proclamation of the founding of Democratic Germany. We extend our best wishes that under the leadership of the people's democratic forces the unification of Germany will be restored and Germany will grow in strength with each passing day. May the friendship between the Chinese and German peoples grow with each passing day.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, October 17, 1949.

Reply to the Hui People of Xinjiang

October 21, 1949

To Mr. Ma Liangjun¹⁵ and, through him, to all our Hui compatriots in Xinjiang:

Thank you for your message of congratulations. We hope that you will aid the People's Liberation Army and the People's Government in uniting the people of all nationalities, carry out a true people's democracy in accordance with the Common Program¹⁶, and strive for the building of a new Xinjiang.

(CO-SIGNED WITH ZHU DE AND DATED)

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

Reply to the Provisional People's Government of Xinjiang

October 21, 1949

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

Thank you for your message of congratulations. We hope that you will

15. Ma Liangjun is the chief religious leader (*zongjiao zhang*) of the Hui (Muslim) people of Xinjiang.

16. The Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) was adopted at the First Plenary Session of CPPCC held in Beijing during September 1949.

unite as one with the People's Liberation Army and the people of all nationalities of Xinjiang in carrying out the Common Program and in striving for the building of a new Xinjiang.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

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

Reply to the Xinjiang League for the Defense of Peace and Democracy and to People of the Tacheng-Ili-Ashan Regions

October 21, 1949

To Mr. Aisihaiti Itzhakov and, through him, to all comrades of the Xinjiang League for the Defense of Peace and Democracy, and to all our compatriots of the Tacheng, Ili and Ashan Regions:

Thank you for your congratulations and good wishes. The heroic struggle of the people of the Tacheng-Ili-Ashan regions has been a major contribution to the liberation of the whole of Xinjiang and all of China. It is my sincere wish that the people of the three regions and the people of the whole of Xinjiang will unite as one and aid the People's Liberation Army in struggling for the common cause of building a people's democratic new Xinjiang.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, October 22, 1949.

Preface to the *Victory of New Democracy in China*¹⁷

October 24, 1949

The comrades of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia have published in the Czech language the documents of the Chinese People's Political Con-

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

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

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

Telegram to the Insurrectionists on the "Hailiao"¹⁸

October 24, 1949

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

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

(SIGNED AND DATED)

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

18. Telegram congratulating the Insurrectionists on the 3,000-ton merchant steamer "Hailiao" that has sailed from Hong Kong.

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

October 25, 1949

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

(SIGNED)

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

**Telegram to Secretary of the World Federation of Trade
Unions**

October 26, 1949

Paris,

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

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

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

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

**Telegram to the Central Committee of the Communist
Party of Algeria**

October 26, 1949

Comrade Larbi Bouhali and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Algeria:

Allow me to express my deepest gratitude for Comrade Larbi Bouhali's message of congratulations of October 9.

The Chinese people have attained their liberation after a long period of imperialist aggression and oppression. We therefore have warm sympathy for and resolute faith in the struggle for liberation of all oppressed peoples. I believe that the Algerian people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Algeria and with the aid of the international camp for peace and democracy, will eventually succeed in overthrowing the rule of imperialism.

Long live the victory of the Algerian People's struggle for liberation!

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, October 27, 1949.

Telegram to the Provisional Government of Greece

October 26, 1949

The Provisional Government of Greece,
Chairman Mitsos:

We are deeply grateful for your message of congratulations. The Chinese people express their warmest sympathy and highest respects to the people of Greece for their unyielding struggle for liberty, independence, justice and peace under difficult conditions. May we express our best wishes for the firm maintenance of unity between the provisional government of Greece and the patriotic people of Greece to triumph over temporary difficulties and to strive for final victory.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, October 27, 1949.

Telegram to the Albanian Council of Ministers

October 26, 1949

Chairman Enver Hoxha,
The Albanian Council of Ministers:

We are deeply grateful for your message of congratulations to the People's Republic of China. I hereby express my sincere wish that the friendship between the Chinese and Albanian peoples will grow closer with each passing day. I believe that the courageous Albanian people, who are advancing in the correct direction under your leadership, are bound to be able to stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of the entire world and smash the menace of imperialism and Tito's counterrevolutionary clique, and to achieve their own goals.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, October 27, 1949.

Letter to Bo Yibo

October 29, 1949

Comrade Yibo:¹⁹

I have received your letter of October 28. The two armies and the cavalry division of Suiyuan can be organized into the combat order of the People's Liberation Army and awarded registration unit numbers. The [commissioning of the] military command personnel for the two armies and the cavalry division may be approved as listed. However, they must be commissioned at the same time that the political commissars and the heads of the political departments [in those units] are; only in this way can the confidence and prestige of political work be established in the military. On this issue, please consult with Fu Yisheng.²⁰ If he thinks that it is somewhat inconvenient to publish [the names of] the political commissars and the heads of the political departments at this point, the military personnel can be first appointed to the job *de facto* with their formal commissioning taking place [a bit later] when it can be done at the same time [as the commissioning of the political personnel] when the

19. Bo Yibo was at the time of this letter first secretary of the North China Bureau of the CC of the CPC and political Commissar of the North China Military Region of the PLA.

20. Fu Yisheng is the honorific name of Fu Zuoyi. He was the chief KMT military commander in North China from 1947 to 1949. In early 1949, when forces of the PLA surrounded the city of Beijing, Fu as commander negotiated and surrendered to the PLA. He was the governor of Suiyuan from 1931 to 1947.

decision on the latter has been made. It is a great and arduous task to carry out the political work system earnestly in the Suiyuan armed forces. We must have beforehand full mental preparation and it must be personally led by Fu Yisheng before it can work. Otherwise chaos and troubles will be unavoidable.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 34.

Telegram to the Republic of Czechoslovakia

October 29, 1949

President Gottwald,
The Republic of Czechoslovakia
Your Excellency:

On the happy occasion of the thirty-first anniversary of the independence of your country, I sincerely express my warmest congratulations and my best wishes that the diplomatic relations between China and Czechoslovakia will become closer with each passing day.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OR PRC AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, October 30, 1949.

Telegram to the USSR

November 5, 1949

Generalissimo Stalin:

On this occasion of the thirty-second anniversary of the great socialist October Revolution, I respectfully express to Your excellency my warmest congratulations. May the socialist construction of the Soviet Union make progress with every passing day, may the might of the camp for world peace and democracy led by the Soviet Union know no parallel, and may there always be friendship and cooperation between the two peoples of China and the Soviet Union.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 6, 1949.

Telegram to the Work Committee of the Communist Party of Thailand

November 12, 1949

Dear Comrades of the Work Committee of the Communist Party of Thailand:

I sincerely express my deep gratitude for your congratulatory message of September 26.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 13, 1949.

Telegram to Managers and Staff of Two Aviation Corporations²¹

November 12, 1949

General Manager Liu Jingyi,
China National Aviation Corporation,
General Manager Chen Zhuolin, Central Air Transport Corporation, and
all comrades of the staff and workers of the two companies:

It is an act of greatly significant patriotism that the entire staff and workers of the China National Aviation Corporation and Central Air Transport Corporation, under the leadership of the general managers of these two companies, have resolutely separated themselves from the remnants of the Kuomintang reactionaries and have thrown themselves into the arms of the people's

21. On November 9, 1949 the general managers of the China National Aviation Corporation (CNAC) and Central Air Transport Corporation (CATC) declared the separation of the two companies from the control of KMT and "insurrected" and came over to the side of the People's Government. This telegram was issued welcoming their act. It was published in *People's Daily* of November 13, 1949.

hometown. On this occasion I extend especially to you my congratulations, our welcome, and our regards. I hope that you will unite as one and strive for the building of the people's aviation enterprises and for the protection of the hometowns properties that remain in Hong Kong.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Letter to Peng Dehuai and the Northwest Bureau

November 14, 1949

Comrade Dehuai²² and the Northwest Bureau:

According to the information submitted repeatedly by the Qinghai Provincial [Party] Committee, the remnants of [the forces of] Bandit Ma²³ have been fanning up fires among the masses in many places and organizing a resistance. At the imminent Lanzhou conference, please pay serious attention to this.²⁴ In having the various provincial, [special] district and *xian* [Party] committees focusing on the arduous job [of uniting and organizing] the masses and in all such work upholding [the principle of] equality among the nationalities, the government organs at all levels should, in accordance with the size and ratio of [minority] nationality populations, allocate quotas and absorb in large numbers those members of the Hui nationality and other minority nationalities who are capable of cooperating with us into taking part in government work. In the present period they should organize across the board coalition governments, i.e., united front governments. Within [the framework of] such a cooperation, minority nationality cadres will be nurtured in large numbers. Furthermore, the provincial [Party] committees of Qinghai, Gansu, Xinjiang, Ningxia and Shaanxi and the [special] district [Party] committees of all places where there are minority nationalities ought to form training classes for minority national-

22. Peng Dehui was at this time, deputy commander-in-chief of the PLA and first secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the CC of the CPC.

23. Bandit Ma refers to Ma Bufang who was governor of Qinghai province under KMT Government in 1938-49. In 1949 he became the head of China's northwest headquarters. However in late July of that year he fled to Hong Kong. In spite of his physical absence (at the time of this letter) Ma continued to have influence over some forces in Qinghai province, mostly military leaders, who were previously associated with the KMT.

24. This refers to the enlarged meeting of the Northwest Bureau of the CC of the CPC, held in Lanzhou, in November 1949.

ity cadres, or cadre training schools. Please give this a good deal of attention. It is impossible to thoroughly resolve the problem of the minority nationalities and to totally isolate the nationalistic reactionaries without a large number of Communist cadres who are from minority nationality backgrounds.

Have all the comrades of the Northwest Bureau arrived in Lanzhou? On what day will your conference commence? The agenda for this conference is very full and I am afraid that the meeting must be held for a week or so. You also need to make a decision as to where the political center of the Northwest should be located from now on — should it be in Xian? or Lanzhou? Please inform me of the major items on your agenda.

Please ask General Wang Zhen²⁵ to report to us.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters pp. 349-350.*

Inscription on Public Morals

November 15, 1949

Love the homeland; love the people; love labor; love and protect public property; these are the civic morals for all our citizens.

(SIGNED)

Source: *Xinhua Yuebao (New China Monthly) Beijing, November 15, 1949.*

25. Wang Zhen (a.k.a. Wang Zhenlin, Wang Zhenting, b. 1909) was at this time the commander and political commissar of the First Army Group of the First Field Army of the PLA. Having joined the Communist Youth League in 1927, Wang rose through the CPC ranks as a labor trainer and organizer. In the early 1930s, having armed, organized labor groups in the Hunan area (groups which were later absorbed into the regular armed forces of the Communist Red Army), Wang began his career as a brilliant political officer of the Communist military units. During the Long March, he reached northern Shaanxi as political commissar of the Sixth Army Corps under Xiao Ke. In the late 1930s he led his troops in productive labor in the Yanan area, and he was considered a model officer whose soldiers were equally adept at productive work as at combat duties. At the time of this letter the First Army Group under his command was pushing into Xinjiang.

Letter to Mao Xusheng

November 15, 1949

Mr. Xusheng:²⁶

I have received your three letters and apologize for being so tardy in responding. It is more appropriate for you, sir, to stay and work in the village; please do not come to the capital. [As you say,] the times are difficult for maintaining a living for the family, but this may be resolved in the process of the reforming of the landownership system in the future. I can't remember accurately what position you held in the transportation division then; I would appreciate if you would let me know at your convenience. Is Mao Ziqi²⁷ still alive?

Respectfully I bid you good wishes and good health!

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 351.

Letter to Li Jiehou of Shaoshan, Hunan²⁸

November 17, 1949

Dear Mr. Jiehou:

I have respectfully read your letter and feel deeply grateful for the profound concern that you have expressed. I met my dear friend Genghou²⁹ once in 1928 at Ninggang *xian* on the Hunan-Jiangxi border. He then led his troops

26. Mao Xusheng was a native of Pingjiang, Hunan and had been a clerk in the transportation division of the New Hunanese Army after the 1911 revolution. Comrade Mao himself served in that army for a very short time.

27. Mao Ziqi was also a native of Pingjiang, Hunan. He was the commander of the division in which Mao Xusheng served.

28. Shaoshan village, Xiangtan *xian*, Hunan is comrade Mao's native village.

29. The brother of the recipient of this letter. The father mentioned in this letter was Li Shuqing, whose two sons, Genghou and Gonghou and grandson Deshen all died in the War of Liberation as Red Army fighters. He was a schoolteacher and in his youth comrade Mao often turned to him for advice. This family is also from Shaoshan. Li Shuqing died in 1957.

back to south Hunan, and we never met again. I've heard that he gave his life for the cause; this seems plausible, but there has been no way by which I could ascertain the date or place [of his martyrdom]. I hear that your father is well; this is something for me to be happy about, and I pray that you will convey my regards to him.

I am writing this letter in haste, but let me wish you:

Good health and progress.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Luxingjia (Traveler), Monthly, Beijing, February 22, 1958.*

Telegram to the Former KMT Government Resources Committee

November 19, 1949

Staff members of the office of International Commerce of the Hong Kong Trade Office of the Former Resources Committee

Comrades:

Your telegram of the fourteenth instant has been received. I am very glad and much comforted by it. I hope that you will unite as one, uphold a patriotic position, and protect the property of the homeland in anticipation of its being received by the Central People's Government.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily, November 20, 1949.*

Telegram to the Communist Party of India

November 19, 1949

Dear Comrade Ranadive:

Your congratulatory telegram of October 12 has been received. We are very grateful for your warm congratulations to the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China. The entire Chinese people will feel great joy

and pride when they read the expressions of brotherly friendship and love of the revolutionary people of India in your telegram. The Indian people are one of the greatest peoples in Asia, with a long history and a large population. There are many similarities between its past fate and future path and those of China. I am deeply convinced that by relying on the unity and heroic struggle of the courageous Communist Party of India and all Indian Patriots, India will not remain long under the yoke of the imperialists and their collaborators. One day a free India will appear in the world as a member of the great family of socialism and Peoples' Democracies, just as free China has. That day shall end the epoch of imperialism and reaction in the history of humanity. Best wishes for the triumph of the united and heroic struggle of the patriotic people of India! Long live the brotherly unity between the Indian people and the Chinese people!

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPC AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 20, 1949.

Telegram to the Socialist Republican Party of India

November 19, 1949

Mr. [Sarat Chandra] Bose:

Thank you for your congratulations to the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people welcome the establishment of extensive friendship with the people of India and with all oppressed peoples in order to oppose imperialist aggression together.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 20, 1949.

Telegram to the Central Committee of the Iranian Workers' Party

November 19, 1949

Dear comrades of the Central Committee of the Iranian Workers' Party:

I express my deep and sincere gratitude for your congratulations.

The Chinese people are watching with respect the heroic struggle of the Iranian Workers' Party and the people of Iran against imperialism and against the reactionaries in their own country. We also firmly believe that this heroic struggle will result in their victory.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPC)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 20, 1949.

Inscription for the Third Anniversary of *Nanqiao Ribao*³⁰

November 20, 1949

Serve the interests of the overseas Chinese.

Source: *Peoples' Daily*, January 9, 1950.

Telegram of Condolence on the Death of Xinjiang Delegates to the CPPCC

November 22, 1949

Dear comrades of the Central Committee of the Xinjiang League for the Defense of Peace and Democracy:

The first group of delegates representing the people of Xinjiang in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference—comrade Ahamaitikiang, vice-chairman of the Provincial Government of Xinjiang, Comrade Izhakbek, commander-in-chief of the National Army of the Tacheng-Ili-Ashan regions, Comrade Abduklimu, member of the Central Committee of the Xinjiang League for the Defense of Peace and Democracy, Comrade Dalerhan, deputy commander-in-chief of the National Army [of the Tacheng-Ili-Ashan region] and Comrade Luo Zhi of the Xinjiang Sino-Soviet Cultural Association—have

30. *Nanqiao Ribao* (Southern Overseas Chinese Daily) is a Chinese language newspaper published in Singapore. It was founded by Tan Kah-kee, a leader of "Overseas Chinese" in Singapore. See *Letter to Tan Kah-kee*, p. 161 of this volume.

unfortunately met with disaster in an airplane accident on their way to Beijing in September 1949. This is a great loss to the people of Xinjiang and to the Chinese people. For this I express my profound grief. While they lived, comrade Ahamaitikiang and the other four comrades fought heroically for the cause of the liberation of the people of Xinjiang. In the end they gave their lives for the cause of establishing the People's Republic of China. They are worthy of the memory of the whole Chinese people forever. Eternal glory to Comrades Ahamaitikiang, Izhakbek, Abduklimu, Dalerhan and Luo Zhi!

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 25, 1949.

Telegram to Panchen Gnoertehni

November 23, 1949

Panchen Gnoertehni: (Panchen Lama)

We are extremely happy to receive and read your telegram of October 1. The Tibetan people love the homeland and are opposed to foreign aggression. They are dissatisfied with the policies of the reactionary government of the Kuomintang and wish to be a part of the great family of New China which is united and strong and in which all the nationalities cooperate as equals with one another. The Central people's Government and the Chinese People's Liberation Army will surely fulfill this wish of the Tibetan people. We hope that you, sir, and all the patriotic people of Tibet will strive together to fight for the liberation of Tibet and the unity of the Han and Tibetan peoples.

(CO-SIGNED WITH ZHU DE AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 24, 1949.

Telegram to the Banka Federation of Labour Unions of Indonesia

November 24, 1949

The Banka Federation of Labour Unions of Indonesia:

I warmly thank you for your message of congratulations. I hope that the Indonesian people will, after their long and heroic struggle, similarly achieve the independence and freedom of their homeland.

Source: *People's Daily*, November 26, 1949.

Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

November 25, 1949

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam President Ho Chi Minh:

We are deeply grateful for your congratulatory telegram on the founding of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. Both China and Vietnam are standing on the front line of the struggle against imperialism. With the victorious development of the struggles for liberation of the peoples of both countries, the friendship between the two peoples is bound to become closer with each passing day. Best wishes for the consolidation of the unity between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, and may the Democratic Republic of Vietnam achieve complete success in its cause of independence and democracy.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 26, 1949.

Letter to Xu Beihong

November 29, 1949

Mr. Beihong³¹

Your letter has been received. I have written one [inscription for the art institute] and wonder if it could be of use.³² My best wishes to you in your

31. Beihong (1895-1953) was a noted painter who, from 1946 until his death in September 1953, was the director of the Academy of Fine Arts in Beijing.

32. Comrade Mao's words here were *yi zhang* which refers to a sheet of paper on which

teaching!

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Meishu Fenglei (Wind and Thunder in Fine Arts)*, August 3, 1967, Red Guard Publication.

Telegram to the Britain-China Conference in London³³

November 30, 1949

To the gentlemen sponsoring the Britain-China Conference and to all the honorable delegates through the courtesy of Mr. Jack [Deliben]:

My warm and sincere congratulations on the convening of the Britain-China Conference. The Chinese people welcome all efforts to strengthen the friendship between the people of China and Britain and hope that these efforts will be successful.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, December 6, 1949.

Letter to the People of Lüshun-Dalian

December 1, 1949

To Comrades of the Party committees of the Lüshun-Dalian region and through them, to the people of the Lüshun-Dalian region:

The letter with your signatures³⁴ and your gifts, brought here by Comrade Kang Minzhuang, have both been received. We thank all of you as well as the people of Lüshun-Dalian! We hope that you will make even greater efforts in

he wrote the inscription for the art institute. The inscription reads *Guoli Meishu Xueyuan* (National Academy of Fine Arts). It was reproduced in its original calligraphic form in the above book.

33. Message sent on the occasion of the Britain-China Conference, that was held in London during December 3-4, 1949.

34. A letter of support for the new government on which more than 51,000 signatures appeared.

production and construction so as to create even greater achievements!

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, December 26, 1949.

Letter to Liu Yazi

December 2, 1949

Dear Venerable Mr. Liu:³⁵

Your letter of November 4 has long been received. I apologize for the fact that, owing to my hectic schedule, I have been so tardy in responding. I have not seen the letter written in the train, but I thank you deeply for your warm and kind thoughts. At a moment of convenience I will make an inquiry on your behalf on the matter of the book for inscription.³⁶ Mr. Zhou³⁷ indeed has

35. Liu Yazi was an outstanding poet of the old school. He was a scholar-revolutionary in the late Qing period and joined such associations as the *Zhongguo jiaoyu hui* (China Education Society) headed by Zhang Binglin and Wu Zhihui, and the *Aiguo xueshe* (Patriotic Study Association) headed by Cai Yuanpei, as well as Sun Yat-sen's *Tong meng hui*. During the May Fourth period Liu became a proponent of the new-style, vernacular (*baihua*) literature and founded the *Xin nan she* (New Southern Society). In the mid-1920s Liu became an active and moderately influential member of the KMT, but he opposed the rightward drift of the Party after Sun Yat-sen's death. Later Liu would avoid serving in the various KMT governments—both Chiang Kai-shek's Nanjing government and later Wang Jingwei's Wuhan government. Rather he dedicated himself to historical and literary pursuits and led a secluded life in Shanghai (briefly) and Hong Kong. In 1941, as a result of his reaction to the New Fourth Army Incident, Liu was expelled from the KMT. In the late-1940s Liu joined the Democratic League and formed the *San min zhuyi tongzhi lianhe hui* (Association of the Comrades of the Three People's Principle) and, in 1948, the *Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee*. He returned to Beijing in 1949 and was a member of the Government Administration Council of the new PRC government and of the standing committee of the National People's Congress until his death of pneumonia in 1958. Liu was one of the group of "democratic personages". Here Mao used the salutation *lao* to refer to Liu's venerated status

36. According to the source, this refers to a book *Commemorative Volume I on the Yi Pavilion* which Liu sent to Mao for inscription in 1949.

37. This refers to Zhou Enlai. Mao is employing a double-entendre here. The saying he used, *tu o zhi lao*, is a derivation of the aphorism *tu pu o fa*, from the *Lu Shijia* (Chronicle of the House of Lu), *Shi Ji* (Historical Records), which describes the diligence of the historical figure Zhou Gong (Duke of Zhou) in ancient days, saying that he stopped in the middle of eating and had to hold his hair which had been disassembled in the middle of a bath in order to receive visitors and do business. Mao apparently placed significance in the coincidence of the "name" Zhou here. The Duke of Zhou was the chief minister of the founder of the great Zhou dynasty of ancient days, and Zhou Enlai, to whom Mao was in

a very busy schedule of receiving visitors and official business, and perhaps he has forgotten it. As for the [delay in the] matter of the literary and historical organization,³⁸ it could perhaps be a result of the same problem. Again, at my convenience I shall ask about it.

In response and with my regards,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 352.

Directive Issued at the Fourth Meeting of the CPGC (Excerpts)

December 2, 1949

[The national budget is a very important issue. The policy of the entire nation is reflected in it because it delineates the scope and orientation of the government's activities. Take, for example, the problem of providing support for all the former troops and former government and educational personnel which was raised in the draft of the rough estimate.]³⁹ This is precisely a problem of policy. The People's Government ought to adopt a responsible attitude toward this problem. Only in this way can it be beneficial to the people. [Our situation can be summarized as follows:] There are difficulties, but there are also measures that can be taken, and there is hope. There are difficulties in our fiscal situation. We must explain to the people where our difficulties lie; we must not hide these difficulties. At the same time, however, we must also explain to the people that we do indeed have the means to overcome the difficulties. Since we have the means to overcome the difficulties, our cause is a hopeful one and our prospects are bright. Our situation will improve year by year, and we project that next year will be better than this year. Within a three-to-five-year period, our economy can be completely rehabilitated, and within eight to ten years our economy will be able to achieve a great development... It is of

fact referring, was the Premier of the People's Republic of China.

38. According to the source, this refers to a proposal that Liu made on the preparations for establishing a historical archive and museum under the Central Committee of the CPC.

39. This section in brackets is a synopsis of what Comrade Mao said at the beginning of his speech. The same applies to other bracketed parts in this essay.

great importance that these organizational regulations be promulgated⁴⁰. These organizational regulations are precisely the general laws appropriate to the current period. The various local people's governments, although they may add [to these regulations] in accordance with concrete conditions [in their various localities], must implement them without exception... China is a big country, only if we establish powerful local organs at such a level can things be done well. What ought to be united, must be united; and there should by no means be any separate governance, each doing what he thinks is best. However, there must be integration between [the notion of] unification and [the notion of] discretionary arrangements according to local conditions. Under the regime of the people, the historical conditions of the past, in which regional occupation by the feudalist forces has been generated, have been eliminated. The division of labor between the Center and the localities will be to our advantage and will in no way harm us.⁴¹

Source: *People's Daily*, December 4, 1949.

Instruction on the Army's Participation in Production and Construction Work in 1950⁴²

December 5, 1949

The People's War of Liberation has basically won a nationwide victory. With the exception of [units] on a few fronts which have to devote themselves to pursuing and annihilating the remnant enemy forces so as to achieve a complete triumph, a large number of the troops of the People's Liberation Army have already engaged in or are soon to begin to engage in, training and consolidation. The Common Program of the People's Political Consultative Conference provides that the armed forces of the People's Republic of China shall, during peacetime, systematically take part in agricultural and industrial production in order to assist in the work of national construction, provided such work does not interfere with their military duties. Here, a glorious and formidable task is given to our people's armed forces in addition to the great

40. These refer the regulations governing the organization of people's representative councils for every municipality, *xian* and province.

41. The last paragraph is in response to the suggestion of establishing military administrative councils in the various greater administrative regions.

42. A document released in the name of People's Revolutionary Council.

tasks of securing our national defense, reinforcing public order, and strengthening [their own] training and consolidation. Therefore, the People's Revolutionary Military Council is calling on the entire army, with the exception of those [units] which are still engaged in fighting and logistics service, to shoulder part of the task of production so that our People's Liberation Army will not only be an army for national defense but also an army of production, in order to cooperate with all the people in the country in overcoming the difficulties left behind by long years of war and in accelerating the economic construction of [our] New Democracy.

This production task must and can be realized.

The reason that this production task must be realized is that the long war launched against the Chinese people by reactionaries both inside and outside of our country has caused the people serious hardships and has severely damaged the economy. Today, we want to carry the revolutionary war through to the end and heal the wounds left by the long periods of war; we must undertake the work of construction in all areas of [our] economy, our culture, and [our] national defense. The state's revenue is inadequate, but its expenditure is huge. This is the one major difficulty we are facing today. The way to overcome this kind of difficulty is first to have the entire people, under the leadership of the Central People's Government, restore and develop production step by step; and as for the People's Liberation Army, it must assume the responsibility for a set [share] of the task of production. Only by doing this can it join the people of the entire country in overcoming this difficulty.

The reason that this production task can be realized is that the overwhelming majority of [the personnel in] the People's Liberation Army come from among the laboring people. They have a high degree of political consciousness and all kinds of production skills. Furthermore, during the most difficult years and months of the War of Resistance against Japan, they shouldered the tasks of production and a tradition of labor. The vast numbers of cadres and veteran fighters of the People's Liberation Army all understand that after the troops have participated in production, not only will difficulties be overcome, government expenditures decreased, and army life improved, but also, the political quality of the army will be raised through the tempering of labor, and the relations between officers and soldiers and between the army and the people will be improved. [Another] reason that this production task can be realized is that in areas where fighting has ended, in addition to assuming such tasks as securing national defense, cleaning out bandits, consolidating public order,

and strengthening training, the People's Liberation Army now has spare time to take part in production and construction work. All these things are the factors which make it possible for the People's Liberation Army to carry out the task of production.

The participation of the People's Liberation Army in production is not a temporary measure; it should proceed from the perspective of long-range construction. The emphasis is on increasing the nation's wealth through labor. Beginning in the spring of 1950, the heads of all military regions must therefore direct their subordinates to put into effect [a program of] participating in production and construction work in order to improve their own livelihood and to save a portion of the state's expenditure. This production and construction work ought to become a kind of movement in order to facilitate its wider adoption. A relatively long-term plan and concrete measures [for implementation] should be formulated for this type of production work. With the approval of the people's government, the categories of [such] production should stay within the confines of agriculture, animal husbandry, fishery, water conservation projects, handicraft industries, and transportation projects which [the army] is capable of undertaking. Commercial undertakings are forbidden. The leading organs of the army [unit] should carry out investigations and studies [for production] based on the conditions of the places where they are stationed and complete the preparation this winter.

Based on experience, the army's production movement must strictly prohibit the opening up of shops and engaging in commercial activities. If among the cadres there should be ideas of seeking quick profits by attempting to smuggle, hoard, and speculate, or if such activities are discovered, they must be corrected and stopped quickly, for they not only violate the correct production guidelines and disrupt economic order, but will invariably [cause] graft and corruption to occur and will destroy our own comrades. These activities are not tolerated by law. Moreover, in undertaking agricultural production, we must be careful not to cause floods as a result of reclaiming wasteland or incur the people's dissatisfaction by competing for land.

So that the army may carry out its production tasks correctly and develop its production movement, it is hereby stipulated that:

- 1) At levels above division, army, and military sub-region, representative committees should be formed of representatives from the general headquarters, political departments, and logistic service departments. Their tasks are to take charge of the direction of production, to examine and approve production

plans, to supervise the implementation of production plans, and to investigate illegal activities.

2) Producers' cooperatives are to be established in the army. Organs of leadership for these cooperatives should also be established at every level which, under the supervision and guidance of the army production committees, will control the disposition of all production funds, production activities, and fruits of production. The system of the cooperatives and the army's command system are to be parallel. They will maintain close relations with each other, but they are not to be confused with each other.

3) Implement [the principle of] taking both public and private interests] into consideration and distributing on a fair and reasonable basis] the net income from production. Forty percent should go to the individual producers; the rest should go to the production units and the state in order to establish the revolutionary way of running the affairs of one's own household as well as those of the public. On the one hand, this will make the army partially self-sufficient, while on the other, it will allow the individual producer to have some income. This individual income may be kept by the individual for private use, or be sent home to the family for its use, or be deposited in the cooperative in reserve [for future use]; [the choice should be] at the discretion of the individual.

In areas where there is a shortage of land, in addition to participating, whenever possible, in all kinds of handicraft industries, water conservation, transportation, and construction projects, heads of army units may talk things over with the local people's governments and, on the condition that the peasants' own willingness is not violated, contribute the army's labor funds, fertilizer, and farm tools to cultivating the land jointly with the peasants in order to increase production and share the fruits equitably. However, it is necessary to make sure that this is not carried out through coercion, and that [the army] does not compete with the people for benefits.

The production plans of the units in all military regions must be integrated with the production plans of the people's governments of all the provinces and of all the greater administrative areas. [There should be] coordination in the use of production funds. All the production funds of the army units should be treated as investment, so interest must be computed and dates set for repayment. All the army's production enterprises should pay taxes according to the rules and observe all laws and regulations of the people's governments, and no violations will be permitted.

It is hoped that all heads of military regions will pay strict attention to the

above items. They must make sure that our People's Liberation Army's production and construction work in 1950 attains remarkable results. They must, moreover, conduct check-ups all the time and rectify errors and deficiencies that may arise. On their part, the people's governments in all areas have the responsibility of providing guidance and assistance in the production work of the army units in their areas.

Source: *People's Daily*, December 6, 1949.

Speech on Arrival at Moscow Train Station

December 16, 1949

Dear Comrades and Friends:

For me to have the opportunity at this time to visit the capital of the Soviet Union, the first great socialist country in the world, is a very happy event in my life. A deep friendship exists between the peoples of [our] two great countries, China and the Soviet Union. After the October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet government, following the policies of Lenin and Stalin, took the lead in abrogating the unequal treaties [concluded] with China under Imperial Russia. Over a period of almost thirty years, the Soviet people and the Soviet government have, on several occasions, assisted the Chinese people in their cause of liberation. The Chinese people will never forget that in the midst of their ordeals they received such fraternal friendship of the Soviet people and the Soviet government.

The important tasks for the present are consolidating the world peace front headed by the Soviet Union and opposing those who stir up war as well as consolidating relations between our two great countries, China and the Soviet Union, and developing the friendship of the Chinese and Soviet peoples. I am confident that with the victory of the Chinese People's Revolution and the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, with the joint efforts of the New Democracies and the peace-loving peoples of the world, with the common aspirations and close cooperation of [our] two great countries, China and the Soviet Union, and especially with the correct international policies of Generallissimo Stalin, these tasks will certainly be fully carried out and excellent results will be attained.

Long live the friendship and cooperation of China and the Soviet Union!

Source: *People's Daily*, December 18, 1949.

Telegram to Stalin

December 19, 1949

Chairman Stalin,
The Council of Ministers,
The Government of the Soviet Union
Your Excellency:

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

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, December 21, 1949.

Address at Birthday Celebration Meeting Held for Stalin

December 21, 1949

Dear comrades and friends:

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

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

At this distinguished gathering, on behalf of the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China, I congratulate Comrade Stalin on his seventieth birthday and wish him health and longevity. We wish well-being, strength, and

prosperity to our great friend, the Soviet Union under the leadership of Comrade Stalin. We hail the great unprecedented solidarity of the working class in the world under the leadership of Comrade Stalin.

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

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

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

Comment on Democratic Personages⁴³

Winter 1949

Let me add two more phrases for you, namely: "Better to be a counter-revolutionary than to merely keep out of the revolution." ...Don't think you deserve preferential treatment because of your achievements in war. You must know that one democratic personage is possibly worth an army. By winning one Li Jishen⁴⁴ over to our side, we probably saved the lives of twenty or thirty

43. The Shengping Ziliao introduced this comment with the following: "In the Winter [of 1949] certain middle-echelon cadres in Beijing felt greatly resentful at the high wages and benefits given to democratic personages in contrast to what they themselves earned. Playing on the theme that Li Jishen [a former KMT general] was paid an amount equaling 5,000 catties of millet a month they chanted the slogan: "Better to join revolution late than to have joined it early, better still, not to have joined it at all". Mao's comment here is ostensibly his response to the situation.

44. Li Jishen (1886-1959) was commander of the Fourth Army of the Nationalist forces in 1925-26. Although he often held high posts in the KMT military command, his relations with the Chiang Kai-shek dominated wing of the KMT had been strained and unstable since the Northern Expedition period. In 1929, when he attempted to mediate the dispute between Chiang and the Guangxi clique (Li Zongren, Bai Congxi), he was expelled from the KMT. After the Japanese attacked Changchun (Mukden) in 1931, and Chiang was forced from office, the Guangxi faction was restored and Li with them. Later, when Chiang returned to power in the KMT, Li was relegated to ex-officio duties in Guangzhou. In late 1933 he became chairman of the People's Revolutionary Government in Fuzhou which actively opposed the authority of the Nanjing KMT (Chiang) government. When that opposition was suppressed and the Fuzhou government dissolved, Li fled to Hong Kong, with a KMT arrest warrant out for him. In 1935 he and others founded the Chinese People's Revolutionary League, seeking to unite the various political factions against Japan, but also in opposition to Nanjing. This was dissolved in 1937. In 1938 he was restored to membership in the KMT and continued to hold high military advisory positions. However, he largely operated on a local level in Guangxi in organizing military opposition to the Japanese rather than assuming his official positions in the Chongqing government. In 1947 he went to Hong Kong and on March 8 of that year issued a statement urging the KMT and the Communists to settle their differences and end the civil war. On August 6 he was

thousand comrades and won the military victory one or two years ahead of time... Now we will simply do it this way; this is also the only way we can do it, whether you approve of it or not.

Source: *An excerpt, reproduced from Mao Zedong Shengping Ziliao Jianbian (A Brief Compilation of Materials on the Life of Mao Zedong) pp. 288-289. Hong Kong: Union Research Institute, 1970.*

Conversation with a Painter from the Soviet Union (Excerpts)

1949

[The Soviet painter inquires of Mao whether or not it would be too exhausting if they worked, i.e., if Mao posed for the portrait, from nine to eleven pm each day]

I usually work in the nighttime as well. This is a habit cultivated through many years of working underground. Let me now accompany you for breakfast, and then we shall start.

We need a portfolio of this type of drawings about People's China, or a series of paintings...

That is correct. In terms of their nature, the Chinese people are diligent, hardworking, and persevering. However, in addition [to the fact that it is in their nature] this diligence and perseverance is also linked to the most cruel exploitation and extreme deprivation of rights suffered by the Chinese people for so many centuries. The hard life itself has forced them to pay the price, in every kind of work, of giving it their greatest labor, just so that they can feed themselves and continue to live. As for culture, we the Chinese people consider ourselves to be the most backward. Our culture is in this state because in the past there has not been in China an organized force or thought which has been able to unite the whole people and to direct their energy toward the correct path [of development]. Today, the Chinese Communist Party has taken this

expelled from the KMT for the last time, and in January 1948 he became the chairman of the newly constituted Revolutionary Committee of the KMT. He went to Beijing in early 1949 and was appointed to the Preparatory Committee for the CPPCC. In September 1949 he became a vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the CPPCC and in October on the founding of the PRC, he became one of six vice-chairmen of the Central People's Government and vice-president of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

responsibility upon its shoulders. The Chinese people, under its leadership, and learning from the people of the Soviet Union, have finally discovered a correct path for themselves.

Source: *Dagong Daily, Shanghai, May 10, 1950.*

1950

Inscription for First Issue of *Renmin Haijun*⁴⁵

January 1, 1950

We must build a navy. This navy must be able to secure our coastal defense and effectively protect us against possible aggression by the imperialists.

Source: *People's Daily*, January 4, 1950.

Interview Given to TASS Correspondent in Moscow⁴⁶

January 2, 1950

(Q refers to the TASS correspondent, and "A" refers to Mao)

Q: What is the current situation like in China?

A: Military matters in China are going smoothly. At present, the Communist Party of China and the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China are switching to peaceful economic construction.

Q: How long will you be staying in the Soviet Union, Mr. Mao?

A: I plan to stay for a few weeks. The length of my stay in the Soviet Union will be partly determined by the time it will take to resolve the various problems related to the interests of the People's Republic of China.

Q: Would it be possible to learn what problems you have in mind?

A: Foremost among these are the matters of the current Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between China and the Soviet Union,⁴⁷ and of the Soviet Union's

45. *Renmin Haijun* (People's Navy) was a journal published by the political department of the East China Region headquarters of the People's Navy. Its inaugural issue was published on New Year's Day, 1950.

46. Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (TASS).

47. The "current" Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between China and the Soviet Union to which Mao refers here is the treaty signed on August 14, 1945, between the Nationalist government and the Soviet Union. This treaty was abrogated on February 14, 1950, when a new treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance was signed by the two countries and ratified and put into effect in April of the same year.

Aside from agreements on postal and telecommunication services, six agreements were reached during Mao's visit to the Soviet Union. The agreements signed on February 14, 1950 were:

- 1) The treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual assistance.
- 2) The agreement of Joint administration of the China-Changchun Railway and of

loan to the People's Republic of China and the matter of trade and of a trade agreement between our two countries. There are also other questions.

Furthermore, I also plan to visit various localities and cities in the Soviet Union in order to gain a better understanding of economic and cultural construction in the Soviet state.

Source: *People's Daily*, January 3, 1950.

Inscription for Lenin's Mausoleum⁴⁸

January 11, 1950

To Lenin—Great teacher of the revolution.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Guangming Daily*, Beijing, January 13, 1950.

Telegram to Bulgaria on the Death of Vasil Kolarov

January 24, 1950

Vice-Chairman Chervenkov,
The Council of Ministers of Bulgaria
Your Excellency:

Dalian.

3) The abrogation of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance and of the agreements on the Chinese Changchun railway, Dalian and Lüshun signed August 15, 1945, and the recognition of the Mongolian People's Republic.

4) The Soviet grant of credit to the People's Republic of China over a five-year period.

5) The gratuitous transfer by the Soviet Union to China of property acquired by Soviet organizations from Japanese owners in Manchuria in 1945.

6) The gratuitous transfer by the Soviet Union of all buildings of the Soviet military compound in Beijing.

48. This inscription was written on a wreath placed by Mao personally on Lenin's Tomb in Moscow on January 11, 1950. In Mao's company were Wang Jiaxiang, the Chinese ambassador to the USSR, and Chen Boda. The inscription was in both Chinese and Russian.

I was stunned to receive the news that Chairman Kolarov⁴⁹ of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria passed away. Please allow me to respectfully express my deepest and sincerest grief to the government and people of your country.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, January 25, 1950.

Telegram to President Prasad of the Republic of India

January 28, 1950

President Rajendra Prasad,
The Republic of India
Your Excellency:

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

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC AND DATED)

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

Speech on Departure from Moscow

February 17, 1950

Dear Comrades and friends:

This time in Moscow, Comrade Zhou Enlai, the members of the Chinese delegation, and I met with Generalissimo Stalin and other comrades in responsible positions in the Soviet government. It is difficult for me to express in words the complete understanding and deep friendship that was established between us on the basis of the fundamental interests of the people of our two

49. Vasil Kolarov, one of the founders of the Communist party of Bulgaria and a leading official in the Communist International, was at the time of his death chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria.

great nations. It is plain to see that the unity of the people of the two great countries, China and the Soviet Union, solidified by treaty, will be permanent and inviolable, and one which cannot be put asunder by anyone. Moreover, this unity will not only influence the prosperity of these two great countries, China and the Soviet Union but will surely also affect the future of humanity and the triumph of peace and justice all over the world.

During our sojourn in the Soviet Union we have visited many factories and farms. We have seen the great achievements of the workers, peasants and intellectuals of the Soviet Union in their undertaking of socialist construction; we have observed the work-style of combining a spirit of revolution with a spirit of realism and practicality which has been nurtured among the people of the Soviet Union through the teaching of Comrade Stalin and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union⁵⁰. This has confirmed the conviction which the Chinese Communists have always held: that the experience of the Soviet Union in economic and cultural construction and its experience in construction in other major areas will serve as an example for the construction of New China.

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

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

Long live the people of the Soviet Union!

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

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

Telegram to President of the Vietnam-China Friendship Association

February 21, 1950

Mr. Ho Tung Mau:

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

On receiving the joyous tidings of the establishment of the Vietnam-China Friendship Association, I sincerely extend my congratulations and best wishes for the progress of friendly relations between the two nations of China and Vietnam

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily, February 23, 1950.*

Telegram to the USSR⁵¹

February 23, 1950

Generalissimo Stalin
Your Excellency:

On the occasion of this grand festival of the great defender of world peace, the Soviet Union's Armed forces, we happily and sincerely express our warmest felicitations

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily, February 26, 1950.*

Telegram to Stalin upon Leaving the USSR

February 26, 1950

Comrade Stalin:

Our group is now approaching the border between the Soviet Union and China. Upon leaving this great country, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, I would like to express to you and to all the comrades in responsible positions in the government of the Soviet Union my deep gratitude for your hospitality and my best wishes for the continuous strengthening and prospering of the Soviet Union under your leadership.

51. A telegram sent on the thirty-second anniversary of the establishment of armed forces of the Soviet Union.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, March 5, 1950.

Conversations During Inspection of Heilongjiang Province (Excerpts)

February 27, 1950

It is good to have many older workers [in the factory]; when we do not know [how to run a factory] we must rely on the older workers to manage the factories...

It is also very important to cultivate new workers!

If you do not know [how to manage a factory] you must learn. We are all ignorant [in some ways] and we all have to learn.

We must transform Harbin⁵², now a city of consumers, into a production-oriented city.

After Hu Zongnan attacked Yanan I together with comrades Zhou Enlai and Ren Bishi, directed the nationwide War of Liberation from two caves in Northern Shaanxi.

Source: *These excerpts are culled from an article titled Weida Da Jiaohui (A Great Lesson) written by a reporter for Heilongjiang Ribao (Heilongjiang Daily) and which originally appeared in Heilongjiang Ribao (Feb. 27, 1977).*

Inscriptions Written in Harbin⁵³

February 27, 1950

Do not pick up a bureaucratic work-style.

Study.

Struggle.

52. Mao visited Harbin, the capital city of Heilongjiang Province, for two days, February 27-28, 1950. These are the more important things he said in conversations during that time.

53. See previous footnote. The first three inscriptions here were written for the provincial Party Committee, the fourth for the municipal party committee of Harbin and the fifth for the Second Congress of the New Democratic Youth League then being held in Harbin.

Promote production.
Study Marxism-Leninism.

Reply to Ambassador of the People's Republic of Romania

March 10, 1950

Mr. Ambassador:

I am very glad to accept the letter of credence from the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly of the People's Republic of Romania presented by Your Excellency and I am grateful to Your Excellency for your congratulations and good wishes.

The resolute struggle against domestic and foreign reactionaries undertaken by the Romanian people since the world war against fascism and their current industrious efforts in the work of economic construction in which glorious achievements have already been reaped have always been regarded with deep and sincere concern and admiration by the Chinese people.

Today, the governments and peoples of the two nations of China and Romania are fighting arduously and heroically for their common goal of world peace. We believe that the increasingly close cooperation of the two countries, China and Romania, in the political, economic, and cultural spheres will surely benefit the people of the two countries and will further consolidate and reinforce the strength of the camp for the world democracy and peace.

I warmly welcome Your Excellency as the first ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Romania to the People's Republic of China, and pledge to Your Excellency all my assistance in your work of consolidating the friendship between the two nations.

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

Source: *People's Daily*, March 11, 1950.

Letter to Long Bojian

March 14, 1950

Mr. Bojian:⁵⁴

Your letter of November 11 last year has been received and read. I am extremely gratified that you, my friend,⁵⁵ are taking part in the revolution and are undertaking work in the area of public health. The name of the *Xin Hunan Bao* (New Hunan Daily)⁵⁶ is coined by the comrades of Hunan. I feel just as honored, as you are elated, by the coincidence between this and the name of [our] old paper. My old poetry⁵⁷ is not particularly good: there really is no need for me to write them out again. I hope that you will apply yourself to your tasks diligently and work for the interests of the people.

With my regards,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 353.

Letter to Liu Kuiyi

March 14, 1950

Honorable Mr. Linsheng:⁵⁸

54. Long Bojian (1899-1983) (a.k.a. Long Yuying) was an old acquaintance of Mao's. He was a founder of the periodical *Xin Hunan* (New Hunan) and was its editor until the position was taken over by Mao himself in 1919. This student weekly, like the more famous *xiangjiung Pinglun* (*xiang* River Review) which was also based in Changsha, was abruptly closed down by the Hunan warlord Zhang Jingyao shortly after Mao took over the editorship. In August 1949, shortly after the liberation of Hunan, Long was the chief of the bureau of public health of the provisional Hunan provincial government.

55. Here Mao used the word *xiong* (elder brother) which is a common way of addressing one's friends.

56. This refers to a daily founded by the Hunan Provincial (Party) Committee of the CPC in January 1950.

57. Here Mao used the term *ci* which refers to a particular genre of poetic writing.

58. Linsheng is Liu Kuiyi's *zi* (honorific name). He was an early revolutionary and a founder of the *Huaxing Hui* (China Arisen Society) and at this time was an advisor to the People's Military and Administrative Committee of Hunan province.

Your letter of December 27 last year has been received. I am greatly gratified. Please permit me to apologize for being tardy in responding. With regard to the bad things that have come into practice in the requisition of grain, the government has already issued several decrees for the purpose of correcting them; I wonder if the situation has become somewhat more relaxed lately? The trouble of the bandits must be quelled and the chief villains must be dealt with; this is a fixed principle. Nonetheless in carrying out the quelling and the dealing with [the chief villains] we must have a strategy and specific steps and measures, so that [the problem] may be resolved speedily and the situation throughout the country may be secured and stabilized. I hear that the trouble caused by the bandits has been on the whole resolved as far as Hunan is concerned. Is this true? I would be very grateful if, at your convenience, you, sir, would tell me what you know about the matter.

With best and respectful regards for your good health, and apologies for the incompleteness of this message,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p.354.

Telegram to the Communist Party of France

March 31, 1950

The Twelfth National Congress of the Communist Party of France, in care of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France:

We warmly congratulate you on the success of the Twelfth National Congress of the Communist Party of France and hope that the Communist Party of France, in the process of leading the French people in carrying forward the revolutionary struggle, will grow daily in strength.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPC)

Source: *Wenyi Hong Qi (Red Flag in Literature and Art) May 30, 1967, a Red Guard Publication.*

Directive on the Film *Qing Gong Mishi*

March 1950

The film *Qing Gong Mishi*⁵⁹ is a treasonous movie and we should criticize it...

Some say that it is patriotic: I think it is treasonous, thoroughly treasonous.

Source: *Wenyi Hongqi (Red Flag in Literature and Art) May 30, 1967, Red Guard Publication.*

Telegram to the People's Republic of Hungary

April 1, 1950

Chairman [Arpad] Szakasits

Your excellency:

On this occasion of the fifth anniversary of the liberation of Hungary, on behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, I extend my sincerest congratulations to your excellency and our best wishes for the happiness and progress of the people of Hungary.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily, April 4, 1950.*

Speech at the Sixth Session of the CPGC

April 11, 1950

We have pointed out that implementing the people's democratic dictator-

59. The film *Qing Gong Mishi* (Inside Story of the Ching Court) was a reactionary film which vilified the patriotic Yihetuan movement of 1900 and preached capitulation to imperialism. This film of national betrayal was extolled by Liu Shaoqi as one of "patriotism".

ship and uniting with our international friends are two fundamental conditions for the consolidation of the victory of the revolution. The Sino-Soviet Treaty and agreements that we signed this time are to affirm the friendship between the two great countries of China and the Soviet Union in a legal fashion. By gaining for us a reliable ally, they will benefit us by giving us a free hand to undertake the work of domestic construction and to deal with the possible invasion by imperialists and to strive for world peace together.⁶⁰

Source: *People's Daily*, April 13, 1950.

Letter to Yang Kaizhi and Li Congde

April 13, 1950

Comrades Zizhen and Congde:⁶¹

I have received your letter. I am very happy that you are now working in the provincial government. I hope that you will be positive and diligent and will have much to show by way of achievements. My son Anying is returning to Hunan to celebrate the old lady's birthday⁶² and visit his mother's grave. At the same time he will come and see you. Please give him the benefit of your wisdom and teach him.

With most sincere regards for your recent well-being.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 355.

60. Comrade Mao made this short address before the Sixth Session of the Central People's Government Council voted on, and ratified the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship Mutual Assistance which was signed on February 14, 1950.

61. For Yang Kaizhi, see *Letter to Wong Shoudao* (Oct 9, 1949), p. 7 of this volume. Zizhen is Yang Kaizhi's honorific name. Li Congde is Yang's wife.

62. Mao was referring to Yang's mother, who was Mao's mother-in-law. Comrade Mao here used the term *Lao tai tai* which is a respectful way of saying "Old lady".

Comment on Chen Yun's Report⁶³

April 14, 1950

The Financial and Economic Affairs Commission of the Government Administrative Council has achieved very significant results in the past six months in the work of adjusting the budget and stabilizing the prices of goods. The policies of the Financial and Economic Affairs Commission are correct [even though] there are still some shortcomings in its work, and attention should be paid to correcting these.

The financial situation of our country has begun to change for the better. This is a very good phenomenon. However, for the financial and economic situation as a whole to take a fundamental change for the better three conditions must be met. These are: the completion of land reform, the reasonable adjustment of existing industries and commercial concerns, and major reductions in the military and governmental expenditures of the state. We should strive to realize these step by step, and they can indeed be completely realized. Then fundamental changes for the better can take place. Within the next few months, the emphasis in the work of the organs of the government that are in charge of finance and the economy should be on the adjustment of the inter-relationship between public and private enterprises and between the various departments within each public or private enterprise and on exerting as much effort as possible to overcome the state of anarchy. The stipulation in the Common Program [which states]:

The state shall coordinate and regulate the state-owned, co-operative, individual peasant and handicraft, private capitalist, and state capitalist [sectors of the economy] in their spheres of operations, supply of raw materials, marketing, labor conditions, technical equipment, policies of public and general finance, etc. In this way all sector of the social economy can, under the leadership of the state-owned economy, carry out division and co-ordination of labor and play their proper parts [in pro-

63. These comments were made at the Seventh Meeting of the Central People's Government Council, which was held on April 13, 1950. It followed the report made by Chen Yun, who was vice-premier of the GAC of the Central People's Government and chairman of the Financial and Economic Affairs Commission. Chen's report is known by the title "Report on the Financial Condition of the Nation."

moting the development of the social economy as a whole]⁶⁴

must be fully implemented. Only then can it serve the interests of the rehabilitation and development of the entire people's economy. Certain confused ideas that have already arisen in this area must be straightened out.

Source: *New China News Agency, Daily Bulletin: 13, April 21, 1950.*

Letter to Mao Shenpin

April 18, 1950

My dear friend Shenpin:⁶⁵

I have received your two letters and am very gratified. I apologize for the fact that, owing to other business, I have been late in responding. I am very much saddened to be reminded of the sacrifice that my good friend Qinming made for the revolution;⁶⁶ and yet it is also an honorable and glorious thing. [In your letters you] described some shortcomings in the cadres' work; indeed there are many such cases all over, and we are redoubling our efforts to reform and rectify them, and hope that things will be improved. I greatly approve the idea of having you come out and take up some responsibility [in government work]. The most appropriate procedure seems to be for you to demonstrate support for the interests of the masses, and when you have gained the respect of the people, you will very naturally join the government. It would not be appropriate for me to make a recommendation; that could affect your reputation adversely. Don't you think so? At your convenience, I shall be grateful to learn more of what you are doing.

Best wishes for your health and progress.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters, p. 356.*

64. Parts that have not been cited by comrade Mao here, are in brackets to provide contextual meaning.

65. Shenpin was a classmate of Mao Zedong

66. This refers to Mao Shenpin's elder brother Mao Qinming, who was also at one time Mao Zedong's classmate and who died in 1928 as a martyr of the revolution.

Letter to Li Shuyi

April 18, 1950

Comrade Shuyi:⁶⁷

I have received your letter. Since the sacrifice of Zhixun, you have brought up his children through a great deal of hardship. You have my greatest respect for this accomplishment. For you to learn Marxism-Leninism, you can do it in your spare time from work; there is no need to come all the way to the capital to achieve this goal. Please convey my deepest regards to the two old gentleman Mr. Xiaodan and Mr. Wuting.⁶⁸

Best regards for your good health.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 357.

Letter to Xiang Mingqing

April 19, 1950

Mr. Mingqing:⁶⁹

I have long since received your letter of October 12 last year. Permit me to apologize for the fact that, owing to [preoccupation with] other business, I have been late in responding. Your nephew Comrade Xiang Jun was a member of the Communist Party. In 1927 he was the secretary of the Hengshan *xian* [Party] Committee and was an honest and capable comrade. When the KMT betrayed us in 1927, he was arrested and gloriously gave his life for the cause. You may report all this information to the Hunan Provincial [Party] Committee. However, as for the matter of [disbursing funds for] the comforting of the

67. Li Shuyi [b. 1901] is a native of Changsha, Hunan, and the wife of Liu Zhixun, who was a good friend of Mao's and a revolutionary martyr.

68. This refers to Li's father Li Xiaodan [1888-1953] and Liu's father Liu Wuting [1877-1957]

69. Xiang Mingqing was a native of Pingjiang and Yang Kaihui's (Mao's former Wife) uncle.

bereaved, it has to be done uniformly and must not take only a few [special cases] into consideration. If the provincial committee is not yet able to handle the matter, you must understand the situation.

In reply and with respectful regards for your health.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 359.

Telegram to W. H. Andrews

April 20, 1950

Comrade W. H. Andrews:⁷⁰

My sincerest congratulations on your eightieth birthday, and best wishes for your good health.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPC)

Source: *Guangming Daily*, May 23, 1950.

Telegram to Maurice Thorez

April 28, 1950

Dear Comrade Thorez:⁷¹

On this occasion of your fiftieth birthday, I wish you health and longevity and pay my respects to you and to the Communist Party of France.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPC)

Source: *People's Daily*, April 28, 1950.

70. W. H. Andrews was a former Chairman of the Communist Party of South Africa, and at the time of this telegram, its CC member.

71. Maurice Thorez (1900-1964) was secretary general of the Communist Party of France (1936-1964).

Inscription Concerning the People's Education⁷²

May 1, 1950

To rehabilitate and develop the people's education is one of the most important tasks at the present time.

Source: *"Mao Zhuxi Lun Jiaoyu Geming"* [Chairman Mao on the Revolution in Education] 4, Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1967.

Telegram to the Republic of Czechoslovakia

May 3, 1950

President Gottwald
Your Excellency:

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, I extend to Your Excellency and the Czechoslovakian people our warmest congratulations on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia and express our hope that the Republic of Czechoslovakia, under Your Excellency's leadership, will grow daily in prosperity and strength.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, May 9, 1950.

Inscription Commemorating the May Fourth Movement⁷³

May 4, 1950

Congratulations on the thirty first anniversary of "May Fourth"⁷⁴. Unite

72. This inscription was written for the inaugural issue of *Renmin Jiaoyu* (People's Education), May 1, 1950.

73. This inscription was written for the exhibition room commemorating Li Dazhao, an early Chinese Communist and leader in the May Fourth Movement at Beijing University. It was published by the *Beida Zhoukan* (Weekly Bulletin of Beijing University).

74. On May 4, 1919, students in Beijing demonstrated against the handing over to Japan of

together to strive to build a New China.

Source: *Guongming Daily*, May 4, 1950.

Letter to Wen Jianquan

May 7, 1950

Dear Cousin Jianquan:⁷⁵

I have received your letter of January 16, and am much gratified. How many people are still in Tangjiaduo? Can they be adequately fed? Are Tenth Cousin and Seventeenth Cousin still alive? Please let me know at your convenience. It would be best for Mr. Wen Kai⁷⁶ to find a solution to his employment problem in the vicinity of Hunan; it would not do him any good to travel afar, and it is not convenient for me to recommend him either. Please understand and forgive me. Cousin Yunchang wrote me several letters in succession. I wrote a reply which was sent to Baipangkou. I wonder if he has received it? I also have received Cousin Nansong's second letter and am grateful for his kind thoughts.

In reply, and with best wishes for your health!

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 360.

Letter to Zhang Ding

May 7, 1950

Mr. Zhang Ding:⁷⁷

many of China's sovereign rights in Shantung by Britain, the United States, France, Japan, Italy and other imperialist countries then in conference in Paris. This student movement evoked an immediate response throughout the country. After June 3, it developed into a country-wide anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutionary movement embracing large numbers of the proletariat, the urban petty bourgeoisie and even the national bourgeoisie. Also see *Orientation of Youth Movement, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume II.

75. Wen Jianquan and most of the people mentioned in this letter were or are comrade Mao's cousins on his mother's side of the family.

76. Wen Kai was a relative and a close associate of Wen Jianquan.

77. Zhang is a native of Changsha, Hunan and had studied in a tutorial school affiliated with the "Self-Teaching University" founded in Changsha by comrade Mao and others in

I have received your letter of October 25 last year and with it the photographs of Mao Zetan⁷⁸ and company. Thank you so much for your kind thoughts. To join the Party you must do it at the local level and in accordance with the set regulations.

In reply and with best wishes for your health and good fortune,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 362.

Letter to Zhao Puzhu

May 7, 1950

Mr. Puzhu:⁷⁹

I have received and studied your letter and your writing and am very grateful. As for the problems such as that of the rent reduction and land reform in our native village, it is not convenient for me to intervene directly since I really do not know enough about the specific conditions. Please contact the comrades in the people's government in the various localities themselves and settle the problems with them with a view to a fair solution. I would also appreciate if, at your convenience, you let me know more of what you are doing. Please convey my regards to all our relatives and friends at Tangjiatuo.

In reply and with regards for your health and good fortune,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 363.

August 1921.

78. Mao Zetan was Mao Zedong's younger brother. He became a martyr for the cause of the revolution in Hunan in 1935.

79. Zhao Puzhu was a native of Xiangxiang, Hunan and had been a colleague of Mao's during Comrade Mao's brief sojourn in the New Hunan Army from late 1911 to spring 1912. He is a distant relative of Mao.

Letter to Mao Yimin

May 8, 1950

Comrade Yimin:⁸⁰

Your letter of January 3 has been received. Thank you for your good wishes and for giving me so many details about the conditions in our native village.

The poor people in our home village lead a very hard life, and life is even harder for the families of [revolutionary] martyrs. For the time being, all they can do is be a bit patient, and things could become somewhat better after the land reform. By then the People's Government may also give some assistance to the people such as loans, and the people will be able to gradually make improvements in their lives.

Taking care of the families of martyrs is a national issue. There are several million households of martyrs' families throughout the country, and they all have to be taken care of. It would not be wise for us to give special and individual attention to a few places. Nonetheless, with regard to the people in the greatest difficulties, the local people's government should, during the time of rent reduction and land reform, or in the in-between-season months,⁸¹ give them as much attention and care as possible.

It is very good that you are working in our home village. You can write to me often and tell me what is going on in the village.

Please give my regards to the comrades in the village. I sincerely hope that everyone will work, hard and make progress.

In reply, and with best wishes for your good health,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Hongqi (Red Flag), Beijing, August 16, 1982.*

80. Mao Yimin was a native of Mao's own home village, Shaoshan of Xiangtan *xian*, Hunan Province. He joined the CPC in 1938 and, prior to Liberation, worked in the Shaoshan district committee of the CPC. Shortly after Liberation (i.e., about the time of this letter,) he worked in the Huanglong district committee of the Xiangtan *xian* committee of the CPC.

81. The Chinese term here is *qing huang gujie* (hiatus between green and yellow) which refers to the gap in the agricultural season between the time when the crop is still in its seedling stage (green) and the time of ripening and harvesting (yellow). It is often taken to mean a time of shortage of means of consumption.

Letter to Wen Nansong

May 12, 1950

Cousin Nansong:⁸²

Your letter of January has been received. Thank you for your good wishes. Cousin Yunchang⁸³ has written me many times and I have responded with one letter which was addressed to Baipangkou, Nan *xian*. Do you know if he has received it? Regarding the appointment for Cousin Yunchang, it would not be appropriate for me to make a recommendation; rather, it would be more appropriate for him to impress others with his performance among the people, and when he has gained people's confidence he will be given the opportunity to take part in the work. Are Tenth Cousin and Seventeenth Cousin still alive? I am very gratified to know that Eleventh Cousin is still alive and well.⁸⁴ He wrote a letter to me and I have sent one back to him. I wonder if he has received it? You said that there was a shortage of grain in our home village and the government was not distributing any. How are things now? Is there still a grain shortage? Has the government come up with nothing at all? When you write again, please tell me in detail.

In reply, and with concern for your recent well-being,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, pp. 366-367.

Letter to Ye Jiannong

May 12, 1950

Dear Jianlong:⁸⁵

82. Wen Nansong is comrade Mao's Cousin on his mother's side of the family.

83. Wen Yuanchang was an elder cousin of Mao. He died in 1961.

84. Tenth Cousin (*Shige*) refers to Wen Banxiang who died in 1949. Seventeenth cousin (*Shiquiqe*) is Wen Meiqing, who is a peasant. Eleventh cousin is Wen Jianquan.

85. Jianlong is Ye Jiannong's original name. He was a native of Pingjiang, Hunan and was a classmate of Mao's when he studied at the first Normal School of Hunan Province Mao here also used the salutation *xuexiong*, (elder brother).

I have received your various letters and telegrams. It is very good that you have such enthusiasm for the investigation of new knowledge. As for the matter of your employment, it would be best for you to be in Chongqing if it can be resolved there. If you have to come to the capital, please correspond directly with Director Shen Junru of the People's Supreme Court, and ask him if there is any position that you can fill. Otherwise, you can also enter a short-term studying institution to learn more before you take part in actual work.

In reply and with best regards for your well-being,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 368.

Letter to Zhou Wennan

May 12, 1950

Comrade Wennan:⁸⁶

I have received your letter and am greatly gratified. As for taking your mother to the Northeast to live with you, I think it is a good thing. I can write to the authorities in Hunan to have them issue you some travel funds. Nonetheless, your mother is of an advanced age, and whether or not she will be safe along the journey if no one is there to take care of her is a question. Would you be needed to personally go to bring her with you to the Northeast? Would that not be better? Please give it some thought and let me know. If you are going [to Hunan] yourself to fetch her, then my letter to Hunan can be carried by you. The enclosed document is returned to you.⁸⁷ Jiang Qing⁸⁸ and others are

86. Zhou Wennan [a.k.a. Zhou Renfang] was the wife of Mao's brother Zetan, who died in the fighting against KMT troops in Southern Fujian in late 1935. Zhou herself had stayed in Hunan to do revolutionary work. In mid-1930, when the Red army forces attacked Changsha, several Mao family members remaining in the region were arrested by the KMT, including Mao's first wife Yang Kaihui and his younger sister, together with Zhou. While Yang and Mao's sister were executed, Zhou was spared and subsequently released. At the time of this letter, Zhou was the chief executive officer of the criminal court of the People's Court of Shenyang Municipality.

87. This refers to the letter that Zhou's mother, Zhou Qian, nee Chen, wrote to Zhou in which she described her lonely conditions in Shaoshan *xian*, Hunan.

88. Jiang Qing (Chiang Ching), Mao's wife.

all doing well.

My best wishes for your health,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 369.

Telegram to Ho Chi Minh

May 12, 1950

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam,
President Ho Chi Minh
Your Excellency:

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and myself, I extend to you our warmest congratulations on this, Your Excellency's sixtieth birthday. We congratulate the Democratic Republic of Vietnam which, under your leadership and with the support of the patriotic people of all Vietnam, has triumphed over the foreign invaders and their running dogs, and we celebrate the eternal unity of the peoples of the two countries, China and Vietnam, and their common effort in the cause of peace in Asia.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, May 12, 1950.

Letter to Mao Yuju

May 15, 1950

Dear Yuju: (*Yuju xiong*)⁸⁹

I have received your several letters in rapid succession. Thank you very much. Please let me know at your convenience more things about how condi-

89. Mao Yuju was Mao Zedong's older cousin and his tutor in an old-style village school when Mao was a child.

tions are in our native village. If Zou Puxun (Heng Er)⁹⁰ is in dire straits and seriously ill, and if you have some extra cash on hand, please help him out a bit and let me pay you back later. Please also give the enclosed message to Zou Puxun.

My best regards for your health.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 370.

Letter to Zou Puxun

May 15, 1950

Dear Puxun:⁹¹

I have received your letter of May 7. Thank you for your kind thoughts. I am gratified to learn that your health is improving, and I hope that you will continue, nonetheless, to pay good attention to maintaining your health. I would like to know, at your convenience, how many people there are in your family, how difficult life is for you, and whether or not you are still capable of working.

My best wishes for your health.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 371.

Letter to Zhou Rong

May 16, 1950

Mr. Zanxiang:⁹²

90. "Heng Er" which Mao put in parenthesis in the original is a childhood nickname of Zou's. Zou was Mao's neighbor and schoolmate in the village school.

91. See previous note.

92. Zhou Rong (Zhou Zanxiang) is a native of Yueyang, Hunan, and made Mao's acquaintance in the First Normal School of Hunan in 1929. The matter referred to here in Mao's response is Zhou's request that Mao recommend him for membership in the CPC.

I have received your letter of August last year. I am grateful indeed for your kind thoughts. Let me apologize for being so tardy in responding. As for the matter with the organization, it is not convenient for me to recommend you in such haste. What should be done is for you to perform in the locality and make your request then to the local organization and await its resolution.

In response, and with best wishes for your progress,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 372.

Reply to Ambassador of the Republic of India

May 20, 1950

Mr. Ambassador:

I am very happy to accept the letter of credence which has been conferred upon you by the President of the Republic of India and which Your Excellency has presented, and I am grateful for Your Excellency's congratulations and good wishes.

The two countries, China and India, share a common boundary and have had between them a long-lasting and intimate relationship historically and culturally. In the last few centuries, they both have undertaken long and heroic struggles to be liberated from the adverse destiny of their peoples. The understanding, sympathy, and concern that exist between the peoples of our two countries is profound and sincere. The establishment of formal diplomatic relations between China and India now will not only cause the friendship that already exists between the people of these two countries to grow and be consolidated with the passing of each day, but moreover, the sincere cooperation between the people of these two great Asian countries produced by this friendship will surely contribute greatly to lasting peace in Asia and the world.

I warmly welcome Your Excellency as the first ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of India to the People's Republic of China, and pledge my assistance to your excellency in your work of strengthening the cooperation between the two nations

Best wishes for the prosperity of your country, the prospering of your peo-

ple and the good health of your head of state.

Source: *New China News Agency, Daily Bulletin, 34, May 22, 1950.*

Letter to Li Jinxi

May 22, 1950

Mr. Shao Xi:⁹³

Your letter of May 17 has been received. I can agree with all the opinions you have expressed concerning the Dictionary Bureau,⁹⁴ and I have discussed these with Comrade Hu Qiaomu.⁹⁵ He is also in agreement with us. Please contact Comrade Hu on the telephone and discuss the matter with him.

I send best regards for your health.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters, p.373.*

Telegram of Condolence to Yan Huiqing's Family

May 26, 1950

Respectfully to the family of Vice-chairman Yan Huiqing:⁹⁶

I am stunned to receive the news of the passing away of Mr. Yan Huiqing owing to illness. I feel extremely grieved and send this telegram expressly to

93. Li Jinxi (Shao Xi) (1890-1978) was a native of Xiangtan, Hunan—comrade Mao's native village. Li was a linguist and philologist, and at the time of this letter, was director of the Editorial Bureau for the Compilation of the *Zhongguo Da Cidian* (A General Chinese Dictionary) and professor and Chairman of the Department of Chinese Language at Beijing Normal University.

94. This refers to the opinions, expressed by Li in a letter to comrade Mao, on the planning of a rational course of action and development in organizing the personnel at the Bureau for the Compilation of the *Zhongguo Da Cidan* and on the question of under which department or branch of the government the bureau should be placed.

95. Hu Qiaomu was at the time of this letter comrade Mao's secretary and director of the Press Administration of the Government Administrative Council.

96. Yan was vice-chairman of the East China Military and Administrative Commission.

extend my condolences.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *New China News Agency, Daily Bulletin, 39 (May 20, 1953).*

Letter to Liu Yanan

May 27, 1950

Comrade Yanan:⁹⁷

I have received the enclosed letters from four brothers of the family of Wen⁹⁸ from Dapingyao, Fengyin *xiang* of Sidu, Xiangxiang [*xian*] and these are here-with forwarded for your perusal. They have said things that express discontent with the work of the local district and *xiang* government. I wonder what the real situation is? If it is possible, please send a comrade down to investigate a bit and let me know the results. The Wen brothers are all poor peasants, but in their letters they speak in favor of the landlords and the rich peasants. Why is this so? Please also investigate this and let me know. As far as the question of the difficulties that the Wen family (my uncle's family) has encountered and their appeal for aid and relief, you can help them relieve their problem only insofar as the normal pattern of rent reduction and land reform, which is common to all peasants, will allow. You cannot give them special attention and aid, or else the people in general will be unhappy about it.

My best wishes for your health.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters, p.375*

Letter to Liu Shaoqi

June 4, 1950

Comrade Shaoqi:

97. Liu Yanan was at the time of this letter head of Xiangxiang *xian*, Hunan Province.

98. See *Letter to Wen Nansong*, p. 64 of this volume.

I have read [the enclosed] document.⁹⁹ I find it very well written and very useful. I am suggesting some revisions for your consideration. The part on the rich peasants is too long, so much so that it is turning out to be unclear instead. In some places [this section] is not very appropriate; therefore I would, and have, deleted a major portion of it. I have added [a description of] the experience of the period from 1946 on in order to rectify a certain misunderstanding that some cadres already [appear to] have¹⁰⁰—[i.e., a misunderstanding] that the “Left” deviationist errors of the past have been the result of the stipulation in the Land Reform Law Outline Program promulgated on October 10, 1947¹⁰¹, that the surplus land and property of the rich peasants is to be confiscated. Without such an explanation [as I have included] it would not be possible to correct this misunderstanding.

By the forces of production we are referring to two things—the laborers and to the material of production (also known as the means of production).¹⁰² By the material of production, in the countryside, the first thing we mean is land, second the farming implements, draft animals, houses, and so on.¹⁰³ Grain is what the peasants produce as a means of living by utilizing the material of production. It is reasonable for us to put the grain confiscated from the landlords and other confiscated things together and put them under the category of the material of production, because this type of grain contains the character of capital funds. By the relations of production, we mean the relationships of ownership which people have [with each other] with regard to the material of production, or in other words, the relations of the ownership of property.

99. This refers to the draft of the report which Liu eventually made to the Second Session of the First National Conference of the CPPCC on the question of land reform.

100. Mao added a very long paragraph to Liu’s draft here.

101. See *Present Situation and Our Tasks, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume IV.

102. Here Mao used the terms *shengchan ziliao* and *shengchan shouduan*; the former is translated in this document as “material of production” and the latter as “means of production” in order to preserve Mao’s distinction here. It is an exception rather than the rule, since it is a general practice to render *shengchan ziliao* as “means of production,” and elsewhere in this collection we, as a rule, followed this custom.

103. Here the term “houses” refers to buildings that are used as means of production, while residential buildings were considered by Mao to be part of the means of living (*shenghua ziliao*). In the first chapter of the *Stipulations of the Central Committee of the CPC on the Distinction of Social Classes in the Land Reform and on Their Various Treatments* Mao had pointed out: “In order to live people must produce the means of living, such as grain, clothing, houses, fuel and implements. In order to produce the means of living, people must have the means of production, such as land, raw material, draft animals, implements and a workplace.”

The utilization of the material of production—e.g. the utilization (renting) of the land of the landlords by the peasants—is nothing but the result of the relationship of ownership that the landlords have with regard to the land. This type of ownership relationship is expressed as the relationship of subjugation that the tenant peasant has with regard to the landlord (i.e., an interhuman relationship), and this is [what we mean by] the relations of production. In the past many comrades have committed errors on this matter of casting their thinking in a dualistic, or even a pluralistic, mode and considering the relations of production in parallel with the relations of utilization and at the same time considering the material [or means] of production in parallel with the means of living. In using this [frame of mind] as the standard for drawing class distinctions they have made the question very confusing and made mistakes in classifying the class backgrounds of many people. In the winter of 1947 I asked Qiaomu to write an article entitled “Stipulations on the Various Social Classes and Their Treatment in China.”¹⁰⁴ The first two chapters of that article were written by me, and it clarified this problem. You may consult it.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, pp.376-378.

Letter to Chen Mingshu

June 12, 1950

Mr. Zhenru:¹⁰⁵

I have availed myself of the opportunity to briefly read your great work,¹⁰⁶ but since I have not studied it in great detail, I would not dare to propose any opinions of my own. I only think that certain viewpoints therein can and need to be further thought out and discussed. When I have time I shall take up the

104. This document's full title is *Zhonggong Zhongyang Guanyu Tudi Gaige Zhong Ge Shehui Jieji de Huafen Ji Qi Daiyu de Guiding* (Stipulations of the Central Committee of the CPC on the Distinction of Social Classes in the Land Reform and on Their Various Treatments).

105. Zhenru is the honorific name of Chen Mingshu [1889-1965]. At the time of this letter he was a member of the Central People's Governing Council and a member of the Standing Committee of the CC of the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT.

106. This refers to a book that Chen wrote on the teachings of Buddha.

discussion with you. I have held it for some time and apologize for being too tardy in responding.

I respectfully convey my regards and best wishes for your health and well-being.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 380.

Reply to Ambassador of the Republic of Poland

June 12, 1950

Mr. Ambassador:

It is with great pleasure that I accept the letter of credence which has been conferred on you by the President of the Republic of Poland and which has been presented to me by Your Excellency, and I am grateful for Your Excellency's warm congratulations and good wishes.

A profound friendship has existed between the peoples of China and Poland for a long time. In the great world war against Fascism, we watched with unbounded sympathy and concern the resolute and heroic struggle of the Polish people. We furthermore bear the greatest admiration for the Polish people for their brilliant successes in the rebuilding of their homeland today.

At present, the government and people of both countries, China and Poland, are all continuing their efforts and struggles toward their common goal of attaining world peace. I am convinced that the increasingly close cooperation between China and Poland in the political, economic, and cultural areas will not only be beneficial to the peoples of the two countries, but furthermore will strengthen and consolidate the camp for world democracy and peace.

I warmly welcome Your Excellency as the first ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Poland to the People's Republic of China and pledge my assistance to Your Excellency in your work of consolidating the friendship between our two countries.

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

Source: *People's Daily*, June 13, 1950.

Reply to Ambassador of the Kingdom of Sweden

June 12, 1950

Mr. Ambassador:

It gives me great pleasure to accept from Your Excellency the letter of credence conferred on Your Excellency by the King of Sweden, and I am grateful for Your Excellency's congratulations and good wishes.

A long friendship has existed between the peoples of China and Sweden. In their efforts in defense of world peace, the peoples of our two countries have a common wish. The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Sweden now will not only cause the friendship that already exists between our two peoples to become more consolidated with each passing day, but will also facilitate [the growth of] a lasting peace throughout the world.

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

My sincere best wishes for the prosperity of your country, the prosperity of your people, and the good health of your head of state.

Source: *People's Daily*, June 13, 1950.

Opening Speech at the Second Meeting of the National Committee of the CPPCC

June 14, 1950

Fellow committee members, comrades, and friends:

The Second Meeting of the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference is now in session. At this meeting there will be reports on the work of the National Committee, on land reform work, on economic and fiscal work, on taxation work, on diplomatic and United Front work, on cultural and educational work, on military work, and on the work

of the courts. We hope that these matters will be discussed. Of these [various issues], the central issue for this meeting is the problem of land reform. We hope that a land reform bill will be adopted at this meeting and that it might be implemented after being ratified by the Central People's Government. The first thing this would do would be to enable the more than 100,000 cadres who are in the midst of preparing to carry out land reform to get an early start in studying this bill, so that after this autumn the work of reforming the land [tenure] system may be carried out smoothly throughout an area with an agricultural population of about 100 million. Naturally, all the other reports are also important. Any opinions that one may have may be voiced, and any proposal may be submitted for examination and discussion. So long as they are practicable, they ought to be adopted. We have the great and correct Common Program as our standard for reviewing our work and discussing problems. The Common Program must be fully implemented, as it is presently the organic law of our country. I am convinced that through the efforts of all our comrades our meeting will be able to accomplish its tasks smoothly. At the present moment, under the leadership of the Central People's Government, the people of the entire country are in the midst of undertaking immense tasks, struggling to overcome difficulties and to strive for a turn for the better in the economic situation. All of the people's enterprises in our country are now developing in a forward direction along new paths, and with each new day we can see progress and success. No difficulty of any sort can hinder the advance of the people's cause. The People's Political Consultative Conference and the National Committee it has elected are great political organizations of the United Front that unite all nationalities, all democratic classes, *all* democratic parties, all people's organizations, and democratic personages from all walks of life throughout the country. They enjoy very high prestige among the people of the country. We must consolidate this type of unity, consolidate our United Front, and lead the people of the entire country in steadily attaining their own goals.

Source: *People's Daily*, June 15, 1950.

Letter to Ma Xulun

June 19, 1950

Minister Ma:¹⁰⁷

107. Ma Xulun [1884-1970] was minister of education from October 1949 to November

Your other item of correspondence is returned. This matter should be resolved as quickly as possible. Ask all schools to pay attention to health first and studies second. Where nutrition is not sufficient, operational funds should be increased. The amount of time for studying and holding meetings should be greatly reduced. People who are ill should be given special treatment. Schools throughout the country ought to be like this across the board. The conference on higher education has already been held; it would be appropriate to hold a conference each on the two [other levels:] secondary [education] and primary [education]. Please give consideration to the above and take action accordingly.

In salute,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p.381.

Reply to Minister of the Kingdom of Denmark

June 24, 1950

Mr. Minister:

It gives me great pleasure to accept the letter of credence from His Majesty the King of Denmark presented by Your Excellency, and I am grateful for Your Excellency's congratulations and good wishes.

Friendship exists between the peoples of our two countries, China and Denmark. Moreover, in our efforts in the development of an economic relationship and in the defense of world peace, I believe that the peoples of our two countries also share common wishes. The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Denmark today will undoubtedly further consolidate the

1952. He was a philologist and a prolific scholar. Before 1911, he was an editor and publisher of many significant journals and taught at various middle and post-secondary schools. In the early years of the Republic of China he was head of the Ministry of Education and later chancellor of Beijing University. During the 1930s he held positions in the Zhejiang provincial government and taught at Beijing University. In the early 1940s he together with Xu Guangping, Wang Juechen, et al., formed the Zhongguo Minzhu Cujin Hui (Association for the Promotion of Democracy). In 1948 he accepted the CPC's invitation to take part in the preparations for the formation of the new CPPCC. From 1949 on, he was active in the CPPCC and in the work of uniting the 'democratic parties' with the CPC. He held positions in the Association for the Promotion of Democracy (of which he became chairman in March 1953) and in the *Zhongguo Minzhu Tongmeng* (Democratic League).

friendship which already exists between the peoples of the two countries. I further hope that it will facilitate [the growth of] a lasting peace in the world.

I warmly welcome Your Excellency in your appointment as the first minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Denmark to the People's Republic of China and pledge my assistance to Your Excellency in your work of strengthening the friendly relations between our two countries.

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

Source: *People's Daily*, June 25, 1950.

Reply to Head of Diplomatic Mission of the German Democratic Republic

June 24, 1950

Your Excellency:

I accept with great pleasure the letter of credence from the President of the Democratic Republic of Germany which Your Excellency has presented and am grateful to Your Excellency for your warm congratulations and good wishes.

Ever since the great Soviet army crushed Hitler's reactionary state organization, the Chinese people have watched with happiness the development of the democratic movement of the German people. Since the establishment of the New Germany—the Democratic Republic of Germany—under the leadership of the president of your country, Mr. Wilhelm Pieck, which has become the turning point of the history of Germany and of Europe, the Chinese people's happiness has multiplied. We feel that we have gained a very good and strong friend. It was at just this point that the People's Republic of China was founded and the Chinese People's Revolution won its victory throughout the entire country. Diplomatic relations were then rapidly established between our country and yours. There is no doubt that the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries will not only cause the friendship between our two peoples to develop and become more consolidated with each passing day, but it will also provide a strong guarantee for a lasting peace in the world.

I warmly welcome Your Excellency as the head of the diplomatic mission,

with the rank of ambassador, of the Democratic Republic of Germany to the People's Republic of China, and pledge my assistance to Your Excellency in your work of strengthening the cooperation between our two nations.

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

Source: *People's Daily*, June 25, 1950.

Speech at Eighth Session of the CPGC

June 28, 1950

The Chinese people declared long ago that the affairs of all countries in the world should be managed by these countries themselves, and that the affairs of Asia should be managed by the peoples of Asia themselves, not by the United States of America. American aggression against Asia can only arouse widespread and resolute resistance by the peoples of Asia. It was only on January 5 of this year that Truman announced that the United States would not intervene in Taiwan. Now he himself has proved that [statement] to be a [pack of lies], and moreover, he has torn to shreds all international agreements regarding the nonintervention of the United States in the internal affairs of China. This exposure by the United States of its own imperialist face is advantageous to the people of China and the peoples of Asia. There is absolutely no grounds for the United States' intervention in the internal affairs of countries such as Korea, the Philippines, and Vietnam. The sympathy of the entire Chinese people and of the broad masses of the people throughout the world will be on the side of the victims of aggression and certainly not on the side of American imperialism. They will neither be enticed by the imperialists' bribes nor cowed by their threats. Imperialism is outwardly strong but inwardly feeble because it does not have the support of the people. Our people, and people all over the world, unite and be fully prepared to crush any provocation by the American imperialists!

Source *People's Daily*, June 29, 1950.

Reply to Ambassador of the People's Republic of Mongolia

July 3, 1950

Mr. Ambassador:

I accept with great pleasure the letter of credence from the Presidium of the Lesser Hural of the People's Republic of Mongolia which Your Excellency has presented and am grateful to Your Excellency for your warm congratulations and good wishes.

An intimate relationship had originally existed between the peoples of China and Mongolia. [However,] in the last few decades, owing to the seeds of discord sown among us by the imperialists and the reactionary government in China, communications between us were severed. The Mongolian people, under the influence of the October Revolution, not only had already freed themselves early of the reactionary government of China and established a true People's Democracy, but also are advancing along the road of development in economic and cultural construction. The Chinese people wholeheartedly celebrate and salute this success on the part of the Mongolian people. Now, the Chinese people's revolution has achieved a fundamental victory, and diplomatic relations between China and Mongolia have been established. I am convinced that this will not only bring about the further development and consolidation of the friendship between the peoples of our two countries, but will also facilitate [the growth of] a lasting peace in Asia and the world.

I warmly welcome Your Excellency as the first Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Mongolia to the People's Republic of China and pledge to Your Excellency my assistance in your work of strengthening the cooperation between our two nations.

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

Source: *Guangming Daily*, July 4, 1950.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Mongolia

July 7, 1950

Chairman Bumatsende,
Your Excellency:

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, I sincerely express our sentiments of congratulations and good wishes to Your Excellency and to the Mongolian people on this happy occasion of the commemoration and celebration of the twenty-ninth anniversary of the founding of your country.¹⁰⁸ We are deeply convinced that the Mongolian people will achieve even greater success in the areas of economic and cultural construction.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, July 11, 1950.

Telegram to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

July 18, 1950

Comrade [Wilhelm] Pieck and all comrades of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany:

We are extremely honored to receive your invitation to send delegates from our Party to attend the national congress of your Party to be held from July 20 to July 23. We have now appointed Comrade Wang Jiaxiang, member of the Central Committee of our Party, to go to Berlin to attend your congress as the representative of the Communist Party of China and to convey our congratulations and good wishes.

We hereby send from afar our best wishes for the successful convening of

108. In their struggle for liberation in 1921-24, the Mongolian people, under the leadership of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, drove out the Russian White guard bandit troops and the armed forces of the Northern warlords of China, both of which were backed by Japanese imperialism, overthrew Mongolian feudal rule and founded the Mongolian People's Republic.

the national congress of the Socialist Unity Party of the great German Democratic Republic, for an early end to the phenomenon of the forced division of the whole of Germany by the imperialists, for the early establishment of an integrated, unified, and democratic Germany, and for an early liberation of the entire German nation under the correct leadership of the Socialist Unity Party and the Communist Party of Germany.

Long live the great Socialist Unity Party and the Communist Party of Germany!

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, July 19, 1950.

Letter to Wu Qirui

July 19, 1950

Madam Qirui:¹⁰⁹

I have received your letter of May. I am very concerned about your difficulties. With regard to your request that your three children be allowed to enter the school for cadres' children of southern Jiangsu in order that your difficulties may be somewhat alleviated, please bring this letter with you and discuss the matter with comrades in positions of responsibility in the appropriate local organs, and see if it can be done. It is up to you to decide which person to approach for this discussion. If necessary, you can look up Comrade Chen Pixian, secretary of the Sunan (south Jiangsu) District Party Committee. I completely approve of this being done; it is just that I do not know if it would be possible for that school for cadres' children to accept more children. You are a mother of eight children, so I hope that you will take very good care of yourself. Please also convey my best regards to your children.

In response, and with my best regards for your work in teaching.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 382.

109. Wu Qirui is a native of Wuxi, Jiangsu Province. She is the daughter-in-law of Wang Lian, Mao's mathematics teacher at the First Normal School of Hunan. Wu was teaching at the primary school affiliated with the Normal School of Wuxi.

Telegram to the Republic of Poland

July 21, 1950

President [Boleslaw] Bierut
Your Excellency:

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, I sincerely extend to you and the people of Poland our congratulations and good wishes on this happy occasion of the celebration of the sixth anniversary of the founding of your country. Our best wishes for the daily growth of the Republic of Poland in prosperity and strength under Your Excellency's leadership.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, July 22, 1950.

Telegram to the Transvaal Indian Congress

July 26, 1950

Chairman,
The Transvaal Indian Congress,
The Union of South Africa
Dr. Yusuf Dadoo:

Your telegram of June 18 has been received.

On behalf of the people of China, I support you completely in your just protest against the so-called "Group Areas Bill" of the government of the Union of South Africa, which discriminates against the Chinese, against the Indians, and against other Asian peoples.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, July 17, 1950.

Reply to Ambassador of the Union of Burma

August 7, 1950

Mr. Ambassador:

I am very pleased to accept the letter of credence from the President of the Union of Burma presented by Your Excellency and am grateful to Your Excellency for your felicitations and good wishes.

The two countries, China and Burma, share a common boundary, and not only is there a close relationship between them historically and culturally, but there is also a deep fraternal friendship between the peoples of the two countries. In recent centuries, the people of both China and Burma have undertaken protracted and courageous struggles for the independence and liberty of their respective nations. Therefore, the sympathy and [mutual] understanding that exist between our peoples are also very profound. The newly established diplomatic relations between China and Burma will now undoubtedly further enhance the friendship that already exists between the peoples of the two countries. I also believe that it will facilitate the growth of a lasting peace in Asia and in the world.

I warmly welcome Your Excellency as the first Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary from the Union of Burma to the People's Republic of China and pledge my assistance to Your Excellency in your work of strengthening the cooperation between the two countries.

We sincerely hope for the prosperity of your country, the prospering of your people, and the good health of your head of state.

Source: *People's Daily*, August 8, 1950.

Letter to Su Yu

August 8, 1950

Comrade Su Yu:¹¹⁰

110. Su Yu was at the time of this letter Vice-Chairman of the East China Military Region and Mayor of Nanjing Municipality.

Your letter brought to me by Comrade Luo Ruiqing¹¹¹ has been received. I am very much concerned about the fact that your illness is still grave. Your new post is not a very urgent one; you may devote yourself, without worrying about it, to convalescing until your health is completely restored. As for the place for resting and convalescence, if Qingdao appears to be appropriate you should stay in Qingdao; if not, then come to Beijing. Please see which you like better.

My best regards,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 384.

Telegram to the People's Government of Qinghai on the Death of Vice-Chairman Ma Po

August 11, 1950

The People's Government of Qinghai Province and, through it, the family of the late Vice-Chairman Ma Po:

I am deeply grieved at the passing away of Vice-Chairman Ma Po and send this telegram expressly to convey my condolences.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, August 13, 1950.

Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

August 14, 1950

Chairman Kim Du Bong, The Standing Committee, The Supreme People's Assembly, The Democratic People's Republic of Korea Your Excellency:

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, I sincerely extend to Your Excellency and the

¹¹¹. Luo (1906-1978) was at the time of this letter, Minister of Public Security of the Central People's Government.

Korean people our felicitations on this happy occasion of the fifth anniversary of the liberation of Korea. The Chinese people warmly support the Korean people's just war against United States imperialist aggression and for the independence of their nation and the unity of their country. I am deeply convinced that the Korean people will certainly triumph in the end.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, August 15, 1950.

Telegram to the Republic of Indonesia

August 16, 1950

President Achmed Sukarno,
The Republic of the United States of Indonesia,
Your Excellency:

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, I sincerely extend our felicitations to Your Excellency and the people of Indonesia on this happy occasion of the anniversary of the founding of your country. We hope that the friendship between the peoples of Indonesia and China will grow with each passing day.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, August 17, 1950.

Letter to Xu Haidong

August 20, 1950

Comrade Haidong:¹¹²

112. Xu Haidong (1900-1979) was the commander of the Twenty-fifth Army, and Fifteenth Army Group of the Red Army and commander of the Fourth Branch Regiment of the New Fourth Army and a Deputy commander in the Jiangbei (North of the Yangtze) Command of that Army. He was suffering from a chronic illness and was at the time of this letter convalescing in Dalian.

I have received your letter of July 17. I am greatly comforted to understand that your health is mending. We are all very much concerned about you and hope that you will cast away all worries to devote yourself in quietude to your convalescence and recovery, so that your health may be totally restored.

In response, and my best wishes for your happiness!

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 385.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Romania

August 21, 1950

President Constantin Parhon,
The Presidium of the Grand National Assembly,
The People's Republic of Romania Your Excellency:

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, I sincerely extend to Your Excellency and the Romanian people our felicitations and best wishes on this occasion of the sixth anniversary of the liberation of Romania. I deeply believe that the Romanian people will achieve even greater success in their economic and cultural construction.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED, IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, August 23, 1950.

Speech at Banquet Commemorating the Liberation of Romania (Excerpt)¹¹³

August 23, 1950

Six years ago, we too were under the oppression of Fascist bandits. Now, facts have proven that the force of the people is irresistible.

Source: *People's Daily*, January 17, 1951.

113. This is an excerpt of a speech that Mao made at a banquet celebrating the sixth anniversary of the liberation of Romania which was held by the Romanian Embassy in Beijing on August 23, 1950.

Letter to Xu Beihong

August 26, 1950

Mr. Beihong:¹¹⁴

Mr. XXX wrote me a letter claiming that he is a professor at the Art Institute and that life is very difficult for him. It seems he wishes me to help him. Please give the matter some thought and inform me as to what this person's condition is and how his situation should be handled. I also send you my best wishes for your work in teaching!

Enclosed is the letter from XXX.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Meishu Fenglei (Wind and Thunder in Fine Arts), August 1967, Red Guard Publication.*

Letter to Chen Jisheng

August 29, 1950

Mr. Jisheng:¹¹⁵

I have received and read your book and am greatly satisfied. The scholarship which you have undertaken is on a subject that I myself have not studied, so I cannot make any comments. The only thing is that I feel that unless one studies [history, in this case] Chinese history, with the methods of Marxism, one would be wasting one's energy in vain and will not achieve good results.

This is something I hope you will attend to.

In response, and with my respects,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters, p. 366.*

114. Also see *Letter to Xu Beihong*, p. 29 of this volume.

115. Chen Jisheng was a middle school teacher who had been studying the history of minority nationalities in China.

Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

August 29, 1950

President Ho Chi Minh,
The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam Your Excellency:

On this happy occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Independence of Vietnam, on behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, I sincerely extend to Your Excellency and to the people of Vietnam our warmest congratulations. May the Vietnamese people win complete victory in their struggle for national liberation against imperialism and may they secure even greater successes in their cause of building an independent and democratic Vietnam.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED, IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, September 9, 1950.

Inscription for the First National Conference on Health Care

August 1950

Unite the personnel in all areas of the work of medical and health care—with new medicine, traditional medicine, Chinese medicine, Western medicine—to forge a consolidated united front and strive to launch the great [campaign for the] work of the health care of the people!

Source: *Guangming Daily*, February 12, 1961.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Bulgaria

September 6, 1950

President Georgi Damyanov,
The Presidium of the National Assembly,

The People's Republic of Bulgaria
Your Excellency:

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, I sincerely extend to Your Excellency and the Bulgarian people our warmest felicitations on this happy occasion of the sixth anniversary of the liberation of Bulgaria, and our wishes that the Bulgarian people will secure even greater successes in their great cause of building their homeland.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, September 9, 1950.

Letter to Chen Yu

September 11, 1950

Comrade Chen Yu:¹¹⁶

I have received the letter sent to me by the entire staff and workers of the Shijiazhuang¹¹⁷ Bureau of Electric Works and the letter of signatures sent to me from the entire staff and workers of the Third Generator Plant of the Tianjin Bureau of Electric Works—both of which were transmitted [to me through you]. Please convey to the staff and workers of both electric works my gratitude for their good wishes. I hope that they will unite as one and work industriously in order to strive to accomplish the tasks assigned them by the state and to better their own livelihoods.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 387.

116. Chen Yu (1909-1974) was Minister of Fuels Industry of the Central People's Government at the time.

117. Shijiazhuang is the capital city of Hebei Province.

Telegram to the South African Indian Congress¹¹⁸

September 13, 1950

Durban,
The Union of South Africa,
Joint Secretaries of the Conference of the South African Indian Congress
Messrs. A. I. Meer and J. N. Singh:

On behalf of the Chinese people, I completely support your stand on opposing the discrimination against and oppression of the nonwhite population (including Indians and other Asian nationalities) in South Africa by the government of the Union of South Africa. Best wishes for the success of your conference.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, September 15, 1950.

Letter to Zhang Wei

September 19, 1950

Dear Zhang Wei:¹¹⁹

I have received and read your letter and I am greatly comforted. I am sorry not to have anything by way of a gift for your mother's eightieth birthday: I have only written a few words to express my felicitations.¹²⁰

118. The South African Indian Congress held a special conference on September 15-17, 1950, in Johannesburg to discuss the intensified discriminatory attacks on non-white populations in the Union of South Africa. The joint secretaries of the congress sent a letter to comrade Mao on August 17, appealing for moral support from the People's Republic of China.

119. Zhang (1898-1975) was a native of Liuyang, Hunan, who had a fairly close friendship with Mao in the early years. From September 1949 on, Zhang taught at the Second Army Surgeons' University in Shanghai. Mao used here, the salutation *xiong* (elder brother).

120. Mao wrote an eight-character inscription, *Ru ri zhi sheng, ru yue zhi heng* (Rising with the Splendor of the Sun, Constant as the Glory of the Moon) for Zhang's mother's

Best wishes for your health!

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters, p.388.*

Telegram to the Communist Party of Great Britain

September 24, 1950

Dear Comrade Pollitt and all comrades of the Communist Party of Great Britain:

The Communist Party of China warmly congratulates the Communist Party of Britain on the thirtieth anniversary of its founding. The staunch and unflagging struggle of the Communist Party of Britain against capitalism and imperialism for the past thirty years has demonstrated that the Communist Party of Britain is the only hope of the British working class for attaining freedom and peace. To the members of the Communist Party of Britain and to all who are fighting for social justice and international peace in Britain, our best wishes for attaining final victory.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPC)

Source: *People's Daily, September 24, 1950.*

Inscription for the National Conference of Representatives of Combat Heroes

September 25, 1950

Combat Heroes:

You are the models of the People's Liberation Army. We hope that you will continue to exert effort to advance even further and strive for the building of a strong national defense force.

(SIGNED)

birthday.

Source: *People's Daily*, September 27, 1950.

Comments on Suppressing and Liquidating Counterrevolutionaries

September 27, 1950

[The policy of] not executing a single [secret agent] and not arresting the majority of them is a policy to which we must adhere in the current struggle against secret agents. If not a single secret agent is to be executed, they will dare to make a clean breast of things; by not arresting the majority among them, only a small number [of cases] will have to be handled by the security organs, while the majority can be handled by the various [government offices] and schools themselves. We must make the Party committees in all the localities adhere to this policy.

Party leadership should be particularly stressed in security work, which in practice should be put under the direct leadership of the Party committee; otherwise there would be danger.

Source: *Mao Zedong Sixiang Wansui (Long Live Mao Zedong Thought)*, *Red Guard Publication*, 1969.

Reply to Ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

September 30, 1950

Mr. Ambassador:

I am very pleased to accept the letter of credence from the Presidium of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria presented by Your Excellency, and I am grateful to Your Excellency for your warm felicitations and good wishes.

There exists a profound friendship between the people of the two countries, China and Bulgaria. The deeds of the Bulgarian people, under the leadership of their great leader, Dimitrov, in their heroic struggle against domestic and foreign reactionaries, and their current achievements in economic and cultural construction, have always been regarded with deep concern and admiration by

the Chinese people. Now, the Chinese people's revolution has been basically won, and diplomatic relations between China and Bulgaria have been established. I believe that this will not only further promote and consolidate the friendship between the peoples of our two countries, but will also strengthen the might of the camp for world peace and democracy.

I warmly welcome Your Excellency as the first ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the People's Republic of China and pledge to assist Your Excellency to the best of my ability in your work.

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

Source: *People's Daily*, October 2, 1950.

Telegram to the German Democratic Republic

October 4, 1950

President Wilhelm Pieck,
The German Democratic Republic
Your Excellency:

On this happy occasion of the first anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic, on behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, I sincerely extend to Your Excellency and the people of Germany our felicitations and our best wishes to the German people for new successes in their struggle to build a united, democratic, and peace-loving Germany.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, October 17, 1950.

Inscription on the Unity of the Chinese and Soviet Peoples¹²¹

October 5, 1950

The Unity of the Chinese and Soviet peoples is of the greatest significance. When these two people are united as one, it will not be difficult for the peoples of the world to be united.

Source: *People's Daily*, October 5, 1950.

Inscription for Display of the PLA

October 8, 1950

Victory belongs to the People!

Source: *Dagong Bao (Shanghai)* October 10, 1950.

Letter to Wang Shoudao¹²²

October 11, 1950

Comrade Shoudao:

The two old gentlemen, Mr. Zhang Cilun and Mr. Luo Yuankun, veteran members of the educational circle of Hunan, are both now in their seventies. They have been teachers their entire lives and have done nothing bad. When I studied at the First Normal [School] of Hunan, Zhang was the principal and Luo the history teacher. Now I hear that these two gentlemen have very large families to feed and are in dire straits. I hope to propose that the provincial

121. This inscription was released on October 5, 1950 as a part of a message from the Chinese leadership, to the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, congratulating it on the first anniversary of its founding.

122. See *Letter to Wang Shoudao* (October 9, 1949) p. 7 of this volume. See also *Letter to Luo Yuankan* (October 22, 1952) p. 186 of this volume for an explanation of people and events mentioned by comrade Mao here

government of Hunan consider giving each of them, each month, a certain amount of grain subsidy in order to help them out, in their old age. Also, according to the letter Mr. Luo Yuankun has sent me, Mr. Yuan Zhongqian, my former teacher in Chinese language, has died and his wife, seventy years old, is starving. I hope that the provincial authorities will also consider giving her some appropriate relief. On this matter concerning these three people, Zhang, Luo and Dai, please let me know after you have decided how things should be handled, and please send someone to convey our regards to Mr. Zhang and Mr. Luo. Their address is Miaogaofeng Middle School. Dai, on the other hand, lives in Xinhua; [as for the exact address] you may ask Mr. Luo.

With my respect,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 389.

Telegram to the Republic of Czechoslovakia

October 26, 1950

President Klement Gottwald,
The Republic of Czechoslovakia
Your Excellency:

On this happy occasion of the thirty-second anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, on behalf of the Government and people of the People's Republic of China, I sincerely extend to Your Excellency and the people of Czechoslovakia our felicitations and our best wishes to the Czechoslovakian people that in the great cause of building their homeland and advancing toward socialism, they will achieve greater successes with each passing day.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, October 28, 1950.

Telegram to Prince Gustaf Adolf of Sweden on the Death of King Gustaf V

October 31, 1950

Prince Gustaf Adolf,
Kingdom of Sweden
Your Highness:

I am informed of the untimely passing away of His Majesty King Gustaf V of the Kingdom of Sweden. I hereby extend to you my deep condolences.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF THE CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 2, 1950.

Telegram to the USSR

November 5, 1950

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Generalissimo Stalin:

On this happy occasion of the thirty-third anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, on behalf of the government and the people of the People's Republic of China, I extend to Your Excellency and the great people of the Soviet Union our warmest congratulations. We wish the Soviet Union daily progress in its cause of socialist construction. May there be close and intimate unity between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union in their struggle to defend lasting peace in the world.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 7, 1950.

Telegram to Harry Pollitt

November 20, 1950

Comrade Pollitt and comrades of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain:

Please accept our warm felicitations on the sixtieth birthday of Comrade Pollitt, the long-tested leader of the British revolutionary workers' movement. We wish comrade Pollitt good health.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPC AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 25, 1950.

Letter to Hu Qiaomu

November 22, 1950

Comrade Qiaomu:

Please draft a directive in the name of the Central Committee to amend our shortcomings in the practice of sending telegram messages. For example: we should no longer use such words as *zi*, *chou*, *ren*, *mou*, *dong*, *dong*, *jiang*, *ji*, *etc.*, in lieu of the month and date. Instead, we should write down the complete month and date¹²³ [of the telegram], as, for instance, November 22. In general, for the signature we should use our full names, and not write the last [family] name and not the first [personal] name. In only those cases where the

123. *Zi*, *chou*, *ren* and *mou* are the first 4 of the 12 *di ji* (or earth branches) in the duodecimal cycle. This cycle is combined in permutation with the decimal cycle known as the *tiangan* (Heavenly Cardinals) cycle to make up the sexagenary cycle which is used in traditional China to designate the years and other elements of time. This sexagenary cycle is also known as the *jiazi* system (taking the first of each cycle) and the *ganji* system. The decimal system is also used for designating common serial things such as grades, while the duodecimal cycle is commonly used to designate hour periods in the day. *Dong*, *dong*, *jiang*, *ji* are the first four of the rhyme keys (*yun mu*) in the ping segment of the conventional rhyming patterns for Chinese traditional poetry. In the past, when the Chinese sent telegrams, they would conventionally use the duodecimal cycle's items in sequence to indicate the twelve months, and the rhyme keys to represent the dates within each month.

receiver of the message is entirely aware of the person [who sent the message] would it be permissible to use the last name without the first, such as “Liu-Deng,” “Chen-Rao,” etc.¹²⁴ For locales and the titles of the offices or organs [from which the telegrams are sent], they should in general be written out completely, and only in extremely rare cases would it be permissible to use such [traditional] provincial designations as *Jing, Jin, Hu, Han*.¹²⁵ Also, in terms of syntax we must learn to be grammatical and must ban the practice of omitting the subject, or the predicate, or other indispensable nouns, and where we use adjectives and adverbs we should be able to distinguish between their usage and character. Please take the lead in this matter and write up a preliminary draft and then invite Yang Shangkun, Li Dao, Qi Yanming, Xue Muqiao,¹²⁶ and other comrades whom you believe to be necessary to be invited [to join in this endeavor], hold one or two meetings with them and revise [the draft] and give it more substance, then send it to me for my perusal.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, pp. 390-391.

124. According to the source, Liu-Deng stands for Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping, and Chen-Rao for Chen Yi and Rao Shushi.

125. Jing stands for Beijing, Jin for Tianjin; Hu is the common name for Shanghai, and Han refers to Hankou.

126. Yang Shangkun was at this time the director of the General office of the Central Committee of the CPC.

Li Dao (1905-1970) was, according to the source, a deputy director of the Combat Operations Department of the Military Council at the time of the writing of this letter. Li was a veteran of the Red Army since the late 1920s and served as a political officer in Peng Dehuai's Third Army Corps and then the First Front Army under Peng and Zhu De. During the War of Resistance, Li was in Yanan and worked in the Third Office of the Central Intelligence Department, then as Chief of the Second Bureau of the Army General Staff. Later he directed the Operations Department of the Army. Shortly after the war, Li joined Lin Biao's staff in the Northeast Democratic Allied Army. In the period after Liberation he was a spokesperson for the PLA headquarters and served in various positions on the People's Revolutionary Military Council.

According to the source, Qi Yanming (1907-1978) was at the time of this letter the director of the Staff office of the CPGC. A teacher by vocation, Qi joined the CPC sometime in the early 1930s and was active in the student movement. During the time of the War of Resistance he was in Yanan, still in the capacity of a teacher.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Albania

November 26, 1950

Chairman,
The Presidium,
The People's Assembly,
The People's Republic of Albania,
Mr. Omer Nishani:

On this happy occasion of the sixth anniversary of Albania, on behalf of the government and the people of the People's Republic of China. I sincerely extend to Your Excellency and the Albanian people our felicitations and our wishes that the people of Albania will achieve ever greater successes in their economic and cultural construction with each passing day.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 29, 1950.

In 1949 he participated actively in the preparation of the establishment of the new government and worked with many organizations and conferences of people in the cultural, scientific, and educational circles. He became a member of the preparatory committee of the CPPCC and served later as one of the deputy secretaries-general of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of that body. At the same time that he was head of the Staff Office of the CPGC, he also served as a deputy secretary-general of the Government Administration Council, which was a cabinet-like organization under the CPGC serving as the day-to-day administrative organ for state affairs (and which was later replaced by the State Council). Qi was also a top-ranking leader in the United Front Work Department of the Central Committee of the CPC under Li Wei-han. Xue Muqiao (b. 1904) was an economist for the CPC in the early years of the PRC. Xue began his career in the mid-1930s lecturing on the economic problems of China's revolutionary transformation at Kangda in Yanan. Soon after the War of Liberation he took up a position of great responsibility in organizing the circles of economists and financial planners to prepare for setting up fiscal planning and economic policy organs of the new government. At the time of the writing of this letter, Xue was secretary-general of the Finance and Economics Committee under the Government Administration Council (with Chen Yun as the chairman of the committee). Xue held this post from October 1949 to August 1952. During the 1950s, Xue's great contribution was to plan and promote the establishment of a vast network for the gathering, reporting, and studying of economic and demographic statistics throughout China. Xue is also a very productive writer of textbooks on China's new economics and the chief CPC Party spokesperson for its economic policies.

Comment on Hearing of Mao Anying's Death¹²⁷

November 1950

“In war there must be sacrifice. Without sacrifices there will be no victory. To sacrifice my son or other people's sons are just the same. There are no parents in the world who do not treasure their children. But please do not feel sad on my behalf, because this is something entirely unpredictable.”¹²⁸

We understand the hows and whys of these things. There are so many common folk whose children have shed their blood and were sacrificed for the sake of the revolution. They are in need of consolation, and we ought to pay more attention to showing them greater concern.¹²⁹

Letter to Huang Niantian

December 2, 1950

Mr. Niantian:¹³⁰

Your gracious letter and the poetry of Mr. Huang Jiang¹³¹ as well as your own writings have been received, and I am very grateful to you. I am very gratified by the fact that you have devoted yourself to scholarly improvement and to serving the people in the cause of education. You have my great veneration for that. I hope that you will continue to apply yourself to the task and that with each day's passing improvements will come and results will be achieved. That, indeed, is our fervent hope.

In reply and with my respects,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

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

127. Mao Anying was Mao's son. He laid down his life in the Korean War.

128. Excerpt from *Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Family*, a Red Guard Publication.

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

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

131. Huang Jiang was Huang Niantian's father.

Telegram to Participants of Demonstration in Tianjin

December 2, 1950

To Messrs. Li Zhuchen, Bi Mingqi, and Zhu Jisheng, chairman and deputy chairmen of the Tianjin Municipal Federation of Industry and Commerce, and to our 42,989 patriotic countrymen who took part in the great demonstration, parade, and rally to Resist United States [Aggression] and Aid Korea, Protect the Home and Defend the Homeland, undertaken by the industrial and commercial circles in the municipality of Tianjin:

I have read the telegram that you sent me on November 30. You have clearly recognized the reactionary nature of the aggression that the United States' imperialists have launched against China and Korea. You have not been duped by them; nor have you been cowed by their threats; instead you have taken a determined stand on the patriotic premise of resisting United States [aggression], aiding Korea, protecting your homes, and defending the homeland and have held a righteous demonstration and parade on November 30. This is worthy of our acclaim. The American imperialists have carried out a lot of deceptive propaganda among the Chinese people, and no patriot should believe in these false arguments. The American imperialists have invaded Korea, invaded China's [province] Taiwan, bombarded the north-eastern part of China, and moreover have employed all sorts of hooligan tactics to threaten the Chinese people. All patriots should be resolute in their resistance to the aggression of the American imperialists and should not succumb to their threats. The heroic deeds of the Chinese People's Volunteers to resist United States [Aggression], Aid Korea, Protect the Home, and Defend the Homeland, are worthy of our praise and admiration. It is absolutely correct for all patriotic people among the workers, peasants, intellectuals, industrialists, and business people throughout the nation to unite together and resist the aggression of American imperialism. I hope that all patriotic industrialists and business people in the whole of China will join with broad masses of the people and knit themselves into a united front against imperialist aggression that is even more consolidated than before. This will signify that the Chinese people are bound to achieve final victory in the sacred struggle against imperialist aggression.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, December 3, 1950.

Inscription for the Air Force

December 15, 1950

Create a strong and powerful People's Air Force to wipe out the remnants of the enemy's forces and to consolidate our national defense.

(SIGNED)

Source: *Jinbu Ribao (Progress Daily) Tianjin, December 15, 1950.*

Letter to Chen Shutong

December 18, 1950

Dear Venerated Mr. Shu[tong]:¹³²

I have received and read your letter, and have spoken with Comrades Chen Yun and Bo Yibo¹³³ about the matter, asking them to think about how it can be handled. There are some five million industrial and commercial units in the country, of which approximately three million are in the commercial area. At a time when the economic enterprise (of the nation) as a whole is to be switched from the old tracks to the new track of New Democracy, it is inevitable that large numbers of commercial firms and handicraft industrial units will need to be reorganized or re-channeled into other trades. The government should give good guidance in this matter.

Allow me to pay me respects and wish you good health.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters, p. 393.*

132. Chen Shutong (1876-1966) was a venerated "democratic personage". He was at this time a Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and the head of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce. Comrade Mao here used the term *shu lao* which the term *lao* (old) refers to Chen's venerated status.

133. Chen Yuan was at this time a Vice-Premier of the Government Administrative Council and the director of the Finance and Economics Committee. Bo Yibo was a deputy-director of that committee and Minister of Finance of the People's Republic of China.

Telegram to the Communist Party of France

December 23, 1950

Dear Comrade Duclos and all comrades of the Communist Party of France:

It is with great elation that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China celebrates the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of France.

In its thirty years of hard struggle, the Communist Party of France has proved that it is the most faithful defender of the interests of the working class of France and the entire French people.

The Communist Party of France and the working class of France are at present uniting with the entire French people to oppose resolutely the war plans of the government of the United States of America. This plan is aimed at turning the French people into slaves and sacrificial victims for the monopoly capitalists of the United States.

The Communist Party of China is resolute in its conviction that the struggle of the Communist Party of France is just and that it is bound to be victorious in the end.

Long live the unity of the Chinese and French peoples in their common struggle against the aggression of American imperialism.

Long live the Communist Party of France, which is faithful to the interests of the working class of France and of the international working class, and long live its leader, Comrade Maurice Thorez.

Long live Comrade Stalin, leader of the working class and progressive humanity throughout the world!

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPC)

Source: *People's Daily*, December 27, 1950.

Inscription for the First Normal School of Hunan

December 29, 1950

To be a teacher of the people, one must first be a student of the people.

Source: *People's Daily*, July 15, 1967.

Letter to Zhou Shizhao

December 29, 1950

My Dear Dunyuan:¹³⁴

I have written the words that you have told me to write; I wonder if they are usable?¹³⁵

I have received both the letter you wrote on your departure and the one from Changsha. Thank you very much. I agree with everything you said. These are things that can be done (some of them must be done gradually). [As far as convening] a conference of [people in] normal education, let me speak about it first with Mr. Ma¹³⁶, but I believe that in general it is possible.

I am now in the midst of correcting my fault of sleeping late. I did it for about half a month—working according to the sun's schedule and not that of the moon. Lately, however, I have reverted back to the old way. After the new year I shall try to change it around again. I am also paying more attention to getting some more rest and eating correctly. In any case, as you said, if we take these things to be big things and serious things, and not as small and insignificant things, we stand a chance of correcting them.

I wish you and your colleagues smooth success in your work and happiness for the new year.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

134. See *Letter to Zhou Shizhao* (October 15, 1949), p. 10 of this volume.

135. This refers to the words *Di Yi Shifan* (First Normal School) which Zhou asked Mao to inscribe as a billboard for the First Normal School of Hunan of which Zhou was the principal, and the inscription *Yao zuo renmin de xiansheng xian zuo renmin de xuesheng* (To be a teacher of the people one must first be a student of the people). See preceding document in this collection.

136. This refers to Ma Xulan. See *Letter to Ma Xulan* p. 75 of this volume.

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, pp. 395-396.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Romania

December 29, 1950

The President,
The presidium,
The Grand National Assembly,
The People's Republic of Romania
Mr. Constantin Parhon:

On this happy occasion of the third anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of Romania, on behalf of the government and people of the People's Republic of China. I sincerely extend to Your Excellency and the Romanian people our felicitations and our best wishes that the prosperity of the People's Republic of Romania will increase with the passing of each day.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, January 30, 1950.

1951

Comment on “A Summary of the Relationship Between the Various Departments of the Military and the Soviet Advisors”

January 1, 1951

We must never be arrogant or complacent. We must learn every bit of the advanced experiences of the Soviet Union in order to change our armed forces from their condition of backwardness and construct our armed forces into a most superior modernized military force [in the world], so as to be able to assure ourselves of the ability to defeat, in the future, the invasion of the imperialists' armies.

Source: *Ziliao Xuanbian (Selected Compilation of Materials), Red Guard Publication; January 1967.*

Telegram to the Union of Burma

January 2, 1951

Mr. Sao Shwe Thaik,
President,
Union of Burma:

On this happy occasion of the first anniversary of the founding of your republic, on behalf of the government and people of the People's Republic of China, I sincerely extend to Your Excellency and the people of Burma our felicitations and our best wishes that the friendship between the Chinese and Burmese peoples will increase with the passing of each day.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily, January 4, 1951.*

Telegram to Wilhelm Pieck

January 2, 1951

Dear President Wilhelm Pieck:

On this occasion of your seventy-fifth birthday, I extend to you on my own behalf and on the behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China our highest esteem and warmest felicitations.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC)

Source: *People's Daily*, January 3, 1951.

Letter to Rao Shushi and Chen Pixian

January 10, 1951

Comrades Shushi and Pixian:¹³⁷

Mr. Huang Yanpei¹³⁸ has received many letters from landlords in which they have filed complaints with him. I have sent to him copies of the two directives of the East China Bureau, one issued in December of last year on rectifying the shortcomings in the work of suppressing counterrevolutionaries and the other issued on January 4 on rectifying shortcomings in the work of land reform, and he has gained a better understanding of the situation. Mr. Huang is prepared to go to southern Jiangsu this month to do some inspection and investigation in the various localities. I have bidden him to contact you, and I hope that at the time you will discuss in detail the general overall situation with him.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selection from Mao Zedong's Letters*, pp. 397-398.

137. Rao Shushi (1903-1975) was at the time of this letter, first secretary of the East China Bureau of the CPC. Chen Pixian was at this time secretary of the Southern Jiangsu district committee of the CPC, political commissar of the southern Jiangsu Military Region and member of the East China Military and Administrative Committee.

138. For Huang Yanpei, see *Letter to Huang Yanpei (February 17, 1951)*, p. 116 of this volume.

Letter to Xu Beihong

January 14, 1951

Mr. Beihong:¹³⁹

I have received your letter of January 13 and also the two copies of the book by Mr. Shi Yongmou¹⁴⁰ that you enclosed with the letter. I agree with your idea that we should take care of Mr. Shi. The best thing would be to provide a position for him in the school that you are running. If this is not possible, please bring this letter to the Cultural Commission of the Party Central Committee and work out a solution with them.

In reply to your letter, and with my deep respects.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters, p.399.*

Letter to Li Sian

January 14, 1951

Mr. Sian:¹⁴¹

I have received your two letters and am very gratified and elated to hear from you. I agree that you should come to Beijing. If you wish to enter, with our classmates Jiang Zhuru¹⁴² and others, the University of the Revolution to

139. For more on Xu Beihong, see *Letter to Xu Beihong (November 29, 1949)*, p. 29 of this volume.

140. Shi Yongmou was a secondary school teacher in Tianjin. The book referred to here is the book *Lun Yu Zheng* (Rectifying the Book of the Analects of Confucius) written by Shi.

141. Li Sian was an old acquaintance of comrade Mao's and a member of the *Xinmin Xuehui* (New Peoples' Study Society) that Mao and others formed in the early 1910s. He was a member of the staff at the Hunan Province Historical and Cultural Studies Institute.

142. Jiang was a classmate of comrade Mao, when he studied at the First Normal School of Hunan.

study for a period, you may enroll there. Otherwise some other plans for your work will be made. When you come you should bring this letter with you to contact Director Li Weihan of the United Front Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and discuss with him the problem of your enrollment or employment.

In reply and with my respect,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 400.

Letter to Ma Xulun

January 15, 1951

Mr. Yichu:¹⁴³

The question of student health, which I discussed with you earlier, is profoundly deserving of our attention. I suggest using administrative measures to resolve this problem concretely. I have enclosed herewith a telegram issued by the East China Bureau of the CPC; please read it. The third point deals precisely with this problem; it proposes the policy of putting health first and study second, and I believe that it is correct. Please discuss this with the comrades, the various deputy ministers [of education], and see how it can be carried out.

In salute,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 401.

Letter to Zhang Lan

January 22, 1951

Mr. Biaofang:¹⁴⁴

143. See *Letter to Ma Xulun*, p. 75 of this volume. Yichu is Ma Xulun's honorific name.

144. Biaofang is the honorific name of Zhang Lan (1872-1955). At the time of this letter he was the chairman of the China Democratic League in whose establishment in 1941 he took part (in 1941 the League of Chinese Democratic Parties and Organizations was formed and

I am sending you a copy of a report submitted to me by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, secretary of the Southwest Bureau [of the Central Committee of the CPC]. Please read it (you may have your secretary read it to you), and you may see from it the general situation with the work in the Southwest. Please return it to me when you are done. How are you? I am very concerned about your health.

With my respect,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 402.

Telegram to the Communist Party of Italy

January 22, 1951

Comrade Longo and all comrades on the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy:

On this occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Italy, I sincerely extend to you our warmest congratulations. The Communist Party of Italy has made great achievements in the past struggle against Fascism, in its present struggle against the United States aggression and war plans, and in the struggle for a People's Democratic Italy, and has thereby made itself the nucleus of the Italian working class and of all patriotic people in Italy. We firmly believe that under the correct leadership of Comrade Togliatti and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy you are sure to win the final victory in you just cause.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPC)

Source: *People's Daily*, January 23, 1951.

in 1944 this was reorganized as the China Democratic League). He was also vice-chairman of the CPGC and a deputy-chairman of the Standing Committee of the NPC.

Comment on Suppressing and Liquidating Counterrevolutionaries

January 24, 1951

With regard to secret agents and leaders of secret organizations and sects against whom we have not gathered evidence, in order to avoid making a mistake and thus trapping ourselves in a passive position, we should carry out investigations in order to obtain conclusive evidence, and not arrest people or execute people arbitrarily.

Source: *Mao Zedong Sixiang Wansui (Long Live Mao Zedong Thought), Red Guard Publication, 1969.*

Telegram to the Republic of India

January 24, 1951

Mr. Rajendra Prasad,
President,
The Republic of India:

On behalf of the government and the people of the People's Republic of China, I sincerely extend to Your Excellency and the government and people of India our felicitations on this happy occasion of the anniversary of the founding of your republic, and our best wishes that the friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples will grow with the passing of each day.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily, January, 26, 1951.*

Toast at a Reception Given by Ambassador of India¹⁴⁵

January 26, 1951

The Indian nation is a great nation. The people of India are a very good people. For many thousands of years, the friendship between the two nations of China and India and between the peoples of the two countries has been very good. Today, in celebrating the anniversary of the founding of the Republic of India, we hope that the Chinese and Indian nations will continue to be united and to strive for peace. People all over the world need peace. There is only a very small minority who want war. Let India, China, the Soviet Union, and all other peace-loving countries and peoples unite and strive for peace in the Far East and in the entire world. We salute and celebrate the founding of the Republic of India and congratulate the Indian people and your president.

Source: *People's Daily*, January 27, 1951.

Telegram to the USSR

February 12, 1951

Chairman,
The Council of Ministers,
The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Generalissimo Stalin:

On this occasion of the anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance, please accept our sincere gratitude and felicitations to Your Excellency and the government and people of the Soviet Union. The signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance has not only been of great benefit to the construction of New China, but has also provided a strong guarantee for resisting aggression and defending the peace and security of the Far East and the entire world. We hereby send our sincere wish for the further advancement and consolidation of the friendship and cooperation between China and the Soviet Union.

145. The reception was held in celebration of the first anniversary of the founding of the Republic of India.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, February 14, 1951.

Letter to Huang Yanpei

February 17, 1951

Dear Venerable Old Mr. Huang Ren: [Huang Ren Lao]:¹⁴⁶

I have just sent to you a piece of intelligence on correcting [the policy] of unlimited leniency in Guangdong. Now [with this letter] I forward another set [of similar intelligence] on Guangxi. Please read and consult them. These two places are the most typical examples. Other areas are not as extreme as they are, but in general they are not too far off; there has been a very common phenomenon of causing the dissatisfaction of the masses. If the bandit leaders and the repeat offenders are not executed, the bandits cannot be cleanly eliminated, and instead, there will be more and more bandits for us to eliminate. If we do not execute the [local] tyrants, the peasant associations cannot be formed and the peasants will not dare to divide up the land. If we do not execute the *chief* secret agents, then we will see more and more cases of sabotage and murder. In any case, with regard to the bandit leaders, [local tyrants] and (the chief) secret agents, we have to adopt a resolute policy of suppression, and only then can the peasants turn around¹⁴⁷ and the people's political power be consolidated. Naturally, with regard to those people who may be executed but do not have to be executed, we should sentence them to terms of imprisonment or turn them over to the masses to be held in probationary supervision and reform them through labor and not execute them. Just as there should be a limit to leniency, there should also be a limit to suppression; it would be wrong to not set a limit

146. Huang Yanpei (1878-1965) was the chairman of the Democratic National Construction Association in 1945. A prominent educator and spokesman for vocational education, he was also a founding member of the China Democratic League. From 1949 to 1954 he was minister of Light Industry for the PRC government. The address comrade Mao used was Huang Ren Lao in which *lao* (old) is a term of respect paid to elder people, the word Ren is a reference to Huang's *zi* (honorific name) "Ren zhi".

147. The term here is *fanshen*, which literally means to turn one's body over or right-side-up. It has come to connote the liberation of previously oppressed people, particularly the poor peasants. The description is a graphic one, alluding to the notion that for centuries the peasants has stooped and bent their backs so that the rulers and landlords could ride on their backs and whip them into submission.

of things. In those regions where the problem has already been resolved and the masses are already satisfied, we should no longer execute anyone.

Allow me to express my regards and high respect for you.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 403.

Telegram to the USSR

February 21, 1951

Chairman,
The Council of Ministers,
The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Generalissimo Stalin:

On this occasion of the thirty-third anniversary of the founding of the armed forces of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, please accept my sincere felicitations.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, February 23, 1951.

Comment on Suppressing and Liquidating Counterrevolutionaries

February 28, 1951

In saying “unwilling followers will not be prosecuted” we refer to those who were coerced [into participating in wrongdoing] but [who themselves] did not commit any wrongdoing or did not commit any serious wrong doing. As for those against whom there is evidence of their abetting a crime, they are accomplices and should be sentenced. If the principal, culprit is given capital punishment, the accomplices should at least be given prison sentences, and some accomplices who committed serious crimes should be sentenced to death; they are not included in the category of “unwilling followers who will not be prosecuted.”

Source: *Mao Zedong Sixiang Wansui (Long Live Mao Zedong Thought)*, Red Guard Publication, 1969.

Inscription for Woman's Day

March 8, 1951

Unite! Participate in production and political activities and improve women's economic and political status.

(SIGNED)

Source: *Changjiang Ribao (Yangtze River Daily) Hankow*.

Comment on Suppressing and Liquidating Counterrevolutionaries

March 9, 1951

Where the general policy of thorough suppression has already been carried out, [the work of suppressing counterrevolutionaries] must be suspended for a while, and no more [counterrevolutionaries] should be arrested or executed. No matter where the place is, we must have planning, pay attention to strategy, do propaganda, and not execute anyone by mistake. All this is simply a matter of course.

Source: *Mao Zedong Sixiang Wansui (Long Live Mao Zedong Thought)*, Red Guard Publication, 1969.

Letter to Rao Shushi and Others

March 18, 1951

Comrades Shushi, Zihui, Xiaoping, and Zhongxun:¹⁴⁸

148. The recipients of this letter were Rao Shushi, Deng Zihui, Deng Xiaoping and Xi Zhongxun. For Rao Shushi, see *Letter to Rao Shushi and Chen Pixian*, p. 110 of this volume.

Deng Zihui (1896-1972) was at the time of this letter second secretary of the Central South

If there are democratic personages and university professors who wish to go and see land reform [in action], we should let them go and see for themselves; we must not make any preparations beforehand. Let them go and see as they wish; don't just let them see the good parts, but let them also see some of the bad things. We can educate them in this way. Wu Jingchao and Zhu Guangqian¹⁴⁹ and others went to the vicinity of Xian to watch the land reform; this has had a very good effect. We must use such examples to educate our cadres and dispel the ideas of closed-door-ism.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, pp. 405-406.

Comments on Suppressing and Liquidating Counterrevolutionaries

March 24, 1951

The suppression of counterrevolutionaries is a great struggle. Only after this is accomplished can political power be consolidated.

The suppression of counterrevolutionaries consists of [the suppression of] (1) counterrevolutionaries in society; (2) counterrevolutionaries concealed among the old personnel and new intellectuals in the military and government systems; and (3) counterrevolutionaries concealed within the Party. In order to suppress the counterrevolutionaries in these three areas, we must, of course, proceed a step at a time, and we cannot do it simultaneously. However, with regard to certain crucial departments in the Party, in the government, and in the military, and in particular, with regard to the public security department, it is necessary to clean out [counterrevolutionaries] promptly, it is absolutely essential that suspicious elements be dealt with so that these organs may be placed in the hands of reliable personnel.

Source: *Mao Zedong Sixiang Wansui (Long Live Mao Zedong Thought)*, Red Guard Publication, 1969.

Bureau of the CC of CPC. Xi Zhongxun was at the time of this letter, director of the Land Reform Committee of the North-West Military and Administrative Committee.

149. Wu Jingchao (1901-1968) was at the time of this letter Professor of Sociology at Qinghua University. Zhu Guangqian was at the time of this letter Chairman of the Foreign Languages Department of Beijing University.

Letter to Li Da

March 27, 1951

Dear Haoming:¹⁵⁰

Your two letters and the attached “Explanation of ‘On Practice’, Part 2” have all been received. Thank you. I have also seen Part 1 of “Explanation” in the journal.¹⁵¹ This explanation is excellent and will play a great role in disseminating materialism via popular language. When you finish writing Part 3 and have published it, you should put them into a single pamphlet so that it can be widely circulated. There are some [suggestions for] minor revisions on the two pages dealing with imperialism and dogmatic empiricism in Part 2,¹⁵² please give them some consideration. If Part 2 has already been published, then revisions can be made when the pamphlet version is printed.

In the past, little has been done in disseminating dialectical materialism in popular language, and this is what the broad masses of working cadres and young students urgently need. I hope you will write more articles. My regards.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

P.S. In “On Practice”, the Taiping Tianguo¹⁵³ was listed under the category

150. Li Da (Haoming is his scholarly honorific name), a founding member of the CPC, was in 1951, chairperson of China Philosophical Society and President of Hunan University.

151. This refers to *Xin Jianshe* (New Construction), Vol. 3, no. 6, 1951.

152. Mao made the following three revisions/additions to Li Da’s *Explanation*:

- 1) Mao added a paragraph of some five lines length to the part where Li Da described the Chinese people’s spontaneous anti-foreign struggles;
- 2) Mao added a comment to the part where Li Da discussed the absence of anti-imperialism in the 1911 Revolutionary Movement and in the proposals of Sun Yat-sen, its leader. Mao’s comment was to the effect that although the 1911 Revolution carried within itself the effect of opposing the imperialists—in that it overthrew “the imperialists’ running dogs,”—the revolutionaries of the time did not consciously recognize it as a principle of anti-imperialism;
- 3) Mao amended a sentence that described the substance and significance of rationalism and empiricism within materialism;

153. The Taiping Revolution, or the Movement of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, was the mid-19th century revolutionary peasant movement against the feudal rule and national oppression of the Ching Dynasty. In January 1851, Hong Xiuquan, Yang Xiuqing and other leaders launched an uprising in Qingtian Village in Guiping County, Guangxi Prov-

of anti-foreign [struggles]. This is inappropriate. I plan to revise it when *Selected Works* is published. Here I keep it as it was for the time being.¹⁵⁴

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, pp. 407-408.

Comments on Suppressing and Liquidating Counterrevolutionaries

March 30, 1951

At all times, the suppression of counterrevolutionaries ought to be accurate, meticulous, well-planned, and methodical. Furthermore, it ought to be controlled from above.

Whether work has been done well or poorly ought always to be determined by the masses' reaction to it.

Source: *Mao Zedong Sixiang Wansui (Long Live Mao Zedong Thought)*, Red Guard Publication, 1969.

Letter to Peng Yousheng

March 31, 1951

Mr. Yousheng:¹⁵⁵

I am very happy to receive your letter of March 14. You are too modest in your letter; please do not be so modest. If it is by the agreement of the masses

ince, and proclaimed the founding of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. Proceeding northward from Guangxi, their peasant army attacked and occupied Hunan and Hubei in 1852. In 1853 it marched through Jiangxi and Anhui and captured Nanjing. A section of the forces then continued the drive north and pushed on to the vicinity of Tianjin. However, the Taiping army failed to build stable base areas in the places it occupied; moreover, after establishing its capital in Nanjing, its leading group committed many political and military errors. Therefore it was unable to withstand the combined onslaughts of the counterrevolutionary forces of the Ching government and the British, US and French aggressors, and was finally defeated in 1864.

154. The intended revisions were not made when Volume I of Mao Zedong *Xuanji* (Selected Works of Mao Zedong) was published.

155. Peng Yousheng was a one-time colleague of Mao's in the New Hunan Revolutionary Army.

that you have been classified as a poor peasant, that is very good. As for work and employment, if you can manage in the countryside, it would be better if you stayed there or at least stayed in the countryside for a time, because I am afraid that if you ventured out it may be difficult for you to find a suitable position. If things indeed are very very difficult, you may bring this letter to Changsha and look up Mr. Cheng Xingling, Vice-chairman of the Hunan Provincial People's Government, and ask his direction and advice as to whether or not there are ways in which he may help you. I cannot guarantee that there will be results, since Mr. Cheng and the other comrades do not know you well and know nothing of your past or your recent circumstances. Even I myself am in that situation, so it would not be proper for me to suggest any concrete opinion to them. If you are willing to take the trip, you may want to give it a try. When you go, you can report to him about the fact that you had once worked in the Hunan army during the period of the *Xinhai* (1911) Revolution and that you were my colleague (you were the squadron second-in-command and I was a private), and give him a clear rendition of your past.

In reply and with my respect,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, pp. 409-410.

Directive on the Problem of Cultivating Cadres

March 1951

The older technical personnel are the legacy of the Kuomintang; they are very highly skilled, but they are, as yet, [politically] unreliable; we should strive to unite them [to our side].

The majority of the university and middle school students throughout the country are children of the landlords and of the bourgeoisie; they too, are the legacy of the Kuomintang. However, we must cultivate them and transform them. One section of them is reliable, but there is another section that is unreliable.

The most important task for us all the present moment is to cultivate the backbone of the technical cadre. The most important thing is to cultivate the intellectuals who have been in our party, and our armed forces for over a decade. Another sector consists of the intellectuals who are participating in [the

work of] land reform; we can transfer some of them to undergo training.

Another part [of our technical cadre] can be cultivated from among [people who are at the] accelerated middle schools for industrial workers and peasants and from among the children of workers and peasants. In other words, we would like to get some people from the ranks of these two latter categories and cultivate them, after which they will be used to unite with the two other categories of people mentioned earlier.

Source: *Kexue Geming (Revolution in the Sciences)*, Red Guard Publication, 1967.

Comment on Suppressing and Liquidating Counterrevolutionaries

April 2, 1951

The suppression of counterrevolutionaries must be strictly confined to such categories as bandit chiefs, incorrigible criminals, ruffians and petty tyrants, secret agents, and chiefs of reactionary secret organizations and sects. We cannot include petty thieves, drug addicts, common landlords, ordinary Kuomintang members and members of the [*Sanmin Zhuyi* Youth] League, and common officers in the Kuomintang army. Death sentences must be for those who have committed serious crimes only. It is a mistake for a light sentence to be given out for a serious crime; it is equally a mistake for a heavy sentence to be given out for a small crime.

Source: *Mao Zedong Sixiang Wansui (Long Live Mao Zedong Thought)*, Red Guard Publication, 1969.

Letter to Li Weihan

April 9, 1951

Comrade Luo Mai:¹⁵⁶

156. Luo Mai is Li Weihan's pseudonym and a name under which he wrote many articles since the 1920's. He was one of the earliest members of the CPC. He was a schoolmate of Mao's at the First Normal School of Hunan together with others such as Cai Hesen and He Shuheng. He became a member of the *Xinmin Xuehui* (New People Study Society), which

This man was a member of the national assembly during the time of the Beiyang government. It appears that during the period of [his association with] the KMT he didn't do any bad things. He has many children working in the People's Government. He is himself now sixty-nine years old and came to the capital, staying at the Xiangtan Guest House. He is having [financial] difficulties and has asked me to take care of him. Please send someone to speak with him and to give him some assistance.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 411.

Letter to Situ Meitang

April 27, 1951

Mr. Meitang:¹⁵⁷

Cai and he organized and of which Mao also became a prominent member. In 1919 Li went to France as a participant of the *Qingong Jianxue* (Diligent Work and Frugal Study) movement. While in Europe, Li became a very active member of the socialist groups, which included such people as Cai Hesen, Zhou Enlai, Li Lisan, Xu Deli, Chen Yi, and Zhao Shiyan. Out of these organizations the Chinese Communist Youth League was formed. In early 1922, Li returned to China and began work with Mao Zedong in Hunan. In 1927, at the Fifth CPC Congress, Li became a member of the Political Bureau. He continued to work in Hunan and was active in planning the Nanchang Uprising of August 1927. He came under criticism by the CPC Congress in 1928, which was held in Moscow, but he held his position in the Party. From 1928 to 1931, he worked in the communist underground in Shanghai. In 1931, however, he was criticized and removed from the Central Committee for supporting Li Lisan. Wanted by the KMT police, he escaped to southern Jiangxi and joined Mao Zedong and Zhu De at Ruijin. Later he went on the Long March to northern Shaanxi. For the next decade at Yanan he was active primarily in Party organization work, and as far as is known, was not involved in military command or action. He took on the task of organizing and managing the Party's United Front Department in 1944 and remained at the head of that department for the next two decades. He was, together with Zhou Enlai, Dong Biwu, and Ye Jianying, one of the chief CPC negotiators with the KMT in the uncertain years of 1946-1949. After 1949, he became a chief officer of the new government, serving as secretary general of the government Administration Council until 1953, on the Political and Legal Affairs Committee of the Council, as well as heading the United Front Department. In this last position, Li was the chief CPC spokesman to the minority nationalities and to the people's organizations, especially the industrial and commercial circles. Luo Zhengqi, was an acquaintance of Comrade Mao, when he was a student at the Higher Middle School of Hunan.

157. Situ Meitang (1868-1955) spent much of his life representing China's interests in the US. In 1882, as a ship's boy, Situ arrived in the United States. Several years later, he joined the Zhigongtang (The Association for Justice and Righteousness) in Boston, and

I have received your letter of April 14, and am greatly gratified. I also received the gift of the peasant comrades of Haoshan.¹⁵⁸ Please convey my gratitude to them. It is good for you to stay for a short period in the South, but I hope that you will return to the capital in the early part of June so that I can see you and learn from you in person.

My respectful wishes for your health.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 412.

Letter to Zhen Wenxin

April 29, 1951

Comrade Wenxin:¹⁵⁹

I am very happy to have received your letter and your mother's letter. I hope that you and your sister will be diligent in your study or work, and, in the spirit of your departed father, serve the people's state in its reconstruction.

began a career of opposing the Qing government of China. In 1904 he was recruited by Sun Yat-sen to work for the Chinese revolutionary movement and in 1905 he formed the On-Leong Association (Chinese Benevolent Association), a service society set up to assist Chinese-Americans in gaining a settled life and a certain measure of citizen's rights in the United States. In 1937 he organized the campaign among Chinese-Americans to raise funds to support China's struggle against Japan. In 1941, he returned to China. En route, he was captured by the Japanese in Hong Kong. Refusing to collaborate, he disguised himself and escaped to eastern Guangdong. In the summer of 1942, he went to Chongqing and returned to the United States in 1943. In 1945 he reorganized the Zhigongtang into the Hongmen Zhigongdang, a Chinese political party, and became its chairman. In 1946 he again returned to China, seeking to assist in the establishment of a new democracy. When this failed in 1948, he left China again, via Hong Kong, and, back in the United States, proclaimed his support for the Communists in China. In September 1949 he returned, for the last time, to China, and took up the leadership of the Zhigongdang as one of the democratic parties in the new republic. He became a vice-chairman of the CPPCC and a member of the Central People's Government.

158. This is in Guangdong Province, where it is known in the local dialect as *Hok Shan*, and is now known as *Gaohao xian*. Situ Meitang was then visiting this area and inspecting the work of land reform in the region.

159. Zhen Wenxin was, at the time of this letter, a student at the Agronomic School of Wuhan University. She is the daughter of Zhen Chang, who was a member of the *Xinmin Xuehui* (New People's Study Society) of which Mao was a prominent member. Zhen Chang, also an early member of the CPC, died in 1930.

Please give my best regards to your mother.

I wish you progress.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 413.

Letter to Zhang Zhizhong

May 5, 1951

Mr. Wenbai:¹⁶⁰

I have received and read your letter. I am most concerned to hear of your illness. Since the inspection group has Mr. Shao¹⁶¹ to lead it, it should be all right and you may put away your worries and devote yourself to convalescence and your recovery so that you may be soon restored to health.

My best wishes on your recovery!

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 414.

Directive on the Huai River¹⁶²

May 29, 1951

The Huai River Must be Harnessed

160. Wenbai is the honorific name of Zhang Zhizhong (1890-1969). He had a long and illustrious career as a military commander in the KMT armies. In 1946 he became the head of the KMT's Northwest Government Headquarters and the chairman of the provincial government of Xinjiang. In 1949 he headed the KMT delegation to negotiate with the CPC in Beijing and was detained when the negotiations fell through. He then went over towards the Communists, and when the new regime was established he became a vice-chairman of the National Defense Council, a member of the Central People's Government Council, and vice-chairman of the Northwest military and Administrative Committee.

161. This refers to the group delegated by the Central Committee of the CPC to inspect the flood-control work on the Huai River. Zhang was appointed its leader. Shao refers to Shao Lizi (1882-1967) an erstwhile top ranking KMT member. He was at the time of this letter a member of the Central People's Government Council.

162. This is an inscription comrade Mao wrote on a banner for the Huai River Control Project. It was first made public at a banner awarding ceremony held in Henan on May 9, 1951.

Source: *People's Daily*, May 15, 1951.

Comment on the “Report of the Secretary’s Office on the Handling of Letters from the Masses”¹⁶³

May 16, 1951

Attention must be paid to correspondence from the people. We must handle letters from the people properly and meet the legitimate demands of the masses. We must regard this matter as a method by which the Communist Party and the People’s Government can strengthen their ties with the people. We must not adopt a bureaucratic attitude of callousness and neglect. If there are a great many letters from the people, and it is difficult for [the cadre in charge] to handle [all of] them personally, a special organ made up of an appropriate number of people should be set up or special persons assigned to deal with these letters. If there aren’t too many letters, and either [the cadre in charge] or the secretary is able to handle them personally, then there won’t be any need to bring in additional special personnel.

Source: *People’s Daily*, December 28, 1983.

Speech on the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet^{164, 165}

May 24, 1951

For hundreds of years there was no unity among the various nationalities of China. In particular there was no unity between the Han people and the

163. This was Mao’s comment on the *Report to Chairman Mao on the Work of Handling Letters from the Masses in the Last Three Months* of the work office of the Central Committee of the CPC. This is a part of a document of the Work Office of the Central Committee of the CPC issued on June 6, 1967.

164. Before giving this speech at a banquet celebrating the event, Mao toasted the signing of the Agreement on the Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet by the Central People’s Government and the Tibetan Regional Government, the great unity of the nationalities of China, and the internal unity of the people of Tibet.

Tibetan people. Internally as well, the Tibetan nationality was not united. This was the result of the reactionary rule by the Manchu government and the Chiang Kai-shek government, and also the result of the discord sown among us by the imperialists. Now, unity has been achieved among the forces led by the Dalai Lama, those led by Panchen Gnoertehni, and the Central People's Government; this was accomplished only after the Chinese people had overthrown imperialism and the domestic reactionary government. This unity is a fraternal unity and is not based on the oppression of one side by the other. This type of unity is the product of concentrated efforts on all sides. From now on, on the basis of this unity, there will be development and progress among our various nationalities in all spheres, including such spheres as politics, economics and culture.

Source: *People's Daily*, May 28, 1951.

Letter to Li Zhuchen

June 23, 1951

Mr. Zhuchen:¹⁶⁶

I have received the letter you sent me on June 13. Your suggestion is a very good one. However, the timing needs to be further considered. It seems that it would be best to wait a short period before we carry it out.¹⁶⁷

165. In May 1951 an Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet was signed between the Central People's Government and the local government of Tibet.

The agreement stipulated that the Tibetan local government should resolutely rid itself of imperialist influences and actively help the People's Liberation Army enter Tibet; that all external affairs in Tibet should be handled by the Central People's Government—in other words, the Tibetan local government must cut its ties with the imperialists and once more join the big family of the people's Republic of China. As to Tibet's internal affairs, the agreement stipulated that its existing political system and the position and authority of the Dalai Lama would remain unchanged, and the Tibetan people's religious beliefs would be fully safeguarded. A positive attitude was adopted towards social reforms in Tibet, but there was to be no compulsion. Rather, the local government of Tibet was expected to carry out the reforms of its own accord. In case the people demanded reforms, the matter should be settled by consultation.

166. Li Zhuchen (1881-1968) was an industrialist with enterprises in Tianjin. In 1945 he joined the *Zhongguo Minzhu Jianguo hui* (Chinese Democratic Association for National Construction) and became a member of its standing committee. Later, as a member of this organization, he became a member of the National Committee of the CPPCC.

167. This refers to Li's suggestion that the propaganda campaign vis-à-vis Taiwan be

In reply, and with my respect,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 415.

Inscription on the Unity of Nationalities

June 29, 1951

All nationalities of the People's Republic of China, Unite!

(SIGNED)

Source: *Changjiang Ribao (Yangtze River Daily)*, Hankow, June 29, 1951.

Letter to Huang Yanpei

July 15, 1951

Mr. Renzhi:¹⁶⁸

Your letter of July 14 has been received and read. I am very concerned about your illness. I fully agree that you must rest for a month to recover. If necessary, it would be proper to extend that for another month so that the restoration of your health may be complete. The times are indeed as you describe. The ancients said: "It is only when one can fight that one can make peace." That is the situation with us. We took a measure yesterday that will be helpful in stripping our enemies of their excuse and facilitate the continuation of the [peace] meetings.¹⁶⁹

launched with the participation of the various democratic parties and the people's organizations and the personages who had previously had connections with the KMT government.

168. For Huang Yanpei (Renzhi) see *Letter to Huang Yanpei (February 17, 1951)*, p. 116 of this volume.

169. This refers to the communique issued jointly by Kim Il Sung, the supreme commander of the Korean People's Army, and Peng Dehuai, commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers in the Korean conflict to the command of the United States and United Nations forces in which they agreed on the neutralization and demilitarization of the Kaesong area during the period when the peace negotiations of the two sides were being held in that city and on the recognition of the US press corps of twenty people as part of the working staff of the US side (and therefore to be awarded diplomatic status and access to the negotiations).

I respectfully wish your recovery and safety.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 416.

Letter to Zhang Yuanji

July 30, 1951

Mr. Jusheng:¹⁷⁰

Your letters of December 30 last year and April 15 and May 21 [of this year] and your enclosed masterpiece and your book have all been received. Thank you for your kind thoughts. The poem *Jixue Xichui* (Snow Drifts on the Western Frontier) is extremely well written. As a result of the signing of the agreements¹⁷¹, our troops will be in Lhasa soon. I am greatly gratified to know that you are recovering from your illness.

In reply, and with respectful wishes for your health and well-being,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 418.

Inscription for the People of the Old Revolutionary Bases

August 5, 1951

Promote the revolutionary tradition.

Strive for even greater glory.

Source: *People's Daily*, August 11, 1951.

170. Jusheng is the honorific name of Zhang Yuanji. At the time of his letter, Zhang was a member of the East China Military and Administrative Committee, the director of the Literature and Historical Studies Bureau of Shanghai Municipality, and a member of the National Committee of the CPPCC.

171. This refers to the *Agreements on the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet*.

Telegram to the Dominion of Pakistan

August 14, 1951

The Governor General,
The Dominion of Pakistan
Mr. [A. K.] Nazimuddin:

On this occasion of the national day of your country, on behalf of the government and the people of the People's Republic of China I extend to Your Excellency and the people of Pakistan our felicitations and our best wishes that the friendship between the peoples of China and Pakistan will grow with each passing day.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily, August 14, 1951.*

Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

August 14, 1951

Chairman Kim Du Bong,
The Standing Committee,
The Supreme People's Assembly,
The Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Your Excellency:

On this happy occasion of the sixth anniversary of the liberation of Korea, on behalf of the government and the people of the People's Republic of China, I sincerely extend to Your Excellency and the Korean people our heartfelt felicitations and our best wishes that in our common struggle to defend the lasting peace in Asia and in the world, the fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Korean peoples will be further consolidated.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily, August 15, 1951.*

Telegram to the Republic of Indonesia

August 14, 1951

Mr. Sukarno,
President,
The Republic of Indonesia:

On this happy occasion of the anniversary of the founding of your country, on behalf of the government and the people of the People's Republic of China I sincerely extend to Your Excellency and the people of Indonesia our felicitations and our best wishes for the further consolidation and development of the friendship between our two peoples with the passing of each day.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED, IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily, August 17, 1951.*

Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

September 1, 1951

Chairman Ho Chi Minh,
The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam,
Your Excellency:

On this happy occasion of the sixth anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, on behalf of the government and the people of the People's Republic of China, I sincerely extend to Your Excellency and the Vietnamese people our heartfelt felicitations and our best wishes that the struggle against imperialism by the Vietnamese people under Your Excellency's leadership for the liberation of the whole of Vietnam will achieve new victories.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily, September 2, 1951.*

Telegram to the USSR

September 2, 1951

Generalissimo Stalin:

On this occasion of the sixth anniversary of the victory in the war of Resistance Against Japan, on behalf of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the people of all China, I sincerely extend to Your Excellency, to the armed forces of the Soviet Union, and to the Soviet people our warmest felicitations and our deepest gratitude. The enormous assistance that the Soviet Union gave to the Chinese people in their War of Resistance Against Japan and the consolidated alliance between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China for the concerted prevention of the resurgence of Japan's aggressive forces have given the Chinese people boundless encouragement in their struggle against aggressive forces in the Far East. Long live the great friendship of China and the Soviet Union in their just cause of resisting Japanese imperialism and defending peace in the Far East.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, September 3, 1951.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Bulgaria

September 7, 1951

Chairman Georgi Damyanov,
Presidium of the National Assembly, The People's Republic of Bulgaria,
Your Excellency:

On the occasion of the national day of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on behalf of the government and the people of the People's Republic of China, I extend my heartfelt congratulations to Your Excellency and to the Bulgarian people and wish the People's Republic of Bulgaria ever greater successes with each passing day in its cause of construction toward socialism.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, September 9, 1951.

Letter to Party Committee of Shijingshan Iron and Steel Works¹⁷²

September 12, 1951

Comrades of the CPC Party Committee of the Shijingshan Iron and Steel Works:

I have read your letter of August 31. Thank you for letting me know about the situation and problems in your factory. I think that your proposals¹⁷³ are reasonable, and I have already ordered the concerned organs to resolve these problems speedily and reasonably.

In reply, and with my best wishes on your continued hard work!

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 419

Comment on Suppressing and Liquidating Counterrevolutionaries

September 18, 1951

[Your] view is correct; let them [i.e., the counterrevolutionaries] move, and [we will] watch carefully; then there is much to gain. They are in the palm of Tathagatha¹⁷⁴ and are unable to jump off it. You should treat this as a major

172. Shijingshan is in Hebei Province, within the municipality of Beijing.

173. This refers to proposals made by this Party committee on adjusting certain unreasonable features of the wage system at the factory.

174. Tathagatha is the title for Sakyamuni (Buddha). Sun Wukong is a monkey king in the Chinese novel *Hsi Yu Chi* (Journey to the West), written in the 16th century. He could cover 108,000 *li* by turning a somersault. Yet once in the palm of the Buddha, he could not escape from it, however many somersaults he turned. With a flick of his palm Buddha transformed his fingers into the five-peak Mountain of Five Elements and buried Sun Wukong.

task and actively and artistically carry out observation and investigative work on it.

Source: *Mao Zedong Sixiang Wansui (Long Live Mao Zedong Thought), Red Guard Publication, 1969.*

Letter to Deng Zihui

September 25, 1951

Comrade Zihui:¹⁷⁵

I have received your telegram of September 25.

1. I would like to express my condolences on the passing away of your mother.

2. I agree with your plan on coming to the capital after the National Day celebration. It would be very good if you can arrive at the capital on October 3.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters, p. 420.*

Reply to Ambassador of the Union of Burma

September 27, 1951

Mr. Ambassador:

I am very pleased to accept the letter of credence from the President of the Union of Burma, presented by Your Excellency, and I am grateful to Your Excellency for your felicitations.

Historically and culturally, China and Burma have had a long-lasting and intimate relationship. Moreover, the people of the two countries, in their protracted struggles for national independence and liberty, have gained deep sympathy for, and understanding of each other. I am convinced that the development of diplomatic relations between our two countries will not only cause the

175. Deng Zihui was at the time of the letter second secretary of the Central-South Bureau of the CC of the CPC.

friendship which already exists between the peoples of the two countries to be promoted and consolidated with the passing of each day, but will also facilitate [the growth of] peace and security in Asia.

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

Our sincere wishes for the prosperity of your nation and of your people and for the good health of your head of state.

Source: *People's Daily*, September 28, 1951.

Comment on Suppressing and Liquidating Counterrevolutionaries

October 1, 1951

Unless we take steps to wipe out the activities of the counterrevolutionaries, the people's state will be in jeopardy.

Source: *Mao Zedong Sixiang Wansui (Long Live Mao Zedong Thought)*, Red Guard Publication, 1969.

Telegram to the German Democratic Republic

October 6, 1951

President Wilhelm Pieck,
The German Democratic Republic
Your Excellency:

On this happy occasion of the second anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic, on behalf of the government and the people of the People's Republic of China, I sincerely extend to Your Excellency and the German people our heartfelt felicitations and our best wishes that the German people will win still greater successes in their cause of striving for the uni-

fication, democracy, and independence of Germany and defending peace in Europe and the world.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC)

Source: *People's Daily*, October 8, 1951.

Letter to Chen Shutong

October 14, 1951

Dear Venerated Mr. Shu[tong]:¹⁷⁶

I have received your gracious letter of October 9. Thank you. On the subject of [going to] inspect land reform, I agree with you¹⁷⁷. However, on whether or not the wintry weather would be suitable for your physical [well being to do this], please give it some further consideration. It seems to me that it would be better [if you did it] in the spring. There will still be land reform [in progress] at that time. Furthermore, at your venerable age, it is proper for you to go and inspect the land reform, but not for you to engage in land reform [work yourself]. Besides, in inspecting it, you can go to many places, but if you were to engage in the work itself, you would be limited to a district or a *xiang*. Another thing: it is not merely the land reform by itself, but if your energies would allow, such other work as [in the area of] resisting the US, of suppressing counterrevolutionaries, of production, of education, and of the United Front should all be within the scope of your inspection.

I have here a report on the work among the minority nationalities of the Northwest. You may read it and afterward return it to me.

In salute,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 421.

¹⁷⁶. See *Letter to Chen Shutong*, p. 102 of this volume.

¹⁷⁷. See *Letter to Rao Shushi and Others*, p. 118 of this volume.

Telegram to the USSR

October 15, 1951

On behalf of the government of the Chinese People's Republic and Chinese people I express to you sincere thanks for your friendly greetings and cordial wishes on the second anniversary of the proclamation of Chinese People's Republic.

Source: *Current Digest of Soviet Press, Bi-weekly; New York, III:42 December 1, 1951.*

Telegram to the Dalai Lama

October 26, 1951

The Dalai Lama

Dear Sir:

Your telegram of October 24, 1951, has been received. I am grateful for your efforts in implementing the Agreement on the Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet and hereby send you my sincere congratulations.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily, October 27, 1951.*

Inscription for the Cultural Work Team of the Special District Party Committee of Chu *xian*¹⁷⁸

October 1951

Turn your faces toward the countryside.

Source: *People's Daily, January 18, 1977.*

178. The special district of Chu *xian* is located in the northeastern part of Anhui Province.

Closing Speech of the Third Meeting of the First National Committee of the CPPCC

November 1, 1951

Comrades:

Our meeting is drawing to a triumphant close. Let me express my congratulations on the success of this meeting. Just as we have been united in the various great struggles both internationally and domestically, so have we been united in this meeting of ours. Furthermore, our unity improves; it draws us closer to each other and grows more vigorous year after year. This is quite understandable, since the People's Democratic United Front of our country was forged, step by step, in the great revolutionary struggle. It is a united front that includes all the nationalities, all the democratic classes, all the democratic parties, all the people's organizations, and all the patriotic and democratic personages in the country—a united front of several hundred million people. It is founded on the workers and peasants; it is under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party, and it adopts the method of self-criticism. Therefore, it can solidly bind [us] together as one, and it can become more and more vigorous, mightier and mightier. It is invincible. Comrades, we have already summed up the experience of the past year and have laid down guidelines for future work. We have also had a make-up election for eighteen additional committee members. Let us lead the people of the entire nation in continuing to march forward and in striving to win new and greater triumphs!

Source: *People's Daily*, November 2, 1951.

Telegram to the USSR

November 5, 1951

The Council of Ministers,
The Union of Socialist Republics
Comrade Stalin:

On this occasion of the thirty-fourth anniversary of the great October

Revolution, on behalf of the Chinese people, the government of the People's Republic of China, and on my own behalf, I extend to the people and government of the Soviet Union and to Your Excellency our sincerest congratulations.

Please allow me to congratulate the Soviet Union on its tremendous achievements in socialist construction and in the communist construction that has just began. These achievements have instilled boundless courage in the laboring people of the whole world in their struggle for a bright future.

Please allow me to congratulate the Soviet Union on the great victory of its policy of peace. This victory has thwarted the disgraceful schemes of those who instigate war and has united the peace-loving peoples throughout the world and given them faith that peace will triumph over war.

Please allow me to express my congratulations on the great unshakable friendship between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China which grows closer with each day. This friendship, which embraces one-third of the population of the entire world, is the most reliable guarantee of the certain victory of the cause of peace and progress in the world.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 7, 1951.

Telegram to Gheorghiu-Dej

November 7, 1951

Dear Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej:¹⁷⁹

On this occasion of your fiftieth birthday, I extend to you my warmest congratulations on behalf of the Communist Party of China and myself and wish you good health.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG AND PRC AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 7, 1951.

179. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej was secretary general of the Romanian Workers' Party.

Reply to Ambassador of Pakistan

November 12, 1951

Mr. Ambassador:

I am very pleased to accept the letter of credence from His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Overseas Dominions presented by Your Excellency, and I am grateful to Your Excellency for your congratulations.

A long friendship has existed between the Chinese and Pakistani peoples, who share the common wish of promoting the development of economic and cultural relations between the two countries and of striving for a lasting peace in Asia and the world. The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Pakistan will not only enable the friendship between our two peoples to steadily grow and be consolidated, but will certainly help maintain peace and security in Asia and in the world.

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

Our best wishes for the prosperity of your state, the prospering of your people, and the good health of your head of state.

Source: *People's Daily*, November 13, 1951.

Letter to Zheng Zhenduo

December 3, 1951

Mr. Zhenduo,¹⁸⁰

Mr. Yao Yuqin¹⁸¹, via Mr. Chen Shutong¹⁸², has presented me with a gift of

180. At that time of this letter. Zheng was a vice-minister of the Cultural Ministry of the Central People's Government and the head of its Documents and Artifacts Bureau.

181. Yao Yuqin was a painter.

182. See *Letter to Chen Shutong*, p. 102 of this volume.

an original handwritten copy of a Wang Chuanshan writing.¹⁸³ I hear that such handwritten originals are extremely rare. I am sending this to your department; please preserve it for us.

With best wishes for your health and wellbeing.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 422.

Letter to Dong Biwu

December 4, 1951

Comrade Biwu:¹⁸⁴

I think that the contents of your letter to Comrade Rao Shushi are correct.¹⁸⁵ It can be copied and the copies may be sent to the comrades in positions of responsibility in all bureaus under the Central Committee other than the East China Bureau so that they may read it. I propose this so that they may be encouraged to pay attention to this matter.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 423. (A plate original of this letter is preserved at the Documentary office of the CC of the CPC.)

183. Wang Chuanshan (Wang Fuzhi) (1619-1692) was a major thinker of the late-Ming, early Qing period. The document in question was a hand written original (i.e., in Wang's own hand) of his *Shuang Haoruiwu Fu* (Poetic Essay on the Auspicious Dance of the Brace of Cranes).

184. Dong Biwu (1886-1975) was one of the founding members of the CPC. At the time of this letter he was a vice-premier of the Government Administration Council of the PRC and the head of the Political and Legal Committee.

185. This refers to a letter that Dong sent to Rae on the subject of establishing government organs at the *xian* and *xiang* levels. In this letter Dong made several points synopsized as follows: (1) While the work of establishing government organs at the lower levels should be directed by the Party, it would not be appropriate for the Party to be directly involved in day-to-day governmental matters. Instead, the Party should guide the establishment of such organs through the leadership of government organs at a higher level, and the leadership of the Party Committee at all levels of government organs should be realized through the presence of Party members in these organs. For example, where there are more than three Party members, a Party group should be organized within that organ, so as to ensure the Party's leadership. (2) The establishment of government organs at the *xian* and *xiang* level is the key. (3) There must be full organizational and ideological preparation for the endeavor.

Letter to Mao Zelian and Mao Yuanti

December 11, 1951

Zelian, Yuanti:¹⁸⁶

I have received your letter.

Sixth Aunt Huishen¹⁸⁷ and Zelian should not come to the capital and should not stay too long in Changsha either. After your illness¹⁸⁸ has been diagnosed and treated you should return to Shaoshan.¹⁸⁹ The People's Government is now resolved to practice streamlining and thrift and emphasizes opposition to waste and extravagance. Therefore you should not come to the capital or stay too long in Changsha.

As for difficulties that Zelian's family is having, I will try to give some measure of assistance and support at a later date; for the time being you should not expect or rely [on me] for support.

Yuanti can do some studying when he has any spare time from his work at the printing shop.

Please give my regards to Sixth Aunt.

I wish you all well!

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 429.

Telegram to the Northwest Nationalities' Peoples' Representatives' Conference for Resisting US Aggression and Aiding Korea¹⁹⁰

December 12, 1951

To all comrade delegates to the Northwest Nationalities' Peoples' Represen-

186. Mao Zelian is Mao Zedong's cousin, and Mao Yuanti is Mao Zedong's nephew.

187. This refers to Mao Zelian's mother.

188. The illness here refers to the aunt's illness and not to Mao Zelian's or Mao Yuanti's.

189. Shaoshan of Xiangtan *xian*, Hunan, is Mao's native village.

190. This conference was held at Xian, December 12-15, 1951.

tatives' Conference for Resisting United States [Aggression] and Aiding Korea:

Thank you all for your telegram. During the past year or more, the people of the different nationalities in northwest China have contributed a tremendous effort to the patriotic struggle of resisting United States [aggression] and aiding Korea and have secured great results. At this conference, you have resolved to further unite the people of the various nationalities, to increase production, to practice strict economy, and to conduct patriotic propaganda and education in order to support the Chinese People's Volunteers. This is very good. One of the reasons that imperialists dared to bully China in the past was that China's various nationalities were not united. However, that period in history is gone forever. From the day of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the various nationalities of China have begun to unite as one big friendly and cooperative family that has sufficient strength to defeat any imperialist aggression and to build our homeland into a prosperous and mighty nation. Best wishes for the success of your conference!

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, December 12, 1951.

Telegram to Panchen Gnoertehni

December 13, 1951

Panchen Gnoertehni¹⁹¹, through the People's Government of Qinghai Province,

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your telegram. I fully agree with your wish to unite closely with the Dalai Lama under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the Central People's Government in order to struggle for the thorough implementation of the Agreement on the Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, expelling the influence of imperialism in Tibet, consolidating national defense, and building a New Tibet. I wish you a pleasant journey to your destination.

191. Panchen Gnoertehni, the Panchen Lama of the time, who had been living in exile in Qinghai Province for over twenty years, began his return to Tibet on December 19, 1951. Before he left Qinghai, the Panchen Lama sent a telegram to Mao.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, December 15, 1951.

Letter to Liu Shaoqi

December 15, 1951

Comrade Shaoqi:

How is your tour? I imagine that you should have arrived at Hangzhou by now.

According to the reports of Comrades An Ziwen and Hu Qiaomu¹⁹², there are still many people who, like the letter written by Yin Yigang of the Hebei Party School, are in disagreement with the idea that the semi-proletariat should also be considered a part of the leading class [in our society].¹⁹³ In the process

192. An Ziwen was at the time of this letter deputy director of the Organization Department of the Central Committee of the CPC.

193. According to the source, while the issue of designating the working class as the leading class in society during the period of the New Democratic Revolution and the period of socialist transition is clearly defined, the issue of whether the semi-proletariat should be included in this designation is a subject discussed only in several documents immediately prior to and after the founding of the People's Republic. (Note that in this letter Mao used the term *ban gongren jieji*, i.e., semi-working class. The term, however, is unclear in its meaning, and because Mao had, in similar contexts, used the term *ban wuchan jieji*—i.e., semi-proletariat—we have translated the term in this way.) In February 1948, in revising the article “Stipulations of the Central Committee of the CPC on the Distinction of Social Classes in the Land reform and on Their Various Treatments”, Mao wrote: “The proletariat and the semi-proletariat (the poor peasants) are the leading class in the people's democratic revolution and the political regime of the new democratic state, with the proletariat being the primary leading class.” In March-April 1951, at the National Conference on Organizational work, the Central Committee stated in its Resolution on Rectifying and Reorganizing the Basic-Level Organizations of the Party (based on a report by Liu Shaoqi) that “in the past the Chinese revolution was led by the urban working class and the rural semi-working class (*ban gongren jieji*); from now on it stands in need of greater leadership by the working class.” Then, in July of the same year, in a statement of Explanation of the Central Committee of the CPC on the Question of the leadership Role of the Working Class and the Semi-working class, this sentence was changed to read “In the past the Chinese revolution was led by the working class and the semi-working class in the cities and in the countryside.” Later, some people, such as Yin Yigang of the Hebei Party School run by the Hebei provincial committee of the CPC, wrote letters of opinion objecting to the idea of considering the semi-working class (or semi-proletariat) as part of the leading class. Mao then sent these letters to An Ziwen for comment and suggestion on how they can be handled. An's suggestion was that the proposal that the semi-working class should be considered as part of the leading class should be amended. The implication of this letter

of Party rectification in many localities, this problem has been proposed, and such a suggestion is reasonable. Now we are obliged to make some revisions on the proposal in the draft plan for Party rectification. On this matter we have already been pushed a bit to the passive side, and only by making these revisions can we capture the initiative. I am now sending for your perusal and assessment a copy of the telegram,¹⁹⁴ of An Ziwen's report¹⁹⁵ and of the letter sent to us by Yin Yigang of the Hebei Party School and asking for your opinion on the subject. Please send somebody back with your response.

Everything here is going well. Do not be concerned.

I wish you all well.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 427.

Letter to Chen Yuying

December 23, 1951

Comrade Chen Yuying:¹⁹⁶

I am very happy to receive your letter to me of December 18. Somebody has already told me that in the past you were very resolute in the face of [the interrogation by] counterrevolutionaries and did not surrender [to their intimidations]. This is very good. For the sake of thrift you should not come to the capital. It is very good for you to work in Changsha. If you have any difficulty, you may let me know and I'll do my best to find you some assistance.

I wish you good health!

here is that Mao agreed with An, and sent this letter to Liu Shaoqi for his opinion, Liu responded quickly with his assent, and in December 1951 the Central Committee issued an *Amended Directive on the Question of the Leading Classes in the Chinese Revolution*, in which it pointed out that "on the question of who leads the Chinese revolution, no matter whether with regard to the past or to the future, we should only say that it is led by the working class (through its vanguard, the Communist Party of China) and should no longer include therein the semi-working class."

194. This refers, according to the source, to the "amended directive" mentioned as the last item in the previous note and which at the time was soon to be published.

195. According to the source, this refers to An Ziwen's report to Mao on the question discussed here. An's report was made in November 1951.

196. Chen Yuying was a nursemaid in Mao and Yang Kaihui's (his wife at the time) household from the winter of 1926 to the spring of 1931.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 430.

Telegram to William Gallacher

December 24, 1951

Dear Comrade William Gallacher:¹⁹⁷

On this happy occasion of your seventieth birthday, I extend to you my sincere congratulations on behalf of the Communist Party of China and myself and wish you excellent health.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN CPC)

Source: *People's Daily*, *December 25, 1951*.

Conversation with Zhou Shizhao¹⁹⁸

December 1951

(Zhou says the weather is cold in the Northeast.)

Mao (laughing): Afraid of the cold? You two are only fifty-nine years old. Those in their fifties are still young fellows.

(Zhou asks whether the Chairman still takes cold water baths.)

Mao: I am getting older, I can no longer do it now. However, I bathe in a different way from others. Other people bathe in a bathtub and hot water. I splash a bit of somewhat colder water on my body and then take a shower.

Mao adds: I get two results from taking a bath; one is cleansing and the

197. Gallacher was chairman of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

198. The article from which this conversation was excerpted is the author's interview with Zhou Shizhao, Principal of First Normal School, Changsha, Hunan. Zhou was Comrade Mao's former classmate and had paid a visit to the Chairman toward the end of 1951 on his way to the Northeast.

other is tempering.

Source: *Excerpt from Zhang Zizhi's article "A Few Things about Physical Exercise in Chairman Mao's Life" in Tiyu Bao (Sports), Triweekly, Beijing (August 1, 1958).*

Comment Written on a Letter from Students of Chinese People's University

1951

You must shorten your time for studying and protect your health.

Source: *People's Daily, September 8, 1977.*

Directive on Language Reform

1951

The written language must be reformed and oriented toward [the use of] a phonetic system as is common with the world's [other] written languages. [The reformed script] must have a national form, [its] letters and methods [of alphabetization] being formulated on the basis of Chinese characters in current use.¹⁹⁹

The language must under certain specific conditions, be reformed. Our language must be one that draws [us] closer to the masses.²⁰⁰

Source: *Excerpts from Chinese Language (Monthly) Beijing, July 1952.*

199. An excerpt from a lengthier and more general directive. This was cited in a speech by Ma Xulun at the inaugural session of the Committee for Studying the Reform of the Chinese Language, February 5, 1952.

200. An excerpt from an article by Wei Yi, in which this quotation was cited.

1952

Telegram to the Union of Burma

January 2, 1952

President Sao Shwe Thaik,
The Union of Burma
Your Excellency:

On this happy occasion of your country's National Day, on behalf of the government and the people of the People's Republic of China I sincerely extend to Your Excellency and to the government and people of your country our warmest congratulations. May the friendship between the Chinese and Burmese peoples grow and increase with each passing day.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, January 4, 1952.

Telegram to the Republic of India

January 24, 1952

President,
The Republic of India
Mr. [Rajendra] Prasad:

On this occasion of your country's National Day, on behalf of the government and the people of the People's Republic of China I sincerely extend to Your Excellency and to the government and people of your country our warmest congratulations and our best wishes for the ever-growing prosperity and wellbeing of the Indian people.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, January 26, 1952.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Mongolia

January 27, 1952

Chairman,
The President of the Greater Hural, The People's Republic of Mongolia
Comrade Bumatsende:

We are stunned to receive news of the passing away of Marshal Choibalsan, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Mongolia.²⁰¹ On behalf of the government and the people of the People's Republic of China, I extend to you and to the government and people of the People's Republic of Mongolia our deep condolences. Marshal Choibalsan was a great leader of the Mongolian people and an outstanding leader and organizer of the Mongolian People's Revolution. His death is not only a tremendous loss to the Mongolian people but also a loss to the camp for world peace and democracy. The assistance that Marshal Choibalsan rendered the Chinese people in the war of Resistance against Japanese imperialism will live forever in the hearts of the Chinese people.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, January 29, 1952.

Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

February 4, 1952

Chairman,
The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam
Comrade Ho Chi Minh:

201. Marshal Khorloogiin Choibalsan (alternately spelled Choibalsang) was the leader of the Mongolian People's Revolution and one of the co-founders of the People's Republic of Mongolia. He died in Moscow on January 26, 1952.

We are grateful for your friendly message of congratulations on the second anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. I firmly believe that the Vietnamese people, in their resolute, unyielding, and protracted struggle against imperialism and for the independence and liberty of their homeland will, under your leadership and with the sympathy of the peace-loving peoples throughout Asia and the world, eventually secure final victory.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, February 5, 1952.

Telegram to the USSR

February 11, 1952

Chairman,
The Council of Ministers,
The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Comrade Stalin:

On behalf of the government and the people of the People's Republic of China I extend to the great people and the government of the Soviet Union and to you, our deep gratitude and warm congratulations on this occasion of the second anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance.

We are grateful for the enthusiastic and generous assistance, which in the last two years, the government and the people of the Soviet Union have given to the Chinese government and people in the spirit of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance and its collateral agreements. This assistance has been of very great help to New China in the rehabilitation and development of its economy and in the consolidation of the state.

May the great friendship between the Chinese and Soviet people grow ever more intimate. The mighty alliance between China and the Soviet Union is an invincible force, a powerful guarantee against imperialist aggression and for the defense of peace and security in the Far East, and also a guarantee for the victory of the great cause of world peace.

Long live the unbreakable friendship and unity between the people of Chi-

na and Soviet Union!

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, February 14, 1951,

Imperialism's Plan for Aggression is Bound to be Smashed²⁰²

February 14, 1952

I believe that given the cooperation between the two great countries of China and the Soviet Union, imperialism's plans for aggression are bound to be smashed.

It is evident to all of us that given the great cooperation between our [two countries], China and the Soviet Union, all of imperialism's plans of aggression cannot but be smashed. They are bound to be thoroughly shattered. As soon as the imperialists start a war of aggression, we and the people throughout the world will certainly wipe them from the face of the earth!

Telegram to the USSR

February 21, 1952

Chairman,
The Council of Ministers,
The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Comrade Stalin:

On this glorious day commemorating the thirty-fourth anniversary of the founding of the armed forces of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, please accept my heartfelt congratulations and best wishes.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

202. These comments were made by Mao at a banquet given by the Soviet Ambassador to China to celebrate the second anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance. Quoted from *Mao Zhuxi Lun Diguo Zhuyi He Yiqie Fandongpai Dou Shi Zhi Laohu* (Chairman Mao Discusses How the Imperialists and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers), in *Shijie Zhishi* (World Knowledge), 20 (1958), Semi-monthly, Beijing.

Source: *People's Daily*, March 3, 1951.

Decree to a Division of the Xinjiang Construction Battalion

February 1952

You are now given the glorious task of the economic construction of the homeland. In the past you have been a long-tested, highly organized and well-disciplined combat unit. We trust that, on the production and construction front, you will become a highly skilled commando troop in construction as well. You will act as heroic models, striving on a new front for the happiness of the revolutionary lives of the future, on behalf of all the people of the country, including yourselves.

You may now put your weapons of combat in reserve and take up the weapons of production and construction. If and when the homeland should have the need to call upon you, I shall once again order you to take up the weapons of combat once more to defend the homeland.

Source: *Excerpt from Selected Compilation of Materials, 1967, Red Guard Publication. This decree was displayed in the Exhibition Hall of the First Agricultural Division of the Xinjiang Construction Battalion.*

Telegram to Matyas Rakosi

March 7, 1952

The Central Committee,
The Hungarian Worker's Party
Dear Comrade Matyas Rakosi:²⁰³

On the occasion of your sixtieth birthday, on behalf of the Communist Party of China and on my own behalf, I extend to you—loyal son of the Hungarian people and outstanding fighter for the international worker's movement—

203. Mátyás Rákosi (1892-1971) was general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Hungary (Kommunistak Magyarországi Partja, KMP) from 1945 to 1948, and general secretary of the Hungarian Working People's Party (Magyar Dolgozók Partja, MDP) formed in 1948 by the merging of the KMP with the Hungarian Social Democratic Party (Magyar Szocial Demokrata Part).

our fraternal congratulations.

Respectfully, I wish you good health and further success in your cause of leading the Hungarian people on the path to socialism and of defending world peace.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, March 9, 1952.

Letter to Cheng Qian

March 11, 1952

Mr. Songyun:²⁰⁴

I have received your gracious letter of March 6. Your speech at the joint meeting²⁰⁵ has permitted me to understand clearly the strengths and problems with [our country's] rivers and lakes and has been of great benefit to me.

In response, and with my respect.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 431.

204. Songyun is the honorific name of Cheng Qian (1881-1968) a veteran KMT general, occupying a number of significant military and political posts in that party and in Sun Yat-sen's government from the late 1910s through the 1940s, and by the late 1940s was one of the most powerful members of the KMT. (In the 1948, he was a nearly successful candidate for the vice-presidency of the KMT national government). He was also in that year, governor of Hunan his native province and in whose political affairs he had been active all his life. In August 1949 he surrendered to the Communists, who were rapidly advancing on Guangzhou, the seat of the KMT government, then nominally under the presidency of Li Zongren. His "defection" hastened the collapse of the defense of the KMT forces. After 1949, Cheng held several important political positions in the PRC. At the time of this letter he was, among other things, a deputy chairman of the standing committee of the NPC, and, more pertinently here, a vice-chairman of the Central-South Military and Government Administration Committee.

205. This refers to a joint meeting attended by the persons in charge of the departments of water conservation, of forestry' and agriculture and of transportation in the governments of the provinces of Hunan and Hubei and in the Central-South China Military and Government Administration Committee. This meeting, convened by the last organ mentioned above in March 1952, was held for the purpose of discussing the plans for the Jing River flood prevention project.

Instruction to Huang Yanpei²⁰⁶

March 15, 1952

Private capital is of value in New China's construction; it is just that we must not allow it to develop in the wrong direction.

The capitalists should not be allowed to seek their private interests only; they should also take the interests of the state and the workers into account.

Unite well with them, teach them, reform them; they should first study and carry out the Common Program.

Reply to Ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

March 18, 1952

Mr. Ambassador:

I am extraordinarily pleased to accept the letter of credence from the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, presented by Your Excellency and am grateful for the good wishes that Your Excellency has expressed to the Chinese people on behalf of the Korean people.

In their great patriotic war of resistance against United States imperialist aggression, the heroic people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have displayed a noble spirit of sacrifice with which they have overcome all difficulties and have secured evident victories.

The peoples of China and Korea are engaged in a common struggle for the sake of resisting our common enemy, United States imperialist aggression, and protecting the security of our two countries and peace in the Far East. Indeed, as Your Excellency has pointed out, the long-standing friendly relations of mutual assistance between the Chinese and Korean peoples have been sealed by

206. This is an indirect quotation of comrade Mao's instructions transmitted by Huang Yanpei at the fourth general meeting of the Beijing Chapter of the China Democratic National Construction Association, of which he was chairman. This was reported in the People's Daily of September 14, 1952.

the noble blood of our common struggle. This struggle has already turned the consolidated unity between our peoples into an immense force for the cause of defending peace. As long as the Chinese and Korean peoples always continue to unite as one and struggle together, we will surely be able to smash the United States imperialists' plans for aggression against our two countries and to make extremely significant contributions to the defense of peace in the Far East and throughout the world.

I warmly welcome Your Excellency as the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the People's Republic of China and pledge to Your Excellency my utmost assistance in your work of consolidating and promoting the fraternal friendship between our two peoples'.

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

Source: *People's Daily*, March 19, 1952.

Reply to Ambassador of the Republic of Czechoslovakia

March 18, 1952

Mr. Ambassador:

I am extraordinarily pleased to accept the letter of credence from the President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia presented by Your Excellency and am grateful to Your Excellency for your warm congratulations.

For more than two years, the friendly relations between our two countries have achieved further development in the areas of politics, the economy and culture. The Chinese people have paid constant attention to the brilliant achievements of the Czechoslovakian people in their work of socialist construction following liberation and are sincerely delighted with these achievements. I deeply believe that the friendly cooperation between our two countries will not only facilitate the economic prosperity of our countries and the strengthening of our friendship, but will also contribute to the consolidation of the camp for world peace and democracy led by the great Soviet Union.

I warmly welcome Your Excellency as the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary from the Republic of Czechoslovakia to the People's Republic

of China and pledge to Your Excellency my utmost assistance in your work of consolidating and promoting the fraternal friendship between our peoples.

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

Source: *People's Daily*, March 19, 1952.

Conversation with Zhai Zuojun²⁰⁷ (Excerpt)

Spring 1952

How is the campaign going in your area²⁰⁸?... (Zhai tells the Chairman that the campaign is going very well, very enthusiastically, and that workers, shop clerks, and the masses have all risen one after another to carry out struggles by reasoning with the capitalists)... That's good then. Without repelling the attack of the bourgeoisie, our revolutionary cause cannot develop.

Source: *Excerpt from Zhai Zuojun's, article 'Zai Mao Zhuxi Shenbian' (Being Next to Chairman Mao) in Xin guancha (New Observation), Semi-monthly, Beijing, May 16, 1951.*

Telegram to Sa Zhenbing's Family

April 12, 1952

The family of Mr. Sa Zhenbing:

Upon the death of Mr. Sa Zhenbing²⁰⁹ owing to illness, I feel deep sorrow

207. Zhai Zuojun was a security guard for Mao in 1931. In 1952 he was working in the PLA Air Force and had been dispatched to Tianjin to gather materials on the "Three Evils" and "Five Evils" campaign. On his return to Beijing he was invited to see Mao. The subject of the excerpt from the conversation was the campaign.

208. The campaign refers to the movements against "Three Evils" and "Five Evils". The movement against the "Three Evils" was the struggle against corruption, waste and bureaucracy launched at the end of 1951 among the personnel of government departments and state enterprises. The movement against the "Five Evils" was the struggle against bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing of economic information, started at the beginning of 1952 among owners of private industrial and commercial enterprises.

209. At the time of his death, Sa Zhenbing was a member of the National Committee of

and send this telegram expressly to extend my condolences. Respectfully,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, April 12, 1952.

Telegram to Boleslaw Bierut

April 16, 1952

President,
The Republic of Poland
Comrade Bierut:

On this occasion of your sixtieth birthday, please accept the warm congratulations of the Chinese people, the government of the People's Republic of China, and myself. Under your leadership, the people of Poland have built, out of the ruins that remained after the pillage by the Nazi bandits, a country of increasing prosperity, freedom, and happiness. By their achievements in building a socialist society, the Polish people have provided powerful evidence of the shameful defeat of aggressors and have displayed the invincible, immense strength of the camp for peace and democracy.

Our best wishes to you in securing still greater achievements in your cause of socialist construction and in your struggle for world peace. We wish you good health and a long life.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, April 16, 1952.

Telegram to Rajendra Prasad

May 11, 1952

President Rajendra Prasad,
The Republic of India

the CPPCC, a member of the People's Revolutionary Military Commission, a member of the Administrative Council of the Fujian Provincial People's Government, and a senior leader in the Chinese navy.

Your Excellency:

We are happy to learn that Your Excellency has been elected President of the Republic of India. On behalf of the government and people of the People's Republic of China I sincerely extend to you our congratulations.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, May 13, 1952.

Letter to Tan Kah-Kee

May 16, 1952

Commissioner Tan:²¹⁰

Your gracious letter has long been received. I apologize for being so tardy in responding. In accordance with your bidding I have written the seven characters for the Jimei Liberation Memorial.²¹¹ I wonder if they are usable? How is your health of late? I am always concerned.

With my respect.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 432.

210. Tan Kah-Kee (alt. Chen Jiageng) (1874-1961) is an "Overseas Chinese" of note. He went to Singapore in 1890 to help his father, Tan Ki Pei, who had left his family in China in the 1880s to seek his fortune. Tan became a very successful entrepreneur in rubber and, from the mid-1910s on, in shipping. He turned much of his patriotism for China into an effort to establish a university in Xiamen, Fujian Province, which he single-handedly supported for fifteen years. He took frequent trips to and from China. In 1938, following the outbreak of the war between China and Japan the previous year, Tan organized the Nanyang Overseas Chinese Relief Association, which continued to be the main pillar of support for China in Southeast Asia throughout the war years. From the mid-1940s on, he became outspoken in his criticism of Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government and turned to the CPC. In September 1946 Tan wrote to President Truman to appeal for an end to US aid to the KMT, which he believed to be one of the causes for the prolongation of the civil war in China. In October 1949 Tan became a member of the Central People's Government Council of the PRC. He also became member of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Committee.

211. Jimei village, Gonggan *xian*, Fujian Province, is Tan Kah-Kee's birthplace. In 1913 Tan sponsored the building of the first of the modern primary schools in the South Fujian area here, this also marked the beginning of Tan's lifelong devotion to the enterprise of public education. Tan retired to live in Jimei in 1951.

Inscription for Workers on Jing River Flood Control Project

May 19, 1952

For the benefit of the broad masses of the people, let us strive for victory in the Jing River flood control project!²¹²

(SIGNED)

Source: *People's Daily*, May 29, 1952.

Telegram to the Dalai Lama and Panchen Gnoertehni

May 23, 1952

The Dalai Lama and Panchen Gnoertehni
Sirs:

Thank you for your telegrams of May 23. On this occasion of the anniversary of the peaceful liberation of Tibet, I am extremely happy that you sent telegrams to express your willingness to exert effort for the gradual and thorough implementation of the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet. I celebrate [this act and wish that] you and all the Tibetan people will unite ever more closely together and unite with all fraternal nationalities and peoples across the country in a concerted effort to build our great homeland and build a prosperous and happy new Tibet. Furthermore I wish you success and good health.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, May 4, 1952.

Letter to Ye Gongzuo

May 25, 1952

Mr. Yuhu: [Ye Gongzuo]²¹³

212. This project is located on the border between Hunan and Hubei provinces.

213. Ye Gongzuo (1881-1968) was a scholar and school teacher. Before Liberation he

I have received and read your gracious letter of several months ago, and the poem written by Mr. Sa Zhenbing which was enclosed. Soon thereafter I received and read two more poems by yourself. For all this I am very grateful. Now Mr. Sa has passed away to join the ancients, and his poem is now a part of memorabilia. I am returning it for your safekeeping. Most recently I received the letter from the four gentlemen of which you, sir, are one,²¹⁴ in which you have described the matter related to the ancestral shrine of the late-Ming patriotic leader Mr. Yuan Conghuan. I have already talked with Mayor Peng Zhen and, if there are no major objection, I believe it ought to be preserved. Please contact Mayor Peng and discuss this matter with him.

With my respect,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 433.

Reply to Ambassador of the Republic of Poland

June 9, 1952

Mr. Ambassador:

I am extremely glad to accept the letter of credence from the President of the Republic of Poland presented by Your Excellency and am grateful for Your Excellency's warm congratulations and good wishes.

For two years, the friendly relations between China and Poland in the political, economic and cultural areas have made noteworthy progress. The Chinese people have a great admiration for the inspiring cause that the Polish people have undertaken, under the leadership of President Bierut, to rebuild their homeland and march forward toward socialism, and wholeheartedly take delight in your superb achievements. I firmly believe that further close cooperation between our two peoples will not only facilitate the strengthening of the

made many contributions towards Chinese railroad building. He was also known as the founder of Jiatong University, which came to be a leading center of engineering sciences in China.

214. This refers to Ye, Liu Yazhi, Li Jishen and Zhang Shichao. In the letter they requested the preservation and repairs of the ancestral shrine and tomb of the Ming dynasty general and patriot Yuan Chonghuan, which are in the city of Beijing.

friendship between our two countries, but will also contribute to the cause of world peace for which we are in common striving.

I warmly welcome Your Excellency as the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Poland to the People's Republic of China and pledge to Your Excellency my utmost assistance in your work of consolidating and promoting the friendship between our two peoples.

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

Source: *People's Daily*, June 10, 1952.

Reply to Minister of the Republic of Finland

June 9, 1952

Mr. Minister:

I am very glad to accept the letter of credence from the President of the Republic of Finland which Your Excellency has presented and am grateful for your president's sentiments of congratulations and wishes for the prosperity and happiness of the Chinese people which Your Excellency has conveyed to us.

The strengthening of the friendship between the peoples of China and Finland and the further development of economic and cultural relations between the two countries will contribute to the cause of world peace for which we hold a common hope.

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

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

Source: *People's Daily*, June 10, 1952.

Inscription on Physical Culture and Sports

June 10, 1952

Promote Physical Culture and Sports: Strengthen the People's Physique.²¹⁵

(SIGNED)

Source: *People's Daily*, June 22, 1952.

Letter to Huang Yanpei

June 10, 1952

Mr. Renzhi:²¹⁶

Your gracious letter of June 8 has been received. The year 1840 refers to the year in which Lin Zexu led the people's masses of Guangzhou in resistance against the attack of the British, that is, the year of the so-called Opium War.²¹⁷ It does not refer to Chen Sheng and Wu Guang.²¹⁸ I'm afraid your memory

215. Comrade Mao's inscription was for the occasion of the establishment of the All China Federation of Physical Culture. Its inaugural Ceremonies were held in Beijing on June 20, 1952. The same inscription was also written for the PLA Sports Convention in Commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the "August 1" Army Day (i.e., the day of the founding of the Red Army).

216. See *Letter to Huang Yanpei*, p. 116 of this Volume.

217. Faced with the opposition of the Chinese people to her traffic in opium, Britain sent forces in 1840-42 to invade Guangdong and other coastal regions of China, under the pretext of protecting trade. Led by Lin Zexu the troops in Guangdong fought a war of resistance. A "Quell the British Corps" which was spontaneously organized by the people of Guangzhou also dealt the British aggressors severe blows.

218. Chen Sheng and Wu Guang were the leaders of a rebellion at the end of the Qin dynasty circa 209 BC. They were both among laborers being transported to Yuyang (in today's Hebei, near Beijing). *En route*, at Dazexian (in today's Anhui Province), they were delayed by torrential rains. Fearing that according to the severe Qin laws they would be executed. Chen and Wu led an uprising that started out with some nine hundred people in the transport and ended up involving several tens of thousands of troops, over a thousand cavalry, and several hundred chariots (a fairly large-scale uprising equivalent to the size and strength of a medium-sized state of pre-Qin days). Chen was crowned by the insurrectionary troops and made his "capital" at Chen *xian* (today's Huaiyang *xian*, Henan). They were eventually defeated by the Qin general Zhang Han. Chen and Wu's uprising is known as the first peasant rebellion in China's history.

has failed you. China's modern revolutionary struggle has for its goal, first and foremost, the opposition against the invasion of imperialism. Therefore it is possible to trace its roots to the Opium War and Lin Zexu and the Guangzhou "Quell the British Corps"²¹⁹ of its day. But it would be far too remote to trace it to over two thousand years ago to commemorate Chen Sheng and Wu Guang. That was a peasant uprising of olden times, and not a modern revolution.

In response, and with my respect,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 435.

Letter to Zhou Enlai

June 14, 1952

Premier Zhou:

1) If it is possible we should take over the administration of all private middle and primary schools entirely: 2) as for schools for cadres' children, the first step is to give them uniform treatment [with the others], and there should no longer be any graded differences, and the second step is to abolish such aristocratic schools so that they [the cadres' children] can be integrated with the people's children. Please think this over and see how it can be carried out.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 437.

219. This refers to the popular name given to the Guangdong militia that grew out of the Sanyuanli Incident of late May 1841. This incident, occurring in the second year of the "Opium War", was the culmination of severe rising tension between the Cantonese populace and the British troops stationed in and off-harbor in Guangzhou. On May 29, 1841, a British patrol violated the household of Zhang Zhaoguang in the village of Tonghua, near Sanyuanli. The local villagers armed themselves and gathered on a hill fronting the British camp. For the next two days there was prolonged fighting, and on June 1, the British troops were forced to reembark off Guangzhou harbor.

Inscription on Inauguration of the Chengdu-Chongqing Railway

July 1, 1952

Congratulations on the opening of the Chengdu-Chongqing Railway to traffic. Continue to work hard for the construction of the Tianshui-Chengdu line.²²⁰

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, July 2, 1952.

Letter to Zhang Youcheng

July 7, 1952

My dear Youcheng:²²¹

Your letters have been received. Thank you. Your letter to me of the first of the fifth month according to the lunar calendar is very good and has made it possible: to learn much about the conditions in our native village. [You told me that] there is a shortage of grain and the hogs are not worth much money. Have things improved somewhat in recent months? I have also received all the letters sent to me by members of the Wen family.²²² At your convenience please tell them [that I have received their letters] and convey my regards to them. It is because of the shortage of grain that there has been a prohibition on [the consumption and manufacturing of] liquor in the villages. After the autumn [harvest] the ban may be lifted, and you will be able to drink a little.

In response, and with my wishes for your health and safety!

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 438.

220. This inscription was given as a banner to the staff of the Railroad Engineering Office of the Southwest Bureau.

221. Zhang Youcheng was a friend of comrade Mao, in his youth.

222. Wen family, relatives of comrade Mao, from his mother's side.

Telegram to the German Socialist Unity Party

July 8, 1952

The Central Committee,
The Socialist Unity Party of Germany,
Dear Comrade W. Pieck, and comrade delegates to the Second Conference
of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany:

On behalf of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese people and on my own behalf I extend to the Second Conference of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany our warmest congratulations. We respectfully wish the Conference success and wish the German people new triumphs in their cause of striving for unification and democracy in Germany and of defending peace in the world.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPC AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, July 11, 1952.

Address to the First Graduating Class of the Military Academy

July 10, 1952

President Liu, commanders, members of the Political Work Staff, members of the Rear Services Work Staff, instructors and the graduates of the First Term of the High-Level Accelerated Program Department of the Military Academy, Comrades:

The first term of the high-level accelerated program department and the senior level accelerated program department of the Military Academy of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, which itself stands for a great transition in the history of the construction of the armed forces of the Chinese people, has now come to a fruitful conclusion, and we are now holding commencement exercises. I hereby extend to you my most enthusiastic congratulations.

The establishment of the Military Academy and the educational work that it has undertaken to provide in the last year or so have contributed greatly to the construction of the regularized and modernized national defense troops [of

our country]. This is the result of the combined and unified efforts of President Liu, of all our comrade advisors from the Soviet Union, of all the commanders, the members of the Political Work Staff, the members of the Rear Services Work Staff, the instructors, and the students. I wish now to extend to you my gratitude and appreciation.

The Chinese people in its history of building its armed forces, has traveled through a long trek of twenty-five years. It is, in international circles, with the exception of the Soviet Union, unparalleled in its richness of revolutionary experience. Nevertheless, prior to the nationwide victory of the Chinese people, its military construction, owing to the limitations of objective material conditions, was in a relatively low stage of development. By this I mean that we were in a situation in which [our armed forces] had simple and low-quality equipment, in which there was an absence of regular organization and systematization, in which they lacked strict military discipline, and in which combat leadership was decentralized and non-unified, and often carried within it guerilla characteristics, and so on. These were natural and inevitable conditions in the past, and were therefore correct [for the past]. Nevertheless, since, the Chinese people attained nationwide victory, the objective conditions have undergone a fundamental transformation. We have now entered the higher stage in which we must be in control of modern technology. This possibility is now fully inherent in the existing objective conditions; as long as we add to it our indefatigable subjective efforts, it is bound to be realized. In step with the modernization of [our armed forces] equipment, there is a demand that the establishment of the troops become regularized: this means the implementation of a unified command, a unified system, organization, discipline and training [for all the troops], that is, the materialization of closely-knit coordinated actions on the part of all the various arms of the services. For this purpose, the decentralization, lack of unity and phenomena of lassitude and simplicity in discipline, as well as the guerrilla mentality and practices, which might have been appropriate and correct in the past but are no longer appropriate and correct today, must be overcome, and, in their place, we must strengthen the sense of organization, of planning, of precision and discipline which is to be cultivated in the full range of our work and command, and particularly first of all in terms of education and training. This is an indispensable condition in the establishment of regularized and modernized national defense troops [for our country].

At the same time, in order that we may organize [and prepare for] such

complex, highly mechanized and modern battle or combat, we cannot do without a sound commanding organ that can act as the brains and is rich in scientific organization and division of labor. The type of commanding organs of the past that were unsound, low in efficiency or even far from being equal to their task must, from now on, be improved and strengthened by much effort. The kind of situation that in the past placed emphasis exclusively on political work and neglected staff work must be resolutely changed around (it is correct to emphasize political work, and there should still continue to be this emphasis from now on). In the past some weaker people, people who lacked organizational ability, or even people who had committed some mistakes and did not have a high level of activism, were chosen to work in the commanding organs, and this has caused some commanding officers to be reluctant to serve as staff officers or chiefs of staff. This situation must be radically turned around. From now on we must select quality commanders who are rich in organizational and commanding abilities to serve in the commanding organs at all levels, and thus create a new work-style and a new atmosphere in the commanding organs. This, too, is an indispensable condition in the establishment of regularized and modernized national defense troops [for our country].

Commanders, members of the Political Work Staff and the Rear Services Work Staff, instructors, graduates of the first term of the Military Academy, and students still in pursuit of their studies, comrades: The Military Commission hopes that you will continue to exert your efforts in the glorious cause of the building of regularized and modernized national defense troops, and also that, through your efforts, the spirit of building regularized and modernized national defense troops will be infused into all the units.

Source: *When Sailing on the High Seas, One Needs to Rely on the Helmsman, Red Guard Publication, pp. 77-78.*

Inscription on the Monument to the People's Heroes

August 3, 1952

Immortal Glory to the People's Heroes.²²³

Source: *People's Daily, August 3, 1952.*

223. Inscription for a monument to the People's Heroes, the construction of which commenced on the day of the Twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the PLA (i.e., August 1).

Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

August 13, 1952

The Chairman,
The Standing Committee,
The Supreme People's Assembly,
The Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Comrade Kim Du Bong:

On this occasion of the seventh anniversary of the liberation of Korea, on behalf of the Chinese people, the government of the People's Republic of China, and on my own behalf, I extend to you, to our brothers the Korean people, and to the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea our sincerest congratulations.

The heroic struggles undertaken by the Korean people in striving for the independence and liberation of their homeland and in resisting the United States imperialist aggressors has made a tremendous contribution to the cause of saving peace in the world.

For the sake of thwarting our common enemy and for the sake of Korea's peace and China's security, the Chinese people will forever stand firmly by the Korean people and battle for a thorough victory over the United States imperialist aggressors.

May the friendship between China and Korea, which has grown unceasingly through the struggle and is impregnable, be forever consolidated. May the Korean people secure further and greater victories in their war of liberation.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, August 15, 1952.

Work on the monument ended in late 1955. It stands in the Southern section of Tiananmen Square in Beijing.

Letter to Chen Yi

August 15, 1952

Comrade Chen Yi:²²⁴

I have received your letter. It is of the utmost necessity for you to rest for two months in order to recover your health. After you participate in another meeting of the Central Committee you may find a suitable spot to convalesce. Wait until your health is restored before you return to East China to work. For the time being it is suitable for your post to remain in East China because your role can be greater if you stay in East China.¹ There is much need for your contribution in that area.

In response, and with regards for your daily well-being,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 439.

Letter to Li Shuqing

August 23, 1952

Mr Shuqing:²²⁵

Your gracious letter has been received. I am very much in sympathy [with your situation]. I have already forwarded your letter to the people's government of Xiangtan *xian* [for its reference] so that it can handle the matter after deliberation.

In reply, and with my great respect,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Traveler (Monthly) 2, 1958, Beijing*.

224. Chen was second secretary of the East China Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC at the time of this letter.

225. See *Letter to Li Jiehou of Shaoshan, Hunan*, p. 24 of this volume.

Letter to Uyghur Peasants of Xinjiang

August 30, 1952

To the Peasant Comrades of Paihataikeli *xiang*, Suofu *xian*, Kexi Region Comrades:

Thank you for the letter that you wrote to me in March this year, at the time when you celebrated the victory of land reform. You have achieved liberation from the bondage of the feudal landownership of the landlord class. I hope that you will, with the motto “Patriotism and High Yields” [as your watchwords], become even more solidly unified, strive hard for production, and make improvements in your own material [standards of] living, and, furthermore, on this basis, raise step by step, the level of your culture [and education] [*wenhua shuiping*].

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 440.

Telegram to the USSR

September 2, 1952

Generalissimo Stalin:

On this seventh anniversary of the victory in the War of Resistance against Japan, please accept the warm congratulations and sincere gratitude that I, together with the Chinese People's Liberation Army and all the Chinese people, extend to you, to the armed forces of the Soviet Union, and to the Soviet people.

During the War of Resistance against Japan, the Soviet Union rendered the Chinese people immense assistance. The armies of the Soviet Union annihilated the Guangdong Army, which was the main force of the Japanese troops. This helped the Chinese people to claim the final victory in the War of Resistance against Japan. The fraternal assistance that the Soviet Union has provided for the Chinese people while China has been undergoing the process of rehabilitation and reconstruction has also enabled the Chinese people to

consolidate and increase their strength rapidly.

At this moment, when Japanese militarism is reviving and when the aggressive forces of Japan rear their heads once again, the impregnable friendship and alliance between China and the Soviet Union is a powerful guarantee that renewed aggression by Japan or by any other country that is in collusion with Japan in terms of aggressive behavior will be thwarted through our concerted effort, and that peace in the eastern hemisphere and throughout the world will be defended.

Long live the great impregnable friendship between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, September 3, 1952.

Letter to Huang Yanpei

September 5, 1952

Mr. Renzhi:²²⁶

Your letter from Beidaihe,²²⁷ your letter of September 4, and the draft of your speech²²⁸ have all been received. Thank you so much.

The intention of the draft of your speech is very good, but I feel that it is a bit too radical, and I am afraid that the majority of the bourgeoisie may not be able to stand it. Therefore, as according to your bidding, I have suggested certain amendments.²²⁹ I wonder if they are suitable: please consider them and

226. For reference on the subject discussed in this letter see *Instructions to Huang Yanpei*, p. 157 of this volume. Also see *Letter to Huang Yanpei*, p. 116 of this volume.

227. Beidaihe, on the eastern coastal tip of Hebei Province, is a popular resort. For its coastal climate it is often recommended by Mao to others as a suitable place for convalescence from illnesses or for relaxation and recuperation.

228. This refers to the draft of the speech that Huang was to make in September 1952 at the general meeting of the Beijing chapter of the China Democratic National Construction Association. Its title was *How Should we Promote, on the Conclusion of the Three Evils and Five Evils Movements, the Spirit of Chairman Mao's Directive on the Policies of Democratic National Construction?*

229. Mao made the following amendments to Huang's draft: (1) Where Huang originally had: "The capitalists ought to fully accept working class ideology," Mao changed it to: "The capitalists ought to fully accept the leadership of the working class and the state-run economy." (2) Mao changed the passage reading: "working class ideology to educate and reform

make your own decision.

To ask the bourgeoisie to accept the fundamental ideas of the working class—e.g., the elimination of exploitation, the abolition of classes, the elimination of individualism—to accept the Marxist world view, or, as you say: “Without labor there is no living: one must not seek [means of] living outside of labor or the exertion of one’s own energies,” is to demand of the bourgeoisie that it must accept socialism. This is possible with a small number of progressive elements. However, it is not appropriate to demand this of them as a class as a whole; at least within the period of the First Five-Year Plan it would not be appropriate to engage in such propaganda.

In the present stage [of the development of socialism], we should only exhort them, as a class, to accept the leadership of the working class; i.e., to accept the Common Program. It is not appropriate for us to exceed this boundary.

In the present stage we allow for the existence of the bourgeoisie, but they must be engaged in enterprises that are beneficial to the state and the people, and must not be involved with the “Five Evils”.²³⁰ This is the *leadership* of the working class on the bourgeoisie and is stipulated by the Common Program.

It is not possible, or proper, for us to step out of this line and demand that the bourgeoisie accept the working class ideology or, so to speak [for us] to disallow such things as the bourgeoisie’s making money by exploitative means and to allow them to only think, as the workers do, that “without labor there is no living”—[to allow them] to only think [in terms of] socialism and not

capitalists” to “use patriotic ideas and the ideas of the Common Program to educate and reform capitalists” and the passage reading: “help the capitalists to reform their thought” to “help the capitalists to reform those bad ideas, those ideas that do not conform to the ideas of patriotism and the Common Program, i.e., the ‘Five Poisons’ [evils] ideas” (3) To the sentence in the draft that read: “Some members of the bourgeoisie are bad, some are good” Mao added: “For the majority of the bourgeoisie, within the ideology of any individual among them, there are bad aspects, and there are good aspects, we should help them to discard the bad parts and promote the good ones.” (4) At the end of the draft. Mao added the following: “This is what we demand and expect of the majority of the bourgeoisie at the present stage. However, under the current conditions in China, a minority of the bourgeoisie, consisting of people who are farsighted, may in fact exceed these expectations and come to accept the basic ideology of the working class, i.e. the ideology of socialism. They may, on the one hand, continue to run and open up factories, without seeking to be immediately reclassified [as workers] or to alter the appearance of their enterprises and, on the other hand, [however], perceive the great contribution that the socialist enterprise is making to humanity, and [thus] hope to become, in the future, socialist. It is possible that such people exist, and we ought to express to them our welcome.”

230. The “Five evils” were—bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing of economic information. Also see *Struggle against ‘Three Evils and Five Evils’, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume V.

capitalism.

In the earlier half of this year, some comrades writing articles in *Xuexi* [Study] magazine in Beijing have expressed precisely these opinions; we have already instructed them to make certain revisions and corrections.

With regard to a minority among the bourgeoisie—those people with vision and foresight—I agree with your viewpoint; we can indeed propagandize socialism among them to make them interested in the socialist cause—I think this can be done and is beneficial. Under China's [present] conditions, such people may emerge, and, particularly in a few years' time, when the socialist economic sector grows stronger and larger and has further demonstrated its great contribution to the state and the people, the number of such people may grow gradually.

Of late, your ideas have made much speedy progress. For example, where you spoke in your letter from Beidaihe on the subject of the state's sovereignty and this time on the subject of socialism, this is demonstrated. Nonetheless, what you say is, at the present time, a bit premature. It is possible for a few people to think such things, but it is not possible for them to be put into action. I am expressing my humble opinions above because you seem to place great trust in me. Whether or not they are proper, I would be very happy if you would examine them and teach me your thoughts.

In the near future, when I have the time, I would like very much to have a talk with you.

With my respect,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Sources: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, pp. 441-444.

Letter to Comrade Li Da

September 17, 1952

Dear Haoming:²³¹

I have received your letter of September 11 and also the several previous letters. The three characters "Ai Wan Ting" have been written on the separate

231. See *Letter to Li Da*, p. 123 of this volume.

[enclosed] sheet.²³²

The third line in paragraph 10, chapter 4, of “On Contradiction” reads: “In any contradiction, and also at any time, the development of the contradictory aspects is uneven.” Here the eight characters [for] „and also at any time” should be deleted. They have already been deleted in the second printing of Volume I of *Xuanji* [Selected Works].²³³ Please pay attention to this when you write the explanations.

Wishing you well in your teaching.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 445.

Inscription on the Arts

September 26, 1952

Let a hundred flowers bloom; displace the old and worn, and let new things emerge!²³⁴

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

Reply to Ambassador of the Republic of India

September 26, 1952

Mr. Ambassador:

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

For more than two years, the friendly relations between China and India

232. Ai Wan Ting is a scenic spot on Mount Yuelu, Changsha, Hunan Province, and it was completely renovated in 1952. Li Da was then president of Hunan University. At the request of Li Da, Mao inscribed in his own hand the three characters Ai Wan Ting.

233. See *Selected Works*, Volume I.

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

in the areas of economy and culture have further developed. I believe that the friendly cooperation between our two peoples will be further enhanced and consolidated in our common cause of pursuing peace in Asia and throughout the world.

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

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

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

Inscription for Inauguration of the Tianshui-Lanzhou Railway

September 28, 1952

Congratulations on the opening of the Tianshui-Lanzhou Railway²³⁵ to traffic. Continue to work hard for the construction of the Lanzhou-Xinjiang line.

Source: *People's Daily*, September 28, 1952.

Toast on Third Anniversary of Founding of the PRC

September 30, 1952

Dear Friends:

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

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

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

Long live the People's Republic of China!

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

Long live the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers!²³⁶

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

Long live the friendship and unity between China and Mongolia!

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

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

May the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Region be successful.²³⁷

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

To everyone's health, bottoms up!

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

Letter to Mao Yuju

October 2, 1952

My dear Yuju:²³⁸

Messrs. Li and Zou²³⁹ have come to the capital. I have [therefore] received the letter you sent [through them], and I thank you for your kind gift.

Mao Zelian²⁴⁰ has written a letter to me expressing his grievances. His mother is not yet buried, and the illness in his foot has not yet healed. I am hereby

236. Chinese Peoples' Volunteers were sent to Korea in support of the Korean People's war of liberation and to resist the US imperialist aggression.

237. The Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Region was convened in Beijing, October 2-12, 1952. Thirty-seven countries were represented by 367 delegates and 37 observers. The conference condemned the United States for halting the Korean truce talks and called for the repatriation of prisoners of war in accordance with the 1949 Geneva Convention.

238. See *Letter to Mao Yuju*, p. 66 of this volume.

239. This refers to Li Shuqing and Zou Puxun. See *Letter to Li Jiehou of Shaoshan, Hunan*, p. 24 of this volume and also *Letter to Mao Yuju*, p. 66 of this volume.

240. See *Letter to Mao Zelian and Mao Yuanti*, p. 143 of this volume.

sending three million *RMB*,²⁴¹ one million is for Sixth Aunt's funeral costs and two million for the treatment of Zelian's illness. Please tell him not to come to the capital. He can go the Xiangya Hospital in Changsha for treatment. If they cannot cure the problem at Xiangya, nothing better can be done in Beijing.

I am also remitting another two million *RMB* for Zerong (Sunwu)²⁴² to help him out with household expenses. He sent me a letter to which I have not yet had the chance to respond. Please tell him on my behalf that I will not be writing a separate letter.

I thank you for spending your energy in handling the above-mentioned matters and conveying my sentiments. I wish you health and wellbeing.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

P.S. This money is entirely from payments for my own writings: please tell them to use it sparingly.

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, pp. 446-447.

Telegram to the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Region

October 2, 1952

The Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Region:²⁴³

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

My sincere wishes for the success of this conference.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPPCC
AND DATED)

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

241. This figure here is for the old *renminbi* (people's currency), which was in use in the "liberated areas" prior to 1949 and throughout the country from 1950 to March 1955. The new *renminbi* (RMB) was issued by the People's Bank of China on March 1, 1955 with a conversion rate of 10.000 old RMB *yuan* (or dollars) equivalent to one new RMB *yuan*.

242. Mao Zerong is one of comrade Mao's first cousins. Sunwu (meaning "the diminutive no. 5") is a family nickname for Mao Zerong.

243. See *Toast on Third Anniversary of Founding of the PRC*, p. 178 of this volume.

Letter to Qi Baishi

October 5, 1952

Mr. Baishi:²⁴⁴

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

(SIGNED AND DATED)

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

Telegram to the German Democratic Republic

October 5, 1952

The President,
The German Democratic Republic
Comrade Pieck:

On behalf of the Chinese people, the government of the People's Republic of China, and on my own behalf, I sincerely extend to you and to the people and government of the German Democratic Republic our heartfelt congratulations on this occasion of the third anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic.

In their struggles to secure a peace treaty and to restore the unity of Germany, to develop the economy and culture, and to consolidate state power, the victories scored by the German people have had a tremendous effect on the prosperity and happiness of the German people and the cause of peace

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

throughout the world. Our best wishes to the German people for securing even greater successes in the struggle they have undertaken to build a unified, peaceful, democratic, and socialist Germany.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATE IN BEIJING)

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

Talk With Tibetan Delegates (Excerpts)²⁴⁵

October 8, 1952

The Communist Party has adopted a policy of protecting religions. Believers and nonbelievers, believers of one religion or another, are all similarly protected, and their faiths are respected. Today, we have adopted this policy of protecting religions, and in future we will still maintain this policy of protection.

The problem of land redistribution is different from that of religion. In the regions inhabited by the Han people land has already been redistributed, and in these areas religions are still protected. Whether or not land should be redistributed in regions inhabited by minority nationalities will be decided by the minority nationalities themselves. At the moment, land redistribution is out of the question in Tibet. Whether or not there should be redistribution in the future will be decided by you yourselves; moreover, you yourselves should carry out the redistribution. We will not redistribute the land for you.

The setting up of a military and administrative committee and the reorganization of the Tibetan army were stipulated by the Agreement.²⁴⁶ [However,] because you were afraid, I have informed the comrades working in Tibet to postpone the implementation [of this]. The Agreement must be implemented, but since you are afraid, implementation will simply have to be postponed. If you are afraid this year, we will wait until next year to implement it. If you are still afraid next year, the [we] will wait for the year after next before implementing it.

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

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

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

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

Letter to Song Qingling

October 10, 1952

Vice-chairman Song.²⁴⁷

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

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

I wish you health and well-being.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

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

Letter to Tan Zhenlin

October 15, 1952

Comrade Zhenlin:²⁴⁸

The [information that] Comrade Chen Yun²⁴⁹ has acquired on conditions in Xiaozheng *xiang*, Qingpu *xian*,²⁵⁰ is quite worthy of attention. I enclose it here for your perusal; please make a copy of it and send to the Party committee of the South Jiangsu district.

According to Comrade Bo Yibo,²⁵¹ when he was in Shanghai, he already knew that last year's grain requisition in the Zhejiang and South Jiangsu districts has been too heavy and that the East China Bureau has resolved to return part [of that] to the peasants. I wonder what the results have been in this matter? How much, in total, has been returned [to the peasants] in the two districts? How many people's problems have been resolved [by the action]? What is this year's harvest like? Has the quantity of the [state] grain requisition been greatly reduced?

In order to resolve this problem, I suggest that you convene at the East Chi-

after 1949 as one of the "democratic parties".

248. Tan, was at the time of this letter, third secretary of the East China Bureau of the CC of the CPC.

249. Chen was at this time a vice-premier of the Government Administration Council and director of the Financial and Economic Commission of the Central People's Government.

250. This locality is within the municipality of Shanghai.

251. Bo was at this time deputy director of the Financial and Economic Commission and deputy minister of finance.

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

In short, we must earnestly and solidly resolve the problem of giving relief to those peasants who in the past have had little to live on because the [public] burdens have been too heavy. The grain requisition this year must not exceed the rate stipulated by the Center.²⁵² [We must] greatly reduce the burden of the people.

I hope that you will notify me your opinions.

In comrade's salute!

(SIGNED AND DATED)

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

Letter to Li Shuqing

October 16, 1952

Mr. Shuqing:²⁵³

Your gracious letter has been received. I am very grateful for your conveying to me news of our home village. As for matters related to the localities, I wish only to collect material and information for reference purposes; I do not want

252. In February 1950, when the Government Administration Council drew up regulations for the requisition of public grain in the "new liberated areas," it stipulated that such requisition "should not exceed seventeen percent of the gross agricultural income, and the added public grain requisition done by the local people's government must not exceed fifteen per cent of the official grain requisition." In its *Directive on the Work of Agricultural Taxation and Requisition* in 1952 the GAC stipulated: "In those parts of the late liberated areas where land reform has been completed, a unified system of accumulative progressive tax on the basis of a total combined rate will be followed in 1952. The accumulative progressive tax rate will start at seven per cent and end at thirty per cent. As a rule no additional surtax will be allowed." In this way the burden of the peasants was somewhat alleviated.

253. Li Shuqing, see *Letter to Li Jiehou of Shaoshan, Hunan*, p. 24 of this volume.

to, and should not, directly handle local problems in general [because this would] make it difficult for the local Party and government [organs] to handle their affairs. Please understand my situation and forgive me.

With great respect,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

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

Letter to Luo Yuankun

October 22, 1952

Mr. Hanming:²⁵⁴

Your letter of October 19 has been received. The two items sent by courtesy of Mr. Li²⁵⁵ have been read, and I am extremely grateful. The autobiography is written with great spirit and is extraordinarily stimulating; the criticisms and comments [therein] are penetrating and should serve well as a model for the young people. The “characteristics” and other points described in the other item [however,] are for the most part not particularly accurate, being the products of hearsay; please do not have these published. I now send back to you these two items. I have followed your command and have completed the inscription for Mr. Yuan’s grave.²⁵⁶ Please be so kind as to transmit it [to the proper people]. It is very improper for the old monasteries of Xinhua to be destroyed or damaged. Such things have occurred in many places, and [the problem is being handled by] the Government Administration Council through its centralized comprehensive measures of protecting [such historical relics]. For this reason I will not write separately [on these incidents specifically]: I hope you will forgive and understand. It is a very fair suggestion for the older people among the nuns and monks to [be permitted to] remain in the monasteries as caretakers, and the younger ones to take part in labor. I have already transmitted [this suggestion] to the government organs concerned for their consideration and

254. Hanming is Luo’s honorific name. See *Letter to Wang Shoudao*, p. 94 of this volume.

255. This refers to the drafts of two articles written by Luo and which he had asked Li Shuqing to carry to Beijing to comrade Mao. One was an autobiographical essay and the other was titled Chairman Mao in the Days of the First Normal School.

256. See *Letter to Wang Shoudao*, p. 94 of this volume.

handling.

In response, and with respectful wishes for your health and safety in the countryside.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 452.

Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

October 28, 1952

I humbly express my sincere thanks to the Korean people, the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and you for your greetings on the occasion of the second anniversary of the entry into the war of the Chinese People's Volunteers to resist America and aid Korea.

I am convinced, too, that our joint righteous struggle to destroy American imperialist aggressors, with the close solidarity of the Korean and Chinese people and the war support of the great Soviet Union and all the peace-loving peoples of the world, will inevitably win ultimate victory.

Source: *Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington D.C., Daily Report, November 10, 1952.*

Conversation During an Inspection Tour of the Flood Prevention Works on the Yellow River (Excerpts)²⁵⁷

October 29-31, 1952

The people of the old base areas contributed a great deal to the revolution-

257. This article was originally published in various newspapers, including *Heanan Ribao* (March 28, 1957) and *Jiefang Ribao* (April 6, 1957). It was also quoted in part in *Hong Qi, Mao Zhuxi de Gongzuo, Xuexi He Shenghuo Diandi* (Bits and Pieces About Chairman Mao's Work, Study and Life) in *Gongren Ribao* (January 15, 1950). Another reprint of the article is in *Mao Qunzhong*, pp. 1-8.

ary cause; we should pay attention to helping them...²⁵⁸

When this enormous dam²⁵⁹ is built, the flood hazards of the Yellow River, which have existed for several thousands of years, will be resolved. Moreover, we will be able to irrigate several tens of millions of *mu* in the plains and generate a million kilowatts of electricity. It can also make the river navigable for steamships. All this can be studied...

(At Dongbatou)

Mao: What is this place?

Wang (Huayun): Here is where the Yellow River broke through the dikes in the fifth year of the reign of the Xianfeng Emperor of the Qing dynasty²⁶⁰ and changed its course. It is called Tongwaxiang.

Mao: How many main embankments and stone dikes of this kind have been built?

Wang: Along the entire river, we have built 1,800 kilometers of embankment and close to 5,000 dikes. In the past, during the rule of the Kuomintang reactionaries, the overwhelming majority of these embankments were built of hay stalks and were far from being solid. Today, they have all been rebuilt with stone.

Mao: For six years the Yellow River has not overflowed its banks and flooded. If from now on we continue to build up embankments and dikes, do you think the Yellow River could still break through?

Wang: This is not the way to bring about a fundamental solution to the

The author of this article, Wang Huayun, was a worker on the flood Prevention Works on the Yellow River at Lanfeng, Henan. He accompanied Mao on the trip, made in late October 1952, described in the article. The points on the Yellow River that Mao visited on this tour—Lanfeng, Dongbatou, Tongwaxiang—are all points on the southern bank of the Yellow River in northern Henan Province, approximately an area 25-50 km east of the city of Kaifeng. The above represent the more significant exchanges in Mao's conversation with cadres during this tour. All statements, except indicated otherwise are Mao's.

258. This comment was made in response to Chen Zaidao, who was at the time a member of the People's Government of Henan Province. Mao had inquired of Chen how his native village was and Chen explained that although he had not been back to his native village for some twenty-five years, he understood that things were improving since Liberation and since the land reform, even though devastation had been severe during the pre-Liberation period of KMT control. Chen, born in 1908, was a native of Macheng, Hubei. He had been the commander of the Fourth Front Army of the PLA in 1932 and fled to Yanan in 1936, after the defeat at Lushan. He continued to be a military commander of PLA (first in the Eighth Route Army and later in the Second Field Army) from 1937 to 1949.

259. Mao is referring to the Sanmen Gorge Dam.

260. This refers to 1855 AD.

problem. If there should be an extraordinarily heavy deluge, the danger would still be quite great.

Mao: And what if the Yellow River overflows to the skies?

Wang: If we do not build huge reservoirs, we will not be able to stop [the floodwater] just by these embankments and dikes...

There is a lot of water in the South and little in the North. If it were possible, it would be nice to borrow some from the south...

(At Liuyuankou)

Mao: What is this grass?

A comrade: This is called geba grass. The masses plant this type of grass specially on the dikes in order to protect them. The masses say that it creates an advantage, that “with geba grass planted on the dikes, we fear neither rain nor waves,”

Mao: It is also good stuff to feed the livestock.

Mao: What is this place? Is this water level of the river here higher than [the ground] level in the city of Kaifeng?²⁶¹

Wu Zhipu:²⁶² This is called Liuyuankou. Diagonally across the river is Chenqiao—the location of the Chenqiao military coup, in which Zhao Kuangyun was draped with the yellow’ gown.²⁶³ This place is now a ferry crossing.

Wang: The water level is three or four meters higher than the ground level in the city of Kaifeng, and during floods it is even higher.

Mao: Then this is an elevated river...

Mao: Where does this soil come from?

Wang: It is all washed down by the current from the loess plateau in the north-west.²⁶⁴

Mao: How much [is carried down]?

261. Capital city of Henan Province.

262. Wu (b. 1906) was then chairman of the People’s Government of Henan Province and director of the Head Office of the Yellow River Flood Prevention Committee.

263. Zhao Kuangyun (928-976) was originally a military commander of troops for the emperor of the late Zhou Dynasty (951-959). In 960 AD, at Chenqiao, as troops under his command marched against the Khitan forces, Zhao’s lieutenants staged a coup and had the troops proclaim him emperor. He then accepted the throne from the abdicating Zhou emperor and became, as Emperor Taizu, the first emperor of the Song dynasty. The draping of the yellow gown symbolizes the conferring of royal status, yellow being a royal color in China.

264. The Chinese term for loess is *huangtu*, or “yellow earth”. The loess plateau encompasses parts of Inner Mongolia, the Ningxia Hui Nationality Autonomous Region (NHNR), and Gansu, Shaanxi and Shanxi provinces.

Wang: According to inspections made by the hydrographic station at Shen *xian*, an average of 1,280 million metric tons is brought past that point each year. (The revised figure is now 1,360 million metric tons.) The sedimentation of such a huge amount of silt accounts for the Yellow River's flooding and changing course.

Mao: Do the work on the Yellow River well.

Source: *Excerpts from Wang Huayun, "Mao Zhuxi shicha Huang he" (Chairman Mao Inspects the Yellow River), in "Chairman Mao is Concerned about Us" (Shanghai: Wenhua, 1958).*

Telegram to the USSR

November 3, 1952

Chairman,
The Council of Ministers,
The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Comrade Stalin:

On this occasion of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the great socialist October Revolution, on behalf of the Chinese people, the government of the People's Republic of China, and on my own behalf, I sincerely extend to the Soviet people, to the government of the Soviet Union, and to you our sincere congratulations.

With greatest joy, the Chinese people congratulate the great Soviet people on the brilliant, unparalleled successes that they have achieved in the cause of building Communism. These successes are a powerful new inspiration to the Chinese people, who are about to begin economic construction on a large scale, as well as to the laboring people throughout the world.

We congratulate the Soviet people on their tremendous achievements in their unflagging struggle to safeguard and consolidate international peace. These successes have brought defeat after defeat to the plots of the instigators of war and have immeasurably strengthened the confidence of peace-loving people throughout the world in defending peace and preventing war.

May the cause of defending peace in the Far East and the world triumph, and may the great, impregnable friendship between China and the Soviet

Union be ever more consolidated and developed.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 7, 1952.

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

November 19, 1952

In order to help our brothers, the minority nationalities, let us brave any difficulty and energetically build this highway!²⁶⁵

Source: *People's Daily*, November 27, 1952.

Reply to Ambassador of the Kingdom of Sweden

December 3, 1952

Mr. Ambassador:

I am very pleased to accept the letter of credence from the King of Sweden that Your Excellency has presented and am grateful for your congratulations.

I welcome Your Excellency's appointment as the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Sweden to the People's Republic of China.

I am also very happy to accept Your Excellency's assurance that you will strive to strengthen the friendly relations between China and Sweden. I firmly believe that your wishes and efforts in this regard will be met by the support of the government of the People's Republic of China.

I Sincerely wish the King of Sweden good health, the country of Sweden prosperity, and its people, well-being and happiness.

Source: *Guangming Daily*, December 4, 1952.

265. The opening of this section of the Xikang-Tibet (Kang-Zhang) Highway was held on Nov. 20, 1952. Kangding is in Sichuan Province. Changdu (Chamdo) is in the Tibetan Autonomous Region.

Inscription Concerning Public Health Work²⁶⁶

December 8, 1952

Mobilize,
Pay attention to hygiene,
Put down on disease,
Raise the standard of health,
Smash the enemy's germ warfare.²⁶⁷

(SIGNED)

Source: *People's Daily*, January 4, 1952.

Letter to the Anshan Iron and Steel Works

December 14, 1952

The staff and workers of the Smelting Plant at Anshan Iron and Steel Works,
Comrades:

I am very pleased to read your letter of December 2. Congratulations on your newest success in production in open-hearth furnace smelting. With a high degree of enthusiasm in labor and in a creative spirit, aided by the Soviet specialists, you have set a new record, surpassing the level of the capitalist countries in terms of the period for turning out each heat and in terms of the coefficient of utilization of area space at the hearth bottom. This is not only an honor for you, but also a great event for our country along its path to industrialization. I hope you will continue your efforts and strive to accomplish the new task of smelting high quality steel in 1953.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, December 17, 1952.

266. This inscription was written by Mao for the Second National Health Conference.

267. In February and March 1952, the American forces in the Korean War waged germ warfare by dropping bombs containing viral infected bugs and other insects and bombs containing viral and bacterial culture, first on territories in Korea and then, from late February onward, also on Qingdao and other parts of northeastern China.

Reply to Ambassador of the Soviet Union

December 15, 1952

Comrade Ambassador:

I am very pleased to accept the letter of credence from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which you have presented, and I sincerely thank you for your congratulations.

For the past three years, the friendly and cooperative relations between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have been greatly consolidated and developed. As a result of unceasing efforts by the Chinese people and with the fraternal assistance of the great people and government of the Soviet Union, New China has achieved successes in every area and will soon enter into large-scale economic construction.

I firmly believe that the further development of the great friendship between our two great countries will not only be beneficial to the prosperity of China and the Soviet Union, but will also play an inestimably great role in the cause of ensuring peace in the Far East and in the world.

Comrade Ambassador, I warmly welcome you as the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the People's Republic of China. In your work of consolidating the friendship and cooperation between China and the Soviet Union you will receive my full support and that of the government of the People's Republic of China.

I sincerely wish you complete success in your work.

Source: *People's Daily*, December 16, 1952.

Letter to Yi Nanping

December 21, 1952

My dear Nanping:²⁶⁸

I have received the book and the two hand-copies which you so graciously

268. Yi Nanping was a schoolmate of Mao's, when he studied at the Higher middle school of Hunan province. Here Mao used the salutation *xiong* (elder brother).

sent to me on December 6, 1952. Thank you very much! If you are weak and suffering from many illnesses, it would not be appropriate for you to leave your home, least of all to come to the capital. I am remitting [with this letter] three million *RMB* to help out with [your] medical expenses.²⁶⁹ I would be grateful if from time to time you would instruct me on the situation in our home village.

In response, and with my best wishes for your health and well-being.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 454.

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

December 29, 1952

Comrade Ambassador:

I am very glad to accept the letter of credence from the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly of the People's Republic of Romania presented by you, and I am sincerely grateful for your congratulations.

In the past three years, the relationship of friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Romania, in all areas of politics, economy, and culture, has attained a very great development. Such a relationship of friendship and cooperation enhances the prosperity of China and Romania and the friendship of the peoples of the two countries. Moreover it strengthens the force of the camp for world peace and democracy headed by the great Soviet Union.

Under the leadership of Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej²⁷⁰ the Romanian people are in the midst of victoriously carrying on their socialist construction and have continuously attained brilliant achievements. These achievements have always won the deep regards and praise of the Chinese people.

Comrade Ambassador, I Warmly welcome you as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Romania to the People's Republic of China. In your work of consolidating the friendship and cooperation

²⁶⁹. See *Letter to Mao Yuju*, p. 179 of this volume.

²⁷⁰. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej was Secretary General of the Romanian Workers' Party (Partidul Muncitoresc Român) from 1945 to his death in 1965.

between the two countries of China and Romania you will receive my whole-hearted support and that of the government of the People's Republic of China.

I wish you complete success in your work.

Source: *People's Daily, December 30, 1952.*

Telegram to the USSR on the Transfer of the Chinese Changehun Railway

December 31, 1952

Chairman,
The Council of Ministers.
The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Comrade Stalin:

In the period of joint Sino-Soviet administration of the Chinese Changehun Railway, the Soviet side has made great contributions to the Chinese people's undertaking in railway construction. The Chinese people will forever remember this fraternal, friendly assistance. On this occasion when the Soviet government, in accordance with the 1950 Agreement and the 1952 Communiqué, is transferring, gratis, to the government of the People's Republic of China all rights to the Joint administration appertaining to the Chinese Changchun Railway and all the property of the railway, I on behalf of the Chinese people and government, extend to the great Soviet people, the government of the Soviet Union, and to you our heartfelt gratitude. May the great friendship between the Soviet Union and China grow and become more consolidated with each passing day.

Source: *People's Daily, December 31, 1952.*

Instruction on the Arts

December 1952

If the proletariat does not take-hold of the arts such as music, chess, calligraphy, and painting, the bourgeoisie certainly will.

Source: *Wind and Thunder in Fine Arts*, (August 1967), *Red Guard Publication*.

Directive on Education

1952

Don't run schools specially for children of cadres. They should become one with the masses.

Source: *Chairman Mao on the Revolution in Education*, Beijing: *Renmin Chubanshe*, 1967.

Comment on a Report of the National Labor Insurance Conference

1952

While taking practical steps to increase production and to practice economy, we must pay attention to the workers safety and health and to indispensable welfare undertakings.²⁷¹

Source: *Quanwudi (Invincible) 2*, August 8, 1967, *Red Guard Publication*.

271. The comment was made on a report submitted to the Central Committee of the CPC by the National Labor Insurance Conference which was convened by the Department of Labor on December 23-31, 1952. The labor insurance system was a compulsory insurance system to guarantee the provision of suitable and healthy working conditions and to guarantee compensation for accidental injuries and other disabilities such as maternity. It was inaugurated by the Labor Insurance Code adopted by the seventy-third meeting of the Government Administration Council on Feb. 23, 1951.

1953

Telegram to the Union of Burma

January 2, 1953

On this remarkable Independence Day of the Union of Burma, I, representing the Chinese People's Republic Government and the people of China, Pray for Your Excellency, the Union government, and the people of the Union of Burma.

Source: *Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington D.C., Daily Report, January 19, 1953.*

Speech to the Central People's Government Council

January 13, 1953

Throughout the country, military activities on the mainland have already ended, land reform has already been basically accomplished, and people from all walks of life have become organized. Therefore, the conditions are now ripe for convening, according to the stipulation of the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the National People's Congress and people's congresses at each local level. This is a great victory achieved by the Chinese people only after decades of struggling for democracy with bloodshed and sacrifice. The convening of the [National] People's Congress will further give full play to the people's democracy and strengthen national construction and the struggle to Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea. The government based on a system of people's congresses will remain a government based on the united front of all nationalities, all democratic classes, all democratic parties, and all people's organizations throughout the country. It will serve the interest of the entire people of the country.

Source: *People's Daily, January 15, 1953.*

Closing Speech at the Fourth Session of the First National Committee of the CPPCC (Excerpts)²⁷²

February 7, 1953

First, we must intensify the struggle to resist US aggression and aid Korea. Because US imperialism persists in holding Chinese and Korean prisoners-of-war and undermining the cease-fire negotiations and moreover, is vainly attempting to expand its war of aggression against Korea, the struggle to resist US [aggression] and aid Korea must continue to be intensified. We desire peace, but as long as US imperialism does not discard its barbaric and unreasonable demands and its plots to expand its aggression, the resolution of the Chinese people can only be to continue to fight together with the Korean people to the end. This is not because we like war: we would like to stop the war immediately and wait to resolve the remaining problems in the future, but US imperialism doesn't want to do things this way. If that's the case, that's all right; we'll continue to fight. No matter how many years US imperialism is willing to fight, we are prepared to fight with them for as many years, right up to the time when US imperialism is willing to stop, until the time when the Chinese and Korean peoples are completely victorious.

Second, we should learn from the Soviet Union. We must carry out the great task of construction in our country. The work facing us is difficult and our experience is insufficient; therefore we must earnestly study the advanced experience of the Soviet Union. Regardless of whether they are in the Communist Party or outside the Communist Party, old cadres or new cadres, technical personnel, intellectuals, or the masses of the workers and the masses of the peasants, [our people] all must wholeheartedly learn from the Soviet Union. We should not only learn from the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, but must also learn from the Soviet Union's advanced science and technology. We must whip up a high tide of learning from the Soviet Union throughout the whole country [in order] to build our country.

Third, [we] must combat bureaucratism in our leadership organs at all levels and among our leading cadres. At present among a good number of the basic-level organizations and basic-level cadres, serious commandism and breach-

272. This three-point directive was given at the Fourth Session of the First National Committee of the CPPCC, held Feb. 4-7, 1953, in Beijing.

es of law and discipline are occurring. The occurrence and breeding of such phenomena cannot be separated from the bureaucratism in our leadership organs and among our leading cadres. Take, for instance, the organs at the level of the Center; a good number of leading cadres in a good number of ministries and departments are still satisfied with merely sitting in the government offices writing decisions and issuing directives, paying attention only to arranging and assigning work but not paying attention to going down to the lower levels to get an understanding of conditions and to inspect the work. They have often let their leadership become isolated from the masses and separated from reality and have caused many serious problems to come up in their work. If we want to carry out large-scale national construction we must overcome bureaucratism and link ourselves closely to the masses of the people. Leading cadres at the Center and at all the local levels must all frequently go deep down to the lower levels to inspect the work. Once the leadership organs and leading cadres have overcome bureaucratism, the bad phenomena of commandism and breaches of law and discipline at the lower levels will definitely be overcome. Once these defects have been eliminated, our planned national construction will definitely be successful, the system of the people's democracy will definitely develop, the imperialist plots will definitely be defeated, and we will definitely be able to win total victory.

Source: *People's Daily*, February 8, 1953.

Telegram to the USSR

February 10, 1953

Chairman,
The Council of Ministers,
The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Comrade Stalin:

On behalf of the Chinese people, the government of the People's Republic of China, and on my own behalf, I express sincere gratitude and warm congratulations to the great Soviet people, the government of the Soviet Union, and to you on the occasion of the third anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance.

In the past three years, the relations of close friendship and cooperation between the two great allies, China and the Soviet Union, have attained great consolidation and development. The truly selfless assistance that the government and people of the Soviet Union have given New China has not only accelerated China's economic recovery and development but also will have great significance for the realization of the First Five-Year Plan in China's large-scale national construction.

May the great indestructible friendship between the Soviet Union and China in opposing new aggressive plots of the imperialists and in the task of safeguarding peace in the Far East and the world become more consolidated and developed with each passing day.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, February 14, 1953.

Instruction on the Daye Steel Plant

February 19, 1953

Strive to expand the capacity of the plant and do a good job of running it.²⁷³

Conversations with Naval Personnel on the Yangtze River (Excerpts)²⁷⁴

February 19-24, 1953

I hear that some of you do not want to serve in the navy. Why? Do you feel that there is too much hardship in serving in the navy?...

You all lead a very hard life!...

²⁷³. The Chinese version of this inscription, written after an inspection that Mao made of the Daye Steel Plant in southeastern Hubei, about 40 km, southeast of the industrial city of Wuhan, is merely a representation of the four-character slogan (or policy directive) *Ban Da Ban Hao*. It represents a policy of maintaining the quality level of industrial management while at the same time expanding the scope of the enterprises in order to meet the increasing demands of socialist construction. The slogan has been popular since 1952. Quoted in *Wu Shangyin, Mao Zhuxi Er Ci Shicha Daye Gangchang* (Chairman Mao Again Inspects the Daye Steel Plant), in Chairman Mao in Hubei Province, Wuhan, Hubei, Renmin Chubanshe, 1958, p. 267.

If they [the sailors] are obedient, then things will go well. In that case you [first mates] must pay attention to being good teachers to your students!... (Source A, p. 56)

You should settle down, put your worries aside, and be happy about serving in the navy. In the past, when the imperialists invaded our country, in most cases they came from the sea. Even now, the Pacific Ocean is not at all pacific. We ought to have a strong navy... (Source C, p. 77)

We ought to be very closely united with one another. Henceforth, it will be even better. When the worker and peasant elements become intellectuals and the intellectuals become workers and peasants, the distinction between intellectuals and workers and peasants will gradually disappear...

In the past, we were on land, and we loved the mountains and the soil. Now we are in the navy and we ought to love the ship, love the islands, and love the oceans. (Source C, p. 82; Source B and Source D, pp. 581-582)

We must take good care of old machines. We must cherish them and use them well. At the moment we have old machines: later on we will have new ones... You must nurture your children well, and when they grow up, let them have an education so as to lay a firm foundation for the revolution, and so that they may become successors to the revolution. (Source D, pp. 576-577)

More than twenty years ago I was fighting as a guerrilla in these areas. At that time I wore a straw hat and straw sandals. The reactionaries then surrounded us and attacked us on all sides; and yet today, some twenty years later, here I am cruising along on our own naval vessel together with you. (Source A, p. 58)

Thirty years ago I passed through at this spot. At the time the islands were over there; now they have moved over here. In the past the waterway was very narrow; now it has become much wider... The waterway has changed; so has the world! (Source D, p. 582; Source C, p. 83)

The imperialists take advantage of us. We must stand up for ourselves. Our country has such a long coastline, we must absolutely have a strong navy to protect our coastline. At the moment, our navy is still not sufficiently strong; we have yet to develop it in a big way... In the past we only had infantry and artillery soldiers, now we have an air force as well as a navy. Our national de-

274. On February 19-21, 1953, Mao made a voyage down the Yangtze River onboard several naval vessels, which he also inspected, as a means to gauge the development of China's naval forces. While most of the trip of four days and three nights was spent aboard the "Changjiang," and the "Luoyang," he also inspected the "Nanchang," the "Guangzhou," and the "Huanghe" as well as two torpedo boats, "53-101" and "53-104."

fense forces are growing in strength every day, and only now can our country proceed with its national construction in peace. As long as we work together and apply our efforts, we have a very bright and pleasant future ahead of us. (Source A, p. 59; slightly different versions in Source D p. 579 and Source C pp. 78-79.)

The First Five-Year Plan in our country has begun; do you all know about it?... You are all very young. (Let's see now...) the First Five-Year Plan, the Second Five-Year Plan, the Third Five-Year Plan... you will be only thirty-some years old when we arrive at a socialist society... and you will still be young when we achieve a communist society. (Source A, p. 59; slightly different version in Source D, p. 579)

We must first of all pay attention to political education and enhance the political enthusiasm of the comrades. This book is very good in its contents.²⁷⁵ The language, too, is simple and very appropriate for the soldiers to read. (Source C, pp. 80-81; slightly different version in Source D pp. 589-581)

We have been fighting for several decades. Our country is still very poor now, but after several five-year plans it will grow powerful.

At this moment, the Pacific Ocean is not pacific. When we have a powerful navy the imperialists will not dare to bully us. We must build the coastline which is over ten thousand kilometers long, into a Great Wall on the sea. (Source D, p. 580)

Furthermore, there's also imperialism (to be opposed)!... Our country is poor and blank, we have very few factories and very little iron and steel. Our line of coastal defense is very long. The imperialists bully us precisely because we have no navy... (Now we have a navy, a navy of our own, a navy of the people.)... You must do a good job and strive to build a powerful navy with combat capacity; then the imperialists will not dare to bully us anymore... You are the navy now. If you are in the navy you mustn't be afraid of storms and waves. You simply must go out on the sea to train yourselves... It does not matter if one's level of education is low. Even the most illiterate person can master technology. You have a high level of class consciousness and abundant combat experience. You are the backbone cadres [of the navy.] In the past we scaled the snow-capped mountains and crossed the marshlands,²⁷⁶ what difficulty can we

275. Mao is referring to a book given to him by the deputy political commissar of the cruiser Luoyang as an example of books read by the crew members. The book in question apparently dealt with the heroic deeds of a commander of torpedo boat No. 414 during the War of Liberation period.

276. A reference to the "Long March". In October 1934 the First, Third and Fifth Army

not overcome now?...

(A comrade reports: Some people say that we have no experience in building a navy [and so] we must learn from other countries in a wholesale and un-deviating way. They also say that fighting on the sea is different from fighting on land, and the principles employed in fighting on land are not applicable on the sea.)

We must [of course] learn from the advanced experience of other countries. However, don't think that everything is better if it is foreign. Our own things must not be discarded. The navy has its own special characteristics, and yet we cannot emphasize the peculiarity of the navy. We must retain the good traditions of our military forces... We can make our own [naval equipment]. In the past, in the period of the War of Resistance against Japan and the War of Liberation, we were able to manufacture our own [equipment]: now we should have an even greater capacity to do so. It won't do for us to rely on others exclusively...

(In a report Mao was told that the emphasis was on the technological sophistication and mobility of the navy, and that the point was made that in a sea battle the role of the people's masses was minimal.)

The navy too must rely on the people's masses and on the fishing people. It cannot become divorced from the masses. It must go among the fishing people to sink its roots. Once we have a base among the masses everything is easier to accomplish. For instance, in the past, when we fought a battle, we knew a lot about the enemy's situation, but the enemy was unable to fathom our troops' maneuvers. This is the effect of the [favorable] conditions provided [us] by the masses [in our struggle]. The army must rely on the masses in fighting a battle, so must you when you fight a battle on the sea. No matter where you go you must rely on the masses. (Largely based on Source D pp. 586-587; partly on Source C pp. 86-87)

Source A: *Members of the crew. Cruiser XX, Nan Wangde Hangxing (An Unforgettable Voyage), in Mao Guanhuai, pp. 51-65.*

Groups of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army (that is, the First Front Army of the Red Army, also known as the Central Red Army) set out from Changting and Ninghua in western Fujian and from Ruijin, Yunu and other places in southern Jiangxi and started a major strategic movement. In traversing the eleven provinces of Fujian, Jiangxi, Guangdong, Hunan, Guangxi, Guizhou, Sichuan, Yunnan, Xikang, Gansu and Shaanxi, crossing perpetually snow-capped mountains and trackless grasslands, sustaining untold hardships and frustrating the enemy's repeated encirclement, pursuits, obstructions and interceptions, the Red Army covered 25,000 li [12,500 kilometers] on this march and finally arrived triumphantly at the revolutionary base area in northern Shaanxi in October 1935.

Source B: *Zhao Laijing, Mao Zhuxi He Shuibing Tanhua (Chairman Mao Converses with Sailors), in Zhongguo Qingnian Bao [Mar 26, 1954], 1.*

Source C: *Correspondent for Xinhua News Agency et al., Weida Ee Hangcheng (A Great Voyage), reprinted in Mao Gushi, vol. 2 pp. 76-78.*

Source D: *Wei Xinwen, Mao Zhuxi Yongyuan Huozai Shuibing Xinzhong originally in Jiefangjin Wenyi, II (1975), and reprinted in Huiyi Mao Zhuxi, pp. 573-588.*²⁷⁷

Inscription Written for the Navy

February 21, 1953

In order to oppose the invasion of imperialists, we absolutely must build a strong and powerful navy.

(SIGNED)

Source: *Beijing Review, Weekly, Beijing, January 3, 1968.*

Telegram to the USSR

February 21, 1953

Chairman,
The Council of Ministers,
The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Comrade Stalin:

On this occasion of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the armed forces of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Comrade Chairman, please accept my sincere congratulations. May the powerful armed forces of the Soviet Union attain further successes in their cause of defending world peace and security.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

²⁷⁷. There are four records of the conversations that Mao had with naval personnel on this trip. There is a great deal of overlapping in these four versions. Those excerpts comes from the relatively significant pieces of conversation.

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

Inscription Awarded to Soviet Troops in Lüshun

February 22, 1953

The intimate unity between the two great peoples—the Soviet People and the Chinese People—and between their armed forces is a reliable safeguard for peace in the Far East and in the world.²⁷⁸

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

Telegram to Inquire after Stalin's Illness

March 4, 1953

Chairman,
The Council of Ministers,
The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,
Dear Comrade J. V. Stalin:

On learning the unfortunate news that you have come down with a severe illness, the Chinese people, the Chinese government, and myself, bearing feelings of deepest concern, extend to you our sincere sympathy and wish with all our hearts that your condition will take a turn for the better, that you will be restored to health, and that the prayers of the peace-loving people of China and of the whole world may be answered.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

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

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

Telegram to the USSR on Stalin's Death

March 6, 1953

Chairman,

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Comrade Shvernik:

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

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

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

the same path as we do, following the direction pointed out by Comrade Stalin, and take up the sacred cause of protecting world peace.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

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

Central People's Government's Decree on Stalin's Death

March 6, 1953

Generalissimo Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of our great ally, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, unfortunately passed away at 9:50 pm (Moscow time), March 5, 1953. In order to express the Chinese people's immensely profound mourning at the demise of our great Comrade Stalin, the great leader of the world's laboring people and the most respected and beloved friend and mentor of the Chinese people, and in order to express the Chinese people's reverence for the leader of our great ally, it is hereby decreed that:

From March 7 to March 9, 1953, flags shall fly at half-mast throughout our country as a symbol of mourning:

In this period of mourning, all factories, mines, enterprises, units of the armed forces, government organs, schools, and people's organizations shall suspend all banquets and other forms of entertainment.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN AND DATED)

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

Letter to Huang Yanpei and Chen Shutong

March 8, 1953

Dear Venerable Mr. Huang Ren and Venerable Mr. Chen Shu:²⁷⁹

Please read the enclosed article and afterward, return it to me. If you have

²⁷⁹. See *Letter to Huang Yanpei*, p. 116 of this volume, also see *Letter to Chen Shutong*, p. 102 of this volume.

opinions [on it], please let me know.

Venerable Mr. Ren[zhi], in your letter you said that you would like to transmit what I said in our previous conversation to the industrial and commercial circles. I think that you can tell a few people those things that I said that were related to principles, such [as the words to the effect that] things should be [handled through] discussion and negotiation, that things should be fair, that people should do just as much business as they have capital for, and that they should be taxed in proportion to the amount of profit they make. As for the other [things I said], there is no need for them to be transmitted. [Also], even in the case of the words of principle, you should only talk about them in an informal way, and do not need to transmit them in any formal manner. This is because these words are indeed too common; they belong to the realm of common knowledge. It is only because there is a severe problem of bureaucratism in our government work and because many things are not done well that these words appear to be somewhat novel. As for the concrete methods of resolving [these] problems, they must be seriously and separately studied by the ministries of finance, the taxation offices and other offices before [the problems] can be appropriately and adequately resolved.

In salute,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 455.

The Greatest Friendship

March 9, 1953

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

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

spreading to every corner of the world.

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

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

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

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

Since the death of Lenin, Comrade Stalin has always been the central figure in the world Communist movement. We rallied around him, constantly asked his advice, and constantly drew ideological strength from his works. Comrade Stalin was full of warmth for the oppressed peoples of the East. "Do not forget the East" — this was Comrade Stalin's great call after the October Revolution. Everyone knows that Comrade Stalin warmly loved the Chinese people and regarded the might of the Chinese revolution as incalculable. On the question of the Chinese revolution, he contributed his exalted wisdom. It was by following the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, along with having the support of the great Soviet state and all the revolutionary forces of other countries, that the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people achieved their historic victory a few years ago.

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

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

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a party nurtured personally by Lenin and Stalin; it is the most advanced, the most experienced, and the most theoretically cultivated party in the world. This party has been our model in the past, is our model at present, and will still be our model in the future. We fully believe that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union and the government of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade Malenkov will definitely be able to carry on Comrade Stalin's unfinished work and push the great cause of Communism forward and carry it to greater and more glorious development.

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

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

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

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

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

Long live the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

Immortal glory to the heroic name of the great Stalin!

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

Telegram to Czechoslovakia on Gottwald's Death

March 15, 1953

The Presidium of the Government of the Republic of Czechoslovakia:

It was with the most profound grief that I learned the news of the passing away of Comrade Gottwald. Comrade Gottwald was not only a great leader of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, but also an outstanding fighter in the cause of world peace and democracy. His death is an irreparable loss to the Czechoslovakian people and to the entire camp for world peace and democracy. On behalf of the Chinese people, the Chinese government, and on my own behalf, I sincerely express to you and through you, to the Czechoslovakian people our deepest sorrow.

I am confident that Comrade Gottwald's brilliant contributions will forever inspire the Chinese and Czechoslovakian peoples to march forward heroically and triumphantly in the cause of further consolidating and developing the intimate unity and friendly cooperation between the Chinese and Czechoslovakian peoples and further strengthening the camp for world peace and democracy headed by our common ally, the great Soviet Union.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, March 15, 1953.

Telegram to Palmiro Togliatti

March 25, 1953

Secretary General,
The Central Committee,
The Communist Party of Italy.
Dear Comrade Togliatti:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and I convey our warmest congratulations to you and to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy on the occasion of your sixtieth birthday.

Since your youth, you have devoted your life entirely to the cause of the liberation of the Italian laboring people. Relying on your heroic struggle and outstanding leadership, the Communist Party of Italy has already become a glorious banner of the Italian working class, a powerful political force in Italy, and one of the world's great bulwarks of Marxism-Leninism. Your brilliant contributions to Italy's revolutionary cause, to the international workers' movement, and to the movement for world peace have won you the respect and love, not only of the Italian people, but also of the people of China and of all countries of the world.

For victory in the cause of Italy's liberation from oppression by United States imperialism and its running dogs and victory in the cause of world peace and progress headed by the Soviet Union, I wish you good health and long life!

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPC AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, March 26, 1953.

Instruction on Leadership Work of Health Departments of Military Commissions

April 3, 1953

The disclosure by Comrade Pai XXX made me think of whether there is any major difference between the leadership work of the government health departments and that of the army's health departments. I suspect that the leadership work of the government health departments is in the same mess as that of the army's health departments. We can see neither the political leadership nor any serious professional or technical leadership. But because of the fact that there is no one else but Pai XXX who makes such a well-grounded disclosure, we still do not know much about this...

Then the fact exists that there is no leadership, no politics, and no serious administration of the business departments. The people who run these departments are bureaucrats who just eat without working. Such a condition exists not only in the health departments of military committees but also in other departments. I ask you, in the present struggle against bureaucratism, to unmask these people and set up new organs which really do the work to replace the old ones.

Source: *Selections from China Mainland Magazine; Weekly, Hong Kong (Supplement) 22, April 8, 1968.*

Reply to Ambassador of The Soviet Union

April 3, 1953

Comrade Ambassador:

I am very happy to receive the letter of credence presented by you from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and am sincerely grateful for your congratulations.

Through their close mutual assistance and cooperation, the people of China and the great people of the Soviet Union have established an unbreakable friendship. All the successes attained by New China in the areas of economy and culture and the implementation of its large-scale national construction plan, which is beginning just now, are inseparable from the sincere and fraternal assistance of the people and government of the Soviet Union.

I deeply believe that with the concerted efforts of the peoples of the two countries, the great friendship and unity between the Chinese and Soviet peoples is bound to continue to develop and be consolidated ceaselessly. The boundless strength generated by our friendship will definitely play an incomparably great role in the cause of peace and security throughout the Far East and in the whole world.

Comrade Ambassador, I warmly welcome you as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the People's Republic of China. In your work of consolidating the friendship and cooperation between China and the Soviet Union, you will receive my complete support and that of the government of the People's Republic of China.

I sincerely wish you total success in your work.

Source: *People's Daily*, April 4, 1953.

Letter to Li Zhuchen

April 21, 1953.

Mr. Zhuchen:²⁸⁰

280. See *Letter to Li Zhuchen*, p. 128 of this volume.

I have received and read your letters of April 19 and April 20. Thank you very much. You have done a lot of investigative work. Your proposals²⁸¹ will help to resolve the current problems. I have already transmitted your letter to many comrades concerned [with these problems] for their reading.

In response and with my respect.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 457.

Letter to Li Zhuchen

April 26, 1953

Mr. Zhuchen:

I have received your letter of April 21.

Although one may have to do many things, one can make an [orderly] arrangement so that during any particular period one needs to be dealing with only one major problem. In that way one may not feel too busy.

In response and with my respect,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 458.

Letter to Huang Yanpei and Chen Shutong

May 15, 1953

Messrs. Renzhi and Shutong:²⁸²

These two articles contain some material worth reading. Please send them

281. Li went to do investigative studies at certain factories and, afterwards made a number of proposals to Mao concerning the resolution of problems in the relationship between public and private sectors, between labor and capital, and in the area of tax burden, funding, etc., in industry and commerce.

282. See *Letter to Huang Yanpei*, p. 116 of this volume. Also see *Letter to Chen Shutong*, p. 102 of this volume.

back [when you are done]. The crux of the matter with the problem of privately run [enterprises], like that of [the problem of] publicly run [enterprises], lies with democratic reform and production increase and thrift. When this problem is resolved other problems, such as the problem of the relationship between labour and capital, will be easy to handle.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 459.

Instructions on Education²⁸³

May 17, 1953

In order to run the schools well, we must first of all resolve the problem of the backbone of the leadership in the schools...

Once you have a strong principal, good teachers will be produced...

By pedagogical reform we mean the reform in the contents of education and in teaching methods. Therefore we ought to revise the teaching materials and compile [manuals on] pedagogical methodology...

In primary school education, labor education ought to be emphasized...

The document concerning the system of five-year primary school [curriculum] is not bad...

We must develop the schools with all sorts of diverse methods: we must not insist on uniformity...

Primary schools that are run by the people [themselves] ought to be allowed.

Source: *Chairman Mao on the Revolution in Education*, Beijing, *Renmin Chubanshe*, 1967.

Letter to Wang Jiaxiang

May 27, 1953

Comrade Wang Jiaxiang:²⁸⁴

283. These instructions were issued at a Political Bureau Meeting.

284. Wang Jiaxiang was head of the Foreign Liaison Department of the CC of the CPC at

In the “Manual for Advisors” given to comrades working in Vietnam,²⁸⁵ in the first article, there should be, to follow the sentence: “Cherish the people of Vietnam and each blade of grass, each tree [in their country],” the addition: “Honor Vietnam’s national independence and respect the customs of the people of Vietnam; support the Vietnam Workers’ Party and Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the Party and the people of Vietnam.”

If that document has not yet been issued, I hope that we are in time to make the above-mentioned additions to the text.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong’s Letters*, p. 460.

Reply to Ambassador of the People’s Republic of Mongolia

July 2, 1953

Comrade Ambassador:

I am very happy to receive the letter of credence from the Presidium of the Greater Khural of the People’s Republic of Mongolia which you have presented, and I am sincerely grateful for your congratulations.

In the past three years or more, the relationship of friendship and cooperation between the People’s Republic of Mongolia and the People’s Republic of China has achieved extremely great development and consolidation. The agreement on economic and cultural cooperation signed last year by the governments of China and Mongolia not only further strengthens this relationship of friendship and cooperation between our two countries, but also greatly promotes the friendship between and well-being of our two peoples.²⁸⁶

The Mongolian people have already obtained great successes in their work of construction. These successes have always won the deep concern and the

the time of this letter.

285. This set of regulations, rendered as *guwen shouze* in the Chinese, refers to a set of rules and work instructions formulated by the Foreign Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the CPC in May 1953 for the PRC’s delegation of advisors working in Vietnam (The Democratic Republic of Vietnam).

286. An agreement on economic and cultural cooperation in the period 1952-1962 was signed by the PRC and the People’s Republic of Mongolia on October 4, 1952.

praise of the Chinese people. I deeply believe that the unity, which grows ever more intimate between the peoples of China and Mongolia, is bound to enhance our strength for the defense of peace in the Far East and in the world and will further consolidate the world camp for peace, democracy, and socialism headed by the great Soviet Union.

Comrade Ambassador, I warmly welcome you as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from the People's Republic of Mongolia to the People's Republic of China. In your work of consolidating the friendship and cooperation between China and Mongolia you will receive my total support and that of the government of the People's Republic of China.

I wish you complete success in your work.

Source: *People's Daily*, July 3, 1953.

Letter to Fu Dingyi

July 7, 1953

Mr. Yucheng:²⁸⁷

I have received your gracious letter today in which you asked me to write an inscription for the new printing of your work, *Lianmian Zidian* (Dictionary of Interlocking Phrases). Since I have not had the opportunity to study your masterpiece I cannot give you my opinion. As for mentioning "The great deeds and achievements of the Emperor of Qin and the [Emperor] Wudi of the Han"²⁸⁸, perhaps you, sir, have made a mistake in what you heard. You are a writer and an analogy [between your achievements] and those of the feudal emperors and kings of ancient times would appear rather improper. I beg your forgiveness for where I cannot comply with your request, and hope that you will understand.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selection from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 461.

287. Yucheng is the honorific name of Fu Dingyi. Fu was the director of the historical archives and museum of the CC of the CPC at the time of this letter.

288. Qin Shi Huang (First Emperor) of the Qin dynasty ruled China from 221 to 207 BC. Emperor Wudi of the Han dynasty ruled from 140 to 87 BC.

Letter to Huang Yanpei

July 30, 1953

Mr. Renzhi:²⁸⁹

I have received and read both of your letters—the one you wrote on leaving [Beijing] and the even more recent one. The improvement in the general circumstances [in the country] is a product of the combined effort of people in all areas. I congratulate you, sir, on the insights you have reaped from reading Marx's works. The weather is hot, and it is advisable for you to spend a bit more time on the coast.

With my respect,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 462.

Telegram to the USSR

July 31, 1953

Comrade G. M. Malenkov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Comrade V. M. Molotov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union:

Our sincere thanks to the various peoples of the Soviet Union and to you for the congratulations you have expressed on the occasion of the signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement.

The realization of the Korean armistice is a great victory for the camp for world peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union. The persistent efforts that the government and people of the Soviet Union have contributed toward peacefully resolving the Korean question have played a great role in terminating the Korean war.

The Chinese people will forever unite with the great Soviet people, the heroic Korean people, and all the peace-loving people of the world and will

289. See *Letter to Huang Yanpei*, p. 116 of this volume.

continue to strive for the cause of strengthening and defending peace in the Far East and throughout the world.

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC WITH ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF GAC AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, August 1, 1953.

Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

August 12, 1953

The Chairman,
The Standing Committee,
The Supreme People's Assembly,
The Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Comrade Kim Du Bong:

On the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the liberation of Korea, please accept my sincere congratulations to all the Korean people and to yourself.

May the heroic Korean people who have defeated the United States imperialist aggressors achieve great success in their cause of striving to halt a resurgence of aggressive war and to establish a peaceful, unified, and independent new Korea.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, August 15, 1953.

Letter to Ye Gongzuo

August 16, 1953

Mr. Yuhu:²⁹⁰

I have received your gracious gift of the volume of portraits of Qing dynasty scholars. Thank you very much indeed! I wonder if you have access to the first

290. See *Letter to Ye Gongzuo*, p. 171 of this volume.

volume? If you do, would it be possible for me to borrow it for a look?

With my respect,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 463.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Albania

August 20, 1953

My sincere thanks to the Albanian people, to the People's Government of Albania, and to you personally for your greetings on the occasion of the signing of the Korean armistice. The Chinese people will continue their relations with all the people of the world, led by the Soviet people, for a lasting peace in the Far East and in the world.

Source: *Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington D.C., Daily Report, August 21, 1953.*

Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

August 25, 1953

Comrade Kim Il Sung, Premier of the Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea:

I hereby wish to express my heartfelt thanks for the congratulations extended to me on the occasion of the twenty-sixth anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's liberation Army by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the entire Korean people and you. The Chinese people will... (intently) goodwill and solidarity with the brotherly Korean people, and will jointly fight to the last for the peaceful settlement of the Korean issue and for lasting peace in the Far East and of the world.

Source: *Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington D.C., Daily Report, August 26, 1953.*

Address at the Establishment of the Institute of Military Engineering and the Inauguration of its First Term

August 26, 1953

President Chen, professors, teaching assistants, students and staff of the Institute of Military Engineering, Comrades:

At this moment of the beginning of a new term for you, I extend to you my warmest and most enthusiastic congratulations.

I take this opportunity also to express our heartfelt thanks to the government of the Soviet Union and the Soviet experts who have so enthusiastically aided us in planning and creating this institute.

The establishment of the Institute of Military Engineering of the Chinese People's Liberation Army has an extremely great significance for our country's national defense enterprise; in order to build a modernized national defense [system], our army, air force, and navy must all possess fully mechanized equipment and armaments, and none of this can be achieved without complex specialized technology. What we direly need today is a large number of people who are capable of managing and steering the direction of technological [advancement] and to see to it that our technology may improve and make progress uninterruptedly. The purpose for the creation of the Institute of Military Engineering is precisely to resolve this urgent and yet glorious task.

Learning from the Soviet Union's experts has been a fine tradition that we have followed throughout the history of the construction of our armed forces. No matter at what time or in whichever department of our work, we should [continue to] do so. This is something that has all the greater significance for this Institute of yours. You must learn from the Soviet Union's advanced scientific and technological knowledge, learn from the Soviet Union's rich experience in the construction of military science, and emulate the learning mentality and working attitude of our comrades, the Soviet Union's experts, and their highly developed spirit of patriotism and internationalism. In learning one must be modest and earnest; one must not become self-satisfied and arrogant as soon as one has learned a little bit.

There is something that you in this Institute, and everybody in the armed forces, must fully understand and never, not even for a single moment, forget,

and that is: Maintain and develop the glorious tradition of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and particularly the heroic spirit of dedicating oneself wholeheartedly to serve the people and of self-sacrifice!

I hope that you will unite, and be of one mind, building and running this Institute well, respecting the experts, dedicating yourselves to diligent study, and strive for the accomplishment of the glorious task that the People's Military Commission has placed on your shoulders.

Source: *Long Live Mao Zedong Thought, Red Guard Publication, p. 253.*

Letter to Li Shuqing

August 27, 1953

Mr. Shuqing:²⁹¹

I have received the letter that you wrote me after we parted. Thank you very much. I hope that you will, at your convenience, tell me a few things about what's happening in our home village. Please take good care of yourself.

Allow me also to express to you my regards,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Zhou Libo's article A Journal of Five Days in Shaoshan in the Traveler (Monthly) 2, February 22, 1958, Beijing.*

Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

August 30, 1953

On the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, I sincerely extend my greetings to the Vietnam people, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and you, Comrade.

I wish that the Vietnam people may score many new victories in their struggle against aggression and for the independence and liberation of their Fatherland, and wish that the fraternal friendship between the peoples of Vietnam

291. See *Letter to Li Jiehou of Shaoshan, Hunan*, p. 24 of this volume.

and China may consolidate day after day.

Source: *Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington D.C., Daily Report, September 2, 1953.*

Telegram to the USSR

September 2, 1953

Comrade G. M. Malenkov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union,

Comrade V. M. Molotov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union:

On the occasion of the eighth anniversary of victory in the War of Resistance against Japan, on behalf of the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, I extend our warm congratulations to the people and the armed forces of the Soviet Union.

From beginning to end, in the protracted and difficult war to resist Japanese imperialist aggression and in the fighting that finally crushed Japanese imperialism, the Chinese people received the support and assistance of the Soviet people. This was especially true in 1945, when, owing to the fact that the Soviet armed forces joined the war and fought alongside the Chinese people, we defeated Japanese imperialism and achieved the final victory.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, with the conclusion of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance, the unbreakable friendship between China and the Soviet Union has already been and is still being consolidated and developed with each passing day. This great friendship has now become a strong guarantee of peace in the Far East and throughout the world.

On top of this we also should point out here that the fraternal assistance that the Soviet Union has given the Chinese people is an important factor in the rapid restoration of China's economy and in its stepping onto the path to planned construction.

The recent signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement is clearly a great, new achievement in the efforts of the entire camp for peace and democracy to win peace and to prevent new war. This important new achievement has contributed to the beginning of the easing of tension in the world as a whole.

At the same time, it will also contribute to the efforts of the Japanese people in obtaining normalized relations with the various countries of the Far East so as to prevent the revival of Japanese imperialist aggression.

Long live the eternal cooperation between China and the Soviet Union in the just cause of defending peace in the Far East and throughout the world!

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC WITH ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF GAC AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, September 3, 1953.

Telegram to the Chinese People's Volunteers²⁹²

September 12, 1953

The Twenty-fourth session of the Central People's Government Council heard the report made by XXX, XXX, on the work of the Chinese People's Volunteers in Resisting the US and Aiding Korea. It expresses its complete satisfaction at the glorious achievements that the Chinese People's Volunteers have attained in coordinating with the Korean People's Army in resisting aggression and defending the peace, and at the fact that they have, on this basis, persisted in their striving for negotiations for an armistice for the peaceful resolution of the Korean problem, and its glorious victory in having attained the truce in Korea.²⁹³ The Central People's Government thanks you for your nonpareil contribution in this war for justice and expresses to you its warm and enthusiastic felicitations and greetings.

On October 25, 1950, just when the US aggressive forces invaded the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in full force, and threatened our own northeastern frontiers at the Yalu and Tumen rivers, severely menacing our country's security, the Chinese People's Volunteers heroically moved toward Korea to back up the Korean People's Army in resisting the encroachment of the US imperialists. In the ensuing two years and nine months, the Chinese People's Volunteers, acting in accordance with the will of the people of their homeland, stood shoulder to shoulder with the Korean People's Army and,

292. Text of a telegram drafted by Mao on behalf of the Central People's Government Council. Extracted from *Selected Compilation of Materials*, January 1967, Red Guard Publication, pp. 154-155.

293. Also see *Our Great Victory in the War to Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea and Our Future Tasks*, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume V.

with the full support of the Chinese and Korean peoples and the enthusiastic sympathy and support of the various countries in the democratic camp headed by the great Soviet Union and that of all peace-loving people around the world, fought unyieldingly, persisted in the efforts to attain negotiations, and finally repelled the enemy's frenetic aggression, exposing his true brutal and warlike face, inflicting on the enemy severe defeats on the military, political and moral fronts, thus forcing it to accept an armistice. The achievements of the Chinese People's Volunteers and the Korean People's Army in standing and fighting together stand as shining examples of the internationalism and patriotism of the Chinese and Korean peoples, and demonstrate the firm solidarity and invincible strength of our camp for peace and democracy. They have won the respect and praises of all the progressive people of the world.

The victory represented by the Korean Armistice has totally shattered the maniacal plans of US imperialism for swallowing all of Korea and invading our country's northeastern region, and protects the peace and security of China, Korea, and the Far East [as a whole]. It has put down and defeated the invader's fierce flames [of aggression] and has greatly fanned the spirit of courage and faith among the peace-loving people of the world to strive for lasting peace and against aggressive war. The Chinese people, together with the heroic Korean people and their army, have, with the example of their victory, shown the people of the world a truth: that the aggressive war conspiracy of the imperialist must and can be defeated, and as long as all peace-loving people unite as one to oppose the intervention [of their own countries] in the domestic affairs of other countries, to oppose wars of aggression, and to insist on resolving matters of international dispute by means of peaceful negotiations, peace is guaranteed.

The victory of the Korean Armistice is a triumph for the movement among the peoples of the world for the peaceful resolution of all international disputes. However, the signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement is but the first step toward the peaceful resolution of the Korean problem. The peaceful resolution of this problem with the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and under the spirit of having the Korean people handle their own affairs is something that is left to the discussions and settlement of a higher-level political assemblage [in the future.] The Chinese people have always advocated resolving international disputes by means of peaceful discussion, and they are willing to stand firm as a powerful back-up force for the peaceful resolution of international issues.

In view of the fact that the bellicose elements in the United States and the

Syngman Rhee faction in Southern Korea are still in the midst of carrying out all sorts of plots and conspiracies to forestall or sabotage [the convening of] a political assembly and further undermine the armistice, all our comrades [in] the Chinese People's Volunteers must double their vigilance and continue to strive to raise their military and political standards. They must reinforce their own combat strength, further strengthen and develop the friendship between the Chinese people and the Korean people, and hold even more fast to their battle positions together with the Korean People's Army so as to prevent any acts of aggression or provocation by the enemy.

The Chinese people themselves shall carry out economic construction with all their might, strengthen their national defense forces, and continue to develop in a more in-depth manner the movement to *Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea*, so as to back up the Chinese People's Volunteers and the Korean People's Army. The government and people of the People's Republic of China will do all they can to help the heroic Korean people heal the wounds of war and restore a life of peace.

We are convinced that with the encouragement and support of all the people of the homeland, all our comrades in the Chinese People's Volunteers will live up to the hopes and expectations of the people of the homeland and continue to strive to ensure the thorough implementation of the Korean Armistice Agreement, for the peaceful resolution of the Korean people, and for the defense of peace in the Far East and throughout the world!

Long live the memory of the martyrs who gave their lives in the War to Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea!

Long live the impregnable and eternal friendship between the people of China and Korea!

Telegram to the USSR

September 15, 1953

Chairman,
The Council of Ministers,
The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Comrade Malenkov:

At a session on September 15, 1953, the Central People's Government

Council of the People's Republic of China heard with satisfaction the report made by Comrade Li Fuchun, representative of the Delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, regarding its negotiations with the government of the Soviet Union over the issue of the Soviet government's aid to China's economic construction. The Central People's Government Council unanimously feels that since the great Soviet government has agreed to systematically lend economic and technical aid to China in the construction and renovation of its ninety-one new enterprises and in the fifty enterprises now under construction and renovation, the Chinese people will, with their efforts to learn from the advanced experience and latest technical achievements of the Soviet Union, be able to gradually build up their own powerful heavy industry. This plays an extremely significant role in China's industrialization in its gradual transition to socialism, and in the strengthening of the camp of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union.

In a single negotiation session, the two countries reached a solution on the issue of the construction of ninety-one enterprises and solved the problem of long-term aid. This is an unprecedented event in history, fully manifesting the truth of the statement made by the great Stalin: "The experience of this cooperation shows that not a single capitalist country could have rendered such genuine and technically refined and advanced assistance to the People's Democracies as the Soviet Union is rendering them. The point is not only that this assistance is [rendered at] the cheapest rate possible but is technically first rate. What is of primary importance is that at the base of this cooperation there lies a sincere desire to help one another and to seek common economic progress."

In the course of negotiations, the Soviet government, based on the more than thirty years of rich experience in its great socialist construction, has offered to us various proposals, either in principle or in concrete terms, with regard to the tasks set out in China's five-year plan. These proposals will help us avoid as many mistakes and detours as possible in the course of China's economic construction.

On behalf of the Chinese government and the Chinese people, I extend my heartfelt gratitude to the government and people of the Soviet Union for this great, comprehensive, long-term, and unselfish aid. The Chinese government and people are willing to devote their unflagging efforts to strengthening the economic cooperation and friendly alliance between the Soviet Union and China so as to facilitate our common struggle for the cause of world peace.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, September 16, 1953.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Mongolia on the Death of Bumatsende

September 24, 1953

I am deeply grieved to learn of the death of Comrade Gonchigiyn Bumatsende.²⁹⁴ Comrade Gonchigiyn Bumatsende was an outstanding fighter in the revolutionary movement of the Mongolian people and a close comrade-in-arms of Marshal Choibalsan.²⁹⁵ He devoted his whole life to the Mongolian people's revolutionary cause.

The passing away of Comrade Gonchigiyn Bumatsende is a great loss to the Mongolian people. On behalf of the Chinese people, the Chinese government, and on my own behalf, I express our deepest sorrow to you, and, through you, to the Mongolian people.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, September 25, 1953.

Letter to Shen Junru

September 27, 1953

Director Shen:²⁹⁶

I have received and read your letter to me of September 16 and the enclosed documents. The damage of schistosomiasis is very severe, and we must, absolutely, pay the greatest attention to its prevention and cure. I have sent your

294. Bumatsende (alternatively spelled Bumtsend) was elected by the Eight Greater Khural of the People's Republic of Mongolia in 1940 as the head of the National Lesser Khural, and held this position until 1953.

295. See *Telegram to the People's Republic of Mongolia*, p. 152 of this volume.

296. At this time of the letter Shen was the director of the People's Supreme Court.

letter and the documents over to Comrade Xi Zhongxun²⁹⁷ and put him in charge of handling the matter.

In reply, and with my respect.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 464.

Letter to Mao Yueqiu

October 4, 1953

Comrade Yueqiu:²⁹⁸

I have received the letter which you sent to me.

For the purpose of understanding what is going on in our home village (not, and I must make this perfectly clear, so that you can come to celebrate my birthday—for purposes of cutting down expenses, we must not, at any time for any year, have birthday celebrations) I consent to your coming for a trip to the capital. There is also Mao Xishen (I don't know his address) and Wen Dongxian²⁹⁹ (of Tangjiaduo)—these two comrades have in the past written letters to me expressing their wish to come to see me. If you and other comrades in the village agree, you may arrange things with the two of them and come to the capital together. Only you three should come; all other comrades who have not made these prior arrangements must not come; no exceptions. After coming and staying for a brief spell in the capital, you will go back to the village.

When you come, first *bring this letter* to the United Front Department of the Hunan Provincial Party Committee in Changsha and ask the comrades there for assistance. They will issue the three of you money for transportation to the capital. Ask them also to send one person to escort you to the capital.

Furthermore, please *bring this letter* to the *xiang* government authorities of Shaoshan and Shicheng, to the comrades in charge of the local district govern-

297. Xi Zhongxun was director of the Land Reform Committee of the North-west Military and Administrative Committee.

298. Mao Yueqiu was a receptionist at Mao Zedong's old home (which had become a sort of museum of the Communist revolution for tourists) at Shaoshan *xiang*, Xiangtan *xian*, Hunan, of which he was also a native. He had been a secretary of the CPC Party branch at Ciyue, Shaoshan, in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

299. This refers to a cousin of Mao Zedong's.

ments and Party organs of these two places, and discuss things with them. If they agree, ask them to prepare a written report of the conditions in those two *xiang* and districts, and the problems and difficulties which need urgently to be resolved, and you may bring this to me for reference purposes (not that we can directly and immediately resolve these problems in the *xiang*). When you come, be sure that you *do not* bring any presents.

The time for you to come to the capital is the sooner the better; I hope you would not come any later than October 20-25.

My respects,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 465-469.

Letter to Ma Xulun

October 5, 1953

Mr. Yichu:³⁰⁰

I hear that you are ailing, and I am very very concerned. I urge you to devote yourself entirely to the restoration of your health and to resting, and pay attention to nothing else. Take whatever time as needed—don't put a limit on your period of rest—and return to work only after your health is fully restored. If you have any needs at all, please let me know at any time.

Respectfully I wish you a rapid recovery of your health!

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 467.

Telegram to the German Democratic Republic

October 5, 1953

President Wilhelm Pieck,
The German Democratic Republic

300. See *Letter to Ma Xulun*, p. 75 of this volume.

Dear Comrade President:

On the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic, on behalf of the Chinese people, the government of the People's Republic of China, and on my own behalf, I extend my most sincere congratulations to the peace-loving people of all Germany and to you personally.

The Chinese people have followed with great gladness the achievements attained by the German Democratic Republic in the past four years in all areas of politics, economy, and culture. The victories which, with the assistance of the Soviet Union, the German people have attained in the struggle against provocation by international reactionary forces, and the great results obtained in the negotiations between the government of the Soviet Union and the delegation of the government of the German Democratic Republic in Moscow, have made a tremendous contribution to the cause of consolidating peace in Europe and throughout the world.

May the German people attain even greater victories in their glorious cause of striving to establish a unified, independent, democratic, and peace-loving Germany. In this cause, the German people will always have the deep sympathy and complete support of the Chinese people and government.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING.)

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

Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

October 16, 1953

Respectfully to Comrade Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam:

(On behalf of the Government) and people of China, I sincerely thank the people and Government (of the Vietnam for having sent their greetings on the occasion of the anniversary of the) establishment of the People's Republic of China. I also wish that the Vietnam people may score many more victories in their glorious work to achieve national independence and freedom.

Source: *Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington D.C., Daily Report*,

October 26, 1953.

Speech at Reception for Tibetan Delegation³⁰¹

October 18, 1953

We must unite with all the various nationalities; no matter whether it is a large or small nationality, we must be united with it. For example, the Olunchun people may be no more than four thousand people, but we must be united with them just as well³⁰². As long as they are Chinese people, regardless of national distinction, we must be united with all those who are opposed to imperialism and who stand for patriotism and advocate unity. We should be united [first], and [then] carry out our work [in separate ways] in accordance with the varying conditions in the various nationalities' areas. In some places [work] can be done a bit more quickly, in other places somewhat more slowly. In either case, things should be discussed first before they are carried out. Without discussion, [they] should not be forcibly carried out. When they have been discussed and approved by the majority, then they can be carried out with deliberation. Even good things must be discussed first before they can be implemented. Doing things after discussion is what distinguishes the Communist Party from the Kuomintang. The Kuomintang oppresses people whenever they hold the upper hand. Not only do they oppress the minority nationalities; they even oppress the majority of the Han people as well. The Kuomintang does bad things. We shouldn't do bad things; those among our cadres who have committed mistakes ought to be criticized. Please speak up concerning the shortcomings and mistakes in our work in Tibet; you may speak your mind with regard to anything with which you disagree and which you believe to be detrimental to the interests of the people, so as to help us correct [these mistakes]. [When we] have committed a mistake, we [seek to] correct it immediately; this is where we differ from the Kuomintang.

China as a whole is still very backward at the moment, and is in need of being developed. This is because of the oppression by imperialism and the Kuomintang in the past. They have now been driven away by us, and, in the last

301. The Tibetan delegation was in Beijing for the National Day celebration of the PRC.

302. The Olunchun people are a tribal people residing in Inner Mongolia. By the mid 1960s they actually reached a population of only 2,400-2,500.

four years, we have made great improvements. After the [period of] national economic recovery, we have inaugurated, this year, the First Five-Year Plan for National Construction. We estimate that after three five-year plans, our major industries will have been established. The Soviet Union chased away imperialism and the bad people at home thirty-six years ago, and it took them thirty-six years of construction to achieve what they have now achieved. We are going to be a bit faster in our construction because we will have the Soviet Union's assistance. The population in China is very large; we have over five hundred million people and are the most populous country in the world. We also have a very vast territory. Given three five-year plans we shall be able to do quite well in our construction, and then we shall be able to give greater assistance to Tibet.

If there is anything that the central [government] can do to assist you, it is bound to do so. It is in the interests of the entire country for us to aid the various minority nationalities, thus enabling them to develop and improve. The development and improvement of the various minority nationalities is a hopeful matter.

The political, economic, cultural and religious development of Tibet must be carried out primarily on the shoulders of the leaders and people of Tibet themselves and through the discussions [among themselves]; the Center can only give assistance. This is an item written into the *Agreement on the Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet*. However, it will be some time before [these things] can be carried out, and, moreover, [they] must be carried out on the basis of your volition and gradually. Whatever can be done will be done; if something cannot be done [as yet], we will wait a bit. If there is something that can be done, and on which the majority has agreed, it would not be good not to get it done. [However] it can be done somewhat slow; so that everyone will be happy about it, and, in that way, in reality it may actually be done more quickly. In any case, our policy is one of being united in our progress and further development.

Source: *Selected Compilation of Materials—January 67, Red Guard Publication, pp. 8-9.*

Letter to Yang Shangkun

October 22, 1953

Comrade Shangkun:³⁰³

Please take the six points in the conclusion of [the book] *Liangong Dang Shi* (History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [Bolshevik]) and print them as a single leaflet to be sent tonight or tomorrow to the various comrades attending the organizational meeting.³⁰⁴ Please ask them to make use of the two or three days recess in the meeting to read, study, and where possible, even discuss [these points], so that when Comrade Liu Shaoqi and others reach this issue in their speeches in the conference, they [the attending comrades] may already have some understanding of this matter. When the leading group meets this afternoon, please notify Comrades Liu, Rao, and Hu Qiaomu³⁰⁵ of this matter (i.e., the matter of printing and distributing the concluding points [of the book]). While you are it, you may print some extra copies (you may print one or two thousand copies) and distribute [the surplus] to cadres in Beijing, and charge the General Party Committee³⁰⁶ with notifying the various departments and Party groups, urging them to read and discuss [the subject].

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 469.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Albania

October 22, 1953

303. See *Letter to Hu Qiaomu*, p. 97 of this volume.

304. This refers to the Second National Organizational Work Conference convened by the Central Committee of the CPC from September to October 1953 in Beijing.

305. This refers to Liu Shaoqi and Rao Shushi, in addition to Hu Qiaomu.

306. This refers to the general Party (CPC) committee of the various organs directly subordinate to or affiliated with the Central Committee of the CPC at the time. It was the general Party leadership organ for the organs directly under the Central Committee, the Central People's Government, and the Military Commission as well as the people's organizations at the central level.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, Tirana:

I extend to you on behalf of the Chinese people and their Government sincere thanks for the congratulations that the Albanian people, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, and you personally extended to us on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China.

Source: *Foreign Broadcast Information Service Washington D.C., Daily Report, October 23, 1953.*

Letter to Wen Jiuming

October 25, 1953

Comrade Jiuming:³⁰⁷

I have received your letter of October 2. You appear to have some opinions about the conditions in our home village to tell me; you may come to the capital for a trip [to do this]. You must furnish your own fare for the journey, and I will reimburse you for it later. Mao Zerong, whose nickname is Songwu,³⁰⁸ is my brother. He lives outside the *xian* gate [of Shaoshan *xiang*]. He has written me many times indicating a desire to come to the capital. Please look him up and come with him. He has never left home, so please give him whatever assistance you can. He, too, should furnish his own fare, and I will also reimburse him later. When you come, don't ask the United Front Department of the Provincial Party Committee for assistance if you can manage without them, but if you cannot raise the funds for the trip, then you may bring this letter to the comrades in the United Front Department and ask them to give you some help. It will be cold on the trip, so each of you should bring a thin cotton quilt blanket.

Don't bring any presents; this is most important. Other people must not come with you.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

307. Wen Jiuming was Mao's nephew.

308. See *Letter to Mao Yuju*, p. 179 of this volume.

P.S. It would be best if you can arrive at the capital by the early part of November.

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 471.

Reply to Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia

October 28, 1953

Honorable Ambassador, Your Excellency:

I am very happy to accept the letter of credence from the President of the Republic of Indonesia presented by Your Excellency, and express my deep gratitude for the congratulations conveyed by Your Excellency from the President, government, and people of the Republic of Indonesia.

The friendship that has existed for a long time between the two peoples of China and Indonesia has been further developed over the past three years as a result of the establishment of new diplomatic relations between our two countries. I believe that from now on, with the efforts of Your Excellency, the economic and cultural relations of friendship and cooperation between China and Indonesia will grow daily ever closer, and the promotion of such friendly relations will contribute to the Asian and world peace that the people of all countries are striving to attain.

I warmly welcome Your Excellency as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Indonesia to the People's Republic of China. In your work of strengthening the friendship and cooperation between the two countries, you will receive my assistance and that of the government of the People's Republic of China.

I wish Your Excellency success in your work.

Source: *People's Daily*, October 29, 1953.

Criticism of the Ministry of Public Health³⁰⁹

October 1953

The Ministry of Public Health has been beset with many very serious shortcomings during the past few years. The most serious one is that [the Ministry] is short on politics, short on political work. There is too little Marxism-Leninism and socialism there. The Party must exercise overall leadership; it must lead health work... He Zheng's³¹⁰ thinking, namely, that health work is a specialized technical type of work... [and that] since the Center knows nothing about technology it is uncertain whether or not the Center could solve [any problem] even if it were reported to the Center... is completely erroneous. The Ministry of Public Health must exert the greatest effort to solve this problem.

Source: *Invincible (Red Guard Publication) 17, June 25, 1967.*

Telegram to the USSR

November 5, 1953

Chairman,
The Council of Ministers,
The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Comrade Malenkov:

On the occasion of the thirty-sixth anniversary of the great October Revolution, on behalf of the Chinese people, the Chinese government, and on my own behalf, I extend to you warm and sincere congratulations.

Since the victory of the October Revolution, the Soviet state has, like a beacon, illuminated the path of forward progress for the exploited peoples and oppressed nations throughout the world. The increasingly glorious achievements of the Soviet people and the strength that they recently acquired in their cause of building communism have inspired all progressive humanity to be

309. This criticism of the Ministry of Public Health was made at a meeting of the Political bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC in October 1953.

310. He Zheng was the secretary of the first Party Group of the department of Health Care.

filled with confidence and to strive for a good future.

The stand taken by the Soviet Union to peacefully resolve all international disputes and its efforts in opposing the imperialists' policy of aggression prove that the interests of the Soviet Union and those of peace and freedom—loving people throughout the entire world are totally in line with each other. Good and honest people of all countries are recognizing more and more clearly that the Soviet Union is a strong bulwark for defending world peace and human justice, and moreover, the anti-Soviet slander of the imperialists is only one part of their despicable scheme to enslave humanity.

Through the rich historical experiences of the past thirty-six years, the two peoples of China and the Soviet Union have knit together an unbreakable brotherly friendship. At present, as the People's Republic of China, with the generous assistance of the Soviet Union, is progressing along the glorious path of socialist industrialization and the socialist reform of its national economy—a path already traveled victoriously by the Soviet Union — people of our country sense more than ever the priceless treasure of the close ties between the Chinese and Soviet peoples and the friendship between the two countries.

In the interests of our two people's common development and in the interests of world peace and the progress of humanity, may the great friendship between China and the Soviet Union remain forever consolidated and be continuously developed!

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

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

Reply to Ambassador of the German Democratic Republic³¹¹

November 12, 1953

Comrade Ambassador:

I am very happy to receive the letter of credence from the President of the German Democratic Republic which you have presented, and I am sincerely grateful for your congratulations.

311. This speech was made on the occasion of the elevation of the diplomatic relations between the GDR and the PRC to ambassadorial level.

In the past four years, the relations of friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of China and the German Democratic Republic have made tremendous progress. The transformation of the diplomatic missions between the two countries into embassies will not only further strengthen the close cooperation between the two countries in all areas of politics, economy, and culture, but will also have great significance for the consolidation of the camp for peace, democracy, and socialism headed by the great Soviet Union.

The great successes of the German people in their work of national construction and in their struggle to attain peace have already made the German Democratic Republic a strong bulwark of the forces of peace and democracy in the whole of Germany and a principal factor in the defense of peace in Europe and the world. I believe that, with the assistance of the great Soviet Union and with the sympathy and support of all the people's democracies and peace-loving people of the world, the German people are bound to attain even greater victories in their just struggle for a unified, independent, democratic, and peace-loving Germany. The German people will forever have the full support of the Chinese people in this struggle.

Comrade Ambassador, I warmly welcome you as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the German Democratic Republic to the People's Republic of China. In your work of consolidating the friendly and cooperative relations between Germany and China, you will receive my full support and that of the government of the People's Republic of China.

I sincerely wish you complete success in your work.

Source: *People's Daily*, November 13, 1953.

Reply to Minister of the Republic of Finland

December 2, 1953

Mr. Minister:

I am very happy to receive the letter of credence from the President of the Republic of Finland presented by Your Excellency and am grateful for the congratulations to the government and people of the People's Republic of China and myself expressed by the President of the Republic of Finland through Your Excellency.

In the last three years or so, the relations of friendship and cooperation between China and Finland in terms of economy and culture have attained a remarkable development. I believe that from now on, with Your Excellency's efforts, the friendly relations between our two countries will, on the present foundation, grow closer with each passing day. The enhancement of these friendly relations will not only further consolidate the friendship between the peoples of our two countries, but will contribute to world peace which all people in the world are striving to attain.

I warmly welcome Your Excellency as the Minister Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Finland to the People's Republic of China. In your work of strengthening the friendship and cooperation between China and Finland, you will have my assistance and that of the government of the People's Republic of China.

I wish Your Excellency success in your work.

Source: *People's Daily*, December 3, 1953.

Letter to Dai Yuben

December 9, 1953

Comrade Yuben³¹²:

I have received your letter of September. I apologize for being so tardy in responding. It is very good that you are working at the Workers' Hospital, and I hope that you can persevere in your work there. When you go to a new place, it is very likely that you will encounter some difficulties [at first]; what you should do is persevere and thereby gradually overcome the difficulties there, and after a while, things could become smoother. In this way, both yourself and the country will benefit.

In reply and with my best wishes for your continued efforts.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 472.

312. Dai was a native of Hunan, who studied at the Self-Teaching University founded by Mao, and who, at the time of this letter, was working at the Workers' Hospital of Tangshan.

Reply to Minister of the Kingdom of Denmark

December 12, 1953

Mr. Minister:

I am happy to accept the letter of credence from His Majesty, the King of Denmark, presented by Your Excellency, and am grateful for your congratulations.

The Chinese people attach great importance to the development of commercial and cultural relations between the peoples of China and Denmark, and believe that the development of these relations will be of assistance in promoting friendship between the two countries and defending world peace.

I welcome Your Excellency as the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Denmark to the People's Republic of China, and pledge to your Excellency my assistance in your work aimed at strengthening the friendly relations between our two countries.

Best wishes for the prosperity of your country, the prospering of your people, and the good health of His Majesty, your King.

Source: *People's Daily, December 12, 1953.*

Reply to Ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

December 12, 1953

Comrade Ambassador:

I am very pleased to accept this letter of credence from the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which you have presented, and I sincerely thank you for your congratulations.

For over three years, the Chinese and Korean peoples have knit together a most profound friendship in the struggle to resist the United States aggressor. The recent signing of the Economic and Cultural Cooperation Agreement be-

tween our countries further consolidated and developed the already longstanding and unbreakable relations of friendship and mutual assistance between our two countries.³¹³ Our increasingly strong unity undoubtedly will continue to contribute to the cause of safeguarding peace in the Far East and in the world.

I firmly believe that with the brotherly aid of countries in the camp for peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union and with the sympathy and support of the peace-loving peoples of the world, the heroic and industrious Korean people are bound to be able to attain new and glorious successes in the cause of recovering and developing their national economy and in striving for the peace and unification of their homeland.

I warmly welcome you as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the People's Republic of China. In your work of strengthening and developing the brotherly friendship, mutual assistance, and cooperation between China and Korea, you will receive my full support and that of the government of the People's Republic of China.

I sincerely wish you complete success in your work.

Source: *People's Daily*, December 13, 1953.

Letter to Liao Jingwen

December 13, 1953

Comrade Jingwen³¹⁴:

I have received your October letter and Mr. Xu's painting of galloping horses, and I deeply cherish the memory of him. I am now sending Comrade Tian Jiaying³¹⁵ to find out how things are with you. If you have any difficulties please feel free to inform me.

With my regards,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 473.

313. A ten-year agreement on economic and cultural cooperation to take effect from December 1953 was signed between the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on Nov. 23, 1953, in Beijing.

314. Liao Jingwen is the widow of the famous artist Xu Beihong, who died in September 1953. See also *Letter to Xu Beihong*, p. 29 of this volume.

315. Tian was Mao's private secretary at the time of this letter.

Reply to Ambassador of the Soviet Union

December 15, 1953

Comrade Ambassador:

I am very happy to accept the letter of credence from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which you have presented, and I sincerely thank you for your congratulations.

The brotherly friendship between the People's Republic of China and the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has achieved tremendous progress in the past four years and is consolidated with each passing day. The Chinese people have always esteemed the friendship of the Soviet Union. Today, in undertaking the cause of large-scale national economic construction, they recognize even more deeply the invaluable treasure of the Soviet Union's great friendship. The Chinese people will certainly, with unwavering effort, always continue to strengthen the intimate friendship, alliance, and overall cooperation between China and the Soviet Union. I am equally convinced that the unbreakable alliance and cooperation between our two great countries not only completely corresponds to the interests of our peoples, but moreover plays a great, incomparable role in the cause of consolidating the camp of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union and of safeguarding peace and security in the Far East and the world.

Comrade Ambassador, I welcome you with extreme warmth as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the People's Republic of China. In your work of consolidating the friendship, mutual assistance, and cooperation between the two countries of China and the Soviet Union, you will receive my full support and that of the government of the People's Republic of China.

I wish you complete success in your work.

Source: *People's Daily*, December 16, 1953.

Telegram to Anshan Workers and Staff

December 25, 1953

All workers and staff of Anshan Iron and Steel Company Comrades:

I received your letter of December 21, 1953.

The construction projects of the Anshan Seamless Tubing Mill, the Anshan Heavy Rolling Mill, and the Anshan No.7 Blast Furnace have been completed ahead of schedule, and they have begun production. All of these are great events in our country's development of heavy industry in 1953. I convey warm congratulations and deep gratitude to all the workers and staff who were engaged in these three construction projects, all the workers and staff of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, and all the comrades of the Soviet Union who assisted in Anshan's construction. The people of our country are now united as one in a struggle to realize the socialist industrialization of our country. Your heroic labor is a major contribution to this goal. I hope you will continue your endeavor, learn from the advanced experience of the Soviet Union, make full use of your wisdom and strength, and strive for even greater achievements.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, December 26, 1953.

Remark to Ke Qingshi³¹⁶

December 26, 1953

Some people want me to go and take a rest. There are two types of resting: one is to sleep in bed; the other is to sleep in a drum.³¹⁷

Source: *Combat Bulletin for the Criticism of Tan Zhenlin, Red Guard Publication*, 7:484, August 5, 1967.

Inscription in Guest Book of the Moganshan Clinic

³¹⁶ The above comment was made in response to a letter written to Mao by Zhenlin and Chen Pixian, to which Ke Qingshi attached his signature also.

³¹⁷ Mao is here making a slight deviation from the aphorism *meng zhai gu li* (to be sealed in a drum), which translates as "being kept in the dark about things."

Winter 1953

It takes patience to recuperate from an illness, and furthermore, it requires the spirit to struggle. After striving day after day [I hope that] health will be restored to my body.

Source: *A Brief Compilation of Materials on the Life of Mao Zedong, Hong Kong: Union Research Institute, 1970, p. 308.*

Comment on the Department of Health Care

1953

It's a total mess. There is no visible political leadership; nor can there be seen any earnest professional or technical leadership...

[It] is a department without leadership, without political [awareness], department that does not even manage its professional [duties] in earnest...

[It] is a bureaucratic office where people specialize in eating and in acting as an officer and a lord and master... This is utterly intolerable...

[In] the current struggle against bureaucratism, [we must] tear away [their] masks, completely overthrow these [organs], change their appearance, and establish in their place organs that are truly capable of achieving some work.

Source: *This is an excerpt from the Red Guard Publication "Invincible", June 26, 1967, p. 17. This criticism was made in Mao's comments on a report submitted by the department of Health Care. He Zheng was the secretary of the First Party Group of that department.*

Directive on Physical Culture

1953

Physical culture is of major importance, concerning as it does the health of our six hundred million people.

Source: *Beijing Review, 17:36, September 6, 1974.*

Inscription for No. 1 Automobile Manufacturing Plant of Changchun

1953

In Memory of the Foundation laying of No. 1 Automobile Manufacturing Plant.

Source: *People's Daily*, September 22, 1976.

Directive on the Work of the Ministry of Geology³¹⁸

1953

The Ministry of Geology is a department of investigative and research work. It should [pay attention to] key issues, and [yet] also be comprehensive...

At the moment you are engaged in a battle, in tactics. In the Past you have done the work of [laying out] strategies; this must be strengthened step by step.

Reconnaissance is the battle; prospecting is the tactic; the strategy is to conduct geological investigations on a region-by-region basis.

Source: *Revolution in Science and Technology*, July 28, 1967, *Red Guard Publication*.

318. This is an excerpt from *Dazibao Xuanbian* (Selections from Big-Character Posters) of the Battalion of the Revolutionary Rebels of the Offices of the Ministry of Geology., no. 14

1954

Telegram to the USSR³¹⁹

January 4, 1954

Dear Comrades!

I thank you profoundly for your congratulations on the occasion of my birthday.

Permit me to wish that the Soviet people, under the direction of the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, will achieve new successes in the great cause of construction of communism.

Source: *Pravda, Izvestia, Jan 9. 1954.*

Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

January 29, 1954

I hereby sincerely thank you, comrade, the Government, and people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for your New Year Greetings and I hereby wish you, comrade, good health. I believe that in the new year the Vietnam people, under your leadership, will win greater victories in the righteous struggle against imperialism.

Source: *Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington D.C., Daily Report, February 1, 1954.*

Telegram to the USSR

February 11, 1954

Chairman,
The Council of Ministers,
The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Comrade Malenkov:

319. The telegram was addressed to the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

On the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance, Comrade Chairman, please accept my sincere gratitude and warm congratulations.

The events that we have experienced in the past four years have clearly borne out that the great alliance between China and the Soviet Union is a dependable foundation for safeguarding peace and security in the Far East and throughout the world. The sincere and unselfish assistance given to China by the government and people of the Soviet Union has had vital significance in quickening China's socialist industrialization, ensuring China's steady transition to socialism, and expanding the strength of the camp for peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union.

May the friendship and unity of the two peoples of China and the Soviet Union always develop and be consolidated forever.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, February 14, 1954.

Telegram to the USSR

February 21, 1954

Chairman,
The Council of Ministers,
The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Comrade Malenkov:

On the occasion of the thirty-sixth anniversary of the founding of the armed forces of the Soviet Union, I express to you, comrade chairman, our sincere congratulations. May the glorious Soviet armed forces gain daily in strength in its cause of consolidating and defending world peace.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *New China News Agency, Daily Bulletin*, February 23, 1954.

Letter to Tian Jiaying

March 2, 1954

Comrade Jiaying:³²⁰

Please make a copy of the letter from Yang Xiusheng³²¹ and forward it to Mr. Yang Kaizhi in Changsha.³²² Inquire of him whether or not the things described in that letter are true. I have absolutely no recollection of these things.

For this current year [our commitment] is to send, as a subsidy, 12 million yuan (RMB)³²³ to the Yang family. The six million for the first half of the year should be sent out immediately. Please handle this matter.

Madam Li Shuyi is the widow of Comrade Liu Zhixun of Changsha (a martyr).³²⁴ Her vocation is teaching, but she is advanced in years and the teaching is becoming too much of a burden for her, and it would be difficult for her to go on much further. Someone has asked me to recommend her to a position at the Beijing Literature and History Museum. The requirements of the Literature and History Museum [in terms of the qualifications of its staff members], however, are rather high. I have indeed recommended several people, but they have not been accepted and it does not seem appropriate for me to make any more recommendations. I intend, rather, to aid her with some of the fees I receive for my writing, and thus to resolve this problem. What I do not know is whether or not she herself, on her part, would accept this type of assistance. She is a very close friend of Yang Kaihui's, so there is nothing wrong with my assisting her in some way. Please write a letter to Mr. Yang Kaizhi, asking him to relay the question to Madam Li Shuyi, and ask her to express her feelings [on this].

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 475.

320. Tian Jiaying [a.k.a. Chen Yeping] was Mao's private secretary at the time of this letter.

321. Yang Xiusheng is a cousin of Yang Kaihui, Mao's late wife.

322. See *Letter to Wang Shoudao*, p. 7 of this volume.

323. See *Letter to Mao Yuju*, p. 179 of this volume.

324. See *Letter to Li Shuyi*, p. 58 of this volume.

Letter to Huang Yanpei

March 12, 1954

Vice-premier Huang:³²⁵

I have received and read your letter of March 8, I have also forwarded the appended article to Premier Zhou and Minister Li Wei-han³²⁶ for discussion and their information. [The term] “people” refers to the bourgeoisie and the democratic parties, and does not include the landlord class or the bureaucratic capitalist class; in other words, it does not “include everyone.” The phrase “painless labor”³²⁷ is best left out in the publication, because, in fact, those people who do not have much [class and political] awareness would feel some pain. If we write too many checks³²⁸ we may cause [people to have] dreams and fantasies, and if we do not then double [our efforts] in educating [them] and studying, if we do not raise their levels of political consciousness, those people who do feel pain would resent us. I pray that you would give some consideration to this.

My respectful regards for your health,

(SIGNED AND DATED FROM HANGZHOU)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, pp. 477-478.

Telegram to Kim Du Bong³²⁹

March 14, 1954

On the occasion of your sixty-fifth birthday, I express warm greetings to

325. See *Letter to Huang Yanpei*, p. 116 of this volume.

326. See *Letter to Li Wei-han*, p. 123 of this volume.

327. This refers to a draft of Huang's speech to Shanghai industrial and commercial circles on March 1, 1954. In this draft, Huang had planned to use the metaphor of “painless labor” to describe the transition of industrial and commercial enterprises to the socialist stage. On Mao's suggestion Huang eventually revised the draft and eliminated the metaphor.

328. This is a common Chinese saying meaning “making promises”.

329. Kim Du Bong was the chairman of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. His birthday was on March 17.

you. May you have good health and attain more and greater achievements in your work of promoting the recovery of the national economy of your country and striving for the peaceful unification of Korea.

Source: *People's Daily*, March 17, 1954.

Letter to Peng Shilin

March 31, 1954

Mr. Shilin:³³⁰

I have read with respect your letter of March 9, 1954. Since you have entrusted your matter to my friend Mao Yizhu,³³¹ my intervention should no longer be needed. In general I am a bit reluctant to express my thoughts and feelings on behalf of the friends of my native village and my relatives in recommendation letters; occasionally I do it, but that is extremely rare. When Mr. Li Shuqing and my friend Wen Yunchang³³² asked me [for recommendations], I had to turn them down. They resolved their problem by finding someone else to entrust the matters with. I know that you are encountering some financial difficulties, and you can tell me about them. It would not be difficult for me to give you some further assistance in the area of [living] expenses. I hope you will, however, forgive me for my unsatisfying response.

My regards,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, pp. 479-480.

330. Peng is a native of Xiangtan *xian*, Hunan Province (Mao's native *xian*). During the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War, Peng was principal of the Women's Vocational School of Qingxi *xiang*, Xiangtan *xian*, and gave Mao assistance when Mao was engaging in revolutionary activities in this area.

331. This is another name for Mao Yuju. See *Letter to Mao Yuju*, p. 66 of this volume.

332. See *Letter to Li Jiehou of Shaoshan, Hunan*, p. 24 of this volume, also see *Letter to Wen Nansong*, p. 64 of this volume.

Letter to Party Branch and *Xiang* Government of Shicheng *Xiang*

April 29, 1954

Comrades of the Shicheng *xiang* Branch [of the CPC] and of the *xiang* Government of Shicheng *xiang*:

Mao Yueqiu³³³ came to Beijing with your report. I am very grateful.

Some of my relatives of the Wen family of Tangjiaduo have come to Beijing to see me in the past several years.³³⁴ Some of them, on returning home, have become arrogant and would not accept the supervision of the government; this is wrong of them. The people of the Wen family, no matter who, ought to be like everyone else in the village; they should obey the leadership of the Party and the government, work diligently in their farming, and observe the law; there should be nothing special about them. I ask you not to feel that because those of the Wen family are my relatives, therefore it may not be easy to control them as you wish. My attitude [toward this matter] is: First, since they are [members of] the laboring people, and are my relatives, I care about them; second, because I care about them, I hope that they will make progress, that they will work diligently in their farming and observe the law, that they will take part in the mutual aid and cooperative organizations. In all this they ought to be exactly like everyone else and may not behave at all specially. If they behave in any backward manner, they ought to be criticized. They should not be spared the criticism of their failings and errors simply because they are my relatives.

Here I have a letter from Comrade Wen Bingzhang,³³⁵ which I enclose for your perusal. I am in agreement with Comrade Wen Bingzhang's opinion; please handle it. Please also show this letter of mine and that of Wen Bingzhang to the people of Tangjiaduo so as to help them correct their failings and mistakes. I believe that as long as both you and I take the correct attitude and as long as they are not stubborn in their opinion, their shortcomings and mistakes can be rectified and they can make progress.

333. See *Letter to Mao Yueqiu*, p. 232 of this volume.

334. See *Letter to Wen Nansong*, p. 64 of this volume. Also see *Letter to Wen Jianquan*, p. 61 of this volume and *Letter to Wen Jiuming*, p. 238 of this volume.

335. Wen Bingzhang is Mao's nephew.

In comradely salute,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, pp. 481-482.

Inscription on the Completion of Guanting Reservoir

May 13, 1954

In celebration of the triumphant completion of the Guanting Reservoir.³³⁶

(SIGNED)

Source: *Guangming Daily*, May 16, 1954.

Telegram to the South African Indian Congress³³⁷

May 28, 1954

Joint Honorary Secretaries of the South African Indian Congress Messrs. Cachalia and Mistry:

On behalf of the Chinese people, I totally support the just stand of the non-white people of South Africa (including Indians, and other Asian and African people) in struggling for democratic rights and opposing racial discrimination and oppression. May this Congress achieve success in the cause of uniting Indians and all peoples in South Africa—white and nonwhite—in striving for peace, freedom, democracy, and progress.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, May 29, 1954.

336. Guanting Reservoir is located west of Beijing Municipality, in Hebei Province, at the confluence of the Yongding, Yang, and Shuanggan rivers. This inscription was written for the meeting of the reservoir's builder and administrative staff celebrating the completion of the project.

337. The Congress was held on May 28-31, 1954. The secretaries, Yusuf Cachalia and D. Fu Mistry, had sent a letter to Mao on April 24 soliciting support for the Congress in its struggle against racial and social discrimination in South Africa.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Poland

July 20, 1954

Chairman,
The Council of State,
The People's Republic of Poland
Comrade Aleksander Zawadzki:

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of Poland, I extend, on behalf of the Chinese people, of the government of the People's Republic of China, and on my own behalf, sincere congratulations to the Polish people, the Government of the People's Republic of Poland, and yourself.

Over the past ten years, the Polish people, led by the Polish United Workers' Party, have achieved brilliant successes in both the consolidation of the people's democratic system and the socialist industrialization of the country. People's Poland has already become an important force in the camp for world peace, democracy, and socialism headed by the Soviet Union.

The Chinese people sincerely wish the Polish people even greater successes in continuing their efforts toward socialist construction and in the struggle of safeguarding world peace.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING.)

Source: *People's Daily*, July 22, 1954.

Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

July 23, 1954

President,
The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam
Comrade Ho Chi Minh:

On the occasion of the reaching of an agreement on the armistice question and on the question of the political situation in Indochina, on behalf of the

Chinese people and the government of the People's Republic of China, I extend the most heartfelt and warmest congratulations to our brothers, the Vietnamese people, to the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and to you.

At the Geneva Conference³³⁸ the delegation from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam represented the hopes for peace of the Vietnamese people who had struggled heroically for national independence and freedom and had already attained glorious victories, and worked hard for the restoration of the peace of Indochina, and finally achieved an agreement. This is yet another great victory for the Vietnamese people. This victory is helpful in promoting collective peace and security in Asia and is beneficial to furthering the relaxation of the tension in the international situation.

All the people of China will strive together with the people of Vietnam to assure and attain the thorough implementation of the Agreement and to preserve and consolidate the peace and security of Asia and the world.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, July 24, 1954.

Directive on Work in Traditional Chinese Medicine

July 30, 1954

[Traditional] Chinese medicine has made a great contribution to the people of our country. With a population of six hundred million, China is the most populous country in the world. Of course, there are many factors contributing to the ability of our country's people to multiply and prosper day by day, but of these, the part played by health care must be one of the [most] important. In this respect, we must give credit first to [traditional] Chinese medicine.

If we compare Chinese and Western medicine, [traditional] Chinese medicine has a history of several thousand years, whereas Western medicine was introduced into China only a few decades ago. To this day, there are still more than 500 million people in the entire country who rely on [traditional] Chinese medicine for the diagnosis and treatment of their illnesses, while those

338. The Geneva Conference was convened from April 26 to July 21, 1954, to settle the issues of the national independence and the peace settlement of Korea and Indochina. On July 21, agreements regarding the independence of the three countries, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia were reached.

who depend on Western medicine number only several tens of millions (and most are in big cities). Therefore, if we speak of China's health care since the beginning of history, the contributions and accomplishments of [traditional] Chinese medicine are very great.

For a number of years, not only has our homeland's medical heritage not been developed, but on the contrary, it has been slighted and repudiated. (For instance, examinations given to practitioners of traditional Chinese medicine cover the subjects of physiology and pathology. Those who fail these subjects are not given certificates. In addition, there are regulations such as those prohibiting practitioners of traditional Chinese medicine from joining hospital staffs). The Central Committee's directive on uniting doctors of the traditional Chinese school with doctors of the Western school has not been fully carried out, and a true unity between the two sides remains unresolved. This is a mistake. This problem must be resolved; this mistake must be corrected. It requires first of all that the health care administration departments at all levels should change their way of thinking.

Henceforth, the most important thing is to first ask practitioners of Western medicine to study [traditional] Chinese medicine and not for practitioners of [traditional] Chinese medicine to study western medicine. First, we must transfer a hundred to two hundred graduates of medical institutes or colleges, handing them over to some well-known doctors of [traditional] medicine so that they can study their clinical experience. Furthermore, they should assume an attitude of great modesty in their studies. It is a glorious [endeavor] for practitioners of Western medicine to study [traditional] Chinese medicine because after studying and promoting if they will be able to remove the boundary between [traditional] Chinese medicine and Western medicine and from a unified Chinese medical science as a contribution to the World. Second, all hospitals must systematically invite doctors of [traditional] Chinese medicine to come to the hospitals to give medical treatments to patients and hold consultations, and permit hospitalized patients to take [traditional] Chinese medicines. Furthermore, all sorts of regulations should be laid down to ensure systematically that respect be shown to doctors of traditional Chinese medicine so that they may not encounter difficulties or have a feeling of apprehension when they do their work of treatment in the hospitals. Third, Chinese medicine [itself] should be well-protected and developed. Our country's Chinese medicine has a history of several thousand years, and it is an extremely precious asset of our homeland. If we simply let it decline, it would be a crime on our part.

Therefore, we should investigate and protect the growing of medicinal herbs in the various provinces, encourage their production, facilitate their shipment, and improve their marketing. For instance, some medicinal herbs, because of their relatively long growth period, require from planting and cultivating to harvesting, a period of more than two or three years. For instance the white peony [*Peonia albiflora*] is a plant that matures in four years, and the *huanglian* [*Coptis japonica*] is one that matures in six years. Individual peasants often do not have the resources to plant them. Furthermore, in some herb-producing areas such as Gansu and Qinghai, the herbs produced cannot be shipped out in time because of the inconvenience in transportation and the peasants often use them as fuel. In the past, there was a great wastage of some Chinese herbs because the processing and preserving techniques were deficient. Packaging and storage methods were not good and losses from mildew and spoilage were severe. [The situation] should be improved. Institutions in charge of such work should hence forth adopt a joint state-private form of management. Personnel who process medicinal herbs should be classified according to their technical levels and be considered technical cadres. As for research in Chinese [herbal] medicine, it is not sufficient merely to conduct chemical analysis. We should go one step further and carry out pharmacological and clinical experiments. In particular we should pay special attention to the compound effects of the Chinese [herb] medicines. Fourth, we should begin to sort things out and pull together writings on [traditional] Chinese medicine. In the past nobody pulled together [such texts] because they were difficult to comprehend and were not valued. Medicinal books on [traditional] Chinese medicine will soon cease to exist if we do not collect them together. We should organize learned physicians of traditional Chinese medicine to, first of all, systematically but also selectively translate those useful [texts on traditional Chinese medicine] from ancient Chinese into modern Chinese. When the time is right we should further organize [these physicians] to summarize their own experiences and compile a set of systematic texts on [traditional] Chinese medicine.

To realize the various tasks mentioned above, we must first rectify bourgeois, individualistic and sectarian ideology. Only when there is a change in ideology can the tasks mentioned above be carried out thoroughly.

From now on, [personnel] at any level of administrative departments in public health will be dismissed if they do not do well in carrying out these tasks.

Source: *Long Live Mao Zedong Thought; Red Guard Publication, pp. 10-12.*

Letter to the Staff of the No. 320 Factory³³⁹

August 1, 1954

The workers and staff of No. 320 National factory,
Comrades:

I have read your report of July 26.³⁴⁰ I congratulate you on your triumphant success in the trial production of the first Yake 18 airplane. This is an excellent beginning for the founding of our nation's airplane building industry and for the strengthening of our national defense forces. I hope you will continue to apply your efforts and under the guidance and instruction of the Soviet experts, further grasp [the fine points] of the technology and improve the quality [of your product] and ensure the completion of the task of the actual production.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 483.

Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

August 12, 1954

Chairman
The Standing Committee,
The Supreme People's Assembly,
The Democratic People's Republic of Korea,
Comrade Kim Du Bong:

On the occasion of the ninth anniversary of the liberation of Korea, on behalf of the government and people of China and on my own behalf I express sincere congratulations to the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, to the Korean people, and to yourself.

339. The above letter was reprinted from an original preserved by the Ministry of Aeronautical Industry.

340. July 26, 1954 was the day on which the trial flight ceremonies of the first batch of airplanes manufactured by the People's Republic of China was held.

May the heroic Korean people attain even greater successes in their struggle to restore and develop their national economy, to consolidate peace in Korea, and to prevent the resurgence of a new war of aggression.

May the unbreakable friendship between the Chinese and Korean peoples be further consolidated and developed. This friendship is a powerful guarantee for maintaining peace in the Far East and throughout the world.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, August 15, 1954.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Romania

August 21, 1954

Chairman
The presidium,
The Grand National Assembly,
The People's Republic of Romania
Comrade [Petru] Groza:

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the liberation of Romania, on behalf of the government and people of the People's Republic of China and on my own behalf, I convey sincere congratulations to the Romanian people and to yourself.

Over the last ten years, the Romanian people, led by the Romanian Workers' Party have attained brilliant success in the area of consolidating the people's democratic political power as well as in building socialism. These successes have enabled the Romanian people to gain a life of increasing prosperity and happiness and have strengthened the forces for world peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union.

The Chinese people wish the Romanian people even greater successes in the cause of building socialism and defending world peace.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, August 23, 1954.

Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

August 31, 1954

President,
The Democratic Republic of Vietnam
Comrade Ho Chi Minh:

As peace is beginning to be restored in Indochina, it is with great joy that I represent the government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people in sending warm congratulations to the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to the Vietnamese people on this occasion of the ninth anniversary of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The heroic struggle for national independence and freedom in which the Vietnamese people have been engaged for many years has already scored great achievements. I deeply believe that the Vietnamese people will win even greater victories in the cause of consolidating peace and achieving unification, independence and democracy. In this the Vietnamese people will have the deep concern and active support of the Chinese government and all the Chinese people.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, September 2, 1954.

Reply to Ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

September 2, 1954

Comrade Ambassador:

I am very happy to accept the letter of credence from the Presidium of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria which you have presented and I sincerely thank you for your congratulations.

The brotherly friendship between the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Bulgaria and their close cooperation in the areas of politics, the economy, and culture have already developed greatly. This has not only promoted the prosperity and happiness of the two peoples, but has also

strengthened the forces of world peace and democracy headed by the great Soviet Union.

The brilliant successes which the Bulgarian people, under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party, have achieved in the cause of socialist construction in the ten years since liberation have stirred up the enthusiasm for labor of the Chinese people who are moving ahead with socialist construction and socialist transformation.

Comrade Ambassador, I warmly welcome you as the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary from the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the People's Republic of China. In your work of consolidating and strengthening the friendship and cooperation between the two countries of China and Bulgaria you will receive my full support and that of the government of the people's Republic of China.

I wish you complete success in your work.

Source: *People's Daily*, September 3, 1954.

Telegram to the USSR

September 2, 1954

Comrade Malenkov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Comrade Molotov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

On the occasion of the ninth anniversary of the victory over Japanese militarism, we express warm congratulations and deep gratitude to the Soviet government, the Soviet armed forces, and the great Soviet people.

The agreement reached at the recent Geneva Conference on restoring peace in Indochina has further eased international tension. This is an important victory for the forces of peace and a serious defeat for the forces of war. However, the United States' aggressive clique refuses to take their defeat lying down and are in the midst of actively reviving Japanese militarism, engineering the organization of war blocs in the Western Pacific and Asia, and intensifying the instigation and abetting of Chiang Kai-shek's traitorous clique in continuing its war of harassment and sabotage against the Chinese mainland and offshore

islands so as to extend the threat of war throughout the Far East and the world.

The Chinese people are firmly opposed to this war policy of the United States' aggressive clique and will definitely liberate Taiwan in order to safeguard China's national sovereignty and territorial integrity and to defend the peace and security of the Far East and the World.

Restoring normal relations between the various countries of the Far East and Japan and preventing the revival of Japanese militarism have become the urgent task of all the peace-loving countries and peoples in Asia. The Chinese people are prepared to strive for the fulfillment of this task.

The friendly alliance between China and the Soviet Union is a strong guarantee for the consolidation of peace and security in the Far East and throughout the world.

Long live the great, unbreakable and ever-growing friendship between China and the Soviet Union!

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF CPG OF PRC WITH ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF GAC AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, September 3, 1954.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Bulgaria

September 7, 1954

Chairman,
The Presidium of the National Assembly,
The People's Republic of Bulgaria
Comrade Georgi Damyanov:

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the liberation of Bulgaria, I convey sincere and warm congratulations to you and through you, to the Bulgarian people and government.

Over the past ten years, the Bulgarian people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, and following the teachings of Comrade Dimitrov, have consolidated the peoples' democratic system and attained glorious achievements in the socialist construction of their country. This has not only inspired the Chinese people who are in the midst of their socialist construction, but also has strengthened the forces for world peace and democracy headed by the

Soviet Union.

May the Bulgarian people achieve even greater new victories in the struggle to build socialism and to safeguard world peace.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, September 9, 1954.

Reply to Ambassador of the People's Republic of Albania

September 13, 1954

Comrade Ambassador:

I am very happy to accept this letter of credence from the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania which you have presented and which appoints you as its first ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the People's Republic of China, and I sincerely thank you for your congratulations.

The Albanian people are an industrious and courageous people and have a glorious revolutionary historical tradition. In the ten years since their liberation, the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor, have smashed all the schemes of both domestic and foreign enemies to carry out sabotage, are confidently building happy lives for themselves, and have achieved brilliant successes. The patriotic spirit and incomparable enthusiasm for labor demonstrated by the Albanian people in the struggle for socialist construction and for the defense of their homeland's independence and security are objects of great admiration for the Chinese people.

For the first time in history, the two peoples of China and Albania have established friendly diplomatic relations. In the last five years, our people have already knit together a brotherly friendship. I deeply believe that after the exchange of ambassadors, the sincere, friendly and cooperative relations between our two countries is bound to achieve yet further development. This not only will contribute to the enhancement of the happiness of our two peoples, but moreover will help strengthen the forces for world peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union.

Comrade Ambassador, I warmly welcome you as the first ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Albania to the

People's Republic of China. In your work of consolidating the friendship and cooperation between Albania and China you will receive my full support and that of the government of the People's Republic of China.

I wish you complete success in your work.

Source: *People's Daily, September 14, 1954.*

Reply to Minister of the Confederation of Switzerland

September 13, 1954

Mr. Minister:

I am very happy to accept the letter of credence presented by Your Excellency from the Federal Council of Switzerland, and express my gratitude for the greetings conveyed by you, from the President of the Confederation of Switzerland to the people of the People's Republic of China and myself.

Over the last five years, the friendly relations between China and Switzerland have already been enhanced on the basis of peaceful coexistence. During the time of the Geneva conference the delegation from the People's Republic of China received the hospitality and assistance of the government and people of Switzerland. Let me take this opportunity to express my gratitude. From now on, the economic links and cultural exchange between China and Switzerland will be further enhanced. This will not only benefit the development of the friendship between the peoples of our two countries, but will also aid the consolidation of world peace.

I warmly welcome Your excellency as the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the Confederation of Switzerland to the People's Republic of China. In your work of strengthening the friendship and cooperation between China and Switzerland, you will surely have my support and that of the government of the People's Republic of China.

I wish Your Excellency success in your work, and happiness for your people, and good health for your head of state.

Source: *People's Daily, September 14, 1954.*

Reply to Ambassador of the People's Republic of Hungary

September 22, 1954

Comrade Ambassador:

I am very happy to accept the letter of credence from the Presidium of the People's Republic of Hungary which you have presented and which appoints you as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the People's Republic of China, and sincerely thank you for your greetings.

In nine years, the Hungarian people have victoriously carried out socialist construction under the leadership of the Hungarian Workers Party and have fundamentally changed the face of their country. The Chinese people note with gladness and admiration the tremendous successes achieved by the fraternal Hungarian people in their work of national construction.

Over the past five years, the friendly relations between the Chinese and Hungarian people and their close cooperation in the areas of politics, economy, and culture have had great success. The continuous growth of these relations of brotherly friendship will not only further enhance the prosperity of the two countries of China and Hungary and the friendship between the two peoples, but will also strengthen the forces for world peace and democracy headed by the great Soviet Union.

Comrade Ambassador, I warmly welcome you as the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Hungary to the People's Republic of China. In your work of further developing and consolidating the friendship and cooperation between China and Hungary you will receive my total support and that of the government of the People's Republic of China.

I wish you complete success in your work.

Source: *People's Daily*, September 23, 1954.

Toast at China's National Day Celebrations

September 29, 1954

Welcome, friends who have come to China!

We thank you for the friendship our various friends have brought!
We wish our friends good health!
May our mutual friendship be further enhanced!
May world peace be further consolidated!

Source: *People's Daily*, September 30, 1954.

Telegram to the German Democratic Republic

October 5, 1954

Comrade Wilhelm Pieck,
President of the German Democratic Republic
Dear and Respected Comrade President:

On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic, on behalf of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people, and on my own behalf, I express sincere and warm congratulations to the German Democratic Republic, to the peace-loving people of all Germany, and to yourself.

The people of the German Democratic Republic, under the leadership of the German Socialist Unity Party and yourself, and with the sincere aid of the great Soviet Union, have already attained glorious successes in consolidating the people's democratic political power, as well as in developing the national economy and raising the people's living standards. Over the last five years the German Democratic Republic has united all the progressive patriotic forces among the German people in carrying forward an unrelenting struggle, striving for a unified, peaceful, democratic, and independent Germany, and for establishing collective security in Europe and safeguarding world peace. Thus it has won the enthusiastic support of the peace-loving peoples of Europe and throughout the world. These successes and efforts by the German Democratic Republic have inspired all the peace-loving German people and have strengthened their confidence in fighting for the peaceful unification of Germany.

The brotherly friendship and the close economic and cultural cooperation between the People's Republic of China and the German Democratic Republic are growing with each passing day. The German people have the profound sympathy of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people in the

just cause that they have undertaken in order to strive to establish a unified, peaceful, democratic, and independent Germany. The communique of July 25, 1954 on the discussion between our country's premier and the premier of the German Democratic Republic shows our two people's mutual concern and support in the great cause of peace.³⁴¹

Comrade President, may you achieve even greater successes in leading the German people in the great struggle to realize the unification of their homeland and to defend world peace, and may you be in good health!

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, October 7, 1954.

Letter to the Delegation of the USSR

October 12, 1954

Dear Comrade Khrushchev and the Delegation of the Government of the Soviet Union:³⁴²

The letter of October 5, 1954 from the delegation of the government of the Soviet Union has been received.

On behalf of the government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, I sincerely express our gratitude to the government of the Soviet Union for the gift made to us by the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of eighty three pieces of machine tools and agricultural machinery now on display in Beijing at the exhibition of the achievements in economic and cultural construction of the Soviet Union.³⁴³ The Chinese people see this generous gift as a concrete expression of the intimate friendship of

341. Discussions were held between Otto Grotewohl, the German representative and Zhou Enlai the Chinese premier on July 25, 1954 in which the issue of Germany's peace and non-armament principle was discussed.

342. The delegation of the government of the USSR to the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the founding of the PRC arrived in China on September 29, 1954 and left China on October 13. A communique and a set of attending agreements were jointly issued by the Chinese government and the Soviet delegation headed by Khrushchev on October 12.

343. An exhibition of the Soviet Union's achievements in economic and cultural construction was held beginning October 2, 1954, in the western sector of Beijing. Mao and other Chinese leaders visited the exhibition on October 25.

the people of the Soviet Union toward the Chinese people.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, October 13, 1954.

Letter to the USSR

October 12, 1954

Dear Comrade Khrushchev and the Delegation of the Government of the Soviet Union:

On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the delegation of the government of the Soviet Union, representing the Soviet People, has given the Chinese people a gift of the machinery and equipment necessary for the organization of a grain-producing state farm with a sown acreage of twenty thousand hectares. During the period of organizing this grain-producing state farm and in the first year of learning to master production on the farm, the government of the Soviet Union, in order to render China both organizational and technical assistance in establishing and managing this grain-producing state farm, is prepared to send a group of experts to the People's Republic of China as advisers so that the Chinese personnel in charge of this grain-producing state farm can, working together with the Soviet experts, master the technology and method of managing this large-scale grain-producing farm in the shortest [possible] time. On behalf of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, I sincerely express warm welcome and sincere gratitude to the government and people of the Soviet Union for this important, tremendous, friendly assistance.

This state grain-producing farm will, beyond a doubt, not only play an important role as a model for the promotion of the socialist transformation of agriculture in China, but moreover will also aid China in training technical personnel in agricultural production and learning the valuable experience of the Soviet Union in the opening of virgin soil and reclamation of idle land. With this generous aid from the people of the Soviet Union, the Chinese people have once again seen the Soviet People's deep friendship toward the Chinese people and their concern and support for the Chinese people in their cause of construction.

Long live the great brotherly friendship between China and the Soviet Union!

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, October 13, 1954.

Telegram to the USSR³⁴⁴

October 16, 1954

Dear Comrades!

Permit us on behalf of the entire Chinese people to express heartfelt gratitude to you for your friendly congratulations on the fifth anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic.

The successes of our country's peoples during the last five years in social reforms, restoration of the national economy, socialist construction, and socialist reconstruction are inseparable from the sincere and unselfish aid of the great Soviet people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Soviet government.

We ask you to convey our most sincere gratitude to all the Soviet people.

Long live the indestructible brotherly friendship of the peoples of China and the Soviet Union!

Implement the Correct Policy in Dealing with Doctors of Traditional Chinese Medicine

October 20, 1954

The medical lore of our country has a history of several thousand years. It is rich in content and contains valuable clinical experience, and it has played an immense role in the people's struggle against disease through the ages.

To inherit and to develop this cultural heritage, to study it earnestly and to research its theories and its practical experience, in order to organize and

344. The message was addressed to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the council of Ministers of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU and was issued in the name of Mao himself as Head of State of the PRC, and in the name of the Standing committee of the NPC, the State Council of the PRC, and the Central Committee of the CPC. The telegram appeared in Pravda and Izvestia both Oct 9, 1954.

summarize it with scientific methods, and thus gradually to raise its scholarly and clinical standards so as to make it become of even more effective service to the people — this is an immensely glorious and arduous task facing the medical profession in our country. If this work is done well, it will not only greatly facilitate the development and enhancement of our people's health care and medical enterprise, but will also further enrich the contents of the medical science of the world.

The Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government have always held our homeland's cultural legacy in esteem; the policy adopted by the Party and the People's Government with regard to doctors of traditional Chinese medicine has always been clear. The Party has consistently appealed to doctors of both Chinese and Western medicine to unite and cooperate, to help and encourage each other for the general purpose of raising the standards of modern medical science and clinical capabilities and to even better serve the interests of the people and make a joint effort to study and research the medical heritage of the homeland so as to develop it unceasingly and to make it play an even greater role. Over the last several years, however, the leadership in the departments of the administration of health care has consistently failed to carry out this policy adopted by the Party and the People's Government seriously and has not concretely implemented the accurate principle of uniting doctors of Chinese and Western medicine. Obviously in the mobilization and organization of doctors of traditional Chinese medicine to take part in the hygiene and vaccination programs and in organizing clinics of Chinese doctors or joint clinics of doctors of Chinese and Western medicine, it has done some work and has had some achievements. Nevertheless, such work has not fundamentally resolved the problem of giving play to traditional Chinese medicine and certainly has not represented the adoption of an effective method in mobilizing and organizing doctors of both Chinese and Western medicine to jointly research and develop the homeland's medical heritage and to enrich the contents of modern medical science. Furthermore, the leadership in the departments of health care administration has often even violated the Party's and the People's Government's policy and adopted an attitude of disdain, discrimination, and exclusion toward doctors of traditional Chinese medicine, using all sorts of restrictive methods in dealing with them. This has been an attack on the positive attitude of the doctors of Chinese medicine in their work, has abetted the cadres in health care work and doctors of Western medicine in their erroneous mentality of despising Chinese medicine and Chinese pharmacology itself, and

has adversely affected the development and improvement of the profession of traditional Chinese medicine severely. Other related work departments and public opinion in society have also shown insufficient regard or concern for Chinese medicine. These mistakes must be rectified.

The reason that the leadership cadres in health care administration are unable to implement the Party and People's Government's policy toward Chinese doctors is that they have been afflicted by the remnant poison of bourgeois ideology and consequently look down upon the medical legacy of the homeland. They do not realize the importance of inheriting and developing the homeland's cultural heritage to the construction of a new culture; they do not realize the importance of enhancing the medical legacy of the homeland to the raising of the standards of modern medical science and clinical ability and to the development of the people's cause of health care and medical treatment. Consequently they are also unaware of the importance of uniting with doctors of traditional Chinese medicine, enhancing it, and thus allowing it to take its full effect. They neglect the practical needs of the broad masses of the people for Chinese medicine and Chinese pharmacology; they ignore the traditional Chinese doctor's rich experience and obvious clinical effectiveness; they do not study or investigate in earnest; they do not carefully analyze and sum up the situation but they jump ahead and make the generalization that Chinese medicine is "backward" and "unscientific" and negate it wholesale. Such an attitude of not recognizing facts and not emphasizing practical experience is an attitude of extremely "unscientific" arbitrariness. This erroneous attitude adopted by the leadership cadres in health care administration toward Chinese medicine and Chinese pharmacology concretely manifests gravely sectarian mentalities and sentiments. Such mentalities and sentiments of looking down upon Chinese medicine and Chinese pharmacology have not, over a long period of time, been fundamentally turned around. This has caused the situation in which there has been no apparent change in the serious and persistent backwardness in the work in traditional Chinese medicine.

Therefore if we are to make a serious effort to improve the work in Chinese medicine, we must first resolutely correct the serious mistake that exists within the leadership of the departments of health care administration and other related areas in that they look down upon the homeland's medical heritage and neglect the role played by Chinese medicine and Chinese pharmacology in our people's health care, and we must actively call upon and organize doctors of Western medicine to study and research Chinese medical science. This is the

immediate key to the resolution of our problem.

There can be no doubt that it is necessary to appeal to and organize doctors of western medicine to study and research Chinese medical science. This is because the enormous and arduous task of developing the homeland's legacy of medical science can be accomplished gradually only through the long-range cooperation between doctors of Chinese and Western medicine. The irrefutable clinical effectiveness of Chinese doctors and Chinese medicine has proved that Chinese medical knowledge has a rational and useful content. Its major weakness is that it has lacked a systematic scientific theory and has not yet taken hold of a reliable methodology of chemical experimentation and scientific inspection. This has greatly limited the scope of its development and enhancement. Therefore, the basic problem of developing the homeland's medical heritage is a problem of gradually integrating it with modern scientific theory through serious study, research and practice. This means that we must, based on the theories of modern science, organize the principles of traditional Chinese medical science and summarize its clinical experience by scientific methods and absorb from it the essentials and eliminate the dross so as to gradually channel it into modern medical science and turn it into an important component of modern medical science. Thus we should gradually establish a modern school of medicine of this nature. It should reflect the special characteristics of China's geography and climate, reflect the special characteristics of the application of pharmaceutical material produced specially in China, and reflect the particular features of the life and labor of the various peoples of China. This is the long-range and grand goal of our development of the medical legacy of the homeland. In order to attain this goal, doctors of traditional Chinese medicine will naturally have to make an arduous and sustained effort over a long period of time, but doctors of Western medicine who are endowed with relatively rich scientific knowledge, also have their especially glorious assignment in this as well. In the current situation in which the medical heritage of the homeland is not regarded with esteem or comprehended in general by doctors of Western medicine, the emphasis on the importance of having doctors of Western medicine study and research Chinese medical science has a particularly great practical significance. It is only through their own study and research of the medical heritage of the homeland that doctors of Western medicine can promote the role played by modern medical scientific knowledge in organizing and enhancing that heritage.

To identify the promotion of the medical heritage of the homeland with the

development of modern science makes perfect sense. To constantly discover, by the combined effort of Chinese and Western medicine, scientific truths from this invaluable cultural legacy will surely bring about daily enrichment of the treasury of modern medical science. In the last few years some doctors of Western medicine have achieved some success in their study and research of Chinese medicine. This is illustrated for example by the accomplishments in the study of Chinese acupuncture treatment on the basis of the scientific theories of neuropathology. In general, doctors of Western medicine are willing to apply methods of treatments and prevention that have a scientific foundation both in theory and in practice; this is correct as far as it goes. However, they have cast aside the several thousand years of practical experience of Chinese medicine and do not excavate new knowledge new medicines or new methods from the experience of Chinese medical science, and this is very wrong. In this way, curtain limits have been placed on the development of modern medical science itself. For example, if we were to delve into the method of acupuncture treatment, possibly we could write a new page in the history of modern medical principles: we might therefore be obliged to revise existing theory about the mechanical mobility and neuro-adaptation of healthy and sick people alike. As long as we launch the work of studying Chinese medicine and Chinese pharmacology in a well-planned, well organized fashion and with good leadership, we are bound to make a major contribution to modern medical science and to the cause of the people's health care. To the individual doctor of Western medicine, to study and research Chinese medicine by scientific methods not only does not pose any danger to the medical knowledge or clinical technique that he or she possessed to begin with, but indeed it can bring about enrichment and enhancement of this knowledge and technique.

In emphasizing the importance of having doctors of Western medicine study and research Chinese medical science, we have not removed in the slightest from the broad ranks of doctors of Chinese medicine the great task of promoting the medical heritage of the homeland. In the past, some doctors of Chinese medicine have carried out organization and research in the art and science of Chinese medicine by applying relatively modern viewpoints and methods and their accomplishments have been considerable. The majority of doctors of traditional Chinese medicine however, neglect research work. This situation should be reversed now. In order to strengthen their own research work in cooperation with doctors of Western medicine, doctors of Chinese medicine will not only have to constantly dig into the principles of Chinese

medicine and have a good grasp of their clinical experience, but they must also learn the necessary fundamental scientific knowledge so as to play a greater role in organizing and summarizing the principles and experience of Chinese medicine.

In order to unite doctors of Chinese and Western medicine in a combined effort to promote effectively the medical heritage of the homeland, the leadership organs in health care ought to base themselves on the spirit of premier Zhou Enlai's *Report on the Work of the Government*³⁴⁵ and penetratingly examine the conditions of the past within their own departments regarding the issue of carrying out the policy adopted by the Party and the People's Government toward Chinese medicine and earnestly correct the erroneous attitudes toward Chinese medicine and Chinese pharmacology. At the same time they must meticulously carry out ideological work and policy education among doctors of Western medicine, remove their ideological obstacles, and on the ideological basis of their own awareness and voluntarism, stir up their enthusiasm for studying and researching the medical legacy of the homeland. Furthermore, they must adopt, in a well-planned and methodical way, a series of organizational measures and utilize necessary systems and structures to ensure an improvement in the work of Chinese medicine.

Naturally, to do this work well is very complicated. The methods of treatment are different for doctors of Chinese and Western medicine, and to make them support and complement each other, to direct them toward one goal, one result, when they begin with different paths, we must have a powerful ideological and organizational leadership, one that will guarantee that they will constantly maintain a high level of initiative and activism and will struggle for a common goal. The principle of the integration of theory and practice must be carried out; in all things we must proceed on the premise of practice and conduct research work for the purpose of resolving practical problems. The special characteristics of doctors of both Chinese and Western medicine, and particularly those of doctors of Chinese medicine, must be given attention. The preliminary experience of certain clinical units in carrying out consultations between doctors of Chinese and Western medicine must be summed up, and new experiences must be carefully planned and assigned clear priorities to serve as a basis for directing work in general. We must make realistically solid and reasonable arrangements for the cooperation between doctors of Chinese

345. This is a reference to the *Report of the Work of the Government* delivered by Zhou Enlai, at the First Session of the First National People's Congress.

medicine and doctors of Western medicine on the basis of their practical circumstances in all areas in each locality, so that they will not have to worry, and, cooperating in a friendly and intimate atmosphere, each can fully develop his or her own special skill. Only this type of cooperation will succeed in constantly reinforcing the unity of doctors of Chinese and Western medicine, and only then can they effectively carry out the enormous task of promoting the medical heritage of the homeland.

The work of Chinese medicine covers a very broad area. Not only does it call for the positive and active effort of the departments of health care administration; it also requires the close coordination of all other related departments and the resolute support of public opinion in society. In particular, it requires the unified leadership of the Party; this is the greatest guarantee of the successful implementation of this task. Party committees in every locality must shoulder their responsibilities seriously, constantly instruct and urge all related areas to implement the Party's policy toward Chinese medicine, and actively make improvements in this major area of work that concerns the life and death as well as the general health of the people.

Source: *Editorial, People's Daily, October 20, 1954.*

Toast at Reception for Prime Minister Nehru

October 21, 1954

The peoples of China and India both resolutely advocate peace. Our two peoples, like people throughout the world, resolutely strive for peace.

[Let's drink]

To the cooperation between the peoples of China and India and to their prosperity,

To world peace,

To the health of President Prasad of the Republic of India,

To Prime Minister Nehru's visit to China and to his health,

To the health of the host of today's banquet³⁴⁶, Ambassador Raghavan. Bottoms up!

Source: *People's Daily, October 22, 1954.*

³⁴⁶ The Reception was held by Indian Ambassador Raghavan at the Indian embassy in Beijing.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Hungary³⁴⁷

October 22, 1954

On behalf of the Chinese People's Republic and the Chinese people, I have the honor of expressing my heartfelt thanks for your greetings on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the Chinese People's Republic. May the indissoluble friendship between China and Hungary strengthen and develop.

Source: *Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington D.C., Daily Report, October 27, 1954*

Inscription Expressing Gratitude to the Soviet Union

October 25, 1954

After visiting the exhibition of the Soviet Union's achievements in economic and cultural construction, we feel very gratified and happy. This exhibition is concrete evidence of the swift progress of the Soviet Union's industrial and agricultural economy, the high level of development of the Soviet Union's technology and sciences, the flourishing of its undertaking in education, culture, and the arts, and the happiness in its people's lives. Through all of this, the exhibition has also vividly shown the boundless initiative and creativity of the Soviet people, demonstrated in their labor, the solidarity within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet government, and among the people of the various nationalities in the Soviet Union. It has also demonstrated the correctness of the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We are proud to have such a powerful ally. The might of the Soviet Union is an important factor in the general economic and cultural upsurge in the various countries in the camp striving for peace and democracy and an important factor in striving for world peace and human progress.

The glorious success of the Soviet Union in its economic and cultural construction has greatly inspired the enthusiasm of the Chinese people for build-

347. The telegram was addressed to President Istvan Dobi of the People's Republic of Hungary and was signed by Mao.

ing socialism and has set the best example for the Chinese people to learn from. The government and the people of the Soviet Union have consistently given us tremendous assistance in all areas of our construction work. This aid was further expanded through the recent discussions between China and the Soviet Union, and the holding of the exhibition of the achievements of the Soviet Union in economic and cultural construction is itself an expression of the enthusiastic aid given by the Soviet Union to our country. On behalf of all the Chinese people we express our gratitude for this brotherly friendship.

MAO ZEDONG

LIN BOQU

LIU SHAOQI

DONG BIWU

ZHOU ENLAI

PENG DEHUAI

ZHU DE

PENG ZHEN

CHEN YUN

DENG XIAOPING

(DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, October 31, 1954.

Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

October 25, 1954

Premier,

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Comrade Kim Il Sung:

I have received your telegram of October 24, 1954. On behalf of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people, and on my own behalf, I express sincere gratitude and respect to the entire Korean people, the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and yourself.

In the course of the righteous struggle against aggression and in defense of peace, the heroic Korean and Chinese peoples have already forged a friendship-in-arms that resembles a flesh and blood relationship; this is an important factor in defending peace in the Far East. In the struggle to strive for the peaceful unification of Korea and to defend peace in Asia, this friendship between our two peoples is bound to attain further consolidation and development.

May the Korean people score even greater achievements in their solemn cause of the quick recovery of the national economy of their own homeland.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, October 25, 1954.

On Criticizing *Hongloumeng Yanjiu*

October 1954

Hu Shi's school of thought has not undergone any substantial criticism.³⁴⁸ In the area of classical literature we are still guided by the thought of the Hu Shi school.

Some people say that once a person gets criticized he can no longer lift up his head; well, there will always be one side that cannot lift up its head. If everybody raised his head it would be capitulationism.

It is not that they are not on the alert. In fact they are very alert. Their tendency is very obvious. They defend bourgeois thought, they like things that oppose Marxism, and they view Marxism with hostility.

The abominable thing is that Communist Party members do not propagate Marxism. If Communist Party members do not propagate Marxism, what is the point of their being Communist Party members? *Wenyi Bao* [Literary Gazette] must be criticized. Not to do so would be unfair.

All new things are brought up by "nobodies". The young people have great aspirations and resolution to fight. We must open up paths for the young people and support "nobodies"

Source: *The Sayings of Chairman Mao on Literature and Art*, p. 97, *Red Guard Publication*.

Directive on the Film *Qing Gong Mishi*

October 1954

For five years there has been no criticism of *Qing Gong Mishi*. If we do not

348. See Mao's article *Letter Concerning the Study of the Dream of the Red Chamber*, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume V.

criticize it, we would be doing ourselves a great disfavor. *Qing Gong Mishi* is actually a treasonous film that supports imperialism. One must not sympathize with the Guangxu Emperor indiscriminately.³⁴⁹

Source: *The Sayings of Chairman Mao on Literature and Art*, p. 97, *Red Guard Publication*.

Telegram to the USSR

November 6, 1954

Comrade Voroshilov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

Comrade Malenkov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

Comrade Molotov, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

On the occasion of the thirty-seventh anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, on behalf of the people and government of China, we extend to you, and through you, to the great people and government of the Soviet Union our sincere and warm congratulations.

In thirty-seven years, the brilliant success of the great Soviet people in the cause of building a communist society have played an inestimable role in furthering human progress and defending world peace. Progressive peoples of the whole world rejoice at and are inspired by the historic victory secured by the Soviet People and see the great Soviet Union as a beacon illuminating the path on which to advance.

In recent years, the forces for defending peace throughout the world, headed by the Soviet Union, have been increasingly strengthened and developed. The number of supporters of peaceful coexistence has grown larger and larger. Warlike plots to restore German and Japanese militarism have constantly met with resolute resistance from the German and Japanese peoples and from peoples of all countries. The struggle to oppose the creation of an aggressive military bloc; to ban atomic, hydrogen and other types of weapons for mass ex-

349. See *Letter Concerning the Study of the Dream of the Red Chamber, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*.

termination; and to reduce armaments in general is developing on an extensive scale. All this serves to convince us that as long as the people of all countries take up the cause of defending peace and uphold it to the end, world peace can then be preserved and consolidated.

The great alliance between China and the Soviet Union increasingly reveals its extraordinarily great role in promoting the common prosperity of the two countries and defending peace in the Far East and throughout the world. The recent discussions between the delegation of the government of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade Khrushchev and the Chinese government signifies a new development in the great friendship between the two countries and have again demonstrated the unanimous aspirations and common interests of the eight hundred million Chinese and Soviet people. This friendship will accelerate the socialist construction undertaken by the Chinese people and enhance the further consolidation of peace in the Far East and throughout the world.

Long live the great Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics!

Long live the eternal and unbreakable friendship between China and the Soviet Union!

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC WITH ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF STATE COUNCIL AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 7, 1954.

Letter to Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, et al.

November 18, 1954

Comrades Liu, Zhou, Li, Chen, Luo, and Tao Zhu.³⁵⁰

The November 13 and November 14 issues of *Renmin Ribao* [People's Daily] carried the translation of the text of Chapter 22 of the new Soviet publication, *Textbook on Political Economy*,³⁵¹ please take a look at them. I think you

350. This letter was addressed to Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Li Fuchun, Chen Boda, Luo Mai [Li Weihai] and Tao Zhu, all of whom were in Guangzhou, attending a conference at the time.

351. Mao is referring to the first edition of the Soviet publication *Political Economy, A Textbook* which was published by the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences (*Academia Nauk*) of the USSR in the fall of 1954. This edition of the textbook was quite different from the later (the second and especially, the third revised) editions on which Mao based his later work *Reading Notes on the Soviet Textbook of Political Economy*.

will find there is adequate evidence that the argument that “socialist economic laws cannot exist before the construction of socialism has become complete (or [at least] for the most part complete)” is wrong.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

P.S. Comrade Boda, please take a look at the articles that discuss the issues of economic laws in the transitional period in [the publications] *Xin Jianshe* [New Construction] and *Xuexi* [Study] and see if they contain any errors.³⁵²

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, pp. 484-485.

Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

November 22, 1954

Comrade Kim Du Bong, Chairman, The Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,

Comrade Kim Il Sung, Premier of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,

Comrade Nam Il, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea:

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Korean Agreement on Economic and Cultural Cooperation, we express warm congratulations to the Korean people, the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and yourselves.

The signing and implementation of this agreement has brought about further consolidation and development of the friendship-in-arms between the Chinese and Korean peoples formed in the war during which they stood shoulder to shoulder in resistance against the United States aggressors. The Chinese people greet with admiration and gladness the glorious achievements of the Korean people in carrying out the three-year plans for restoring and developing their national economy.

The Korean people and the government of the Democratic People's Re-

352. *Xin Jianshe* (New Construction) was a multidisciplinary scholarly magazine, published monthly in Beijing and distributed nationwide. The focus of the magazine was on philosophy and the social sciences. *Xuexi* (Study) is a periodical published by the propaganda department of the CC of the CPC.

public of Korea have always enjoyed the deep concern and sympathy of the Chinese people and government in their unflinching struggle for the peaceful unification of Korea. The Korean problem must be resolved on the principle of respect for the Korean people's national rights and benefit for the safeguarding of Asian and world peace. The Chinese people will continue to give full support to the Korean people in this just cause until a final victory is won.

Long live the brotherly and ever-consolidating friendship between the Chinese and Korean peoples!

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC WITH LIU SHAOQI AS CHAIRMAN OF STANDING COMMITTEE OF NPC AND ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF STATE COUNCIL AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 23, 1954.

Letter to Huang Yanpei

November 23, 1954

Mr. Renzhi:³⁵³

I have received your gracious letter of October 30. Concerning the matter of grain requisition, what I have heard in the capital is as you have described.³⁵⁴ As I was on my way here to Guangzhou,³⁵⁵ I made some investigations and only then found out that problems still exist; but in general things are not too bad and, according to some reports, much better than they were last year. I have asked Vice-premier Chen Yun³⁵⁶ to pay attention to the lingering cases of the "Five-evils". I am very concerned about how you are, with your illness. I hope you will pay attention to nursing yourself back to recovery.

In reply and with my respect,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 486.

353. See *Letter to Huang Yanpei*, p. 116 of this volume.

354. See *Letter to Tan Zhenlin*, p. 184 of this volume.

355. See *Letter to Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai et al.*, p. 286 of this volume.

356. Chen Yun became vice-premier of the newly established state council (replacing the GAC) in September 1954. He was then in charge of the Fifth Office of the State Council, whose focus was on financial and commercial matters.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Mongolia

November 25, 1954

Comrade Jamsarangiyn Sambuu, Chairman of the Presidium of the Greater People's Hural of the People's Republic of Mongolia, Comrade Yumjaagiin Tsendenbal, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Mongolia,

Comrade B. Jargalsaikhan, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Mongolia:

On the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of Mongolia, on behalf of the Chinese people and the government of the People's Republic of China, we express our sincere congratulations to all the Mongolian people, the government of the People's Republic of Mongolia, and yourselves.

Thirty years ago, the Mongolian people, under the leadership of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, overthrew, by their valiant struggle, the reactionary feudal rule and established a people's democratic state. With the tireless efforts of the Mongolian people and the selfless assistance of the Soviet Union, the Mongolian people have freed themselves forever from poverty and backwardness, and they have stepped onto the glorious path of economic prosperity and cultural development. The Chinese people are joyous at and inspired by the brilliant successes of the Mongolian people.

May the Mongolian people attain still greater victories in their cause of building socialism and safeguarding world peace.

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC WITH LIU SHAOQI AS CHAIRMAN OF STANDING COMMITTEE OF NPC AND ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF STATE COUNCIL AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 26, 1954.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Albania

November 28, 1954

Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania,

Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania,

Comrade Behar Shtylla, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Albania:

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the liberation of Albania, on behalf of the Chinese people and the government of the People's Republic of China, we extend our sincere and warm congratulations to you and, through you, to the Albanian people and the government of the People's Republic of Albania.

In ten years, the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor and the government of the People's Republic of Albania, have attained tremendous successes in the areas of politics, economy, and culture. We express our best wishes to the government and people of Albania.

May the Albanian people win yet more glorious successes in their cause of struggling for the prosperity and development of their homeland and for the safeguarding of world peace.

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC WITH ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF STATE COUNCIL AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: People's Daily, November 29, 1954.

Telegram to Petru Groza

December 1, 1954

Comrade Petru Groza, Chairman of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly of the People's Republic of Romania:

Please accept my warm congratulations on the occasion of your seventieth

birthday. May you achieve even greater successes in your activities undertaken for the prosperity and happiness of the Romanian people, and may you have good health and a long life.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, December 3, 1954.

Telegram to Rajendra Prasad

December 1, 1954

President Rajendra Prasad,
The Republic of India
Your Excellency:

On the occasion of your seventieth birthday, I wish to extend to you my sincere congratulations.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, December 3, 1954.

Toast at Dinner for Prime Minister U Nu

December 4, 1954

Let us drink:

To the friendship, unity and peaceful coexistence between the peoples of China and Burma,

To Asian peace and international peace,

To the health of Dr. Ba U, president of the Union of Burma,

To Prime Minister U Nu's visit to China³⁵⁷ and to his health,

To the host of today's dinner, Ambassador U Hla Maung, and to his health,
Bottoms up!

357. Prime Minister U Nu of the Union of Burma arrived at Beijing on December 1, 1954, at the invitation of the PRC government.

Source: *People's Daily*, December 5, 1954.

Telegram to the Republic of Finland

December 5, 1954

President Juho Kusti Paasikivi,
The Republic of Finland
Your Excellency:

On the occasion of the Republic of Finland's National Day, please accept my sincere congratulations.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, December 6, 1954.

Telegram to Antonin Zapotocky

December 16, 1954

President,
The Republic of Czechoslovakia
Dear Comrade Zapotocky:

On the occasion of your seventieth birthday, please accept the sincere congratulations of the Chinese people and myself.

You have carried on a prolonged and heroic struggle for the cause of the liberation of the Czechoslovakian laboring people and have made outstanding contributions. Now the Czechoslovakian people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and yourself, are in the midst of bidding their homeland into an increasingly prosperous and happy country and carrying out an unrelenting struggle to safeguard European peace and security. The Chinese people express profound sympathy and support for this righteous cause of the Czechoslovakian people.

May you attain even greater successes in your cause of leading the Czechoslovakian people in building socialism and defending world peace, and may you have good health and a long life.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, December 19, 1954.

Inscription for Workers on the Kangding-Tibet and Qinghai-Tibet Highways

December 25, 1954

Congratulations on the opening to traffic of the Kangding-Tibet and the Qinghai-Tibet highways. Let us consolidate the unity of the people of all nationalities and build our homeland!

Source: *China Youth Daily*, December 25, 1954. According to that daily, the inscription already existed on December 25, 1954, when the ceremonies to open the two highways to traffic were held; the ceremonies to award the inscribed banner to the workers was not held, however, until February 3, 1955, in Lhasa.

Letter to Li Da

December 28, 1954

Dear Haoming:³⁵⁸

I have received and read your letter of December 20 and the two attached articles,³⁵⁹ and I think they are very good; especially the article on political ideology, which is of even greater help to the readers. There seems to be some wrong words; for instance, [when you said] “the pragmatists maintain that it is matter that comes first and consciousness that comes second.” Besides, when one criticizes pragmatism, a comparison and explanation is needed for [the terms] “utility” and “effects” as used by the pragmatists and broadly similar terms used by us. This is because people in general are still confused and

358. See *Letter to Li Da*, p. 120 of this volume and also *Letter to Comrade Li Da*, p. 176 of this volume.

359. This refers to two articles written by Li Da to criticize Hu Shi, titled, respectively, *Hu Shi De Zhengzhi Sixiang Pipan* (Criticism of Hu Shi's Political Thought) and *Hu Shi Sixiang Pipan* (Criticism of Hu Shi's Thought). The first was published in *People's Daily* (December 31, 1954) and the latter in *Xin Jianshe* (New Construction), 1955.

unclear about them. “The cosmos is an unfinished manuscript...”³⁶⁰ these few sentences also need to be explicitly criticized. Your writings are in a popular language and easy to understand. This is good. When you write again, I suggest that you make use of appropriate occasions to explain certain basic concepts in philosophy so that cadres in general can read and understand them. We must use this opportunity to help the millions of cadres, both inside and outside the Party, who have no knowledge of philosophy to understand some Marxist philosophy. What do you think? My respects.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 487.

Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

December 31, 1954

Comrade Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam,
Comrade Pham Van Dong, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister of the
Democratic Republic of Vietnam:

On the occasion of the ceremony of the return of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to Hanoi, we, on behalf of the Chinese people and the government of the People's Republic of China, express warm congratulations to you and, through you, to the Vietnamese people and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The return of the government of Vietnam to Hanoi is the result of the brilliant victory scored by the heroic Vietnamese people, under the leadership of the Vietnam Workers' Party and President Ho Chi Minh, in eight years of arduous war of resistance. It is also the result of the peace policy consistently upheld by the government of Vietnam. May the Vietnamese people attain new successes in the coming new year in their struggles to consolidate peace and to achieve national unification, independence, and democracy, and in their cause of restoring the national economy.

360. Pursuant to Mao's opinion, Li Da, when compiling the book *Hu Shi Fandong Sixiang Pipan* (Critique of Hu Shi's Reactionary Ideology) in 1955, made a comparison and explanation of the terms “utility” and “effect” as used by the pragmatists and broadly similar terms used in dialectical materialism. He also made an explicit criticism of the line “the cosmos is an unfinished manuscript...”

(CO-SIGNED WITH ZHOU ENLAI, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, January 22, 1955.

On Writing Essays to Criticize Hu Shi

December 1954

Essays criticizing Hu Shi's thought must be written in a vernacular and popular manner and should propagate Marxism in a direct way.³⁶¹ Every one of Hu Shi's essays had a political purpose. We too should have targets in mind when we write.

Source: *Red Flag in Literature and Art*; 5, May 30, 1967, Red Guard Publication

Speech at a Standing Committee Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPC (Excerpts)

Winter 1954

1. I believe that China makes great contributions to the world, and one of these is Chinese medicine. Chinese medicine was born on the basis of hand-craft and agricultural production. Theories regarding gold, wood, water, fire and soil may be criticized,³⁶² but precious experiences must be protected and promoted. Those who make criticism must understand this. What is science? Correct and systematic knowledge is called science. Isn't Western medicine a science? It is also somewhat idealistic. Mechanical materialism, for instance, must be transformed. China should have one medical service, and not two medical services, as they have existed for a long time. The term doctor of Western medicine is improper; as materialist dialectics would have it, there should

361. See *On Criticizing Hongloumeng Yanjiu* pp. 284 of this volume. Also see *Letter Concerning the Study of the Dream of the Red Chamber, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume V, and *Letter to Li Da*, December 28, 1954, p. 293 of this volume.

362. Mao is referring here to the ancient Chinese cosmological theory that the universe is made up of these five fundamental elements or forms of matter (*wuxing*). In the traditional sense of the words, *jin*, here translated as "gold" is more appropriately translated as "metal", and *tu* as "earth" rather than "soil". The earliest written formulation of this theory appears in the ancient book *Hongfan* (Framework of the Cosmos) in *Shangshu* (Book of History).

be one unified term for doctors. It is wrong for some to over-exaggerate the importance of Chinese medicine. Traditional Chinese hospitals should be run experimentally at key points. In regard to the question of further training of traditional doctors, it is right and proper to require them to study fundamental subjects and to exchange experiences. It may be difficult, I am afraid, for them to learn the pharmacology of Chinese medicine.

2. From now on, graduates from medical programs in the universities must study traditional Chinese medicine for two years.

3. China ought to have one [integrated school of] medicine, and not two [schools of] medicine [coexisting] over a long period of time. The terms Chinese medicine and Western medicine are inappropriate; there ought to be only one integrated school of medicine based on dialectical materialism. The health of the six hundred million people in China primarily relies on Chinese medicine, and not on Western medicine.

4. To look down on traditional Chinese medicine is a slavish bourgeois mentality.

Source: *These excerpts were culled from Selections from China's Mainland Magazines, Weekly, Hong Kong (Supplement, April 8, 1969) and Compilation of Red Guard Materials, p. 371.*

Comment on the National Budget

1954

Increasing production, practicing economy, and selling aside more reserves are the three reliable defense lines to fortify the budget of the state.

Source: *Extract from the article To Have Room for Maneuvering is a Positive Policy in the Magazine, Red Flag: 16, August 31, 1969.*

Instructions on the Work of Doctors of Traditional Chinese Medicine

1954

An inappropriate policy of restriction and discrimination has been adopted toward traditional Chinese medicine in many respects, with the result that

for a long time there has existed in society the situation where doctors of traditional Chinese medicine are opposed to doctors of Western medicine and are discriminated against, and this situation hasn't been changed. This is an extremely grave policy mistake of the health departments... If this situation is allowed to exist for a long time, not only will our country's health protection service continue to suffer serious losses, but there is the danger of this part of the cultural legacy of our country being lost.

Source: *Selections from China Mainland Magazines, Weekly, (supplement 22) April 8, 1968 (Hong Kong).*

Inscription on the Triumph of the People of Wuhan over the Flood³⁶³

1954

We must still be prepared to do battle against and overcome similarly severe floods that may occur in the future.

Source: *Quoted in The Hills and Rivers of our Country Sparkle with the Glory of Mao Zedong Thought in Peoples' Daily, October 2, 1976.*

Inscription for Historical Pavilion in Caixi *xiang*, Fujian Province

1954

Glory Pavilion³⁶⁴

Source: *From "Glorious Caixi *xiang*" in Liberation Army Pictorial; 67, July 1, 1967.*

363. In 1954, the stretch of the Yangtze River near Wuhan overflowed its banks and caused severe damage. Mao's inscription here was awarded to the people of Wuhan who took part in bringing the deluge under control.

364. This was an inscription written upon the rebuilding of a pavilion in Caixi *xiang*, Shanghang *xian*, Fujian, which was first built in 1933 when Caixi *xiang* was commended by the Central Soviet as a model village. It was intended for the display of awards, banners, and rolls of the revolutionary martyrs of Fujian Province. It was destroyed, and subsequently rebuilt in 1954.

1955

Telegram to the Union of Burma

January 2, 1955

President Dr. Ba U,
Union of Burma
Your Excellency:

On behalf of the Chinese people and on my own behalf, I extend to the Burmese people and to Your Excellency warm congratulations. On this occasion of the National Day of the Union of Burma, may the relationship of friendly cooperation between China and Burma be further consolidated and developed in the cause of defending peace in Asia and the world.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, January 4, 1955.

Telegram to the Republic of India

January 24, 1955

President Rajendra Prasad, Republic of India.
Your Excellency:

On the occasion of the fifth National Day of the Republic of India, on behalf of the Chinese people and on my own behalf, I extend to the Indian people and to Your Excellency warm congratulations. May the relationship of friendly cooperation between China and India grow daily firmer and develop with each passing day in the cause of defending peace in Asia and the world, and may the Republic of India prosper and the Indian people be happy.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, January 26, 1955.

Reply to Ambassador of the Republic of Finland

January 28, 1955

Mr. Ambassador:

It is with great pleasure that I accept the letter of credence from the President of the Republic of Finland which you have presented to us, and I am grateful for his friendly wishes which you have just conveyed.

In the last four years, the economic ties and cultural exchange between China and Finland have, on the foundations of equality and mutual benefit, greatly developed. It is commonly known that the friendly exchange between our two governments and our two peoples have, over the last few years, taken place in many diverse forms. Particularly satisfying has been the situation of smooth development in the trade relations and cultural ties between our two nations. There has been progress in our trade relations every year, and our trade agreements have all been satisfactorily fulfilled. The visit of the Chinese acrobatic troupe to Finland in 1952, as well as the visit to China of the Finnish cultural delegation led by Madame Kekkonen in 1953, and the visit to Finland in July 1954 of Deputy Minister Lei Renmin of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Trade at the invitation of the Finnish government have all left lasting and good impressions on our peoples and have contributed greatly to the strengthening of the friendly feelings between the people of China and the people of Finland, and to their mutual confidence in peaceful cooperation. The friendly cooperative relationship between China and Finland provides ample evidence that nations of diverse social systems can coexist peacefully and be in friendly cooperation with one another. Now we have escalated our legations to each other to the status of embassies and we have exchanged ambassadors. This signifies that a further step has been taken in the consolidation and promotion of friendly relations between our two countries.

China and Finland share a common hope for the defense and consolidation of peace, and the enhancement of economic and cultural exchange between our two countries is bound to have a beneficial effect on the safeguarding and consolidating of world peace. We are convinced that the trade relations and the cultural inter-flow between China and Finland will continue to be strengthened and develop. Mr. Ambassador, I welcome your expressed wish that there

be more direct contact between the representatives of our countries.

I heartily welcome your assuming the position of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Finland to the People's Republic of China and pledge to you my assistance and the assistance of the government of the People's Republic of China in your work of strengthening the friendly cooperation between China and Finland.

I wish you success in your mission, and I express my good wishes for the prosperity of the Republic of Finland the happiness of the people of Finland and the health of President J. K. Paasikivi of the Republic of Finland.

Source: *People's Daily*, January 29, 1955.

Criticism of Hu Feng^{365, 366}

January 1955

We must never permit bourgeois idealism and thought such as Hu Feng's, which stands in opposition to the people and to the Party, to get away from us under the cover of [being merely regarded as a] "petty bourgeois viewpoint." Instead, we ought to criticize and repudiate them thoroughly.

Source: *Red Flag in Literature and Art* 5, May 30, 1967, *Red Guard Publication*.

Telegram to the USSR

February 12, 1955

Comrade K. E. Voroshilov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

Comrade V. M. Molotov, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

365. This document comes as a directive accompanying the decision to publish Hu Feng's *Letters of Opinions*. In the source it was titled *Mao Zhuxi Dui Wenyi Gongzuo de Zhongyao Zhishi* (Chairman Mao's Important Directive on Literary Work)

366. For more material on Hu Feng see *In Refutation of Uniformity of Public Opinion, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume V, and also see *Preface and Editor's notes to Material on Counter Revolutionary Hu Feng Clique, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume V.

On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance, we represent the Chinese people and the government of the People's Republic of China in sincerely extending our warm congratulations to you and, through you, to the great people and government of the Soviet Union.

In the past five years, the overall political, economic, and cultural cooperation between China and the Soviet Union has developed extensively. The Government and people of the Soviet Union have given all-round and systematic assistance—assistance that leaves no detail unattended—to us, the Chinese people, who are in the midst of pursuing socialist construction. The government of the Soviet Union has successively helped China build from scratch and expand 156 huge industrial enterprises, sent excellent experts in large numbers to assist China in its construction, extended to China favorable loans several times, transferred to China without cost the Sino-Soviet jointly managed China-Changchun railway and property in Northeast China acquired by Soviet organizations from Japanese owners in 1945, sold to China shares owned by the Soviet Union in Sino-Soviet joint enterprises, and decided to place totally at China's disposal the naval base at Lüshun and installations in that area jointly used by China and the Soviet Union. Moreover, it has also proposed to offer to China scientific, technological, and industrial assistance in promoting research in peaceful uses for atomic energy. Such friendly cooperation and sincere aid have greatly promoted the development of our country's undertakings in construction and demonstrate to the world the great vitality of this new kind of international relations. The government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people deeply appreciate the unmatched treasure that this brotherly friendship represents. On behalf of the government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, we express sincere gratitude for the tremendous assistance of the government and people of the Soviet Union.

The consolidation and development of the friendship and alliance between China and the Soviet Union has been invaluable in guaranteeing our two countries' security and maintaining peace in the Far East and in the world. The peace policy of China and the Soviet Union has promoted and brought about the Korean armistice and the restoration of peace in Indochina, bringing about a certain degree of relaxation in international tensions and inspiring all peace-loving countries and peoples. The Chinese people enthusiastically support the Soviet Union's struggle for the establishment of a European collective security system and its opposition to the rearmament of West Germany. China

and the Soviet Union are willing to establish normalized relations with Japan and to actively support the Japanese people in taking the road of independent development and international cooperation. The sincere cooperation between China and the Soviet Union conforms to the interests not only of the people of the two countries, China and the Soviet Union, but also of all the peace-loving countries and peoples of Asia, Europe, and the rest of the world. It is a reliable guarantee for the maintenance of peace in the Far East and the world.

At this very moment, the aggressive clique of the United States and its followers are pursuing a policy of war and creating international tension everywhere, and the aggressive behavior and war provocations carried out by the United States in the Taiwan area are a grave threat to China's security. It has given rise to just reprobation by peace-loving countries and peoples throughout the world. The struggle of the Chinese people to liberate their own territory of Taiwan is just. A just cause is something that no force can stop. The friendship and alliance of China and the Soviet Union, in view of the emerging international tension, will play an increasingly vital role in the cause of opposing aggression and guaranteeing peace.

The Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance is a great peace treaty, a symbol of the great friendship between China and the Soviet Union. The events of the last five years have proved this treaty's great role in promoting world peace and human progress. From now on, in life and in practice, this treaty's great force and boundless brilliance will be further exhibited.

For the sake of the common prosperity of the two peoples of China and the Soviet Union and the consolidation of peace in the Far East and in the world, may the great friendship between China and the Soviet Union develop daily.

Long live the eternal, indestructible friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples!

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC WITH LIU SHAOQI AS CHAIRMAN OF STANDING COMMITTEE OF NPC AND ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF STATE COUNCIL AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, February 14, 1954.

Speech at Banquet Celebrating Fifth Anniversary of Sino-Soviet Treaty

February 14, 1955

I celebrate the great cooperation between China and the Soviet Union. Such cooperation advances the cause of socialism, opposes imperialism's plans for aggression, and is for international peace. I believe this cooperation will be strengthened further.

Given the cooperation between our two great countries, China and the Soviet Union, I believe that imperialism's plans of aggression will be smashed.

Given the great cooperation between our two countries, we can all perceive that there are no imperialists' aggressive plans that cannot be destroyed. They are bound to be thoroughly destroyed. Should the imperialists launch an aggressive war, we, together with the people of all the world, are bound to wipe them off the face of the earth!

Let us drink to the health of Comrade Voroshilov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!

Source: *People's Daily, February 15, 1955.*

Telegram to the USSR

February 21, 1955

Comrade K. E. Voroshilov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

Comrade N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

Comrade V. M. Molotov, First Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

On the occasion of the thirty-seventh anniversary of the founding of the armed forces of the Soviet Union, please accept our warm congratulations.

In the Second World War, the glorious armed forces of the Soviet Union, with their invincible might, devastated the forces of Fascism, defended Euro-

pean and world civilization, and made invaluable contributions to the cause of human progress. Now, at the very moment when the imperialist war bloc is intensifying its creation of international tension, preparing for atomic war, carrying out war provocations, and gravely threatening world peace, the strong and long-tested armed forces of the Soviet Union are an invincible force for defending the peace of the world.

The armed forces of the Soviet Union that were stationed at the Lüshun naval base in accordance with the Sino-Soviet agreement have played an important role in defending peace and security in the Far East and throughout the world in the last five years. They have provided powerful support to the Chinese people in their cause of socialist construction. Now, as they depart from the Lüshun naval base in accordance with the Sino-Soviet communique of October 1954, on behalf of the government and people of the People's Republic of China, we extend our heartfelt thanks to the government of the Soviet Union and to the great Soviet people and their armed forces.

May the armed forces of the Soviet Union achieve even more brilliant successes in the tasks of strengthening the national defense forces of their own homeland and defending world peace and security.

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC WITH LIU SHAOQI AS CHAIRMAN OF STANDING COMMITTEE OF NPC AND ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF STATE COUNCIL AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, February 23, 1955.

Toast at Banquet Celebrating Tibetan New Year

February 24, 1955

On the occasion of the Tibetan New Year, let us greet the Dalai Lama, Panchen Gnoertehni, all the Tibetan personnel now in Beijing, and the Tibetan people in Tibet and all other regions! We all should strive to further strengthen and consolidate the unity among our country's various nationalities and further strengthen and consolidate the unity between the Han and Tibetan nationalities and within the Tibetan nationality itself, and together build our great homeland.

Let us [drink]:

To the health of the Dalai Lama and Panchen Gnoertehni, to all the Tibet-

an ecclesiastical and secular personnel now in Beijing, to the great unity among all nationalities of our country!

Source: *People's Daily*, February 25, 1955.

Letter to Lin Tie

March 5, 1955

Comrade Lin Tie:³⁶⁷

Please take care of this problem.³⁶⁸ This is a copy of a letter which a body guard of mine brought back from a visit to his native village of Anping *xian*.³⁶⁹ I presume that the situation [described therein] is not unique to a *xiang* in Anping *xian*—it may also be prevalent elsewhere, and is well worth our attention.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 489.

Letter to Zhou Dunggu

March 6, 1955

Comrade Dunggu:³⁷⁰

367. Lin Tie (b. circa 1905, also known as Lin Guohua) was at the time of this letter chairman of the provincial government of Hebei Province and ranking Party secretary of that province. Lin played a significant role in promoting the cooperativization movement at this time, and later, in the Socialist education movement in the countryside.

368. This refers to the problem that was reflected in a letter written by the masses in Anping *xian*. In this letter, they reported that, in the process of promoting agricultural cooperativization, the local cadres in that *xian* simplistically used such propaganda and coercive tactics as saying “either you follow the Communist Party or you follow Lao Jiang (Old Chiang [Kai-shek])” to force the peasants into joining the cooperatives. Such tactics had led to a serious problem of lowering the peasants productivity and activism.

369. Anping *xian* is in Hebei Province, south of Beijing Municipality near Baoding. The area around Anping including such *xian* as Anguo and Ding, is an important agricultural district.

370. Zhou was an acquaintance of Mao's from the early years when they were in school together in Changsha, Hunan, of which Zhou is a native. Mao studied in Changsha over a rather lengthy period, first as a student in Xiangxiang middle school and several vocational schools from 1910 to 1913, during which time he also briefly joined the new Hunan Army

I have received your letter of February 28. I do not intervene directly in affairs related to the enrollment of any student in any school, and therefore begging your understanding and forgiveness, I cannot gratify your request. It would really be up to you to decide for yourself whether or not you can wait until this summer to apply and take the examination in Beijing then.

I wish you good health.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 490.

Letter To Wei Lihuang

March 17, 1955

Mr. Wei Junru!³⁷¹

I have received your telegram of March 16. I warmly welcome your return to China. I hope that you will come to Beijing soon, so that we may meet. If you are interested you may of course take a look at the conditions in [various parts of] the country along your journey, and arrive at Beijing either at the end of this month or early next month; that too would be excellent.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 491.

and then from 1913 to 1918 as a student of Hunan Normal School. At the time of this letter Zhou was an instructor at the Literary Training Institute of the Chinese Federation of Writers.

371. Junru is the honorific name of Wei Lihuang (1896-1960) a former KMT general who was the deputy commander of Chiang Kai-shek's North East Military Headquarters ("Bandit Suppression Headquarters") during the Third Revolutionary Civil War period (i.e., August 1945-October 1949). He was relieved of his command after his defeat by PLA troops at the battle of Shenyang in November 1948. Wei fled to Hong Kong in 1949, and in March 1955 returned to the mainland. He was invited to be a special delegate to the National Committee of the CPPCC and held this position from 1956 to 1959. He was also a member of the Standing Committee of the KMT and a Vice-chairman of the National Defense Council. In many ways, therefore, he stood as an example of how progressive elements of the KMT could cooperate with the people's government.

Inscription for the First Congress of Heroes and Model Soldiers of the Air Force³⁷²

March 21, 1955

Build a strong People's Air Force to defend the homeland and be prepared to defeat the aggressor.

Source: *People's Daily*, March 22, 1955.

Speech at Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the CPC³⁷³

Spring 1955

Last year Comrade XXX was instructed to sum up and examine the work of traditional Chinese doctors.³⁷⁴ This year, it has been found that people at the lower level are against traditional doctors and medicinal herbs. The Chairman has instructed Comrade XXX to see that good results are produced in respect of the work of traditional doctors and medicinal herbs within a time limit. For the past several years almost everything has been liberated. Operas, too, have been liberated. Yet traditional Chinese medicine has not been liberated. The health of six hundred million people in China depends primarily on traditional Chinese medicine, and not on Western medicine. This is because the number of Western doctors is small. Doctors of traditional Chinese medicine play a very significant role in the health of people, but this fact is seldom reflected in the leadership because doctors of traditional Chinese medicine are out of

372. This inscription was written in Mao's calligraphy on a banner displayed at the First Congress of Heroes, Model Soldiers, and Meritorious Members of the Air Force of the PLA, which was convened on March 21, 1955, in Beijing.

373. These are parts from a speech Comrade Mao delivered at a meeting of the CC of the CPC, with many indirect quotations interspersed between what Comrade Mao actually said. These were extracted from Selections from China Mainland Magazines (Supplement 22) April 8, 1968, Hong Kong.

374. Also see *Directive on Work in Traditional Chinese Medicine*, p. 261 of this volume and also *Implement the Correct Policy in Dealing with Doctors of Traditional Chinese Medicine* p. 275 and *Speech at a Standing Committee Meeting of the CC of the CPC (Excerpts)* p. 295 of this volume.

power while doctors of Western medicine are in power.

Chinese medicine has a long history, and this very fact proves that it has made great contributions to the people. It is necessary to set up institutions to study Chinese medicine. Some doctors of Chinese medicine are so influenced by Western medicine in their advanced studies that they say Chinese medicine is unscientific. While it is unscientific for them to say so, they must not be criticized too early, and should be treated in the same manner as national minorities are treated. They should play a part in various institutions. To look down upon Chinese medicine is a slavish bourgeois idea, and something must be wrong that no good results have been produced for the past several years...

In the future, graduates of medical universities shall be required to study Chinese medicine for two years.

It should be admitted that doctors of Chinese medicine are capable and should be treated as specialists and received and paid as specialists. Haven't they performed great merits? We must oppose sectarianism among doctors of Chinese medicine and step up research of Chinese medicine. (Turning to He Zheng) Isn't there a Qizhou in Hebei? That is the place for concentration and dispersal of medicinal herbs. Commercial departments must study it.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Hungary

April 2, 1955

Comrade Istvan Dobi, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Republic of Hungary,

Comrade Andros Hegedus, Acting Chairman of the Council of the People's Republic of Hungary,

Comrade Janos Boldoczki, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Hungary:

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of Hungary's liberation, we convey to you and, through you, to the Hungarian people and the government of the People's Republic of Hungary sincere and warm congratulations on behalf of the Chinese people and the People's Republic of China.

In the last ten years, the Hungarian people, under the leadership of their own Hungarian Workers' Party and the government of the People's Republic of Hungary, have victoriously consolidated the people's democratic system and

have achieved brilliant successes in the socialist construction of their country. These successes have strengthened the socialist camp for peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union and have inspired the Chinese people who are in the midst of pursuing their socialist construction. The Chinese people greet the victories of our brothers, the Hungarian people with very joyful feelings.

We wish the Hungarian people new victories in the cause of socialist construction in their own homeland and in the struggle to smash the new war plans of the imperialist aggressive bloc and to ensure peace in Europe and throughout the world.

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC WITH LIU SHAOQI AS CHAIRMAN OF STANDING COMMITTEE OF NPC AND ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF STATE COUNCIL AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, April 4, 1955.

Order to Terminate State of War between the PRC and Germany³⁷⁵

April 7, 1955

Owing to the fact that Hitler's Germany had unleashed a fascist war of aggression that undermined world peace and had supported Japan's war of aggression against China, China proclaimed itself to be in a state of war with Germany on December 9, 1941. After the Hitlerian aggressors were wiped out, the Potsdam Conference of 1945 resolved that Germany ought to develop into a peaceful, democratic, and unified state and also decided on the approach to concluding a peace treaty with Germany.³⁷⁶

However, because of the policy consistently pursued by the United States, Britain, and France of dividing Germany, reviving militarism in West Germany in order to bring it into aggressive military blocs, Germany is still divided and it is still impossible to conclude a peace treaty with Germany. Now the

375. Comrade Mao drafted the above resolution, which was adopted by the Ninth meeting of the Standing Committee of the First National People's Congress.

376. The Potsdam Conference was the last summit conference held among the heads of the governments of the US, Britain, and the USSR—during the Second World War. It took place July 17 to August 2, 1945. One of its resolutions was to create a foreign ministers' Council consisting of the US, Britain, the USSR, France, and eventually China, to draft the peace treaties with Germany and the other Axis powers.

three countries, the United States, Britain, and France, are all actively plotting by implementing the Paris agreements³⁷⁷ to further obstruct the peaceful unification of Germany and the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, thus posing a serious threat to peace and security in Europe.

The People's Republic of China resolutely supports the German Democratic Republic and the people of all of Germany, as well as the Soviet Union and all peace-loving countries and peoples, in their struggle to attain the peaceful unification of Germany, the promotion of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, the safeguarding of European collective security, and the defense of world peace. At the same time, [the People's Republic of China,] in the interests of the Chinese people and the people of all Germany, and based on the resolution adopted by the Ninth Meeting of the Standing Committee of the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China on April 7, 1955, proclaims:

The state of war between the People's Republic of China and Germany shall end forthwith. Peaceful relations between the two countries shall be established.

The termination of the state of war between the People's Republic of China and Germany does not in any way change Germany's international obligations. At the same time it also does not in any way affect the rights or commitments of the People's Republic of China under international agreements relating to Germany.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC AND DATED)

Source: *People's Daily*, April 9, 1955.

Reply to Ambassador of Pakistan

April 27, 1955

Over the past four years, the friendly and cooperative relations between China and Pakistan in the areas of the economy and culture have made progress. With the efforts of Your Excellency, I believe the friendly relations be-

377. The Paris conference, a crucial prelude to the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), was held October 20-23, 1954. It resulted in the signing of the Protocol on the Termination of the Occupational Regime in the Federal Republic of Germany (FDR) on October 23, 1954, and on May 5, 1955, the formal accession of the FDR to NATO was ratified.

tween our two countries will, on the existing basis, grow even more intimate with each passing day. The advancement of such friendly relations will not only further consolidate the friendship between the people of our two countries but will also contribute to the peace in Asia and in the world for which the people of all nations are striving.

The government of the People's Republic of China and myself welcome Your Excellency's appointment as the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Pakistan to the People's Republic of China and pledge our full assistance in your work to strengthen the friendly cooperation between our two countries and to safeguard international peace.

Source: *People's Daily*, April 28, 1955.

Inscription for Czechoslovakian Exhibition

April 28, 1955

The exhibition³⁷⁸ on the achievements of ten years of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia has made a deep impression on us. Over the past ten years, socialist Czechoslovakia has made rapid progress in the areas of the economy and culture. This comes as a result of the correct leadership of the Communist Party and the government of Czechoslovakia and the efforts of all the laboring people of Czechoslovakia in striving for a happy life for themselves. The fact that Czechoslovakia has made rapid progress in the area of industry, especially in the machine-building industry, greatly strengthens the confidence of the Chinese people in their undertaking of industrialization which has just begun. It also projects an ever broadening vista for future trade development and scientific and technical cooperation between China and Czechoslovakia. May Czechoslovakia become more prosperous and powerful with each passing day. May the friendship between the people of Czechoslovakia and the people of the People's Republic of China always continue to grow and be consolidated.

(CO-SIGNED WITH LIU SHAOQI, ZHU DE, CHEN YUN, PENG ZHEN, LIN BOQU, DONG BIWU, KANG SHENG, ZHANG WENTIAN, DENG XIAOPING, AND DATED)

378. The Exhibition of Czechoslovakia's Achievements in Socialist Construction was held in Beijing from late April through mid-May 1955. This inscription was written for the exhibition on April 28.

Source: *People's Daily*, May 15, 1955.

Letter to Jiang Zhuru

May 1, 1955

My Dear Zhuru:³⁷⁹

Your gracious letter of February has been received; thank you very much. You are engaged in linguistic studies and have proposed some unconventional opinions. Although I cannot agree with you [on these views], I am sure that the debate would be beneficial [to all of us]. Your letter has been sent to the Committee for Language Reform for studying. A phonetic language is by and large a form of language that is more convenient and easy to handle. Chinese characters are too complicated and difficult. At the moment we are only engaged in reforming [the language] by simplifying them; in the future, there will come the day when we have to carry out some basic reforms.

In response, and with best regards for your work in teaching,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 492.

Telegram to the German Democratic Republic

May 6, 1955

Comrade Wilhelm Pieck, President of the German Democratic Republic,
Comrade Johannes Dieckmann, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic,

Comrade Otto Grotewohl, Premier of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic:

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the German people's achieve-

379. Jiang Zhuru was a fellow native of Mao's of Xiangtan *xian*, Hunan. He was Mao's schoolmate at the First Normal School of Hunan in Changsha, and an early member of the Xinmin Xuehui (New People's Study Society) founded by Mao. He was engaged in education work.

ment of liberation, the Chinese people and the government of the People's Republic of China express warm congratulations to you and, through you, to our brothers the German people and the government of the German Democratic Republic.

After the army of the Soviet Union smashed Hitler's fascist rule, the German people, under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, carried out all sorts of democratic reforms and established their own German Democratic Republic. In the past five years, the people of the German Democratic Republic have triumphantly built a new life with their own creative labor and have made gigantic achievements in the areas of politics, the economy, and culture. The German Democratic Republic has become the strong bulwark of the German people in their struggle to attain unification, peace, democracy, and independence.

Ignoring the national interests of the German people, the ruling cliques of the United States and Britain have actively revived German militarism and deepened the division of Germany in an attempt to convert West Germany into the hotbed of a new war. The recent ratification of the Paris Agreement has greatly increased the danger of war and posed a serious threat to peace in Europe and the world. The Chinese people fully support all the necessary measures that the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, and other peace-loving European countries have taken to ensure their own security and to safeguard European and world peace. They also deeply believe that the powerful unity of the countries within the socialist camp of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union is bound to thoroughly smash all the imperialist plans for war and that the righteous cause of the German people is bound to achieve success.

We sincerely wish the German people new successes in their struggle to oppose the implementation of the Paris Agreement and in their cause of building the German Democratic Republic.

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC WITH LIU SHAOQI AS CHAIRMAN OF STANDING COMMITTEE OF NPC AND ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF STATE COUNCIL AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING).

Source: *People's Daily*, May 8, 1955.

Telegram to the Republic of Czechoslovakia

May 7, 1955

Comrade Antonin Zapotocky, President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia,
Comrade Zdenek Fierlinger, Chairman of the National Assembly of the
Republic of Czechoslovakia,

Comrade Viliam Siroky, Prime Minister of the Republic of Czechoslovakia:

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the achievement of liberation by the Czechoslovakian people, the government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people extend to the government of the Republic of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovakian people their warm and heartfelt congratulations.

Over the past ten years, the Czechoslovakian people, under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the government of the Republic of Czechoslovakia and with the selfless help rendered by the Soviet Union, have made brilliant achievements in the area of consolidating the political power of the people's democracy and laying the foundation for the construction of socialism. These achievements add to the strength of the world camp of peace, democracy, and socialism headed by the Soviet Union and lend great encouragement to the Chinese people who are in the midst of pursuing socialist construction.

Currently the imperialist aggressive bloc is sparing no effort to carry into effect the Paris Agreement and is actively reviving German militarism, thus forcing the people of Europe and of the entire world to confront the threat of a new war. The Chinese people fully support all necessary measures taken by the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and other peace-loving countries and peoples in Europe to safeguard their own security and European peace. We are deeply convinced that with the sympathy and support of the people all over the world, the powerful camp of peace, democracy, and socialism headed by the Soviet Union is bound to smash the imperialists' war plans.

We wish the Czechoslovakian people still greater triumphs in their cause of building socialism and defending peace.

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC WITH LIU SHAOQI AS CHAIRMAN OF
STANDING COMMITTEE OF NPC AND ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF STATE

COUNCIL AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, May 9, 1955.

Letter to the Party Committee of Xiangxiang *xian*³⁸⁰

May 17, 1955

Comrades of the CPC Party Committee of Xiangxiang *xian* and, through them, comrades of the Second District Committee and the Party Branch of Shidong *xiang*:

Tan Shiyong of Shidong *xiang* was a classmate of mine some forty years ago at the Dongshan School of Xiangxiang. Since Liberation, he has sent me several letters and I sent several letters in reply. Because he claimed and complained that he is in [financial] difficulty, recently I sent him some money. Lately, he came down with an eye ailment and went to Hankou to look up Comrade Tan Zheng for help in getting treatment.³⁸¹ When he couldn't find Tan there, he came to Beijing to look me up. At the moment he is interned at a hospital for the treatment of his eye and will be on his way back to the village in two or three weeks. I have bade him to listen well to the teaching and discipline of the Party and government cadres of the local district and the *xiang*. According to what he told me, two of his sons were executed some three years ago in the struggle to suppress counterrevolutionaries. One of them was a battalion commander and the other a squad commander. Allegedly they were executed because they had committed crimes involving the shedding of other people's blood. He himself was deprived of his civilian rights and was subjected to control and surveillance for a year. At the present moment, that has been lifted but he still cannot join the peasant's association. His wife and two other sons, meanwhile, retained their civilian rights and have joined the peasants' association. He claims that his background is that of a poor peasant. He also claims that he had been a schoolteacher for several decades, and that except for

380. Xiangxiang *xian* is adjacent to Xiangtan in the province of Hunan (Xiangtan is Mao's native village). Shidong *xian* is also in the area.

381. Tan Zheng (b. 1903) is a veteran political officer of the Red Army. According to the source, he was at the time of this letter, a deputy minister of Defense and a deputy secretary of the Control Commission of the Central Committee of the CPC. He was also a member of the National Defence Council and a director of the General Political Department of the PLA.

the fact that twenty-seven years ago he had been, for five months, a member of the staff in the Kuomintang Shaoyang *xian* government, he has never done anything criminal or bad. I know absolutely nothing about this person's past. Please investigate and let me know.

I wish you smooth success in your work.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 493.

Telegram to Ho Chi Minh

May 19, 1955

Dear Comrade Ho Chi Minh:

On the occasion of your sixty-fifth birthday, please accept the warm congratulations of the Chinese people and of myself.

Under the outstanding leadership of the Vietnam Workers' Party and yourself, the Vietnamese people have carried on a heroic struggle in striving for the independence and freedom of their homeland, and they have already achieved a major victory. The brilliant contributions you have made in the past decades command the respect and admiration, not only of the Vietnamese people, but also of the Chinese people.

May you achieve even greater success in the glorious cause of fighting for Vietnam's peace, independence, unity, and democracy and for the restoration and development of its national economy.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, May 20, 1955.

Letter to Huang Yanpei

May 26, 1955

Mr. Renzhi:³⁸²

382. See *Letter to Huang Yanpei*, p. 116 of this volume.

I have received and read your gracious letter of May 25. It is always to our advantage to patiently and painstakingly ask for [people's] opinions on critical problems. Recently I contacted the comrades in positions of responsibility in fifteen provinces and municipalities and solicited their opinions on the various issues regarding grain [production and requisition], the suppression of counterrevolutionaries, and the [establishment of agricultural producers'] cooperatives. I managed to get [from them] even more material, confirming what I said at the Supreme State Conference. Nevertheless, a further investigation and study is needed to ascertain whether or not things are truly as we have thought. When you, dear sir, go down [to the lower levels] to make your inspection and investigation, I hope you will use a method of comprehensive, all-round analysis. I have seen the material of the Association for Democratic National Construction, and I am very much interested. I suggest that it may be distributed to the other parties for their reference.³⁸³

With my respect,

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 495.

Telegram to Afghanistan

May 26, 1955

Mohammed Zahir Shah,
King of Afghanistan
Your Majesty:

On the occasion of the Independence Day of the Kingdom of Afghanistan, I send warm congratulations to the people of Afghanistan and to you on behalf of the Chinese people and on my own behalf and wish the Kingdom of Afghanistan prosperity and the people of Afghanistan all happiness.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, May 28, 1955.

383. According to the source, this refers to material that Huang Yanpei sent to Mao, reporting on a forum held by the Association for Democratic National Construction (of which Huang was chairman) on the subjects of suppressing counterrevolutionaries and a general amnesty.

Toast at Banquet for Indonesian Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo

May 29, 1955

I propose that we drink:

To the ever-growing friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia,

To peace in Asia and throughout the world,

To the health of President Sukarno of the Republic of Indonesia,

To Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo's visit to China and to his health and that of his wife,

To the health of the host of today's banquet, Ambassador Mononutu. Bottoms up!

Source: *People's Daily*, May 30, 1955.

Conversation with Security Guards on Taking Literacy Courses

May 1955

Mao: What is the purpose of our work?

The troops: For Communism! To serve the people!

Mao: You are all engaged in security work. Now I'd like to give you the extra assignment of taking literacy courses. Do you accept it?

The troops: Yes!

Source: Quoted in the article "Chairman Mao Cares About the Security Guards Studying to Become Literate" published in the *People's Daily* of May 23, 1960.

Letter to Tan Shiyang

June 8, 1955

Dear Shiyang:³⁸⁴

384. See *Letter to the Party Committee of Xiangxiang xian*, p. 318 of this volume. Here Mao

I have received your letter of June 4 and your masterpiece. Thank you very much. I approve of your idea of returning to your native village soon. The *xian* committee of the Chinese Communist Party of Xiangxiang [*xian*] sent me a letter (I also received one from the Party branch of the *xiang*) which clarified a few things concerning your family's circumstances. According [to these reports]: your two sons are indeed guilty; this is because, even after having been forgiven and released several times, they kept returning to their criminal ways, and because they have committed serious crimes. Therefore it is only their just deserts that the government and the people have dealt with them in accordance with the law. On your part, [it was decided that] you only have some of the shortcomings brought over from the old society and a few improprieties regarding the attitude with which you have treated your two sons. For that reason you have been subjected to a year of probationary control and surveillance; now that has been lifted. The letter of the *xian* [party] committee indicates that they have not found you guilty of anything else. I think that the comments that the [Party] committee made regarding you are fair and just.

You ought to [learn to] look at problems from the perspective of the fundamental changes between the old and the new societies, and gradually change around your own thoughts and temperament. In this way you can become more open-minded, and you can change and get rid of some of your faults and lead your entire family in promoting diligence and hard work at production. The most important thing is for you to obey the laws and ordinances of the government and listen to the cadres. In this way, in a few years, people's attitude toward you will change even more for the better.

If you feel the need to do so, you may show this letter to the comrades in positions of responsibility in the *xian*, or district, or *xiang*.

I wish you peace.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, pp. 496-497.

Conversation with Soldiers (Excerpt)

June 17, 1955

We, whose job is to make revolution must be prepared to be maligned. As

used *xiong* (brother).

a matter of fact, being maligned by [our] enemies is something for us to be happy about.

Source: *Quoted in the article As a Guest at Chairman Mao's Home by Lin Jinlai, in China Youth (Semi-monthly), Beijing, January 1, 1959.*

On Swimming (Excerpts)

June 20, 1955

Whether the water is clean or muddy is not the main criterion for determining whether or not the water is suitable for swimming. The point you raise here does not merit concern. Did Zhuang Zi not say: "Unless water is accumulated to a great depth it is powerless to carry big boats"?³⁸⁵ The deeper the water, the greater its buoyancy, and the more convenient it makes for swimming. How can you say that it is not suitable [for swimming]? I need no rest unless I am tired. I'll not board the boat until I get to my destination.

Source: *Excerpts from an article Stories of Chairman Mao's Swimming in SPORTS Magazine, May 31, 1965.*

Telegram to Jamsarangiyn Sambuu

June 27, 1955

Chairman,
The Presidium of the Greater People's Khural,
The Mongolian People's Republic
Comrade J. Sambuu:

On the occasion of your sixtieth birthday, I extend to you sincere and warm congratulations on behalf of the People's Republic of China and on my own behalf.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING).

385. This is a sentence from the book *Zhuangzi* in the chapter *Xiao yao you* (On Free Roaming). The book is a collection of essays attributed for the most part to Zhuang Zhou, a philosopher of the Warring States period (ca. fifth to third century BC).

Source: *People's Daily*, June 29, 1955.

Toast to Ho Chi Minh

June 28, 1955

I propose that we drink:
To the intimate friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples,
To peace in Asia and the world,
To the visit to China of President Ho Chi Minh and the delegation of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam led by him,
To President Ho Chi Minh's health,
To the health of the host of today's banquet—Ambassador Hoang Van Hoan,
Bottoms up!

Source: *People's Daily*, June 29, 1955.

Reply to Ambassador of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia

June 30, 1955

Mr. Ambassador:

I am very glad to accept the letter of credence from the President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia which you have presented and thank you for your greetings.

The various peoples of Yugoslavia have a glorious revolutionary tradition. The Chinese people express sincere congratulations to the Yugoslavian people for their efforts in achieving independence for their homeland and building happy lives [for their people]. The recent discussions carried on between the governments of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and its results were important contributions to world peace and the cause of human progress.³⁸⁶

386. Talks between the USSR and Yugoslavia with the purpose of improving relations between the two countries began on May 27, 1955 and concluded with an agreement on June 2, 1955. The agreement did not completely resolve the ideological differences between

Now, the two countries of Yugoslavia and China have already established diplomatic relations. Our two countries have a common desire to develop mutual friendship and cooperation in the areas in politics, economy, and culture. I deeply believe that the strengthening of the friendly relations between our two peoples and governments not only conforms to the interests of the two countries of China and Yugoslavia but also has great significance in the cause of promoting world peace and cooperation.

Mr. Ambassador I warmly welcome you as the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia to the People's Republic of China. In your work of developing the friendship and cooperation between China and Yugoslavia you will receive my assistance and support and that of the government of the People's Republic of China. I wish you success in your work.

Source: *People's Daily*, July 1, 1955.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Mongolia

July 9, 1955

Comrade Jamsarangiyn Sambuu, Chairman of the Presidium of the Greater People's Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic, Comrade Yumjaagiin Tsedenbal, Prime Minister of the Mongolian People's Republic,

Comrade S. Lavdan, Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic:

On the occasion of the thirty-fourth anniversary of the victory of the Mongolian People's revolution, on behalf of the government and the people of the People's Republic of China, I express sincere congratulations to the government and people of the Mongolian People's Republic.

The government and people of the Peoples Republic of China note with happiness and excitement the brilliant successes achieved in the past thirty-four years by the Mongolian People's Republic in its cause of construction in advancing toward socialism. We wish the Mongolian people, under the leadership of the long-tested Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, even greater

the Communist Parties of the two countries but was rather a declaration of resumption of diplomatic relations between the two states. The USSR delegation was headed by Khrushchev.

victories in triumphantly carrying out the second five-year plan for the development of the national economy and culture and in the struggle to defend world peace.

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC WITH LIU SHAOQI AS CHAIRMAN OF STANDING COMMITTEE OF NPC AND ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF STATE COUNCIL AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, July 11, 1955.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Poland

July 19, 1955

Comrade Aleksander Zawadzki, Chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Poland,

Comrade Jozef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Poland,

Comrade Stanislaw Skrzyszewski, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Poland:

On the occasion of the eleventh anniversary of the National Day of the People's Republic of Poland, on behalf of the government and people of the Peoples Republic of China we express sincere congratulations to you and, through you to the government and people of the People's Republic of Poland.

In the last eleven years, under the correct leadership of the Polish United Workers Party and with the Soviet Union's unselfish assistance, the Polish people have attained tremendous successes in the area of socialist construction. As a result of the successful implementation of the six-year plan, which laid the economic foundation of socialism, the People's Republic of Poland has already become a socialist industrialized country with a tremendous economic potential.

The prosperity and wealth of the People's Republic of Poland greatly add to the strength of the socialist camp for world peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union and to the forces defending world peace. For this the Chinese people are joyful and encouraged.

The Chinese People wish our brothers the Polish people even greater success in the cause of building socialism. May the friendship between the two peoples

of China and Poland be consolidated and developed with each passing day in their continuous struggle to ease international tension and safeguard world peace.

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC WITH LIU SHAOQI AS CHAIRMAN OF STANDING COMMITTEE OF NPC AND ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF STATE COUNCIL AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, July 22, 1955.

Conversation with Security Guards³⁸⁷

Mid-July, 1955

This report isn't badly written; it contains analysis as well as supporting examples...

We must make them study some more cultural matters and some general scientific knowledge; [let them] learn some geography, history, mathematics, physics and chemistry, so that they can attain the level of a middle-school graduate in three to five years...

You are all good comrades; it is just that your reading and writing [levels] are a little low. If you earnestly raise your literacy level somewhat, you will then be able to master scientific knowledge, do more things for the people and serve the people better... In our cause we need a great many intellectuals who come from the ranks of the workers and peasants.

Source: *Excerpts from Chairman Mao cares about the Security Guards studying to become Literate*, *People's Daily*, May 23, 1960.

Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

August 12, 1955

Comrade Kim Du Bong, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,

387. In May 1955 Mao instructed the security guards to train themselves by writing reports about their experiences after they had gone home for vacations. Most of these reports were about their home villages and districts. Mao personally made comments and corrections on these reports. Some of these conversation excerpts reflect Mao's responses.

Comrade Kim Il Sung, Premier of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,

Comrade Nam Il, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea:

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the liberation of the Korean people, on behalf of the Chinese government and people of the Peoples Republic of China we extend to you, and through you, to the government and people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea our sincere and warm congratulations.

In the ten years since the great army of the Soviet Union defeated the Japanese militarists, the Korean people, under the leadership of the Korean Worker's Party and the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, have carried out unflagging struggle for the peace, unification and independence of their homeland. After the Korean Armistice in 1953, the Korean people have also carried out the arduous task of restoring and developing their national economy and have achieved great successes. These achievements of the Korean people have given the greatest inspiration and support to the Chinese people, who are in the midst of their socialist construction.

Since the Korean Armistice, the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers have strictly abided by the agreements of the Korean Armistice, and the two governments of Korea and China have all along worked for a peaceful resolution of the Korean question by the principle of negotiation; but the enemies of peace have seized every opportunity to plot to undermine the Armistice, such that the Korean Armistice is still in a state of instability. Nevertheless, the Korean Armistice agreement cannot be allowed to be undermined and a peaceful resolution of the Korean question must be actualized.

May the Korean people achieve even greater victories in their struggle for the peace, unification, and independence of their homeland. The Korean people will forever have the deep sympathy and fullest support of the Chinese people and government in this struggle.

May you achieve even greater successes in the cause of strengthening the democratic bases and restoring and developing your national economy.

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC WITH LIU SHAOQI AS CHAIRMAN OF
STANDING COMMITTEE OF NPC AND ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF STATE
COUNCIL AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, August 15, 1955.

Telegram to the Republic of Indonesia

August 15, 1955

Mr. Sukarno,
President,
The Republic of Indonesia,
Your Excellency:

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia, I express warm greetings to Your Excellency and the people of your country. May the Indonesian nation prosper, may its people thrive, and may Your Excellency enjoy good health,

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, August 17, 1955.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Romania

August 21, 1955

Comrade Petru Groza, Chairman of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly of the People's Republic of Romania,

Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Romania,

Comrade Simion Bughici, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Romania:

On the occasion of the eleventh anniversary of Romania's liberation, on behalf of the government and people of the People's Republic of China, we extend to you and, through you, to the government and people of the People's Republic of Romania our warm and heartfelt congratulations.

With feelings of boundless elation, the government and people of the People's Republic of China have watched the great successes achieved during the past eleven years by the People's Republic of Romania under the leadership of the Romanian Workers' Party in the cause of socialist construction. These suc-

cesses have added to the strength of the socialist camp for peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union. May our brothers, the Romanian people, achieve new victories in the cause of consolidating and winning prosperity for their homeland and in defending peace in Europe and throughout the world. May the unbreakable friendship between China and Romania be further consolidated and developed.

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC WITH LIU SHAOQI AS CHAIRMAN OF STANDING COMMITTEE OF NPC AND ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF STATE COUNCIL AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, August 23, 1955.

Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

September 1, 1955

Comrade Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam,
Comrade Ton Duc Thang, Acting President of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Vietnam,
Comrade Pham Van Dong, Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Vietnam:

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, on behalf of the government and people of the People's Republic of China, we extend to you and, through you, to the government and people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam our warm and heartfelt congratulations.

In the last ten years, the Vietnamese people, under the leadership of the Vietnam Workers' Party and President Ho Chi Minh, have carried out a heroic and arduous struggle in opposing colonial aggression and in striving for peace, unification, independence, and democracy, and have achieved great victories. These victories not only have inspired all peoples struggling for national independence and freedom but have also contributed greatly to the cause of defending peace in Asia and throughout the world. The Chinese people are overjoyed and filled with admiration for this.

In 1954, at the Geneva Conference an agreement was reached on restoring peace to Indochina and actualizing Vietnam's unification through nationwide

elections; however, at present the enemies of peace are still scheming to undermine the implementation of the Geneva Agreements. This is totally impermissible by all those who uphold justice. The Chinese people give all their sympathy and support to the Vietnamese people in their continuous efforts in struggling to actualize the Geneva Agreements thoroughly and to convene a consultative conference between the north and the south in preparation for free elections throughout the country.

May the Vietnamese people achieve even greater victories in the struggle for peace, independence, unification, and democracy!

May you achieve further successes in the tasks of consolidating the democratic political power, healing war wounds, and restoring and developing your national economy!

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC WITH LIU SHAOQI AS CHAIRMAN OF STANDING COMMITTEE OF NPC AND ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF STATE COUNCIL AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING).

Source: *People's Daily*, September 2, 1955.

Telegram to Antonin Zapotocky

September 1, 1955

President,
 Republic of Czechoslovakia,
 Dear Comrade Antonin Zapotocky:

On hearing the news of your illness, the Chinese people and myself express to you, with the deepest concern, our earnest good wishes and sincerely hope that your health will soon be restored.

(SIGNED AND DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, September 3, 1955.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Bulgaria

September 7, 1955

Comrade Georgi Damyanov, Chairman of the Presidium of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria,

Comrade Valko Chervenkov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria,

Comrade Mincho Neychev, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

On the occasion of the eleventh anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation from fascist enslavement, on behalf of the government and people of the People's Republic of China we express to you, and, through you, to the government and people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria our sincere congratulations.

The government and people of the People's Republic of China note with great excitement and elation the tremendous achievements in the cause of socialist construction that the People's Republic of Bulgaria, under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party of Bulgaria, has made during the past eleven years. These achievements have enabled the Bulgarian people to achieve a daily prospering and happy life, and has strengthened the forces of the camp for peace, democracy, and socialism headed by the Soviet Union. May our brothers the Bulgarian people achieve even greater victories in their causes of implementing the second five-year plan and safeguarding European and world peace. We are deeply convinced that the fraternal friendship between the two countries of China and Bulgaria is bound to further consolidate and develop with the advance of our two countries' cause of building socialism.

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC WITH LIU SHAOQI AS CHAIRMAN OF STANDING COMMITTEE OF NPC AND ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF STATE COUNCIL AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, September 9, 1955.

Inscription for Tokuda Kyuichi³⁸⁸

September 12, 1955

Immortal glory to Comrade Tokuda Kyuichi.

Source: *People's Daily* September 14, 1955.

Letter to Tian Jiaying

September 27, 1955

Comrade Tian Jiaying:³⁸⁹

Please send [the enclosed] to the [print] shop and have them make corrections accordingly. The title for each province and for each article should be amended as I have indicated on the table of contents. As for the rest, you do not need to send them over for my inspection today.³⁹⁰

Please type up eight copies speedily (in addition, one copy should go to Comrade Chen Yun)³⁹¹ and the best thing would be if you could have them delivered this afternoon or tonight to the various Comrades.

You and Qiaomu³⁹² each taking half [of the material], must go through [this material] once thoroughly, and make corrections to the language, including making the titles more lively. Please forward [this instruction] to Qiaomu.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, pp. 498-499.

388. This inscription, written by Mao personally on a memorial banner, was draped over the portrait of Tokuda Kyuichi at a funeral ceremony held by the Communist Party of Japan at Toyoshima Hall, Tokyo, on October 15, 1955. Tokuda was general secretary of the Communist Party of Japan (*Nihon Kyosanto*).

389. See *Letter to Tian Jiaying*, p. 255 of this volume.

390. This refers to the material in the impending publication *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*.

391. Chen's position at the time—which is relevant to the matter at hand—was secretary of the secretariat of the Central Committee of the CPC.

392. This refers to Hu Qiaomu, who was then Mao's secretary and deputy secretary general of the Central Committee of the CPC.

Letter to Zhou Shizhao

October 4, 1955

My Dear Dunyuan:³⁹³

I received some time ago your gracious letter, and I apologize for being so tardy in responding. I am very grateful to you for sending me a copy in your hand of the works of Cheng Songwan.³⁹⁴ Please convey my feelings of gratitude also to Mr. Cao Zigu.³⁹⁵ Concerning [your suggestions about my] writing editorial comments and inscriptions [for the book], I would be happy to write something when I have the time, but at the present moment and in the immediate future I am afraid I will not be able to give this any attention. I am greatly interested when I read your various masterpieces [so much that] I wrote, in response, a piece of my own. I hope that you will reward me with your kind instruction.

On the banks of the rolling Spring River I tarry for a moment
Then stretch my steps upon the layered mountains.
My yearning eyes are blessed with an unfolding vista.
The wind arises over the green islet and chases away the billows
While the rain pursues the verdant forests up the hill-slopes.
My friends, we remain the same as we gather for our tales and laughter
around the drinking table
Though the trivial affairs that bother us beyond our borders are indeed
saddening.
Let us not lament that time has passed us by so fleetly;
Thirty years have gone, and we are once more met at Kexi Terrace.

I hope you have been well of late,

393. See *Letter to Zhou Shizhao*, p. 11 of this volume.

394. Cheng Songwan was a poet of the late-Qing period.

395. Cao Zigu (1876-1960 also known as Cao Dianqiu) was, before liberation, director of the Department of Education of the Hunan provincial government and the chancellor of Hunan University. Since 1949 he was a member of the Standing Committee of the Hunan Political Consultative Council and deputy director of the Hunan Province Historical and Cultural Studies Institute.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, pp. 500-501.

Telegram to the German Democratic Republic

October 6, 1955

Comrade Wilhelm Pieck, President of the German Democratic Republic,
Comrade Johannes Dieckmann, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's
Chamber of the German Democratic Republic,
Comrade Otto Grotewohl, Premier of the German Democratic Republic:

On the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic, on behalf of the government and people of the People's Republic of China, we extend to you and, through you, to the government of the German Democratic Republic and the people of all Germany our warm congratulations.

In the last six years, the German Democratic Republic has achieved significant successes in the areas of consolidating the system of the people's democracy, building socialism, and raising the people's standard of living. The German Democratic Republic has already become a strong bulwark in the fight for the peaceful unification of Germany and an important factor in maintaining peace and security in Europe. The Chinese people totally support the German people in their struggle carried out for peace, unification, and democracy and the efforts made by the Soviet Union for a peaceful resolution of the German question.

May the friendly and cooperative relations between the People's Republic of China and the German Democratic Republic develop and become more consolidated with each passing day! We wish the German Democratic Republic new successes in the cause of economic and cultural construction and in the struggle for the peaceful unification of Germany and the collective security of Europe!

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC WITH LIU SHAOQI AS CHAIRMAN OF
STANDING COMMITTEE OF NPC AND ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF STATE
COUNCIL AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED.)

Source: *People's Daily*, October 8, 1955.

Conversation with Members of the Japanese Diet³⁹⁶

October 15, 1955

“Communism arose from war — the Soviet Union after World War One, and many other Communist nations after World War Two. If world war three should start, at least 80 percent of the world will become communized. If you want, I’ll make a wager on that. So, there is no reason for us to be fearful of war. Moreover, we have no colonies. We have nothing to lose.”

“Conditions have changed in Japan. I did not like Japan before because there were militarists, but now I like Japan because there are no more militarists. I sympathize with Japan because she is being ill-treated by other countries. Our ideologies and social systems differ, but I believe that this is no obstacle to mutual respect and friendly relations between Red China and Japan. What is past is past, and the question is the future.

“Everyone has good and bad points. We have many bad points, and there is need for us to learn many things from Japan. Japan is an industrial nation. China is still an agricultural nation, but I would like to say that Red China is exerting efforts to become an industrialized agricultural nation. Japan is more advanced than my country in industry, economy, and culture, and there is need for the Chinese People’s Republic to learn many things from Japan.

“I would like to go to Japan sometime in the future, it would not be for the purpose of creating trouble. I want to go sightseeing in Japan and inform Japan of the friendship of the Chinese people. I would like to go to the United States too, but there is no possibility for the time being. I wonder if Japan and the United States won’t invite [...]”³⁹⁷

“Japan profited from its disaster (war defeat—ASAHI). Japan is in a position of leadership; that is, she is in a position to criticize the United States, France, the Netherlands, Britain and Portugal (for their colonial policies—ASAHI). The day will come when both the United States and Japan will recognize Red

396. Excerpt from a release in the *Ashai Evening News* (October 21, 1955) of the report of Yasushi Okubo, correspondent for Ashai Shimbun. Parts of this report (all but the first paragraph here) were based on notes released by Tokio Nakamura, delegate of the Japanese Socialist Party, who was present at the conversation with Comrade Mao. This was published in *Foreign Broadcast Information Service*, Washington D.C., Daily Report of October 21, 1955.

397. Mao was, of course, referring here to the foreign ministry of the Japanese Government.

China, even if it is one hundred and one years from now. It will take time for the hand of the oppressor (the United States—ASAHI) to be removed from Japan, South Korea, Formosa, and the Philippines. We understand you well. The day will come when the Foreign Office, which recognizes the Government of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, will be criticized. The day will surely come when we will chase the United States out of Formosa.

“Japan believes that Red China is also an independent nation, but we are not completely independent. Japan is also semi independent. This is a common point. The hand of the United States is long and extends over Formosa, the Philippines and South Korea, but this will not continue for long. Asia would be controlled by Asians, not by occidentals.”

Telegram to the USSR³⁹⁸

October 24, 1955

Your congratulations on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the formation of the Chinese People’s Republic have inspired us and the peoples of our country, for which we express our sincere gratitude to you and to the Soviet people.

On the joyful occasion of our national day, the Chinese people taking stock of all their achievements over the past 6 years, cherish a feeling of cordial gratitude to the great Soviet Union for the tremendous help given us in all spheres. Every achievement of the Chinese people is inseparably linked with this help of the great Soviet Union.

On its own initiative the Soviet Union has recently taken a series of steps in the field of foreign policy which has already resulted in a lessening of international tension. The Chinese people and the Chinese Government will give full support to the Soviet Union in all its efforts for the sake of peace.

Long live the bulwark of peace throughout the world, the great Soviet Union.

Source: *Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington D.C., Daily Report, October 26, 1955.*

398. The telegram was addressed to Voroshilov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and Molotov, first vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. It was signed by Mao, Liu Shaoqi, and Zhou Enlai.

Letter to Zhang Naiqi

November 1, 1955

Minister Naiqi:³⁹⁹

I have received and read both of your letters. I am grateful for your sending me the information on these circumstances and also your opinions. There are bound to be one-sided points of view among the cadres; the problem is to do a good job of helping them to learn that [the attitude of] seeking truth in facts is the [proper] method for making a comprehensive analysis of things. I have not yet had time to read the article you enclosed; when I have done that I shall send it back to you. My best regards.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 502.

Telegram to the USSR

November 6, 1955

Comrade K. E. Voroshilov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme-Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

Comrade N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

Comrade V. M. Molotov, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

On the occasion of the thirty-eighth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, on behalf of the Chinese people and the Chinese government, we extend to you and, through you, to the great Soviet people and the Soviet government, our warmest congratulations.

With extremely great joy, the Chinese people congratulate our brothers the Soviet people on the brilliant successes they have achieved in the past year in the noble cause of building communism. These successes further strengthened

³⁹⁹. Zhang was at the time of this letter, minister for Food Administration.

the camp for peace, democracy, and socialism, inspiring the confidence of the people of the various people's democracies in building socialism and of the people of the entire world in their struggle to attain peace and progress.

The great Soviet Union is the strong bulwark of world peace. Over the preceding year, the Soviet government has made a series of great efforts to relax the tension in the international situation and promote international cooperation, and moreover it has achieved significant results. The recent proposals and propositions put forward by the Soviet government concerning European security and the German question, disarmament, and the development of East-West contacts are in accordance with the common interests of the people of the whole world.⁴⁰⁰ The Chinese government and the Chinese people completely support these efforts made by the Soviet government.

The brotherly friendship and firm unity between the Chinese and Soviet peoples play an increasingly important role in enhancing the common prosperity of both countries and maintaining peace in the Far East and throughout the world. The overall economic and cultural cooperation between the two countries of China and the Soviet Union and the great assistance given by the Soviet Union to China has immense significance for the cause of building socialism in our country. May the great unbreakable friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples develop and become more consolidated with each passing day!

Long live our great ally, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC WITH LIU SHAOQI AS CHAIRMAN OF STANDING COMMITTEE OF NPC AND ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF STATE COUNCIL AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 7, 1955.

Letter to Huang Yanpei

November 17, 1955

Mr. Renzhi:⁴⁰¹

400. In July 1955 the USSR proposed the dissolution of both NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization in favor of an all-European security system, including the US dissolution.

401. See *Letter to Huang Yanpei (February 17, 1951)*, p. 116 of this volume.

I have received your letter which was sent to me from the hospital. I am extremely happy that you are completely recovered from your illness. I hope that you will continue to pay attention to taking good care of yourself so that your health may be fully restored.⁴⁰² There is marked improvement in the work of reforming the industrial and commercial circles [in our country], which is very gratifying. It appears to me that, evidently, it is possible to adopt the method of self-criticism in [this work of reforming] the industrial and commercial circles.⁴⁰³ The recent experience [which emerged through the] discussions of the [All-China] Federation of Industry and Commerce can be propagated. Owing to the fact that I am on the road, I was unable to respond to your letter earlier.

I send my respect.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 504.

Remarks Made to Li Kaiwen⁴⁰⁴

November 20, 1955

That's really subjective; they don't even study the problem a bit first. These things ought to be planted only if people can afford to do so; if they cannot, then just don't plant them!

Source: *Literary Gazette; Semimonthly, Beijing, July 14, 1957.*

Letter to Panchen Gnoertehni

November 24, 1955

Dear Panchen Gnoertehni:

402. See *Letter to Huang Yanpei (November 23, 1954)*, p. 288 of this volume.

403. See *The only Road for the Transformation of Capitalist Industry and Commerce, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume V.

404. Li Kaiwen was an old acquaintance of Mao's from Yanan days. On this occasion Mao, in the company of Li Fuchun and Cai Chang, discussed the matter of centralized state purchasing and marketing and cooperativization in Anhui. Li suggested that there were tendencies toward commandism in some cadres' work-styles.

Your letter to me of August 13, 1955, has been received. I thank you greatly, I am very happy to hear that work in your area has improved. I hope that your unity with the people in Lhasa will grow daily and become even more consolidated. I hope that the entire Tibetan region will prosper more and more each year.

In response, and with best wishes for your health!

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 504.

Letter to Zhou Shizhao

November 24, 1955

Dear Dunyuan:⁴⁰⁵

I received your letter quite some time ago already, and I have read your masterpiece and all the enclosed material. I am extremely grateful; I have still not had the time to comply with your bidding to write those words for you.⁴⁰⁶ I hope that you are not urgently in need of that, and I'd like to let the subject sit for a while; is that all right with you? Have you gone down [to the countryside] for a stroll? It is best if you can go down several times a year, and, each time, for two, three weeks. I went out once recently, and feel that my head is greatly cleared and refreshed. When you go down don't just look at schools; you should look at other things as well. Let us talk again sometime.

Wishing you the best in your teaching.

(SIGNED AND DATED)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p. 505.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Albania

November 26, 1955

Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assem-

405. See *Letter to Zhou Shizhao* (October 15, 1949), p. 11 of this volume.

406. See *Letter to Zhou Shizhao* (October 4, 1955), p. 334 of this volume.

bly of the People's Republic of Albania,

Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania,

Comrade Behar Shtylla, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Albania:

On the occasion of the eleventh anniversary of the Albanian people's liberation, on behalf of the Chinese people and the Chinese government, we extend to you, and through you, to the heroic Albanian people and our warm and heartfelt congratulations.

In the last eleven years, the Albanian people who have a glorious revolutionary tradition have, under the leadership of the Albanian Workers' Party, already achieved brilliant successes in the areas of consolidating the people's democratic political power, defending the independence of their homeland, and creating a prosperous and happy new life. The Chinese people are joyous at the achievements of our brothers, the Albanian people, and moreover hope that the fraternal friendship and unity between the two people of China and Albania will be further consolidated and developed in our common cause of building socialism and maintaining world peace.

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC WITH LIU SHAOQI AS CHAIRMAN OF STANDING COMMITTEE OF NPC AND ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF STATE COUNCIL AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 29, 1955.

Telegram to the People's Republic of Yugoslavia

November 26, 1955

Comrade Josip Broz Tito, President and Chairman of the Federal Executive Council of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, Comrade Mosa Pijade, President of the Federal Assembly of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia,

Comrade Koca Popovic, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia:

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Federal

People's Republic of Yugoslavia, on behalf of the people and government of the People's Republic of China, we extend warm congratulations to you and, through you, to the heroic Yugoslavian people.

A deep friendship already exists between the two peoples of China and Yugoslavia in the struggle for the independence and liberation of their respective homelands in the past. The friendly cooperation between China and Yugoslavia has made great progress since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. We believe that this friendship and cooperation will continue to be unceasingly strengthened and developed. May the Yugoslavian people attain further successes in the cause of building socialism and maintaining world peace.

(CO-SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC WITH LIU SHAOQI AS CHAIRMAN OF STANDING COMMITTEE OF NPC AND ZHOU ENLAI AS PREMIER OF STATE COUNCIL AND FOREIGN MINISTER, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, November 29, 1955.

Reply to Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Germany

December 3, 1955

The Democratic Republic of Germany is the first truly peace-loving democratic state in German history. The Democratic Republic of Germany has achieved tremendous success in the struggles of building socialism, striving for the peaceful unification of Germany, and safeguarding European and world peace. The Democratic Republic of Germany has already become a strong bulwark of the forces of peace and democracy in all of Germany and an important factor in maintaining European security and world peace. I am confident that the construction of socialism in the Democratic Republic of Germany and the German people's struggle for the peaceful unification of Germany are bound to attain even greater victories. In this struggle, the German people will continue to receive the full support of the Chinese people. In the last few years, the close cooperation between our two countries in the areas of politics, the economy, and culture has brought about daily increasing consolidation and development in the friendship between our two peoples. This overall cooperation and brotherly friendship are in accord with our two peoples' common interests and wish-

es, and also serve to strengthen the force of the camp for peace, democracy, and socialism headed by the Soviet Union.

Source: *People's Daily*, December 4, 1955.

Telegram to the Republic of Finland

December 5, 1955

President J. K. Paasikivi,
The Republic of Finland
Your Excellency:

On the occasion of the thirty-eighth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Finland, on behalf of the Chinese people and on my own behalf, I extend warm congratulation to the Finnish people and to Your Excellency. May the Republic of Finland prosper and may the people of Finland be happy.

(SIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF PRC, DATED IN BEIJING)

Source: *People's Daily*, December 6, 1955.

Talk on Opposing Right-Deviation and Conservatism

December 6, 1955

To say the “Left” is better than the Right is incorrect; to say the Right is better than the “Left” is also incorrect. Some people are falling behind reality in their thinking; they have no horns on their heads; they do not possess spirit. In the struggle between the two lines they do not carry out criticism, or if they do, their criticism is blunted. They are afraid of criticism and are afraid of losing votes. All these are manifestations of a Right deviation, and it is necessary to oppose them in the Party. The Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee criticized the Right-deviationist empiricism of the Rural [Work] Department.⁴⁰⁷ That the thinking of the leadership has fallen behind reality is a grave problem.

407. For criticism on Rural Work Department, see *The Debate On the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture and the Current Class Struggle*, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume V.

In the transformation of capitalism, in the suppression of counterrevolutionaries, and in the cooperativization [movement], it's all like that. We underestimated our own capacity. In the past, agriculture lagged behind industry. After the Seventeen-Article [Program] came out,⁴⁰⁸ agriculture caught up with industry and forced industry to make progress. For instance, it would have been to our disadvantage had we allowed the elementary [agricultural producers] cooperatives⁴⁰⁹ to remain as they were for three or four years without advancing to the higher stage. It is possible that socialism will be realized in 1959. The idea of the Seventeen Articles is to oppose conservatism. [It involves] overall planning, the strengthening of the leadership, fundamental measures, and advanced experience. Half a year ago, we did not consider these, now we have changed. Tremendous changes and immense productive power have emerged as if a new continent has been discovered. The new continent has been in existence; it's just we did not see it. The socialist transformation of industry and commerce will be ninety percent completed in 1957. The transformation of handicraft industries must also be accelerated. Our [current] plan is too modest; [we aim at] seventy to eighty percent transformation in 1957. Originally the nationalization of industry and commerce was planned for 1962; perhaps this can be accomplished ahead of schedule. After [the stage of] joint state-private ownership is reached, it is not difficult to transform it to state ownership. Instead of taking the eighteen years [called for in the original plan], cooperativization took ten years. This proves that we have fallen behind reality. The masses have tremendous potential; they can tackle many things. [So] we should oppose Right deviations and conservatism in order to accomplish transformation ahead of schedule. I propose that we achieve our goals in excess of the targets before fifteen years and delete such uncertain expressions as "approximately," "basically," and "about fifteen years." We should strive to achieve what can be achieved [through effort]. For instance, when we put in an order for products, we can demand earlier delivery. We should take advantage of this period of cessation of hostilities [with the United States] to speed up the tempo and accomplish our general tasks. This is the idea of the "Eighth Congress." If we can accomplish the general tasks of the period of transition ahead of sched-

408. For Seventeen Article Programme see *Request for Opinions on the Seventeen Article Document Concerning Agriculture, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume V.

409. The elementary co-operative characterized by the pooling of land as shares and unified management was semi-socialist in nature. It maintained private ownership by the co-operative members of such means of production as land, draught animals and the larger farm implements, and the co-operative had to pay "dividends" to its members for their use. The elementary co-operative was therefore said to have retained semi-private ownership.

ule, things on the battlefield will be easily handled. It is most advantageous to have things done quickly, for then we will be in a better position to fight Taiwan if we have to. But if we don't fulfill our tasks of construction, it will be difficult. We must accelerate and achieve faster, greater, and better [results] in all aspects of our work. We must obtain better results in a shorter period of time. If we undertake things for which there are adequate conditions, if they stem from the masses' demands, and if we accomplish more and better results that would mean that we are advancing steadily. In the past we made [some] mistakes in opposing blind and adventurist advance; we dampened the activism of the cadres and the masses. This was wrong. I he movement to eliminate illiteracy was swept away by the movement to oppose adventurist advance. The good spirit of uprightness was repressed, and there was an upsurge in evil and sinister influence; both the cadres and the masses lost their drive. By not having been able to notice such a problem at the very earliest opportunity the Center has neglected its duty. The masses say. "One can't go wrong in following the Communist Party". In terms of general orientation, we have not been wrong. But in specific cases, we have made mistakes, and the masses have also made mistakes in following us. There are several ways in which to advance: the best, the mediocre, and the not so good. The more correct and reasonable line is to stand in front of the masses and to give them encouragement to go forward, and not to stand behind them and pour cold water on them, if we achieve comparatively great accomplishments in a comparatively short time, we will be advancing steadily, whereas if we do things in the conventional way, spending a longer time but achieving little, we will be following the conservative line. There are two ways to overcome this; overall planning and getting close to the masses. It is not the method of sitting in the office, but rather, getting close to the masses to find out new things, new experiences, [to gather] advanced experiences and popularize them. One does not have to catch many sparrows to know [a sparrow's] insides. If you know that Zhejiang and Anhui can carry out cooperativization quickly, you'll know that the same can be done nationally. Conservatism is not any one individual's problem. Take hold of the advanced [experiences] in order to criticize the backward; discover new productive forces and the potential of the masses. This is a principle of leadership, a method of leadership; only with this can we convince people. It will not do to sit in the office not getting close to the masses and not taking hold of the advanced experiences. Official business has indeed to be transacted, but it will not do to limit yourselves to transacting official business alone. Even when you go out

[for an inspection], you have to take hold of the advanced; you can't simply engage in some laggardly projects and bring them back with you. People who are in responsible positions should allot seven to ten weeks [a year] as a period for getting close to the masses. The work-style of sitting in the office can only [be used in] dealing with conventional matters. Advanced experience [can be had] only by breaking through convention. In the things of objective reality, breakthroughs are made every day; imbalance is a constant, while equilibrium is only temporary. This is the law of progress. The viewpoint that there can be no further change after equilibrium is achieved is incorrect. On the contrary, it is only when one takes hold of the advanced [elements] in disequilibrium and uses them to bring the rest forward that there can be progress. One should not be afraid of breakthroughs or of the emergence of contradictions. Perpetual peace and tranquility are bound to produce mistakes. There are dialectics only when there are both breakthroughs and the attempt to achieve equilibrium. Only in this way can we stir up the activism of the masses and hasten the construction of socialism. We should [build socialism] with faster, more, and better [results], fulfill [this task] in excess of the targets in less than fifteen years, and thus advance steadily.

Comparing our country with the Soviet Union: (1) We had more than twenty years' experience in the base areas and the practice of the three revolutionary wars. We are extremely rich in experience. By the time of the victory [of 1949] we had already accumulated experience in every area, and we've had Right and Left deviations quite a few times. We quickly formed our state and accomplished our revolutionary tasks [whereas] in the case of the Soviet Union, it was a newly started business for them; at the time of the October Revolution, they had no army, no government, and few Party members). (2) We have the help of the Soviet Union and other democratic countries. (3) Our population is large and our location is good. Though diligent and able to endure hardship, the peasants will have no future if they do not cooperativize. Chinese peasants are even better than British and American workers; we can therefore step into socialism faster and with greater and better results. We should not always compare ourselves with the Soviet Union. After three five-year plans we shall be able to produce twenty-four million tons of steel. This is faster than the Soviet Union. Right now the two flanks are riding high, and the main body is possibly lagging behind. The two flanks are prone to be conceited, but it is the industrial sector that is most prone to be conceited, especially heavy industry. The Anshan [Iron and Steel Works], for instance, has already become conceited. It

is very possible for a nation to become socialized without being industrialized (with the proportion [of industry] less than sixty percent, the system is not yet established). Can we ask the peasants to wait? This is impossible. The socialization of the peasants does not hinder industrialization. We cannot make them wait. The work at the two flanks has been seriously examined. In addition, we ought to have a serious examination of the problem of industry and (make industry) go through big campaigns according to schedule. We should investigate financial and fiscal matters, trade, and cultural and educational matters as well. The Eighth [Party] Congress should make a summing-up investigation. This is the central problem. We should oppose conservatism, Right deviation, passivity, and arrogance; we should discover advanced experience, change the method of leadership, and achieve faster and better results. We should mobilize the masses to conduct criticism and self-criticism, to overcome conservatism, and to score greater achievements. The whole Party must be prepared, and the entire nation must be prepared.

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

Letter to Zhai Zuojun

December 12, 1955

Comrade Zuojun:⁴¹⁰

Your letter of December 2 has been received. I am very happy to receive it. I guess you have returned to Taiyuan. I have also received some of your earlier letters, but it seems to me that I may not have received all of them. We are all very well here. I hope that you will do a good job of studying. When next you come to Beijing, please let us know ahead of time ([you may] contact Li Yinqiao, the commander of my bodyguards, on the telephone), and we should arrange for a meeting.

My regards,
(Signed and dated)

Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters, p. 506.*

410. See *Conversation with Zhai Zuojun (Spring 1952)*, p. 159 of this volume.

1956

Talk at the Conference on Intellectuals Called by the Centre (Excerpt)

January 20, 1956

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

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

Contradictions Under Socialism

April 5, 1956

Some naïve ideas seem to suggest that contradictions no longer exist in a socialist society. To deny the existence of contradictions is to deny dialectics. The contradictions in various societies differ in character, as do forms of their solution, but society at all times develops through continual contradictions. Socialist society also develops through contradictions between the productive forces and the conditions of production. In a socialist or communist society, technical innovations and improvement in the social system inevitably continue to take place; otherwise the development of society would come to a standstill and society could no longer advance. Humanity is still in its youth. The road it has yet to traverse will be no one knows how many times longer than the road it has already traveled. Contradictions between progress and conservatism, between the advanced and the backward, between the positive and the negative, will constantly occur under varying conditions and different circumstances. Things will keep on like this: One contradiction will lead to another,

and when old contradictions are solved new ones will arise. It is obviously incorrect to maintain, as some people do, that the contradiction between idealism and materialism can be eliminated in a socialist or communist society. As long as contradictions exist between the subjective and the objective, between the advanced and the backward and between the productive forces and the conditions of production, the contradiction between materialism and idealism will continue in a socialist or communist society and will manifest itself in various forms. Since man lives in society, he reflects, in different circumstances and to varying degrees the contradictions existing in each form of society. Therefore not everybody will be perfect, even when a communist society is established. By then there will still be contradictions among the people, and there will still be good people and bad people, people whose thinking is relatively correct and others whose thinking is relatively incorrect. Hence there will still be struggle between people, though its nature and form will be different from those in class societies. Viewed in this light, the existence of contradictions between the individual and the collective in a socialist society is nothing strange...

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

Stalin's Place in History

April 5, 1956

After Lenin's death, Stalin, as the chief leader of the Party and the state, creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism. In the struggle to defend the legacy of Leninism against its enemies—the Trotskyites, Zinovievites, and other bourgeois agents—Stalin expressed the will and wishes of the people and proved himself to be an outstanding Marxist-Leninist fighter. The reason Stalin won the support of the Soviet people and played an important role in history was primarily that he, together with the other leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, brought about the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union and created the conditions for the victory of the Soviet Union in the war against Hitler; these victories of the Soviet people conformed to the interests of the working class of the world and all progressive mankind. It was therefore quite natural for the name of Stalin to be greatly honored throughout the world. But, having won such high honor among the people both at home

and abroad by his correct application of the Leninist line, Stalin erroneously exaggerated his own role and counter-posed his individual authority to the collective leadership, and as a result certain of his actions were opposed to certain fundamental Marxist-Leninist concepts he himself had propagated

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

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

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

It must be pointed out that Stalin's works should, as before, still be seriously studied and that we should accept all that is of value in them, as an important historical legacy, especially those many works in which he defended Leninism and correctly summarized the experience of building up the Soviet Union. But there are two ways of studying them—the Marxist way and the doctrinaire

way. Some people treat Stalin's writings in a doctrinaire manner and therefore cannot analyze and see what is correct and what is not—and everything that is correct they consider a panacea and apply indiscriminately, and thus inevitably they make mistakes. For instance, Stalin put forward a formula that in different revolutionary periods the main blow should be so directed as to isolate the middle-of-the-road social and political forces of the time. This formula of Stalin's should be treated according to circumstances and from a critical, Marxist point of view. In certain circumstances it may be correct to isolate the middle forces, but it is not correct to isolate them under all circumstances. Our experience teaches us that the main blow of the revolution should be directed at the chief enemy and to isolate him, whereas with the middle forces, a policy of both uniting with them and struggling against them should be adopted, so that they are at least neutralized; and, as circumstances permit, efforts should be made to shift them from their position of neutrality to one of alliance with us in order to facilitate the development of the revolution. But there was a time—the ten years of civil war from 1927 to 1936—when some of our comrades crudely applied this formula of Stalin's to China's revolution by turning their main attack on the middle forces, singling them out as the most dangerous enemy; the result was that, instead of isolating the real enemy, we isolated ourselves and suffered losses to the advantage of the real enemy. In the light of this doctrinaire error, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China during the period of the anti-Japanese war formulated a policy of developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle-of-the roaders, and isolating the diehards for the purpose of defeating the Japanese aggressors...

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

Reactionary forces the world over are pouring ridicule on this event: they

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

Source: *Editorial, April 5, 1956.*

Speech at Expanded Meeting of CPC Political Bureau⁴¹¹

April 25, 1956

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

Another reason for this is that they do not have sufficient understanding of the situation and thus do not speak clearly and profoundly. In regard to the financial and economic system, Comrades XXX and Hsien-nien have their own opinions, but this is not a question of men. Only by changing the system can we change the way of doing things, and we must give some power to those below. Our discipline has come mostly from Soviet Union. By being too strict, we will tie the hands of the people. If we cannot crush bureaucracy in this way, then the proletarian dictatorship must have an appropriate system. In regard to the problem of the division of power between the central government and the local areas, and how the single-head system of the Soviet Union came about, the Political Bureau and the State Council have still been unable to make a decision. If the various localities want division of power, they should not be fearful of talking of independence. Since the central government has not made any decision on this, all of it can be brought up for discussion. It is allowable

411. In this connection also see comrade Mao's article *On Ten Major Relationships, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume V, pp. 284-307.

for the various localities to first work up their own regulations, by-laws, methods, and statutes. We should allow the various localities to be full of creativity, spirit, and liveliness. Starting next year, a large meeting should be held once a year. On 1 May there need not be a large meeting; there can be small meetings and entertainment, and 1 May slogans of the Soviet Union need not be posted.

Since the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee, we have been dull and mechanical, and lacking in spirit. The Fourth Plenary Session should be convened. Its resolutions are very necessary. Letting Gao Gang hold sway for another year is unthinkable. But this has produced an over cautiousness about everything, and some do not dare speak of national affairs, and this is not right. Before the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central committee, there were some sabotage incidents; these must be overcome. The sabotage activities of Kao and Jao should be terminated.⁴¹² But some are overcautious and do not speak of national affairs. A clear distinction should be made between two kinds of national affairs. One type is destructive, like that of Kao and Jao, and should be opposed. One type is constructive and should be thoroughly discussed. At the time of the financial and economic conference,⁴¹³ some comrades said the wrong thing and were subject to criticism, but the Kao and Jao affairs should be distinguished from them. The party at the time of the Great Revolution was full for vitality. Later Chen Duxiu committed the mistake of right opportunism, and subsequently also started the blind leftist movement.⁴¹⁴ After defeat,

412. For more on Kao-Jao (Gao Gang-Rao Shushi) affair, see *Speeches at the National Conference of the Communist Party of China, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume V.

413. The National Conference on Financial and Economic Work was held in the summer of 1953.

414. Chen Duxiu was originally a professor at Beijing University and became famous as an editor of *New Youth*. He was one of the founders of the Communist Party of China. Because of his reputation at the time of the May 4th Movement and owing to the Party's immaturity in its initial period, he became General Secretary of the Party. In the last period of the revolution of 1924-27, the Rightist thinking in the Party represented by Chen Duxiu developed into a line of capitulationism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has observed that the capitulationists at that time "voluntarily gave up the Party's leadership of the peasant masses, urban petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie, and in particular gave up the Party's leadership of the armed forces, thus causing the defeat of the revolution" (*The Present Situation and Our Tasks, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume IV). After the defeat of 1927 Chen Duxiu and a handful of other capitulationists lost faith in the future of the revolution and became liquidationists. They took the reactionary Trotskyist stand and together with the Trotskyites formed a small anti-Party group. Consequently Chen Duxiu was expelled from the Party in November 1929. He died in 1942.

With reference to Chen Duxiu's Right opportunism, see the introductory notes to *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society* and to *Report on the Investigation into the Peasant Movement in Hunan, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume I, and *Introducing The Communist, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume II.

he was no longer lively. In these eight years, the brief period following the “7 August” Conference⁴¹⁵, the Sixth National Congress⁴¹⁶ and the Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee were correct.⁴¹⁷ During the period

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

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

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

417. The Third Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Party held in September 1930, and the subsequent central leading body adopted many positive measures to put an end to the Li Lisan line. But latter a number of Party comrades who were inexperienced in practical revolutionary struggle, with Chen Shaoyu (Wang Ming) and Qin Bangxian (Po Ku) in the lead, came out against the Central Committee’s measures. In the pamphlet *The Two Lines or The Struggle for the Further Bolshevization of the Communist Party of China* they most emphatically declared that the main danger then existing in the Party was not “Left” opportunism but “Right opportunism” and, to justify their own activities, they “criticized” the Li Lisan line as “Rightist”. They put forward a new political program which continued, revived or developed the Li Lisan line and other “Left” ideas and policies in a new guise, and set themselves against the correct line of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It was mainly to criticize the military mistakes of this new “Left” opportunist line that Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote the article Problems of Strategy in China’s Revolutionary War. This line was dominant in the Party from the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee in January 1931 to the meeting of the Political Bureau convened by the Central Committee at Zunyi, Guizhou Province, in January 1935, which ended the dominance of this erroneous line and established the new central leadership headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The erroneous “Left” line dominated the Party for a particularly long time (four years) and brought extremely heavy losses, with disastrous consequences, to the Party and the revolution. A loss of 90 percent was inflicted on the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Red Army and its base areas, tens of millions of people in the revolutionary base areas were made to suffer the cruel oppression of the Kuomintang, and the progress of the Chinese revolution was retarded. The overwhelming majority of the errant comrades have realized and corrected their mistakes through a long process of learning from experience and have done much good work for the Party and people. Under Comrade Mao Zedong’s leadership they united with the masses of other comrades in the Party on the basis of a common political understanding.

of land reform, there were three leftist tendencies. During the period of the anti-Japanese war, there was a rightist trend. Two of the leftist trends were our own, and the third leftist trend and the Communist International were related to each other. The Fourth Plenary Session's resolutions on the third leftist trend were written by the Russians who forced us to accept them, especially the Wang Ming line. It was the greatest loss to our revolutionary power, the loss incurred amounting to over 90 percent. In view of this lesson, we should accept things analytically and critically. Zhang Guotao was rightist.⁴¹⁸ During the Anti-Japanese War, he was also rightist. The three rightist movements were especially for centralization, and they were not allowed to express a difference of views. In defeat, they were not allowed to talk of defeat. In view of the lessons of history, later every effort was made to remedy the situation, and there was unity and fighting spirit. During the period of the Anti-Japanese War, the spirit of independence of the base areas was very great, and local activism was given expression, but there was a kind of decentralization. Some who were working for independence expressed what should not be expressed. This was related to the Wang Ming line. In order to correct this kind of phenomenon, the central government made the decision to strengthen party nature. There was to be centralization, but a good deal of autonomy was preserved. During the period of the War of Liberation, there was formulated the system of reporting for instructions, rectifying the previous tendency of decentralization.⁴¹⁹ During the past few years, it has been irregular, and there has been more centralization. After all, how much autonomy should the industrial plants, the villages, the cooperatives, and the localities have? The Soviet Union during the past 40 years has had no experience in this, and we have no experience to study this. Since some things are decided neither by the Central Government nor

418. Zhang Guotao was a renegade from the Chinese revolution. In early life, speculating on the revolution, he joined the Chinese Communist Party. In the Party he made many mistakes resulting in serious crimes. The most notorious of these was his opposition, in 1935, to the Red Army's northward march and his defeatism and liquidationism in advocating withdrawal by the Red Army to the minority-nationality areas on the Sichuan-Xikang borders; what is more, he openly carried out traitorous activities against the Party and the Central Committee, established his own bogus central committee, disrupted the unity of the Party and the Red Army, and caused heavy losses to the Fourth Front Army of the Red Army. But thanks to patient education by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee, the Fourth Front Army and its numerous cadres soon returned to the correct leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and played a glorious role in subsequent struggles. Zhang Guotao however, proved incorrigible and in the spring of 1938 he slipped out of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region and joined the Kuomintang secret police.

419. See *On setting up a System of Reports, Selected works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume IV.

the localities, they are just carried out as such, as for example the single-head system. Comrade Xuefeng would bring up the questions before the central government would discuss it. Our party historically has had the overcentralization of the Wang Ming line and the over-decentralization of the Second Wang Ming line. It is necessary to have an adequate amount of centralization, but too much centralization is not right and not beneficial for the mobilization of power to carry out large-scale economic reconstruction. Our comrades will please study carefully our party's history on this.

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

The question of the system of the socialist economy:

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

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

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

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

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

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

to one side. Now it is necessary to stress independence.

We must positively touch on the economic activities of this year and next year. Each provincial and municipal committee should report once, and work up some exemplary models. We have had no experience in these matters, and must try to find some departments, districts, and industrial plants to study. Other people say the central government has brilliant leadership. We know some things, but also do not know other things.

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

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

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

The question of international relations. Some points should not be blindly followed. On some matters we already have experience. The Soviet Union has already initiated a mass criticism campaign. Some of it is neither suitable for our country nor to the Soviet Union. We have committed many errors in view of their direct leadership. For example, in regard to the suppression of counterrevolutionaries, we would not catch most of them and would not

kill many of them. The single-head system is a military standpoint. The mass line is still the standpoint of graceful favors. Whether the method of capital accumulation should be by disparity (in prices between industrial goods and agricultural produce) or by tax collection is a problem. But this is not to say that we have nothing to learn from the Soviet Union. They have many things which are worthy of our study. The Soviet Union helped us in our reconstruction, and socialist countries are still the best at this. Now even with this one country, although it has made many errors, there is still much that merits our study. We should not follow blindly, but should subject everything to analysis. There is good and bad in everything. We cannot say that everything the Soviet Union does is good. Now, people are saying that we have been following even what is bad. We should learn whatever is suitable for our use. Even the good in capitalism should be learned.

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

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

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

Chairman Mao's Talk to Music Workers

August 24, 1956

The art of all the nations of the world is similar with respect to fundamental principles, but different with respect to form and style. The art of the various socialist countries each has socialism as its content, but each has its own national character. They have both similarities and differences, common features and individual characteristics. This is a natural law. All things are like this, no matter whether they belong to nature, society, or to the realm of the intellect. Take the leaves of a tree; at first sight they all look much the same, but when you examine them closely, each one is different; to find two absolutely identical leaves is impossible.

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

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

Chinese art, Chinese music, painting, drama, song and dance, and liter-

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

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

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

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

We learn foreign things because we want to study and develop Chinese things. In this respect natural and social science are similar. We must master all the good things from foreign countries and then apply them and, in the process, develop them. In the field of natural science we must do our own independent creative work, and use modern scientific knowledge and methods from abroad to sort out China's scientific heritage, until we can form our own schools of thought. Take, for example, Western medical science and other re-

lated modern sciences such as physiology, pathology, biochemistry, bacteriology and anatomy. Can you say we do not want to study them? We must study all these modern sciences. But some of those who have studied Western medicine should also study Chinese medicine and use their modern scientific knowledge and method to put in order and study our ancient Chinese medical methods and materials. They should also combine Chinese and Western medicine and pharmacy to create new unified Chinese medical and pharmaceutical sciences.

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

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

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

In the field of the arts we should also learn this lesson and take good care not to let dogmatism get the better of us. To study foreign things does not

mean importing everything, lock, stock and barrel. We must accept things critically. We learn from the ancients in order to benefit the people of today, and we learn from foreigners in order to benefit the people of China.

We must learn good things from foreign countries and also learn good things from China. Half bottles of vinegar are no good; we must change two half bottles into two whole bottles.⁴²⁰ We must master both Chinese and Foreign things and combine them into an organic whole. Lu Xun did this. He was very well versed in both Chinese and foreign works, but his brilliance was not primarily in his translations but rather in his creative work. His creative work was akin neither to foreign things nor to old-style Chinese things, but it is still Chinese. We should study Lu Xun's spirit, master both Chinese and foreign things, absorb the good points of Chinese and foreign art, fuse them together and create a new art with a characteristic national form and style.

Of course it is not easy to make a successful combination of Chinese and foreign things. It is a process which takes time. There are some Chinese things into which it is possible to blend foreign things. For example, in writing novels, the language, characters and background must be Chinese, but they need not be written in the Chinese 'instalment'⁴²¹ form. You can produce some things which are neither Chinese nor Western. If what comes out is neither a donkey nor a horse but a mule, that would be not bad at all. When two things combine, their form is changed. It is not possible for them to remain completely unchanged. Chinese things will change. Politically, economically and culturally, the face of China is undergoing big changes. But however much they change, Chinese things will always have their own characteristics. Foreign things also change. After the October Revolution the face of the world underwent a fundamental change. After the Second World War this change developed in a new direction. We must give our attention to the critical acceptance of foreign things, and especially to the introduction of things from the socialist world and from the progressive people of the capitalist world.

In short, art must have independent creative qualities; it must be distinctly imbued with the character of the times and also with the national character. China's art must not look more and more to the past, nor must it become more and more Westernized. It must increasingly reflect the characteristics of the times and the nation. In trying to achieve this we should show experimentation. Especially in a country such as China, with a long history and a large

420. A Chinese proverb 'A half bottle of vinegar shakes, a full bottle does not'.

421. Traditional Chinese novels grew out of the story tellers art, and are told in installments form.

population, it is even more necessary to carry out such experimentation as will serve the needs of the various nationalities the better. We do not want complete uniformity. Uniformity leads to writing to formulae. No matter whether they are foreign or local formulae both are lifeless and are not welcomed by the common people of China.

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

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

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

Instructions at a Discussion Meeting Attended by some of the Delegates to the Second Session of the First Committee of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce

December 8, 1956

I am a layman in economics and therefore I shall give a laymen's talk. You have raised many questions which are very helpful to me. I heard quite a few within the limited time. Yesterday I had a meeting with the chairman and the vice-chairman at which I heard a number of things and began to understand certain general conditions. As to details, you should hold a meeting to discuss them. Chen Yun and XXX, vice premiers of the State Council, will make a report to you. The government would like to discuss with you ways to solve your problems. All solvable problems will have to be solved. Some of the problems I haven't studied and therefore I cannot offer any solutions. The government will make a study of the problems that you have brought up and Vice Premier Chen Yun will consider ways to solve those solvable problems.

Since the inauguration of public-private joint enterprises,⁴²² great progress has been achieved by industrial and commercial circles. We feel we have come to know you better and to be closer with you. Subsequent to the inauguration of public-private joint enterprises, the only problem of the capitalists is that of fixed interests.⁴²³ Their reputation in society has changed, and they have shown great enthusiasm in learning politics, current events, skills and methods of administration. I was told that training classes have been inaugurated at all places with several hundred people joining in each city. In Shanghai several thousand people take part in one session. In 10 sessions there will be tens of thousands

422. Public-private joint enterprises were established as per article 31 of the *Common Programme of the CPPCC*. The article 31 stipulates: "Enterprises jointly operated by state and private capital are enterprises of a state-capitalist character. Whenever necessary and feasible, private capital shall be encouraged to develop in the direction of state capitalism by such means as undertaking processing work for state enterprises, operating enterprises jointly with the state, or, in the form of concessions, operating state enterprises and exploiting national resources, etc."

423. The payment of a fixed rate of interest was a means employed by the state in the course of Socialist transformation to implement its policy of redemption with regard to the national bourgeoisie's means of production. After the conversion of capitalist industry and commerce into joint state-private enterprises by whole trades in 1956, the state paid the national bourgeoisie a fixed annual rate of interest on the money value of their assets for a given period of time. In its nature this interest was still a form of exploitation.

of participants. This is a manifestation of great patriotism and the fervent spirit of learning of the industrial and commercial circles. They are anxious to work for a new state, to study economics, and to acquire skills. All members, large, medium or small, are willing to learn.

My classification of capitalists in three categories—large, medium and small—shows the improvement of my understanding of them. Previously, I thought it would be very difficult to reform them. Even you yourselves had not expected that you would have reformed so quickly and that the tide of learning would be so high. Are you going to develop self-criticism? (Answer: “We will.”) At last year’s conference of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce many made a self-examination. This is a technique of the Communist Party. We have thought of promoting this technique among democratic parties but as yet without too much success. This technique was recently employed at the conference of the China Democratic National Construction Association, developing criticism and self-criticism. This is a technique for the people to solve their internal problems—advancing opinions, presenting demands, solving problems, and achieving unity.

We have undergone two revolutions. The democratic revolution of the bourgeoisie is over and presents no more problem. Now the socialist revolution has been essentially accomplished, but not yet fully accomplished, for many problems remain unsolved such as agricultural cooperativization, handicraft cooperativization and public-private joint enterprise. Even when the whole reform program has been completed, there will still be many problems, endless problems. What are said to be problems are contradictions, disharmony, and disequilibrium. Problems of livelihood and employment, as well as domestic and foreign problems are full of contradictions. Somebody has said: Why should there have been a Beria in Russia? Even Stalin himself made mistakes. In China there was Gao Gang. Even Hong Kong was engulfed in turmoil. There were problems of Poland, Hungary⁴²⁴ and the Suez Canal. The world is full of problems. The problems that we brought up today are of one type: they are the problems of the industrial and commercial circles and of the large, medium and small components of these circles.

Let me now talk about current events.

Do you think that socialism will succeed? Do you have doubts about its success? Do you fear that the socialist camp will collapse? In my opinion, even if

424. This refers to the riot that occurred in Poznan, Poland, in June 1956 and to the counter-revolutionary rebellion that took place in Hungary in October of the same year.

it should collapse, there will be no big danger. But I don't think it will collapse, not at all. The principal components of the socialist camp are the Soviet Union and China. China and the Soviet Union stand together. This is a right policy. But there are still people who have doubt about this policy. They say, "Don't stand together". They think that China should take a middle course and be a bridge between the Soviet Union and the US. This is the Yugoslav way, a way to get money from both sides. Is this a good way? I don't think it is good at all, for it does no good to the nation. For on one side is powerful imperialism under whose oppression China had been for a long time. If China stands between the Soviet Union and the US, she appears to be in a favorable position and to be independent, but actually she is not. The US is not dependable. She would give you something but not much. How could we expect imperialism to give us a full meal? It won't. Imperialism has been oppressive to Asia, Africa and Latin America. India has suffered oppression for more than 200 years. She has never been given a full meal. Imperialism is stingy. The imperialist powers are such nations as Britain, the US, France, and the Netherlands. It was the eight powers whose allied expeditionary forces burned down the Summer Palace.⁴²⁵ It was also the imperialist powers that seized Hong Kong and Taiwan. Hong Kong is Chinese territory. Why should it have been ceded to Britain?⁴²⁶ Why was the Bandung Conference able to unify the Afro-Asian countries? Because these countries had been under the oppression of imperialism which, in this case, was the US Latin Americans who came to visit China were very friendly

425. In 1900 eight imperialist powers, Britain, France, Japan, tsarist Russia, Germany, the United States, Italy and Austria, sent a joint force to attack China in an attempt to suppress the Yihetuan Uprising of the Chinese people against aggression. The Chinese people resisted heroically. The allied forces of the eight powers captured Dagu and occupied Tianjin and Beijing. In 1901 the Ching government concluded a treaty with the eight imperialist countries; its main provisions were that China had to pay those countries the enormous sum of 450 million taels of silver as war reparations and grant them the special privilege of stationing troops in Beijing and in the area from Beijing to Tianjin to Shanhaiguan.

426. For many decades, beginning with the end of the 19th century, Britain exported an increasing quantity of opium to China. This traffic not only subjected the Chinese people to drugging but also plundered China of her silver. It aroused fierce opposition in China. In 1840, under the pretext of safeguarding its trade with China, Britain launched armed aggression against her. The Chinese troops led by Lin Tse-hsu put up resistance, and the people in Guangzhou spontaneously organized the *Ping Ying Tuan* (Quell-the-British Corps), which dealt serious blows to the British forces of aggression. In 1812, however, the corrupt Ching regime signed the *Treaty of Nanking* with Britain. This treaty provided for the payment of indemnities and the cession of Hong Kong to Britain, and stipulated that Shanghai, Fuzhou, Xiamen, Ningbo and Guangzhou were to be opened to British trade and that tariff rates for British goods imported into China were to be jointly fixed by China and Britain.

to us. Just today I received a Brazilian representative. Brazil is a large country with a population of 60 million and an area as large as China's. It has been under the oppression of US imperialism all these years. Illusions of serving as a bridge between the Soviet Union and the US and Britain for profit — this kind of thinking is wrong. We do not know how to design a big plant. Who would do it for us? Who would design large plants for us — such as chemical industry, steel industry, petroleum industry, tanks, airplanes and manufacture of automobiles? Britain had never designed these for India. Recently, because the Soviet Union designed a steel and iron works for India, Britain and the US each followed up with designing one, too, just to try to win her over. India's first alkali plant was designed by a Chinese engineer Hou Debang. Imperialism wants to keep its technology secret. No imperialism has ever designed anything for us. Democratic parties, democratic personages with no party affiliations, high-class intellectuals, religious circles, industrial and commercial circles and certain proletarians still have the illusion that the US and Britain would help us. We should launch a propaganda campaign on the rationale of leaning to one side. When we lean to one side, we are with the Soviet Union and on equal footing with her. We won't encounter problems such as those Poland and Hungary have faced. We are followers of Marxism, but we do not blindly copy Soviet experience. To do so would be a mistake. Our industrial and commercial transformation and agricultural cooperativization differ with the Soviets'. In the several years after agricultural cooperativization, their production decreased, but our production has increased. We have reformed all capitalist industrialists and businessmen, eliminating them as a class and taking them all into our fold as individuals. Industry and commerce are not a burden to the state but rather a source of wealth. In the past they have been a positive force. Economically, they have been modernized; they are no longer in the handicraft stage. Politically, they are against imperialism. Therefore, they have two-sidedness, one of which is its revolutionary character. Since the establishment of the people's government, they have cooperated with it and all enterprises have been put under public-private joint operation. For these things we cannot say that the bourgeoisie is useless to us; it is useful, very useful. The workers do not understand this because, in the past, they have had conflicts with the capitalists in the factory. We should therefore explain the situation to the workers. Especially since the high tide of learning of the industrial and commercial circles and in view of your desire for learning, the workers would change their attitude toward you. Our propaganda aimed at the capitalist should stress the importance of linking individual interests with state interests, promoting patriotism,

and, in short, keeping in mind the state. In the cooperativization movement in Hebei province the former slogan was “If you want to develop your home, plant cotton.” The result was that people only took care of their homes. The slogan was defective and has since been changed to: “If you love your country and want to develop your home, plant more cotton,” thereby linking the home with the country. You should now link up your home and your country to which you belong. Our country is poor, very poor. This year steel production amounts to only 4.5 million tons. Not until next year will there be 5 million tons. Japan’s production is 7 million tons. If we want to catch up with Japan, we will have to wait until the third five-year plan before reaching a production of 10 million tons.

The main point of discussion of this meeting concerns your own affairs, but they should be linked with state affairs. When you return to your own town, your propaganda on education should also be linked with state affairs. It will take decades and even centuries for us to produce tens of millions or hundreds of millions of tons of steel. We should stimulate patriotism. Why must we promote public-private joint enterprises? Why must we promote socialism? Because we want to develop our country, to develop a national economy and a culture better than the system of private ownership and to ensure national independence. Economically, we are still not independent. We cannot manufacture big machines or precision instruments. We can manufacture only medium-sized machines. We have just begun manufacturing airplanes and automobiles. Which country made the designs for us? It was the Soviet Union. We should cooperate with the Soviet Union. In our country there is no anti-Soviet movement as in Poland and Hungary; nor in industrial and commercial circles or among college students. About 70 percent of our college students are the sons and daughters of the bourgeoisie and the landlords. We need to rally and educate them. Since they are your sons and daughters, solving your problems will also benefit them. The Youth League wishes to solve their problems of enrolling in schools, joining the League, getting stipends, and wearing the red scarf. Stipends should be given on the basis of scholastic achievements and family conditions. They should not be given to those from big families, but from middle, small and poor families. Joining the League and the Party should also be on this basis. These conditions can be fully carried out in China. Colors and thoughts are not uniform. There is always two-sidedness—progressiveness and backwardness. This is a fact. One’s duty is to learn. If everything were good, then everybody would be Confucius. If everybody in the street was a sage, would Chiang Kai-shek and Hitler, who had also been in the street, be

sages too? Would aggressors against Egypt and secret agents be sages also? Men are different from each other. If we say that all capitalists are patriotic, the statement is untrue. There are positive and negative elements. To differentiate them is to learn. Otherwise one doesn't need to learn and can automatically become a sage. Jiang Yuwei said that before he was 30 he could write a well-developed essay. After 30, his power of learning was developed to the highest point. It was not without reason that he later played a leading role in the restoration movement. One should not feel satisfied with one's knowledge. Even when one is 70 or 80, there is much that one doesn't know. We should make a greater effort to learn, for there are still many things we don't know. Uncle Chen, you are a Hanlin [holder of a literary degree in the old system]. You know astronomy, geography, all the ancient philosophers, the three religions and the nine schools of thought.⁴²⁷ Are you really well-versed in all these fields? You are a Hanlin. I am nobody. I don't even have a degree. I know very little. To admit one's shortcomings has its merits. Among you are holders of second and third [advanced] degrees who will be given the task of aiding others in study.

Was the Hungarian incident good or bad? Problems should be exposed. It is good to expose them. A pustule will burst and emit pus. Those countries that imitated the Soviet pattern and failed to face up to reality have not been doing well and, in fact, have gone wrong. Herein we learn a lesson. What we do should be based upon the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism and should be in accordance with the reality of China. We have brought up the slogan "Learn from Soviet experience," but never have we proposed to learn from the Russians' backward experience. Do they have any backward experience? Yes, they do. For instance, their suppression of counterrevolutionaries is carried out by public security organs. In China it is carried out by organizations and schools under the direction of local party committees, not by public security organs. We do it under total mobilization and in full array but the Russians do it mysteriously. Democratic parties do it themselves. Are there some persons who are afraid of suppressing the counterrevolutionaries? Are they afraid that the move might affect themselves? You have your hardships; the workers have theirs. The government will listen to the views of both sides, you have problems of employment; so do the workers. Your unemployment problem has not been

427. In ancient China, the three religions were Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism and the nine schools of thought were the Confucians, the Taoists, the Yin-Yang, the Legalists, the Logicians, the Mohists, the Political Strategists, the Eclectics and the Agriculturists. Later the "three religions and nine schools of thought" took on a broader meaning to indicate the different religious sects and academic schools. In the old society the phrase was also used to mean people in dubious trades.

solved; nor has the workers'. The Hungarian incident shows that underground counterrevolutionaries had established a counterrevolutionary command and started plotting rebellion several months ago in collusion with foreign powers. The situation in China is different. Counterrevolutionaries have been largely liquidated. They have also been liquidated from industrial and commercial circles. Only a few individuals remain. We can absolve those who connived and dealt with the Kuomintang in the past, especially prominent men who were compelled by circumstances to cooperate with them. Even our party cooperated with the Kuomintang at one time I was a member of the legislature in the capacity of a distinguished personage of society. I went to Chongqing to attend meetings. In the past I participated in the Kuomintang and the San Min Chu I Youth Corps.⁴²⁸ I mention this fact but no importance need be attached to it. Some counterrevolutionaries are active right now. If anyone is now a transgressor, then we should not let him go, no matter to which class he belongs. I think the number is small. Today industrial and commercial circles are purer than before. Unlike their old selves, they have far fewer counterrevolutionaries. We can set our minds at ease. The few individuals are exceptions. No Hungarian incident would happen in our country. Since the Pan Hannian and Hu Feng affairs of last year to the present, over 4 million people have been investigated. Of 160,000 suspects, only 38,000 were counterrevolutionaries, or 1.2 percent. The previous estimate of 5 percent was inaccurate because it was based on subjective observation, not objective fact. Actually, there is only 1.1 percent in organizations and schools and the percentage in society is even smaller. If these germs are not eliminated, they will multiply to tens of thousands and will cause disturbance from within. Eliminating them is an education for the broad masses. The remaining 120,000 suspects were declared innocent. We apologize to them for having accused them wrongly. Those 38,000 counterrevolutionaries will not be killed. About 1 percent will be reformed through labor while the rest will remain in their original positions. This year we are planning to clean up... persons, using far better methods. There are about 4 million people who

428. In 1923 Sun Yat-sen, with the help of the Chinese Communist Party, decided to reorganize the Kuomintang, bring about Kuomintang-Communist co-operation and admit members of the Communist Party into the Kuomintang. In January 1924, he convened in Guangzhou the Kuomintang's First National Congress at which he laid down the Three Great Policies—alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers. Mao Zedong, Li Dazhao, Lin Bozhu, Qu Qiubai and other comrades attended the Congress and played an important part in helping the Kuomintang to take the road of revolution. Some of these comrades were elected members, and others alternate members, of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

need to go through this process. Major factories and private enterprises will not be included so that they won't be distributed for the present. Later on, when they are subject to being cleaned up, we shall need your participation. The All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, the China Democratic National Construction Association, the urban Communist Party organizations will all have to take part in this cleaning up. It will still be directed at individuals—the genuine counterrevolutionaries, not those who had associated with the Kuomintang, or had joined the Kuomintang or the San Min Chu I Youth Corps, nor those who first did bad things but later did good things. My talk today is on political problems. You are concerned with economic problems. You may not be too interested in my talk. To sum up, China's position vis-à-vis foreign powers is good. The Hungarian incident has been basically settled, though there may be further disturbance in the world. Don't feel upset because of Gao Gang, Beria, Stalin's mistakes, or the Hungarian incident. Sleep at ease. On 19 October many people in Hong Kong could not sleep. But after a few days they were able to sleep again. If you think the government has not given you enough help, you may bring this up. The government can give you more help. By now you should know well the characteristics of the government. We are the same group. We consult the people, the workers, the peasants, the capitalists, the petty bourgeoisie, and the democratic parties on whatever we plan to do. You can call us the consulting government. We do not put on a stern face and lecture people. We do not give anyone a stunning blow if his opinions are not sound. We are called the people's government. You may bring up whatever ideas you have. We don't ill-treat people under any pretext.

You are concerned about how to solve the problems of the large, medium and small enterprises and the problem of fixed interest. The large, medium and small ones should be separated into different levels. I have some suggestions to make in this regard and wish you to think them over to see whether they are feasible. The small ones, which represent 80-90 percent of the total, should not be included in the bourgeois group, but should be called upper-level petty bourgeoisie. This was done before. For example, a doctor with 2 or 3 apprentices was considered a petty bourgeois, fishermen and boatmen employing 10-odd persons were also not classified as bourgeois. During land reform, some owners of small plots of land for lease were not called landlords. This benefited several tens of thousands of people who were very interested in their title. Capitalists' agents and those drawing low interests who do not want to participate and who want to remain the same may be excluded for the next 2 years. This delay will make it possible for 90 percent of the people to continue to receive

their fixed interest, while only 10 percent of the people will suffer a loss. The remaining ones are the large ones. According to economics and the American system, more than 30 persons constitute a big plant. Those with less than 20 or 15 persons may give up [their fixed interest] if they wish; those who do not want to may continue to receive it. All of you are very much concerned about the duration of the fixed interests. The basic principle is to solve problems, not to damage the benefits of enterprises; particularly those of the large ones. Do the large ones or small ones play a more important role in the national economy and the people's livelihood? The small ones represent more people, 90 percent of the total. But their economy has no decisive effect upon the nation's economic life. The greater effect upon the national economy still comes from the large organizations. You say that the Chairman takes special care of the big capitalists but not the small capitalists. Is this right opportunism? You should analyze the situation to see if it is right to take special care of the small organizations. The small organizations have more people. It is wrong not to plan for them and solve their various problems. But the large organization has its claim for its size. A large one can match several tens of thousands of small ones. For the capitalists, our party has established certain lines, such as the United Front Department. For the medium and small organizations these lines are not correctly drawn. The medium and small ones should of course be taken care of. We now put them in the petty bourgeois groups to solve their problems accordingly. The peasants are the petty bourgeoisie of the villages. There are also petty bourgeoisie in cities. Those who receive fixed interests worth only several packages of cigarettes are petty bourgeoisie. Capitalists agents are also classified in that category. The importance to the state of the large public-private joint enterprises and their nationalization is great. Without industry we cannot live and without agriculture we won't have food. If we do not take care of the large capitalists, 90 percent of them will break away. The few left behind will present a sordid sight. When all others are red, the few white will feel ill at ease.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has discussed the duration of fixed interests. It felt that the duration should not be too short. Redemption should be true redemption without deception. Actually not much money is involved in payment. Some people ask how many more years will go by before the redemption. In the documents of the Eighth Party Congress the subject is broached but we still want to consult you on whether this problem can be solved. The small enterprises and the workers will object. The workers will say we are making it too advantageous for the capitalists. In their opinion they should be canceled immediately. For the medium and small enterprises

this can be done in one or two years. Why should it take so long? There are two oppositions. The first is the workers. The second is that 90 percent of the medium and small enterprises are envious of the comfortable life of the large ones. We have to convince these people that redemption should be carried out thoroughly, not half redemption and half confiscation. The Chinese national bourgeoisie has two sides, one of which is revolutionary. Its actual capital is not big. Private industrial shares total 1.7 billion yuan equivalent to less than US \$7 billion. With this small capital how could China not be put at a disadvantage? Imperialism has taken advantage of us not without reason. In view of this small national capital we should redeem it fully. We need not save this money. We should convince the workers that we should not do anything detrimental to the interests of the large capitalists for they are beneficial to the state. We should not save this small amount of money but carry through the project of redemption with fervency. If necessary, we can prolong it to the third five-year plan. What do you think of a little prolongation? If it can be completed in seven years, that will be fine. But if it cannot, we can prolong it to the third five-year plan so long as this is feasible. We should help the medium and small enterprises solve their problems because their number is larger. The number of large capitalists is small, but their capital is larger, much larger than that of the medium and small enterprises. For this reason the medium and small line is wrong. It should be a large, medium and small line. The people's reconstruction is a large line. It is right to use the large as a basis. At the conference of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce delegates of medium and small enterprises form the majority. We should help them to solve problems and at the same time enjoin them not to do anything detrimental to the interests of the large enterprises, because the latter plays a great role in the national economy. Any detriment to their interests would not be good for workers, peasants, the state and the medium and small enterprises. The medium and small enterprises wish to dispose of their interests as soon as possible, whereas the large enterprises wish to hold on to them as long as possible. You may do what ever you like to dispose of your interests as early as you like. The highest value of any enterprise in the first seven years. If the medium and small want to reclaim them, they can. Would this be satisfactory? No law has yet been enacted. We can consult on what we should do. If, after seven years, we still find no solution, we can postpone settlement a little longer. We should first take care of the interests of the workers. There are 1.6 million workers in capitalist industries and 900,000 employees in capitalist businesses, totaling 2.5 million persons. Workers and employees in state enterprises will also be in-

volved. All of them will be opposed to what we plan to do for the capitalists. On this problem they are in contradiction with the party. Are we falling into right opportunism? Are we becoming a capitalist party? We have to explain to them that what we are doing is beneficial to the entire nation, to the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, and the medium and small enterprises. They may not understand what “beneficial” is at the moment. Among college students 70 percent are the sons and daughters of the bourgeoisie. These students don’t want any inheritance, but they will be satisfied with how the government is treating the capitalists. Members of democratic parties, democratic personages with no party affiliations, leaders of the upper level of minorities, and religious circles will agree with us. But they won’t agree to an early cancellation of fixed interests. Then there are foreigners visiting China who always go to Shanghai to see Mr. Rong Yiren and to see how many automobiles he owns, one or two, and whether there is a piano in his house. After seeing him, a French capitalist said that if the French communists did the same to the capitalists he would feel satisfied. The effect upon Afro-Asian and West European countries would be great too. Therefore, it will do no good but harm if we abolish fixed interests at an early date. Actually not much money is involved in paying interests—in one year, only 125 million yuan and some people say, 110 million yuan, totaling 800 million yuan in seven years. This money is not given to Japanese or Americans but to Chinese. “The fertile water is not flowing into other people’s fields.” “A horse of Ch’u is caught by a man of Ch’u.” This money represents the state’s purchasing power. It also redeems state bonds. It may also be used to run factories. It is worth spending from all considerations. Among the delegates at this conference those from medium and small enterprises form the majority. You can do the job of explaining. You who are from medium and small enterprises should bear the responsibility of explaining to your people. The delegates from large enterprises cannot very well do this. When they try to name some advantages, they cannot very well say for instance, that the duration of fixed interests should be seven years. We need Vice Premiers XXX, XXX and delegates from medium and small enterprises to go and explain whether the Communist Party is going to abolish the fixed interests for large enterprises. Mr. Rong Yiren’s capital is worth half of Beijing. All eyes are turned on him. Of more than 10,000 capitalists in the country there are probably only several thousand large ones. We should watch them rather than the 120,000 medium and small ones. It is easy for us to handle the large ones. We need only launch a campaign against them with much sound and fury. Handling the medium and small enterprises needs even less effort, noth-

ing to be published in the press—once anything is published in the press, they surrender—and no campaign to be launched. Any report on this conference needs to say only that delegates and group leaders of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce and China Democratic National Construction Association participated and that I had analyzed domestic and foreign politics and also discussed the economic problem. But the report need not go into the details of my talk. Should the details be divulged, the workers and those of medium and small enterprises would rebuke us. They would say that communists are after all communists; why should they not communize property? People allege that communists have three heads and six arms and are very fierce. But actually we have only one head and two arms. What we do is “in accordance with heavenly principles, human relationships, the world’s trends and the people’s needs. Men with foresight and vision who act resolutely cannot help but succeed.” This is what Dr Sun Yat-sen, the great revolutionary leader, said. Our two revolutions are a continuation of the work bequeathed by Dr. Sun—consummation of the democratic revolution of the bourgeoisie and completion of the socialist revolution. These two revolutions paved the way for national construction. They were a means to an end. They aimed at changing production relationship and the superstructure—the government, ideology, laws, politics, economics, culture, and the arts. But the basic problem has not yet been solved. The objective is not to establish a new government and a new production relationship but to develop production. During the past 7 years production has been developed but to a very limited extent. In spite of our boast, our production of steel this year is only 4 million tons. Next year it is estimated at only X million tons, and 5 years after, only some 10 million tons. With a population of more than 600 million, China can easily surpass Japan and France in production. But it will take at least 40-50 years for China to catch up with the U.S. in steel production. May I ask you to turn your attention to this matter. Comrade Chen Yun met a Swedish friend who told him that Sweden has a population of only several million but every person has an average of two tons of steel. Their total population has therefore several hundred million tons of steel. The U.S. has only 100 million tons of steel. To reach Sweden’s output the U.S. has to increase its steel production several times. That’s why the U.S. underwent a democratic revolution⁴²⁹ and is now engaged in a socialist revolution. When the All-China Federation of Industry and Com-

429. A reference to the bourgeois revolution of 1775-83, known as the War of Independence in which the people of North America opposed British colonial rule.

merce and the China Democratic National Construction Association hold meetings, what do they study? None other than how to reach these goals of several hundred million tons of steel and also opening more schools installed with radio receivers. The people all over the country should at least be graduates of junior middle schools. In a few more years street scavengers, cooks and all other persons would be college graduates who would know astronomy and geography. All work aims at this goal. Chiang Kai-shek deserves a sound beating because he had not done a single good thing. In 20 years he had produced only 50,000 tons of steel. In eight years (including next year) we will have produced 5 million tons of steel. Chiang's mind was not on his work. I hope you will lead these 10 million and more people in the direction of production. With several decades of work, we can reform ourselves culturally. Therefore, we should unite all who can be united.

In January of this year, at a conference of the State Council, I said that it would probably take about three more years for us to basically complete the socialist revolution. This statement caused considerable reaction. Some people asked whether it could really be so quick. I used such modifiers as "probably," "basically," and "about." What is "basically"? It means that in public-private joint enterprises, interests have not yet been cancelled. I think it is wise to fix a longer period so that we can complete the project ahead of schedule. Nobody had expected that public-private joint management could have been carried out so soon. But nationalization is not being enforced as hastily. If it is hastily carried out, it won't do any good to the state or the nation. We need not spend much money and we keep our promise. Our action will affect foreign capitalism. It would help inform the world's capitalists. Nehru, Sukarno, U Nu, and the French capitalist Pathe Co. are all watching us, watching Rong Yiren... The present situation and that which I talked about last spring are the same. I talk only about "basic" completion by which I mean public-private joint enterprises. Total completion will take seven years. Excluding the current year there are six more years to go. We have to take care of all parties concerned. We should explain the situation clearly to the bourgeoisie, democratic personages without party affiliations, the enterprises, handicraftsmen, organizations, schools, and all workers. Lack of understanding of the situation will do no good at all.

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

1957

Interjections at Conference of Provincial and Municipal Committee Secretaries (Collected)⁴³⁰

January 1957

1. The problem of Ideological Struggle

Since the latter part of last year, there has been a trend toward right opportunism, and there has been a counter-current of anti-socialism within and without the party.

The bad social customs must be eradicated. Eradication requires persuasive power. A few reproachful remarks and rudeness would make the situation worse.

At the National People's Congress in May and the People's Consultative Conference in June there will be many strange arguments. Problems involved include law codification, the plight of the peasants, and shortage of meat. The crucial point is whether socialism has its superiority. All delegates at these two conferences should participate in the debate. Everyone of them should prepare an analytical statement.

The ideological struggle with the petty bourgeoisie and the rich middle peasants will have to continue for several years. The rich middle peasants are very influential and powerful. We should take note of this fact.

If we attend only to administrative work and overlook ideological work, there is bound to be trouble.

Every province needs one or two Marxists or Lu Xuns.⁴³¹ You ought to write articles. All of you who are below 60 should write.

Every province should train theorists. We are training actors and actresses and painters but not theorists. This is a deficiency of the system. You rely upon the central government but the central government has never prohibited you from doing anything on your own.

430. Also see *Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume V, pp. 350-383.

431. Lu Xun (1881-1936) was the father of modern Chinese literature and the greatest and most militant standard-bearer of China's cultural revolution. Apart from *The True Story of Ah Q*, *A Madman's Diary* and *The New Year's Sacrifice*—his most famous works—he wrote many short stories and essays, in which he vehemently attacks feudalism and imperialism, gives force to the aspirations of the oppressed and exposes the people's enemy in his true colours. He always identified his work with the Chinese people's revolution, for which he waged a relentless struggle until his death in October 1936.

2. The Problem of Trouble-Making

Should we be afraid of trouble-making? I think we should not. Whatever amount of trouble there may be should not scare us. There is trouble every year and there will be more trouble in the years to come. What's the use of being afraid? Only by exposing contradictions can problems be solved. Society is a unity of opposites. Professors and students always have contradictions and disputes with us. After 20 years when the old have died, the new will still have problems. Forty years after the Soviet Revolution there is still trouble. In factories about 30 percent of the workers were formerly landlords, rich peasants and capitalists. At universities about 80 percent of the students come from the families of landlords, rich peasants and capitalists. We are not afraid of their creating trouble, even coming to Beijing to create trouble. We should take positive, not negative, attitude toward them. When Gero returned to Budapest from Yugoslavia, he reprimanded the masses. He lost his prestige and dignity and was driven off the platform. If you are prepared for any major untoward incident, probably none will happen. If anything should happen, take a positive attitude and correct measures to win over or split up the audience. Capable men would create a situation out of the turmoil in Poznan and Hungary.

We wish a peaceful world but we must put ourselves in the worst position and be prepared for major disasters. We came from Yanan and must be prepared to return there. We had not seen Mei Lanfang in the past, but during the last seven years we have seen him off and on. In the eighth year we should be prepared to return to Yanan because of the atomic bomb, a possible world war, blunders committed and the Hungarian incident. If in our thinking we are prepared for the worst, we need not have fear. If we are unprepared, we are bound to regret it. The Seventh National Party Congress proposed a 17th article on "a thousand *li* of wasteland." With a population of 600 million, China need not be afraid of any untoward incident. It is going to rain. Mother wants to get married again. Such happenings are inevitable.

Labor strikes, student strikes, petitions... Some are provided for in the constitution while others are not prohibited. While we should not encourage these activities, we should let them take place, whether the demands are rational or not. If the demands are rational, we should take remedial measures. If they are not rational, then we should explain. If professors want to air their views, let them do so. Exposing contradictions may lead to settlement of problems;

they should not be suppressed. But if we tolerate contradictions, we shall be vanquished.

The petty bourgeoisie want to establish a dictatorship. It attempts to overthrow you so that it can set up its dictatorship. Any attempt to seize Hungary needs a full ten or 20 years. Mass meetings, lecture meetings and debating meetings are to be held in various provinces. Wide discussion is to be held to see who is to emerge victorious. However, preparations must be made beforehand. At small meetings your opponents will speak and act arrogantly, but they may be cowed at big rallies. If they want a major debate in the democratic way, let them have it. Let them say all they want to. If they don't, it won't do you any good. If they do, you can judge whether they are right or wrong. When society disintegrates, we should try to win people to our side. If the people think they are wrong, then they are isolated.

Don't fear trouble-making. The bigger and longer the trouble-making, the better. A series of trouble-making occurrences will bring results—bring out right and wrong. However serious trouble-making may be, don't be afraid. The more you are afraid, the more the demons will be after you. At the same time, don't panic. It is no good to panic at any time.

Nationwide trouble is not likely to occur. Wherever there are boils or germs, there will be bursts. In a big province there may be 50,000 troubles a year, in a medium-size province 30,000 and in a small province 10,000. Be prepared for trouble-making and make a reckoning at the end of the year. If the figures given above are not reached, the work must be considered to have been done fairly well.

Secretaries of district and county committees should hold meetings to discuss and make preparations for trouble-making. County secretaries and chiefs and others in higher positions should be mentally prepared. Should there be peace all the time and we grow passive and timid, once trouble starts, we would be put in a passive position. Our thinking would be paralyzed and then we would have to accede to all demands.

Without fighting, many problems cannot be solved. Contradictions can be settled only through struggle. The Mohammedans at one place were put under restrictions regarding the slaughter of cattle. They roughed up the cadres and the problem was solved. Some clashes are rational while others are irrational. Even irrational moves are good. Grievances should be aired.

How should we dispose of renegades? Should we dismiss them summarily? Personally I feel we should not dismiss them in a hurry nor should we kill

them (except counterrevolutionary criminals). We should utilize their labor, use them for political instruction, and deprive them of their political capital. A simple way of disposal is to refuse to accept them as ideological rivals.

Regarding people like Xiao Zhun and Ting Ling, execution, imprisonment or control would be ineffective. What we should do is to find their faults and disgrace them in society.

Party members who make trouble in schools should be subject to thorough criticism and then expelled from the party. We should not hurriedly expel them from the party or the school.

The survey of the components of the workers in Shaanxi was well done. In Hungary no such survey was done and so even when trouble broke out, the authorities were ignorant of the causes behind it. This should be taken as a lesson and a thorough investigation of components of workers should be made, ascertaining the numbers of dependables, neutrals and problematic ones. According to a recent survey, only about 25 percent are dependables. We should stress the importance of workers. After three five-year plans, the situation may have changed. It will take 20 years to change the components of the college student body. We cannot make any radical change now even if we put many workers and peasants in college.

At the 20th Soviet Congress, Stalin was downgraded: Very neatly done. But now Stalinism has been revived. What they did first was sincere but what they did recently was not so. They struck down imperialism with one blow. They struck down socialism with several blows. They denounced Poznan and Hungary but they would not admit that their moves were not sincere.

3. The Philosophical Problem

Whoever can analyze, understands dialectics. Lenin said, "In brief, dialectics can be defined as the doctrine of the unity of opposites. This grasps the kernel of dialectics but it requires explanations and development".⁴³² He added "The unity of opposites (coincidence, identity, equal action) is conditional, temporary, transient, relative. The struggle of the mutually exclusive opposites is absolute, just as development and movement are absolute."⁴³³ Balance is temporary and subject to continuous destruction—lasting for a few days or a

432. V. I. Lenin, *Conspectus of Hegel's The Science of Logic, Collected Works*, Vol. XXXVIII, Russian ed., Moscow, 1958.

433. V. I. Lenin, *On the question of Dialectics, Collected Works*, Vol. XXXVIII, Russian ed., Moscow, 1958.

few months. Balance soon becomes imbalance. Unity means uniformity, oneness and unanimity. If there is a divergence of views, discussion at a meeting will result in unanimity. But two months later, new problems will arise and another meeting must be held. Practicality and subjectivism are opposites of unity. Subjectivism always exists, even 10,000 years from now.

Materialism and idealism are opposites of unity. Dialectics and metaphysics are opposites of unity. There is perpetual struggle in philosophy. Whoever talks about philosophy has to struggle. Some people talk only about one-sided philosophy. When they talk about the blooming of hundred flowers, they overlook weeding of poisonous weeds. We admit that socialism has its opposites. Thus Stalin had his metaphysics and subjectivism. The Soviet Union does not recognize opposites and does not permit them in law. But many errors are hidden under socialism.

Lenin contended that materialism alone cannot solve problems, and that the way to solve problems is to struggle against idealism. If we want to struggle against idealism, we have to study it. The three components of Marxism were derived through a study of the struggle against capitalism.

Philosophy consists of a struggle between two opposites; Cosmology is a struggle between materialism and idealism; methodology is a struggle between dialectics and metaphysics. We and Chiang Kai-shek are opposites of unity. We and the democratic personages are also opposites of unity. All things have contradictions which may be obliquely reconciled. Stalin made mistakes in dialectics. "Negation of negations." The October Revolution negated capitalism but it refused to admit that socialism may be negated too. We believe that the world is both stable and unstable. Even socialism may cease to exist one day. If anyone says that the superstructure of society won't be extinct, that kind of talk is not Marxism but smacks of religion.

4. The Problem of the Villages

A bounteous harvest is very important. Last year the Soviet Union had a bounteous harvest and it was easy to do a lot of things. With last year's experience we should try to reap a bounteous harvest this year. If we all work hard to get it, it will be of great significance to the world communist movement. This will be an unprecedented event in a socialist movement. In history, the socialist cooperative movement resulted in decreased production. Our increase in production in 1956 was not much. We should strive for a major increase in 1957.

One of our objectives is to increase the income of cooperative members 90 percent. We shall see if we can do this in three or four years. Hubei has had a bounteous harvest, but still about 15 percent of its cooperative members had no increase in income. We should explain to party members, public functionaries, servicemen and civilians that cooperativization has a history of only one to one and one-half years. We have participated in the revolutionary movement for practically our entire lives and still we made mistakes. Participants in the cooperative movement have carried on for only over one year. How could they make no mistakes? In three years' time it is possible that 90 percent of the cooperative members will have higher incomes.

About 15 percent of the peasants have a hard life. It is not right to generalize that the peasants are leading a hard life when only 10 to 15 percent of them are doing so. There should be an accurate analysis. When we say that the peasants are leading a hard life, actually this means that the income of the rich middle-class peasants has decreased whereas a portion of the old cadres have become rich. It reflects the thinking of the landlords, rich peasants and rich middle-class peasants.

Article 40 was discussed at last year's National Party Congress. It should be publicized. We should strive to reach the target production of 400, 500 and 800 catties per *mou* a year⁴³⁴ ahead of schedule and complete the 12-year plan in 11 years.

The beginning is always difficult. There are three stages for every performance. We completed the first stage this year. We need to carry out three five-year plans to reach our goal.

Since ancient times, all progressive plans have incurred criticism in the beginning. The theory of evolution, Marx, Sun Yat-sen, and the Communist Party have all incurred criticism. Even 10,000 years hence progressive things will still incur criticism.

So long as one cooperative shows its superior quality, it can refute all groundless criticism. We can use it for propaganda.

5. Economic Problems

Every province has established its own chemical fertilizer plant.

We should pay attention to food-grain production. It will be disastrous if

434. See *Request for Opinions on the Seventeen-Article Document Concerning Agriculture, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume V, pp. 277-280 (article 11).

we don't. When we have food, we have everything. If there is food to eat even during a labor strike or a student strike, no great disturbance will occur. Oils and pork are the province of cooperatives. The state does not get involved in it. Food-grains collected are similarly handled (except in areas of economic products). The state handles unified purchasing but not unified marketing in the rural area. Cooperatives and teams handle it themselves.

Two years hence there should be no contending with the people for grain or fear that the state won't purchase grain. It needs only to handle unified purchasing and not unified marketing. This is being done in Hsiao-kan county in Hubei province.

State farms should be established in new industrial and mining districts to solve the problems of grain, oils, meat and vegetables.

We need big [industrial] plants, but not too many. We need small plants even more, the more the better. Like everything else they grow from small to big. Small plants should be established in accordance with the principle of availability of raw materials and marketing possibilities whereas the number of big plants should depend upon the resources of the state.

6. The Problem of Schools

Agriculture should be added to the curriculum of junior-middle schools.

The provincial and municipal committees should commission cadres to strengthen the schools. They should invigorate the schools as well as other cultural and educational work.

Members of the provincial area and county committees should take part in educating the students.

Each province should hold a students congress and a teachers congress every year. Adequate preparations should be made beforehand. One day should be devoted to reports and three days to discussion and problem solving. No arrangement has yet been made for work on the students. Every year there should be one or two meetings and one or two talks. Try to discover problems. Don't wait for problems to rise and then try to cope with them. Get after them now. Plants, cooperatives stores and schools are the units concerned.

7. The Problem of Literature and Art

There is advantage in having "a hundred schools contend," for then all evil

elements will be exposed. All provinces should pay attention to this: Let one person take command over major and far advanced problems. Organize some people to write articles, one article per month, to suppress evil influences.

Vaccination creates bodily resistance to diseases (causing the body to develop antibodies). Why can't we inject vaccines in literature and art?

The Department of Propaganda should hold one or two press conferences in one or two months. It would be all right to hold one press conference in two months. Right now there is not one press conference in one year.

8. The Problem of Cadres

Cadres have been promoted to higher positions, but they don't have much to do in these positions. The fewer people in leadership positions the better. They do nothing but write articles and talk on the phone.

The state is the vehicle for class struggle. Only a limited number of people are required to run the state. Do we need as many as 500 million people to run the state? How can we promote university professors? Shouldn't they be university professors until their hair is snow white? How can we promote workers and peasants? Shouldn't they be workers and peasants until their hair is snow white? Promotion to a higher position creates a problem. Once anyone dies, we have to appoint someone else to succeed him.

Ultra democracy and ultra equality won't work. Yen Yuan automatically became a second-rank sage.

The numbers of cadres from elsewhere and those local-born should be adjusted. Of members of the county committee, half should be from elsewhere and half local-born.

9. The Problem of Leadership

Members of the Party Central Committee, secretaries of provincial committees and ministers should pay a visit to plants and villages every year so as to familiarize themselves with the conditions there and not to become another Rakasi.

Secretaries of provincial committees and ministers have seen so much of their various departments that they are blind to what they see. They should go instead to the plants and cooperatives.

Real knowledge comes from the plants, cooperatives, stores, and schools.

The higher you go, the less knowledge you get. If you want to solve problems, you have first to go down and secondly to summon people to report to you. Beijing is not a good place to acquire knowledge. By comparison the province is better for this purpose. You must go down. Ministers of industries should go down to the plants and heads of rural departments should go to the rural areas.

Members of the Party Central Committee, ministers and secretaries of provincial committees should each take sometime to visit the rural areas and study the problems there. It takes only two months to get a clear picture of a county or a township. If for two months they don't read telegrams, they still can read and understand them when they pick them up again. But I have been told that they don't go to the rural areas any more on the excuse that there is too much office work to do.

The secretary of a provincial committee can concurrently be the secretary of a county or municipal committee. The incumbent may be demoted to be second secretary. Secretaries of provincial area and county committees can concurrently be plant managers, school principals and secretaries of party committees. In this manner, they can go deep into reality and acquire knowledge.

There should be two meetings of district party committees secretaries so that they are compelled to study various problems.

The wind that I have broken does not smell good. It has opposites too—part of it smells good but part of it bad (including Beijing). You have to smell to know.

All provinces should take note of this fact: Cities depend upon the working class, villages upon poor peasants, and schools upon leftists—all have to have something to depend upon.

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

Talk at the Hangzhou Conference of the Shanghai Bureau

April 1957

(During the discussion of ideological questions, Chairman Mao interjected and set five questions straight.)

1. Since the Supreme State Conference and the Propaganda Conference,⁴³⁵

435. See *Speech at the CCP's National Conference on Propaganda Work, Selected Works of Mao*

the tense atmosphere with the intellectuals has become more moderate and intellectuals outside the party have taken steps to draw near to us, their hesitant mood rather more open. The report is not a panacea; we must still administer medicines specific to the individual. If we do not give them those things which are necessary, they will become passive. Once the things are given them, they will assume responsibility for contending, whether well or badly. In any case there will always come a day when the rectification will descend upon ourselves. Our methods are first to rectify ourselves and rectify the party well, to rectify modestly and to speak reasonably. The present problem is not our problem. Leftist intellectuals want democracy (freedom to speak out) from us and students want democracy from their professors. At that time they have to ask us for help. When we allow speaking out, they contend among themselves; when we curtail, they make demands on us.

Last year over 11,000 democratic parties developed in Shanghai. The problems among them multiplied. Only the proletariat does not fear political change, when it is wrong, it makes corrections. Their internal problems multiplied.

We must allow speaking out, be thick-skinned, and let them attack for a year. As long as we have dogmatism, it is good to finish it off. If the attack is excessive, let all freaks and monsters come out to stir up trouble. The Communist Party must let them curse for a moment, let them curse for several months; we will reflect on what they say. During the "three evils" period, Comrade Chen I said, "Our dictatorship has ruled for all these years, so we can let people swear for a week." You pour a torrent of question upon us, and we too can be greatly amazed. Some intellectuals are still afraid of casting a long line to catch big fish. Some say this is correct. The prestige of the Communist Party is high. If there are but one or two sentences in a newspaper, a rustle of wind in the grass, some people are afraid. Those outside the party are afraid, and those inside the party are afraid. Even when the affair is correct, we must still be rather modest. When pressure is great, we must understand things well; some say there is some reason in casting a long line to catch big fish. We now let people criticize and then analyze the matter once again. The intellectuals are like birds startled at the twang of a bowstring; they have to look at facts, maybe for 20 years. Those within the party must also take a look at what happens; for instance, in curing the sickness to save the patient, some people are unbelieving until afterwards when they have seen the facts; only then do they believe. We must undergo

several tests, the politics of the Communist Party must be tested, leaders must be tested by those they lead. In the past the intellectuals served the old rulers. Now the production relationships have been transformed and they no longer have a social base. Intellectuals in the past entrusted themselves to feudalism, capitalism, and the individual system of production. The intellectuals serve the class they were born into. The classes of their birth have now been destroyed, so they hang in mid-air, they do not stand on firm ground. They are now crawling upon our bodies. The workers and peasants, through the Communist Party, let them work and eat. We must still cleanse their brains for a dozen years, using the method of unity — criticism — unity. They think they do not have to have criticism, that they are unable to speak. At present there are over 10 million people suspended in mid-air with old brains, but this is nothing to be afraid of. Hanging in mid-air they very much need us to reach out and draw them in. If we reach out to them warmly, it can go a bit faster. It will not be that simple for the majority to come over. It is the proletariat which most welcomes change. The peasants most hope that Chiang Kai-shek, the American imperialists, and the landlords are transformed, but they do not hope that the small private ownership system will be transformed. The democratic parties and the intellectuals who see the advent of a cultural revolution as too unexpected, too hurried, can also change. The hair has left their hide, but their soul is still on the old hide. When their hair is attached to a proletarian body, their soul is often restless. If they do not change they cannot be restless, restlessness is a manifestation of change. The world view of some intellectuals cannot change for a long time... To test the world view of writers we must test whether they can work as one with the workers and peasants, or as two. Send to the country-side those who cannot tell the truth to the peasants. The world view of bureaucrats within the party also creates problems and is divorced from the masses. Such people advocate Marxism, but have nothing in common with the masses. What kind of Marxism is that? There is a group of people in society whose only fear is that everything is not stirred up. They have anti-Communist thoughts and advocate fighting their way out. It will take decades to reform them. Some will die unreformed, but the majority can reform. There is that portion who are old bigots and will die unreformed.

2. We must allow airing of views. To fear airing of views means we have not put the truth across, or not convincingly. This is anti-bureaucratism in leadership. Whenever airing of views is not allowed, without the slightest preparation

there is a massive airing of views. We advocate airing of views so that even the worst disturbance is only temporary. When they manage the affairs of the people but the people are still dissatisfied, some do not think it through and become very troubled. There are always dissatisfied people; some are satisfied, others dissatisfied. They are more satisfied than in the past, but they are dissatisfied compared to what they will be or compared to others who are now better off. It will be the same 10,000 years from now. If everyone becomes satisfied, we might as well go to sleep. There has as yet been no airing of views, so how do we know that there may be a disturbance? In the past our alertness to class struggle was too high; now we are a bit conservative. One school of thought has contended alone for so many years. Let there be some disturbances for a while and we will see what happens. Not to criticize egregious errors over a long period is not good. Where there is a lot of grass, you may use a tractor. Chiang Kai-shek is not grass, but he was beaten in three years. Ten percent of China's intellectuals comprehend Marxism; 80 percent are patriotic and support socialism. One can see that poisonous weeds are only a minority. Weeds among the fresh flowers, which seem poisonous but are not, are in the majority. This is a reflection of social reality.

This is a new problem. The cadres have not examined it yet. When they check it out, taste it, their worries will vanish. Even if it is not explained clearly, can the people still oppose the Communist Party? Those which seem poisonous but are not are the majority; the poisonous weeds are in the minority.

I do not encourage the people to make trouble or to organize troublemaking groups. Making trouble by attacking government offices must be punished. Nonetheless there will be some disorder.

Spirits are now running high outside the party. In a while, spirits within the party may also rise up, first low then high.

To solve some problems, get some experience. Every policy of the party must be tested by being carried to the masses. We should let the cadres test it in their work.

Fearing and not fearing, being happy and being unhappy, solving problems and not solving them: this is dialectics. For instance, in waging war, at the beginning one is quite afraid, but the more he fights, the more courageous he becomes. Without having had several errors in line, we could not be so good today. If good things abound, one may become proud and bad things may arise. The Soviet Union is like that. Wang Ming's errors were great; he made no self-examination, had no prestige. When you make a mistake, be tense for

a week. Examining the situation will make things better and will also have an immunizing effect. I would like to attack Deng thoroughly on the question of the... cooperatives. Attacking is a way of helping a cadre. At the most I will lose a vote and he will not nominate me.

Ba Jin says miscellaneous writings are hard to write. 1) When the rectification of the Communist Party is complete, there will be an atmosphere of freedom; 2) thoroughgoing materialists are fearless. Wang Xifeng said, "He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor." The more difficult the time, the more one should help him. If we do not help him, he will not be able to survive.

What is wrong with making an athletic field out of Lu Xun's tomb? Chen Qitong and Zhong Tianfei represent two different one-sided views. I too am a one-sided believer in not mourning.... This could be transformed into a cyclical theory, but dialectics is not a cyclical theory.

When one-sidedness has multiplied, dialectics must be brought out. Since these people just want us to have bad luck, we can think of an even worse situation. At present it seems that we have become somewhat conservative, but in persuading the masses we cannot use simplified methods. This is not a thorough solution to the problem of the creation of disturbances. It will not do to handle affairs excessively. Who says we want monsters and freaks? The masses want to see them. We cannot suppress it, just give better performances. We should let society be a bit complicated, put the center of gravity on science. Some people say we should be more brutal than the Kuomintang in expelling students who cause disturbances. We should be a bit wiser than the Kuomintang, so that a comparison between it and us will be all the better. The Kuomintang is digging its own grave; we should not study it. I still feel bad because the Guangdong students were prevented from coming to Beijing with their petitions. The Kuomintang exercises dictatorship over the people, the Communist Party preaches democracy. This point should be clear. Some take the atom bomb of dictatorship and hang it over the people's heads. This is not good.

3. Let 100 flowers bloom, let 100 schools of thought contend. We must change the relationship between the party and the intellectuals. Some think it is not the time for that, that there are contradictions in political—ideological work. Widespread political struggle is already basically at an end. The Eighth Party Congress concluded it. This guideline submits that now is precisely the

time.

Between party and non-party there is a ditch which is very deep. I think that to say there is no ditch, or there is no line of demarcation, is not good, but it is not good to dig a ditch, for if there is a ditch, we will be divorced from the masses.

In one of the 1,000,000 factories in Shanghai less than one in 10,000 caused disturbances. One percent would be better; it could wipe out bureaucratism.

From inside the party to outside the party, those inside the party and those outside the party speak with each other, act in the same play. In this way many people can be drawn onto the political stage.

Whose newspaper is *Renmin Ribao* [People's Daily]? It must be rectified.

Some feel they cannot move to the left or the right and it is difficult to do anything. To know it is difficult to do anything is good, it gets the brain moving; otherwise there will just be talk of dictatorship, of centralism (that is, suppression).

Must there be struggle within the party? Of course. The peasants hoe weeds every year. Errors must be criticized with the power of persuasion. One cannot rely on suppression. It will not do to rely on several documents. We must persuade people with reason, not rely on our qualifications.

Preach force towards enemies, reason towards the people. If there is no reason, it is not historicism. It is not enough to have a high position. We must study and do more research. It is very dangerous for cadres to pull rank and speak with force.

Can we do without the democratic parties? No. The Soviet Union does not have them and does not hear contrary opinions. But the war was still fought victoriously, and they did not kill the intellectuals. The Soviet Union does not consider letting 100 flowers bloom, 100 schools of thought contend. Democratic party members are all big intellectuals. The Peasants and Workers Democratic Party has no peasants or workers. We must give them something to do.

Unite both ends and criticize the middle. Not to criticize is rightist. The articles by Zhong Dianfei have not been criticized for a long time since they appeared.

The criticisms in *Wenhui Bao* must be thoroughly analyzed.⁴³⁶ This criticism is beneficial.

We must speak the truth to members of the democratic parties. If they have

436. See *Wen Hui Bao's Bourgeois Orientation Should be Criticized, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume V, pp. 451-456. Also see the following article in this volume.

flaws, tell them. Belonging to a democratic party has its suffering. One cannot hear or see or grasp the basis of the Communist Party. We can also talk of some of the party's defects. If we strike down the democratic personages, they will rise to oppose us. It is quite necessary to learn from them with an open mind.

A number of meetings have been held, but no news of them has appeared. The *Renmin Ribao* [People's Daily] is the *Guomin Ribao* [Citizen's Daily].

Chen Qitong represents 90 percent of the comrades within the party, so I have no mass base.

Between inside the party and outside it there should be a line, not a wall. The first secretary should regularly meet with personages outside the party, to explain our basis to them. We can also talk with the enemy in order to attract him to us more deeply. Not to talk is not democratic. Allowing talk is also attracting the enemy further; what can be done about that? We must proceed from our 600 million people and become a bit more adventurous. There are 5 million intellectuals. We must win them over. Mo Pu is a sectarian. We should check out his party affiliation. Why does he not want traditional Chinese paintings? He does not do works of art, but works of hideousness. Even the Kuomintang has traditional paintings. What is his party? Probably a third party! Social reality cannot be denied. Since there is counterrevolution in social reality, we must suppress it. Problems have existed for a long time within the framework of democracy. How can he use the Stanislavsky system for the *Huo-shao Hung-lien Shih*? Jiang Feng and Mo Pu use the dialectic method—why do they not want traditional paintings? Do they want to go it alone? Even husbands and wives come in pairs! Experienced cadres must take into account that the past is only a set of methods, and now we must resolve problems among the people. I have read several copies of the *Hsin Min Bao*. It is not yellow journalism. Just not too serious. It cannot lead science. It should not be contrary just to be contrary. It must ask for guidance. Even Liu Bei asked a Zhuge Liang for guidance. What personages outside the party say must be taken into account. Sometimes they are in error, but do not just be contrary or inflexible.

4. On the problem of recognizing several problems:

There were over 200 letters opposing the article by Fan Ruizhuan. I do not think it is obscene. "Daily I ascend into the *Kan Ling*, how can I do without my husband?" You have to have some pressure to write something; a donkey has to be ridden by someone. Lead, select reports, prepare, persuade, benefit: five conditions. Of all these, only the force of persuasion is relatively concrete.

All the others are quite difficult to change, but we must not be dogmatic.

Can one polemicize over party policies? Everyone goes along with articles in *Renmin Ribao*. But the articles of Chen Jilong and others are not correct. In my opinion it would be better if each province had two newspapers, one run by those outside the party to provide some competition.

There are always some things which are difficult to carry out in areas where intellectuals are bunched together, but it would not do for them not to be bunched together. Of the 6 million people in Shanghai, there are only over 200 who are in opposition, obviously a minority. Nor should the newspapers encourage them day after day. Hold several meetings a year, in spring, summer, autumn, winter. The task of culture and education is a matter of teaching the people. We must supervise it regularly, so as to prevent having to treat every headache and foot ache. Some people in film studios say to strive for fragrant flowers, not produce poisonous weeds. This spirit is incorrect. We are not afraid of one-third coming up poisonous weeds. To avoid poisonous weeds is an empty phrase.

One-sidedness. It will never be possible to demand that all outside the party avoid one-sidedness and become experts in dialectics. The preceding time I spoke from my own position. There will always be work which is done well and that which is not done well.

The question of intellectuals entering the party. We should strive to have one-third enter the party. The democratic party members may cross over into the party, but not the leaders. Within 6 years one-fourth, within three 5-year plans one-third will enter the party. This year strive for 15 percent — we must proceed at a measured pace. If we do not win over a group of intellectuals into the party this year, it will not be good for socialism. Let 100 flowers bloom, 100 schools of thought contend is a policy for winning over the intellectuals. If we shut the door to them organizationally, we will not be consistent. Our party has no great authors, great poets, great professors — we must recruit them. In the past it was not to be done, now we must exert ourselves to do it. Gorky attended school for only two years and Sun Yat-sen did not receive a very high level of education. People can be trained.

There is a reason for instability in education. Beginning without experience, once we make several changes, things will become stable. Among teaching materials for junior middle schools there should be history, geography, the study of cultural relics, and the like. In the past, middle and primary schools studied foreign cultures, which they should do. There are too many courses in junior

middle schools. We could chop off one-third. How can 100 schools of thought contend in a classroom? We should focus on one or a few.

The checkup on the suppression of counterrevolutionaries was done in 1955 and 1956. In the past there was no checkup.

It is incorrect to speak of a contradiction between a progressive social system and backward forces of production.

The question of birth control. Malthus' conclusions are wrong,⁴³⁷ but must there be war when there are too many people? In China's birth control we must consider provincial make up. There are many people in Jiangsu, few in the Northeast. We must not change the marriage laws, but should do more persuading against early marriage.

I once said that there will still be revolution in 1000 years. But this is not certain.

After 10,000 years production relationships will definitely be transformed. In the future it will not be a matter of nationalization but of globalization.

If contradictions among the people are not handled well, we can be overthrown. There have already been some individual township governments and party branch headquarters.

5. The question of leadership: we must improve the relationship between the Communist Party and the intellectuals. It is the fault of the Communist Party that it has not been close to the intellectuals. I do not blame the Ministry of Propaganda, the first secretary must take the responsibility. The first secretary must not only grasp the leadership of ideology but also read documents, history, philosophy, literature... periods of history. When much activity is going on but the first secretary does not do any reading, how can he resolve anything? Some say that peripheral things should be done a little less so as to grasp ideological work. One must read printed matter, literature, natural science, social science. Get into the habit, then you will gradually become interested in it. You must also discuss within the party. You may think there is no time for discussion, but even if you do not discuss, there may still be no time. In the

437. T. R. Malthus. Anglican clergyman and reactionary economist. In his *Essay on Population* (1798), he wrote that "population unchecked... increases in geometrical ratio... [while] the means of subsistence... could not possibly be made to increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio". Basing himself on this arbitrary assumption, he came to the conclusion that all poverty and all evils in human society are permanent phenomena of nature. According to him, the only ways to solve the problem of poverty of the working people were to shorten their life-span, reduce the population or stop its increase. He regarded famine, pestilence and war as means to cut down population.

phrase “100 schools of thought contend,” some people misread “chang-ming” [contend] as “cheng-wu” [complain]. They do not understand that they must continue to go to class. Zhou Yu is over 20 years old, Cheng Pu over 50. Now they are arch enemies. Who is in command? We must have culture in doing cultural and educational work. When Zhuge Liang was young he did not serve in any important capacity. Later he did. At that time one could break the rules and appoint him, why not now? When we were evaluating ranks, there was much disagreement. There were very many hindrances to promotion which breaks the rules. It is hard to have soldiers without education, they too should study in their spare time. Now we are fighting another battle. Generals, colonels, captains, lieutenants, and enlisted men must make renewed preparations. Cadres at all levels must master social science, literature, and natural science. Otherwise, when a commander rides into battle and needs a few tricks up his sleeve, his guns will fall silent. University party committees must be reorganized. Their assumption of cadre tasks is over. Now they can be transferred, leaving someone at the school to take care of business. “A hundred schools of thought contend” must not become the principal of the school.

We must do propaganda work, circumstances are forcing you to talk, go to the universities to talk, first have a chat with the professors and students. Today no talk, then tomorrow no talk, this year no talk, then next year no talk, never any talk; how can we go on this way?

Ask the Minister of Culture and Education, the Minister of Propaganda, and the party secretaries to go and have talks. They are always considerably better at it than the political instructors.

The question of fixed interest. The nature of enterprises has been transformed. The two major characteristics no longer exist. When the skin has gone, what can the hair adhere to? The hair is on a proletarian body, but the soul is still there. To shorten and reduce the fixed interest so that after a long time there will be nothing left but an excuse is not worth it. Now it is 100 million a year. In 10 years it will still be 10 million. If they do not demand that we cancel it, we will still pay it out. Don't knock the hat off the petty bourgeoisie, for if the small ones lose their interest, the big ones will be dissatisfied. In the end it will all be canceled automatically.

Our 600 million people have their faults. Any person may be criticized and not listened to when he is incorrect. When he is correct you must accept what he says. Documents opposing the suppression of counterrevolutionaries or collectivization may be repudiated somewhat. This is not called leading the

enemy out; it is called entrapping oneself. When Sun Dayu says someone is a counterrevolutionary, we should publish it in the papers. Publishing the articles on Hu Feng⁴³⁸ and Tito in the newspapers to divorce them from the masses is also a helpful method. We must have a method in doing political work, not fear publishing; we must repudiate them.

Each province must exchange experiences. They must not avoid each other.

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

The Bourgeois Orientation of the *Wen-Hui Bao* for a Period of Time⁴³⁹

June 14, 1957

This article reproduced below appeared in the *Wen-hui Bao* on 10 June, entitled *For Reference*⁴⁴⁰ Although for a period of time in the past the *Wen-hui Bao* in Shanghai and the *Kwangming Jih-Bao* in Beijing published a large number of good reports and good feature articles, their basic political orientation was that of a capitalist newspaper. In a period of time these two papers, making use of the slogan, 'A Hundred Schools Contend', and the CCP's rectification campaign, carried many seditious reports showing the bourgeois point of view which [the papers] were not prepared to criticize. These issue of the papers are there for anyone to consult. Some people on the staff of the papers seriously misconstrued the functions of newspapers. They confused the principles of the press of a capitalist country with those of the press of a socialist country. Similar confusion can be found among the editors and reporters of other newspapers and among the staff of some departments of journalism at the universities. It is not confined to the *Wan-huipao* and *Kwang-ming Jih-Bao* alone, though it is more prominent with these papers. Mistaken views can be studied, examined, criticized, and then reformed. [This is what] we expect from these papers. In the last few days their policy seems to have changed somewhat. Of course, non-party newspapers should not be exactly the same as party organs;

438. For more material on Hu Feng, see *In Refutation of Uniformity of Public Opinion and Preface and Editors Notes to Material on the Counterrevolutionary Hu Feng Clique, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume V.

439. Also see *Wen-hui Pao's Bourgeois Orientation Should be Criticized, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume 5.

440. This was by Yao Wenyuan.

they should have their individualities. None the less, their general orientation should be the same as other papers, because in a socialist country the press reflects through its reports the planned socialist economy based on public ownership. This is different from the press of a capitalist country which reflects through its reports the anarchy and group competition of the capitalist economy. As long as class distinction exists in the world, newspapers are instruments of class struggle. We hope a discussion on this issue will be developed in order to arrive at a common understanding. Some journalists who are members of the CCP or the Communist Youth League also have a bourgeois view on journalism; they, too, should study, examine, criticize, and then reform their view. Doctrinaire views on journalism and the style of the 'eight-legged essay' should also be criticized. These nauseating mistakes are shared by party organs as well, including this paper. They should be criticized in the discussions. In that case, a struggle on the two fronts against both the 'left' and the right in the field of journalism should be waged. Yao Wenyuan's article points out, albeit reservedly, the bourgeois tendencies of the *Wen-hui pao* and sees clearly the harmful tendencies of some people on it to wage a struggle from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. It is a good article and therefore it is reproduced here. We take this opportunity to clarify our views to our professional friends on the *Wen-hui pao* and *Kwang-ming Jih-pao* for their consideration.

Source: *People's Daily*, June 14, 1957.

Letter to Zhou Enlai

July 7, 1957

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

Comment on Class Education with Leaders from Shanghai Motor Power Institute

July 1957

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

Talk at the Enlarged Third Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the CCP⁴⁴¹

October 7, 1957

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

In 1953 at the Finance and Economics Meeting the general line was set forth;⁴⁴² initially we did not dare to propagate it throughout the entire party but instead we first discussed it at the county level. At the end of 1953 it was discussed at the Political Consultative Conference. The Propaganda Department drafted an outline for dissemination of the general line. During these past three and one-half years, we have dealt a severe blow to the bourgeoisie; we have also dealt a blow to the individual economy. Consequently this was reflected in the resolutions of the 8th Party Congress, which said that the con-

⁴⁴¹. Also see *Be Activists in Promoting Revolution, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume V.

⁴⁴². See *The Party's General Line for the Transition Period, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume V.

tradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat had been fundamentally resolved. This statement was not incorrect, but fundamental resolution is not equivalent to complete resolution. Once the problem of political authority was resolved, the problem of ownership was fundamentally resolved, but in the economic and political spheres there was not a complete resolution.

Among the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals, the rightists in the democratic parties, and a portion of the well-to-do middle peasants, there were those who opposed the people while standing among them. At that time this was not seen so clearly, but it was not totally unperceived either (at that time we were still carrying out transformation). At that time they were very submissive and obedient, so we said that there was a fundamental resolution. Today I emphasize this contradiction because they wanted to rebel. At the Qingdao Conference this year⁴⁴³ we saw clearly and pointed out that in the urban and rural areas there was still a struggle between the two roads. As this sort of class struggle has not been eradicated and the rightist elements at this time are wildly advancing, it must be said that there is a primary contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. But strategically the Qingdao documents have said it well; it is all right if those at the meeting know what is primary and what is secondary. We have not talked about this for a long time. If we now add on to it, shaking heaven and earth, it would be bad. Now we must continue with the Qingdao method of expression for three months.

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

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

443. The Qingdao Conference was held in July 1957, it was attended by the secretaries of provincial and municipal party committees. See *The Situation in the Summer of 1957, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume V.

but it could cause squabbling among the workers.

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

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

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

The second road during a prescribed period should not be discussed in the

newspapers, but the struggle between the two roads should continue to be propagandized. Do not add these two characters and avoid stirring up a lot of trouble.

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

Three classes are included among the people: the proletariat, the bourgeoisie, and the petit bourgeoisie. A contradiction exists among these three segments of the people. This contradiction is a contradiction among the people, and it is also a class contradiction. There is a distinction between class contradictions and contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. Generally speaking, a contradiction among the people is non- antagonistic, while a contradiction with the bourgeoisie has an antagonistic side. The central question is the contradictions among the three segments of the people. Among these a portion are covertly antagonistic. The contradiction with Zhang Bojun, for example, was an antagonistic contradiction. In confronting this kind of antagonistic contradiction one should adopt the policy of peeling away the outer skin of a bamboo shoot. Each year peel away a little. This year peel away some of the outer skin, but don't peel it all away. After two years of not propagandizing socialism begin again, and afterwards peel away a little more. The work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*⁴⁴⁴ was not mistaken, but it was not as complete as the Qingdao document. Now the primary problem is not the remnants of feudalism or the remnants of imperialism (the contradiction still exists). Who hasn't said that Hunan seized 7,000 landlords and rich peasants, but suddenly there is a problem when you try to seize one Zhang Bojun. The socialist revolution is a problem for the bourgeoisie and the petit bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals, totaling 30 million including dependents, are a big problem. At most the working class totals 40 million people. The targets of the socialist revolution are the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois intellectuals, and the upper petit bourgeoisie (in the countryside the well-to-do middle peasants). The bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals have leftists, while the great majority are centrists and the right wing accounts for only one or two percent. For more than 90 percent it is a question of education and a question of criticism. While we say that contradictions among the people

⁴⁴⁴. See *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume V.

embrace class struggle, the bourgeoisie still enjoys civil rights. It cannot be said that the socialist revolution is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, but the remnants of imperialist and feudal powers are the allied army of the rightists of the bourgeoisie. Therefore the landlord paper *Ai-wen Hui-pao* is anti-socialist.

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

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

The resolutions of the 8th Party Congress declare that the main contradiction is the contradiction between the advanced social system and the backward productive forces. Speaking reasonably, one cannot speak in that manner. Now there are contradictions, and in the future there will also be contradictions. When cooperatives have all been transformed into state farms which pay out wages there will still be contradictions. Socialism is comprised of two sectors: public ownership and collective ownership. In the future, contradictions will also arise between the two. The socialist system and the productive forces are fundamentally in conformity, but they also have areas where there is not total conformity. There are still shortcomings and it is incorrect to say that there is perfect conformity. When Stalin mentioned perfect conformity (official report, page 14) there arose a problem. The ideology of religion is not in accord with socialism, but we still want to repair temples. Repairing temples is done to achieve the goal of tearing down temples. Why do we say this is by and large in accord? Because it can develop the productive forces. India undertook a five-year plan and increased its steel output by 300,000 tons. We raised our

output by 94 million tons. Our system does not impede the development of the productive forces. After several tens of years the contradiction between the collective and the state-owned sectors will be resolved, but there will still be new contradictions. When we have arrived at communism, we will not need the law of value and we will not need an army, the international environment permitting of course. Marx, Engels, and Lenin never said this sentence, which is in the resolutions of the 8th Party Congress, but there is no harm in it. The meaning is that we must hurriedly develop production, strengthen the material foundation of socialist society; it is only that this was not said clearly. The essence of the stylistic faults is that we have not seriously talked about contradictions. It has drawn comparisons with foreign countries and with the future. It is not necessary to change this sentence now; there is no need to discuss this question now. Lenin said that there is a contradiction between Soviet power and backward technology. We will not talk about this now. Afterwards it will be all right to explain it more clearly. Strictly speaking, it is of course incorrect to say that the socialist system and the productive forces are not in accord. We are a socialist system developing its productive forces. A good many economists say that there is a contradiction between our system and the productive forces and that the productive forces of a socialist system are backward. This sort of talk is bad.

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

No Power on Earth Can Separate Us

November 2, 1957

Dear Comrades Khrushchev, Voroshilov, and Bulganin:

Dear Comrades and Friends:

The anniversary of the October Revolution is a great festival of victory for the Soviet people and for the proletariat, the laboring masses, and all oppressed peoples of the world. The victory won by the Soviet people under the leadership of the great Lenin and the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union forty years ago initiated a new epoch in human history. In the process of forty years of construction, the Soviet Union has made brilliant achievements at an extraordinary speed and in many fields has advanced to the forefront of the

countries of the world, thus setting an outstanding example for the peoples who are striving for progress and happiness. The launching of the first man-made earth satellite by the Soviet Union is no simple feat. It marks the beginning of a new era of man's further conquest of nature.

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

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

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

Glory to the great October Socialist Revolution!

Glory to the great Soviet people and to the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the great friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples!

Long live world peace!

Source: *Extracted from Mao's speech at the Moscow airport, November 2, 1957. (Mao Chu-hsi tsai Su-lien-ti yen-lun, pp. 1-2).*

Speech at Moscow Celebration Meeting⁴⁴⁵

November 6, 1957

Dear Comrades:

On the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, I myself and the other members of the Chinese delegation, representing the National People's Congress and the State Council of the People's Republic of China, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and all the people and Communist Party members of China, have the honor

445. Speech at a joint meeting of the two Soviets of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (namely the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities) in celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

to offer warm fraternal congratulations to the people, government and Communist Party of the great Soviet Union (enthusiastic applause), and to all the comrades and friends present here. (Enthusiastic applause.)

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

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

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

Country which develops its social productive forces at a speed of which the capitalist countries are incapable—and a country which truly practices proletarian internationalism, genuinely opposes national oppression and helps oppressed nations to emancipate themselves. Such a country enjoys the enthusiastic support of all its own people and of the peoples of all other countries in the world. The Soviet Union enjoys these two kinds of support to a degree without parallel in the history of nations.

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

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

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

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

The Soviet Union has been invincible because it is a country in which the socialist system has replaced the capitalist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat has replaced the dictatorship of the exploiting classes — a certain to defeat the bourgeoisie, socialism is certain to defeat capitalism, and the oppressed nations are certain to defeat the imperialists. Of course, difficulties, twists and turns still face the people. But it was well said by Lenin thirty-six years ago: "The important thing is that the ice has been broken, the road is open and the path has been blazed." (Enthusiastic applause.)

The people's revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party has always been a part of the world socialist revolution of the proletariat initiated by the October Revolution. The Chinese revolution has its own national characteris-

tics and it is entirely necessary to take these into consideration. But in our own revolution and socialist construction we have made full use of the rich experience of the Communist Party and the people of the Soviet Union. The Chinese people are fortunate in having the experience of the October Revolution and of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union, which enables them to make fewer mistakes, to avoid many others and to pursue their cause fairly smoothly, although they still face many difficulties.

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

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

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

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

As well as staking their fate on the oppression of the peoples at home and in

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

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

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

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

The US imperialists have tried and are still trying hard to undermine the liberation of the Chinese people. But in the end they could not prevent the six hundred million Chinese people from bravely taking the path of socialism. (Applause.) In the short period of eight years, China has already achieved such results in various fields of construction as it was not able to achieve in the past hundred years. In China, a handful of bourgeois rightists try to oppose taking the path of socialism and oppose the leading position of the Communist Party in national life, and the close alliance between China and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Their vain efforts have been utterly defeated by the counter-attack of the people throughout our country. (Applause.)

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

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

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

Soon after it was founded, the People's Republic of China concluded a Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union. This is a great alliance of two great socialist countries. We share the same destiny and the same life-spring with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp. (Enthusiastic applause.) We regard it as the sacred international obligation of all socialist countries to strengthen the solidarity of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union. (Applause.)

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

Dear comrades, the fact that representatives of the working class and masses

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

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution! (Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.)

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

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

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

Source: *Extracted from the magazine People's China, Beijing, December 1, 1957.*

The East Wind Prevails Over the West Wind

November 17, 1957

...Chairman Mao pointed out first of all that the October Socialist Revolution marks a turning point in world history; the appearance in the heavens of two artificial satellites and the coming to Moscow of delegates from the sixty-four communist and workers' parties to celebrate the holiday of the October Revolution mark a new turning point. The forces of socialism surpass the forces of imperialism. The imperialist forces have a leader, America; our socialist camp must also have a leader, and that leader is the Soviet Union. If we do not have a leader our forces might disintegrate!

Chairman Mao... said it was an event of great significance that the communist and workers' parties of sixty-four countries attended the celebrations of the fortieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution. It showed the solidarity of the socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union, it showed the solidarity of the communists and workers' parties the world over, with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as their center.

Chairman Mao said that the direction of the wind in the world had changed. In the struggle between the socialist and capitalist camps, it was no longer the west wind that prevailed over the East wind, but the East wind that prevailed over the West wind. The whole world now has a population of 2.7 billion, of which the various socialist countries have nearly one billion, the independent former colonial countries more than 700 million, the countries now struggling for independence or for complete independence plus the capitalist countries with neutralist tendencies 600 million, and the imperialist camp only about 400 million, besides which they are also divided internally. Earth quakes are likely to occur over there.

At present, Chairman Mao said, it was not the west wind that was prevailing over the East wind, but the east wind prevailing over the west wind.

Source: *Extracted from Mao's remarks to Chinese students in Moscow, 17 November 1957. (Mao Chu-hsi tasai Su-lien ti yen-lun, pp. 14-15.)*

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