Tsinghua University Introduction to Mao Zedong Thought

1.1.1 Proposal of Sinicization of Marxism

Hello everyone Today let's learn Chapter One Two Major Theoretical Achievements of Sinicization of Marxism First I want to ask you a question the two major theoretical achievements of Sinicization of Marxism what are they respectively? What are they?

Oh yes They are indeed the title of our course Mao Zedong Thought and the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

In its long-time leadership of Chinese revolution construction and reform our party integrated the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions of contemporary China and the features of the times kept sinicizing Marxism and realized two historic leaps What are the two leaps?

The first leap took place during the new democratic revolutionary era and its achievement was Mao Zedong Thought

The second leap occurred after the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Party Central Committee Its achievement is the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics To begin with let's learn the first section the Sinicization of Marxism and its development Let's look at the first question the proposal of "the sinicization of Marxism"

The sinicization of Marxism is substantially the integration of the basic principles of Marxism with the concrete conditions of contemporary China

When it comes to the sinicization of Marxism who will be the first person that comes to your mind? Well that's right Most people will think of Mao Zedong because Mao Zedong is the pioneer of the sinicization of Marxism

In fact before Mao Zedong there were also many revolutionists and ideologists who had some bourgeoning thoughts about the sinicization of Marxism Examples were Sun Yat-sen, Li Dazhao, Chen Duxiu, and Guo Moruo

As we know on December 16th, 1925 Guo Moruo published an article in the seventh issue of the first volume of the journal The Flood which was entitled Karl Marx Entering Confucious' Temple

In this famous "time travel" article Guo Moruo used his rich imagination and humorous expression to make up a scenario where Marx entered Confucius temple and had a conversation with Confucious

It contained some bourgeoning thoughts about the sinicization of Marxism but they were after all in a budding stage

The person who systematically proposed the scientific statement of "the sinicization of Marxism" was Mao Zedong

In October 1938 at the enlarged Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Party, Mao Zedong delivered a political report named On New Stage
The report pointed out that Being Marxists Communists are internationalists but we can put Marxism into practice only when it is integrated with the specific characteristics of our country and acquires a definite rational form.

Any talk about Marxism in isolation from China's characteristics is merely Marxism in the abstract, Marxism in a vacuum. Hence to apply Marxism concretely in China so that its every manifestation has a Chinese character that is to apply Marxism in the light of China's specific characteristics becomes a problem which it is urgent for the whole Party to understand and solve. Foreign stereotypes must be abolished there must be less singing of empty, abstract tunes and dogmatism must be laid to rest. They must be replaced by the fresh, lively Chinese style and spirit which the common people of China love. To separate internationalist content from national form is the practice of those who do not understand the first thing about internationalism. We, on the contrary, must link the two closely.

On March 30th, 1942 in a speech entitled How to Study the History of the Communist Party of China, Mao Zedong pointed out that:

We must apply Marx's, Engels', Lenin's and Stalin's methods to China and create something new. Following general theories without considering China's realities we cannot defeat the enemy. But if applying theory to practice solving China's problems from a Marxist standpoint and creating something new it could work.

1.1.2 Why did Mao Zedong propose Sinicization of Marxism

Let's then look at the second question why did Mao Zedong propose the sinicization of Marxism?

The reason why Mao Zedong proposed to realize the sinicization of Marxism has to do with scientific reflection, both positive and negative, of China's revolutionary practice.

During the first and second Revolutionary Civil Wars, CPC experienced two victories and two failures. Do you know what are they?

The first referred to the victory of the Northern Expedition and the failure of the National Revolution.

The second actually referred to the victory of the Agrarian Revolution War and the failure of the Fifth Counter Encirclement and Suppression Campaign. From these two victories and failures, CPC members deepened their understanding of the law governing Chinese revolution. Especially during the second Revolutionary Civil War our party creatively applied Marxist theories about revolution to China's realities. By creating Chinese workers' and peasants' red army building rural revolutionary bases and workers' and peasants' government and establishing the armed independent regime of workers and peasants, it resisted many encirclements from Kuomintang forces. Even in areas ruled by Kuomintang and under extremely tough conditions we developed the party and other revolutionary organizations and conducted mass revolutionary struggles. All these achievements were made basing on Chinese realities and applying Marxism. However, during the same period the party was not conscious enough to integrate Marxism with China's realities resulting in one Right mistake and three "Left" mistakes. Do you know what are they?

The Right mistake was the Right opportunistic mistake committed by Chen Duxiu at the later stage of the Great Revolution.

The three "Left" mistakes were respectively Qu Qiubai's, Li Lisan's and Wang Ming's "Left" paths.
In particular, the third "Left" path boasted to be "one hundred percent Bolshevik" and to make "CPC more Bolshevik" dogmatized Marxism and sanctified the Communist International's resolutions and the Soviet Union's experience which wreaked great havoc on Chinese revolution Forces in the Red Area were reduced by ninety percent and forces in the White Area were totally damaged Chinese revolution almost reached an impasse Mistakes and frustrations educated our party

In January 1935, after the establishment of Mao Zedong's actual leadership in the party through the Zunyi Meeting our party started to systematically summarize the historical experience of Chinese revolution in theory and provide realistic, complete theory, line, principle and policy for Chinese revolution

In the early stage of Anti-Japanese War once more the party strived to eliminate Right mistakes with regard to the United Front After the Yan'an Rectification Movement the sinicization of Marxism became our party's consensus

The sinicization of Marxism as proposed by Mao Zedong was helpful in eliminating all sorts of "Left" and Right mistakes and fighting for political discourse on China's revolution against dogmatists such as Wang Ming At the Party's Seventh National Congress on behalf of the Party Central Committee, Liu Shaoqi delivered a report about revising the Party Constitution

The report gave a further explanation for "the sinicization of Marxism" Liu Shaoqi pointed out that "Because of the distinctive characteristics of China's social and historical development and its backwardness in science it is a unique and herculean task to apply Marxism systematically to China to transform it from its European form into a Chinese form and thereby to solve the various problems in the contemporary Chinese revolution from the Marxist standpoint and with the Marxist method Many of our problems have never been considered or approached by the world's Marxists Because, unlike the conditions in other countries, in China the main sections of the masses are not workers but peasants and the fight is directed not against domestic capitalism but against foreign imperialist oppression and feudal practices This is a special, tough cause This can never be accomplished as some people seem to think it can by memorizing and reciting Marxist works, or by just quoting from them

It requires a high level of the combination of scientific and revolutionary spirit

It requires profound historical and social knowledge rich experience in guiding the revolutionary struggles and skill in using Marxist-Leninist methods to make an accurate, scientific analysis of social and historical circumstances and development

It further requires boundless and tenacious loyalty to the cause of the proletariat and the people faith in the strength creative power and future of the masses and skill in crystallizing the experience will and ideas of the masses and bringing what is crystallized back to the masses for application Only thus is it possible to make original and brilliant additions to Marxism-Leninism in the light of the historical development of each specific period and the concrete economic and political conditions in China to express Marxism-Leninism in plain language easily understood by the Chinese people to adapt it to the new historical environment and China's special conditions and to make it a weapon in the hands of Chinese proletariat and all working people"

The Seventh Party National Conference passed The Constitution of the Communist Party of China Its General Program stipulated that Mao Zedong Thought which combines Marxist-Leninist theories with China's revolutionary practice is the direction of all work of our party Mao Zedong Thought is the first major theoretical achievement of the sinicization of Marxism
It is "sinicized Marxism"

It should be noted that the process of sinicizing Marxism did not stop at Mao Zedong or the collective leadership of the first generation. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee the party led people in the practice of reform, opening up and modernization continued to promote the sinicization of Marxism established and developed socialism with Chinese characteristics formulated Deng Xiaoping Theory the important thought of Three Represents Scientific Outlook on Development and other important strategic thoughts that are included in the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics After the 18th National Congress of the Party General secretary Xi Jinping made a series of speeches which profoundly answered critical theoretical and practical questions concerning development of both the party and the country under new historic circumstances enriched the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics continuously promoted the sinicization of Marxism

1.1.3 What are scientific connotations of Sinicization of Marxism

Next let's look at the third question what are scientific connotations of the sinicization of Marxism? Above mentioned is the historical process of sinicizing Marxism Then what are scientific connotations of the sinicization of Marxism? To sinicize Marxism is to combine the basic principles of Marxism with China's realities and gradually formulate Marxist theoretical achievements with Chinese characteristics

It also means to apply Marxism in solving China's practical problems and invest it with distinctive Chinese characteristics More specifically the scientific connotations of the sinicization of Marxism include the following three aspects: First the sinicization of Marxism is the embodiment of Marxism in instructing China's practice of revolution, construction and reform Second the sinicization of Marxism is the abstraction of China's practical and historical experience in revolution, construction and reform into Marxist theory Third the sinicization of Marxism is the implantation of Marxism in China's brilliant culture

The theoretical substance of Marxism sinicization can be summarized into "three integrations" First the sinicization of Marxism is the integration of Marxist general principles with China's realities Second the sinicization of Marxism is the integration of Marxist Internationalist content with China's national forms Third the sinicization of Marxism is the integration of using Marxism with developing Marxism While advancing the sinicization of Marxism many misconceptions should be avoided There are so many misconceptions First we must avoid the "dogmatism" of Marxism as well as the "pragmatism" of Marxism

The so-called "dogmatism" just means ignoring specific national conditions and indiscriminately copying theories

The so-called "pragmatism" is using national conditions as a pretext and arbitrarily tailoring and revising theories Both propensities must be guarded against Second we must avoid the "legalism" of Marxism as well as the "confucianism" of Marxism

The so-called "legalism" simply put, is "Marx plus Qin Shi Huang"

The so-called "confucianism" simply put, is "Marx plus Confucius"

The two propensities are both worth contemplating Third we must avoid "Left" mistakes as well as Right mistakes "Left" mistakes usually neglect the country's realities and advance rashly Right mistakes usually stick with the country's realities and become passive and conservative Both mistakes will result in losses and must be avoided
When trying to understand the sinicization of Marxism we also need to clear up some misunderstandings in order to obtain a complete understanding First the subjects conducting the sinicization of Marxism include not only Mao Zedong but also other members of the collective leadership of the first generation including Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De Ren Bishi, Chen Yun, Deng Xiaoping etc. Second the subjects conducting the sinicization of Marxism include not only the collective leadership of the first generation but also the following generations Third the subjects conducting the sinicization of Marxism include not only the party leaders but also intellectuals ordinary cadres common people and other members of society Fourth the object of the sinicization of Marxism is Marxism Here Marxism refers to Marxism in the broad sense It includes not only Marxism established by Marx and Engels but also Leninism Stalin's theory the Soviet Union's experience, the Communist International's instructions, etc. Moreover in revolutionary wartime the object of the sinicization of Marxism mainly referred to the latter

1.1.4 Necessity of Sinicization of Marxism

Next let's look at the fourth question the necessity of the sinicization of Marxism Why is the sinicization of Marxism necessary?

In other words why should Marxism be sinicized I think the reason is twofold First the sinicization of Marxism meets the urgent need to solve China's practical problems As science and truth, Marxism has universal directive significance but its concrete application Engels said "Marx's whole way of thinking is not so much a doctrine" as a method It provides, not so much ready-made dogma as a starting point for further investigation and the method for such investigation" If we really want to use Marxism to guide China's revolution, construction and reform we must realize the sinicization of Marxism Empirical evidence also showed that when Marxism was sinicized China's practical problems would be successfully solved

When the sinicization was not or was incorrectly realized China's practical problems would be difficult to solve That is the first reason Second the sinicization of Marxism is the internal requirement of the development of Marxist theories Only when Marxism is integrated with different countries' specific circumstances can it create ways for its own development This is the inherent meaning of Marxism Lenin once pointed out that Marx's theory "provides only general guiding principles which, in particular, are applied differently in Britain than in France differently in France than in Germany and differently in Germany than in Russia" Therefore Marxists in different countries should relate to their individual country's specific circumstances use and develop Marxism creatively That is the nationalization and localization of Marxism

The sinicization vietnamization, cubanization and so on of Marxism are all specific forms of Marxism rationalization and localization any theory needs to be developed and should be developed in practical application Otherwise it would be drowned in the historical trend Mao Zedong insisted our theory should be regarded as "a branch of Marx-Leninism"

In order to open such a local branch in China Marxism must receive criticism from Chinese masses Only if it suits Chinese people's tastes will Marxism be accepted by Chinese people and will the well-established reputation of Marxism be even better

1.1.5 Possibility of Sinicization of Marxism

Let's then look at the fifth question the possibility of the sinicization of Marxism
When it comes to a proposal we need not only to analyze its necessity but also to analyze its possibility. Then what is the possibility of the sinicization of Marxism? That is to say I think the basic ground for Marxism to be sinicized is that Marxism and traditional Chinese culture have much in common. Traditional Chinese culture has many communist and socialist elements. For example in traditional Chinese culture an ideal society is one that is described in *The Book of Rites*.  

*The Operation of Etiquette* as the "Great Harmony" Can you recite it? "When the great Dao prevailed the world was a common state rulers were elected according to their wisdom and ability and mutual confidence and peace prevailed. Therefore people not only regarded their own parents as parents and their own children as children."

The old people were able to enjoy their old age. The young men were able to employ their talent: the juniors had the elders to look up to and the helpless widows, orphans and cripples and deformed were well taken care of.

The men had their respective occupations and the women had their homes. If the people didn't want to see goods lying about on the ground they did not have to keep them for themselves and if people had too much energy for work they did not have to labour for their own profit. Therefore there was no cunning or intrigue: there was no need to shut one's outer gate. This was the period of Da Tong, or the 'Great Harmony'! This kind of harmonious society and communist society as described in Marxism share some similarity in spiritual essence. Just like Sun Yat-sen believed his People's Livelihood is just socialism or communism or the "Great Harmony" Mao Zedong also wrote in *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship*. Kang Youwei wrote the *Book of Great Harmony* but he did not and would not find a way to achieve the Great Harmony.

We could find this way and the way is the people's democratic dictatorship. Let's look at another example. Marxism and traditional Chinese culture both have "realistic" features. They both focus on this side of the world rather than the other side of the world. One more example: Marxism's materialistic conception of history and traditional Chinese culture's ideas like "when there are adequate stores, the people will know what are decorums are consistent with each other". Yet another example: the Marxist viewpoint about masses and the people oriented thought in traditional Chinese culture share much coherence. Therefore the sinicization of Marxism is like transplanting Marxism and grafting it onto traditional Chinese culture.

The above features of traditional Chinese culture determine that it can be grafted onto Marxism without serious rejection.

1.1.6 Differentiation of Sinicization of Marxism and related concepts

Let's then look at the sixth question: the differentiation of the sinicization of Marxism and related concepts.

We believe that to correctly understand the sinicization of Marxism one needs to differentiate it from related concepts. First, the sinicization of Marxism is not the same as sinicized Marxism.

The former is a historical process whereas the latter is the theoretical achievement of such historical process. Second, the sinicization of Marxism is not the same as the modernization and massification of Marxism.

The essence of the sinicization of Marxism is the nationalization and localization of Marxism. Its key meaning is to combine the basic principles of Marxism with a certain country's specific circumstances.
The modernization of Marxism refers to the combination of Marxism with the time features to make Marxism keep on improving with the times continue to absorb the fresh content of the new era and answer questions of the era in a scientific way Whereas the massification of Marxism refers to the popularization, specification and life-orientation of the basic principles and basic viewpoints of Marxism in order to make it better understood accepted and used by the public Relatively speaking, among the three concepts sinicization mainly focuses on the spacial dimension and modernization mainly focuses on the time dimension while massification mainly emphasizes the subject dimension

The three are different Third the sinicization of Marxism is not the same as the Marxistization of China

The Marxistization of China is to use Marxism in guiding China's revolution, construction and reform changing China's contemporary conditions transforming China and making China Marxistized This is different from the sinicization of Marxism

1.1.7 Relationship between the two major theoretical achievements

Let's then look at the seventh question the relationship between the two major theoretical achievements of the sinicization of Marxism

As we have mentioned before there are two major theoretical achievements of the sinicization of Marxism One is Mao Zedong Thought and the other is the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics Some students might ask why isn't Mao Zedong Thought included in This is also the question of many people in our society

As we know the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics is mainly about theories on socialist reform, construction and development But Mao Zedong Thought covers not only the content on socialist revolution and construction but also theories on new democratic revolution If the former could be included in some sense in the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics then the latter could hardly be included If it has to be included the integrity of Mao Zedong Thought System would be damaged which would also damage the internal coherence of the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics Someone might have the contrary consideration that is to say, why isn't the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics included in Mao Zedong Thought That is because the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics was mainly established after reform and opening-up and it has different theme of the time than Mao Zedong Thought If the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics is included in Mao Zedong Thought it will damage the modernity of the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics as well as the coherence of Mao Zedong Thought in terms of name and content Then What exactly is the relationship between Mao Zedong Thought and I would like to summarize it into the following sentences That is they are both the theoretical achievements of the sinicization of Marxism They come down in one continuous line and keep up with the times First Mao Zedong Thought is an important ideological source of the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics Deng Xiaoping once said "From many aspects but failed to do himself setting right his erroneous opposition to certain things and accomplishing things that he did not do well For a fairly long time from now on we shall continue to do this

Of course we have developed Mao Zedong Thought Second the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics further enriched and developed Mao Zedong Thought under new historical conditions
The Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics keeps pace with the times in comparison to Mao Zedong Thought "Keeping pace" is reflected in some new thoughts new viewpoints, and new assertions Finally Mao Zedong Thought and are both the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China They are the two major theoretical achievements of the sinicization of Marxism They share the same "root"

The "root" is Marxism and Leninism

It is worth noting that are eager to create artificial opposition between Mao Zedong Thought and the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics This is wrong

On January 5th, 2013 Xi Jinping made an important speech, pointing out that "We cannot use the historical period after reform and opening-up to deny the historical period before reform and opening-up Neither can we use the historical period before reform and opening-up This is the important statement of "two no denials" This statement is also applicable to our understanding of the relationship between Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping the relationship between Mao Zedong era and Deng Xiaoping era and the relationship between Mao Zedong Thought and the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics which includes Deng Xiaoping Theory Come to these three relationships first we cannot use Mao Zedong to deny Deng Xiaoping nor can we use Deng Xiaoping to deny Mao Zedong because both of them are giants in the process of the rejuvenation of China Second we cannot use Mao Zedong era to deny Deng Xiaoping era nor can we use Deng Xiaoping era to deny Mao Zedong era because both eras are great historical periods created by Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party of China Finally we cannot use Mao Zedong Thought to deny the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics nor can we use the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics to deny Mao Zedong Thought because both of them are important theoretical achievements of the sinicization of Marxism Both have great, irreplaceable values At present social thoughts are vastly diverse According to people's views on the relationship between Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping we can divide contemporary social thoughts into the following four types

The first type totally supports Mao Zedong Mao Zedong era and Mao Zedong Thought Meanwhile it completely denies Deng Xiaoping Deng Xiaoping era and the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics This thought is classified as ultra-Left or "Left" with quotation marks

We should profoundly re-examine this trend of thought

The second type not only supports Mao Zedong Mao Zedong era and Mao Zedong Thought but also supports Deng Xiaoping Deng Xiaoping era and the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics This thought is classified as Left or Left without quotation marks or revolutionary Left

We should strongly promote such thought

The third type totally denies Mao Zedong Mao Zedong era and Mao Zedong Thought Meanwhile it completely supports Deng Xiaoping Deng Xiaoping era and the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics This thought is classified as Right

We should profoundly re-examine this trend of thought

The fourth type not only totally denies Mao Zedong Mao Zedong era and Mao Zedong Thought but also completely denies Deng Xiaoping Deng Xiaoping era and the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics This thought is classified as ultra-Right
We should firmly oppose such trend of thought. Among those complex types of social thoughts, we must first oppose ultra-Left thought and ultra-Right thought not only opposing the secluded, rigid old path but also opposing the evil path that changes allegiance.

1.2.1 Mao Zedong's three falls and three rises

Next, we are going to learn the second section Mao Zedong Thought. Let's start with the first question Mao Zedong's "three falls and three rises".

When it comes to Mao Zedong Thought, what is the first thing that comes to your mind?

Any idea?

It is Mao Zedong himself that you should first think of because Mao Zedong Thought is primarily created by Mao Zedong himself. Deng Xiaoping's "three falls and three rises" is known to all. Actually, Mao Zedong also experienced "three falls and three rises". But that story is less well-known. After the failure of the 1927 Autumn Harvest Uprising, Mao Zedong led his team up the mountains and moved to rural China where enemy's forces were rather weak. However, the then Central Committee regarded his "stopping Changsha Uprising" as "letting the revolutionary workers retreat" and "fleeing the battlefield". Soon, Mao Zedong was removed from the alternate membership of "the interim Central Political Bureau".

The message was wrongly spread and turned into "removal from party membership". That represented Mao Zedong's "first fall". With the failure of consecutive rebellions, people started to realize that Mao was right. His penalty was consequently revoked. Mao Zedong's situation therefore changed for the better. That was his "first rise".

In June, 1929

The Fourth Red Army convened a Party Congress to elect the front committee secretary. Mao Zedong lost the election and had to leave the Fourth Red Army and work for local government. That constituted his "second fall". Several months later, Zhou Enlai, who was then in charge of the central leadership, made a judgment confirming Mao Zedong's thought on armed independent regime of workers and peasants and on basic principles of building the Red Army. Mao Zedong was thus invited to work in the Fourth Red Army again. That was his "second rise". Due to the fundamental variance with the Central Committee on the path of Chinese revolution, in November, 1931, Mao Zedong was removed from his position as acting secretary of central office in Central Soviet Area and as interim general front committee secretary of the First Red Army. At the Ningdu Meeting in October, 1932, he was removed from military leadership again.

In January, 1934, at the Second Congress of Central Soviet Union, Mao Zedong was deprived of his position as President of Central People's Committee and hence lost his leadership in the government.

In this way, Mao Zedong was deprived of his positions in the party in the army and in the government and demoted to the rank of an "ordinary soldier". Starting from late 1931, this low ebb of life lasted until early 1935, totaling four years.

When Mao Zedong talked with his foreign friends afterwards about this agonizing experience, he said "They blindly believed in an international path in attacking big cities and in foreign political military, organizational and cultural policies."
We opposed those ultra-left policies and insisted on Marxism but we were isolated. My thoughts used to be valued but later they weren't. They disparaged me and spread slurs on me which severely damaged my reputation. At that time I was not visited even by a ghost. I could do nothing but eat, sleep and shit. But fortunately I was alive. That was Mao Zedong's 'third fall'.

In January, 1935 the Zunyi Meeting terminated Wang Ming's Left mistake ruling in the party and established the correct party leadership with Mao Zedong at its core. That was Mao Zedong's 'third rise'. From that time on Mao Zedong hadn't experienced other major ups and downs in his life. Mao Zedong's legendary life of 'three falls and three rises' to some extent reflects the complexity and difficulty in the formation of Mao Zedong Thought and deserves our careful examination. About Mao Zedong there is a widespread myth of 'eighty-three forty-one' that is, Mao Zedong lived for eighty-three years forty-one of which he was in power.

The eighty-three years started with his birth on December 26th, 1893 and ended with his death on September 9th, 1976. His forty-one years as China's leader began with 1935 Zunyi Meeting and concluded with his death in 1976.

In his legendary life of 'eighty-three forty-one' Mao Zedong grew into a great man with a complex personality. Feng Youlan, famous philosopher and historian described Mao Zedong in this way: "He was the center of party, government, and military powers and was regarded as the thought leader. He was the most powerful figure in Chinese history. Over his lifetime he established himself as both 'emperor' and 'teacher' in traditional Chinese culture. Thereby in modern Chinese revolutionary history he made contributions beyond other people's reach as well as mistakes beyond other people's tether. Liang Shuming, referred to as 'the Last Confucianist' also gave his comment on Mao Zedong. He said 'Mao Zedong's character was not single-sided but rather multi-sided.'

In the eighty-three years of his life Mao Zedong made remarkable contributions to the founding of CPC and new China which attracted the world's attention. Proud and ambitious, Mao Zedong also wielded power without constraints either from others or from himself and arbitrarily launched movements to encourage class struggle resulting in the destructive ten-year Cultural Revolution.

When judged from personal attributes, Mao Zedong was an accomplished philosopher, revolutionist, militarist historian, writer, artist and Marxist conversant with Marxism-Leninism. He was also well versed in Chinese classics and Chinese statecraft. Mao Zedong..." Liang Shuming also mentioned repeatedly that Mao Zedong was a great leader. His extraordinary contribution of establishing CPC in this century was beyond the ability of any other individual. His credits were tremendous so were his mistakes both of which were results of his grand status. From Mao Zedong's "three falls and three rises", we can conclude that the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought was not only deeply rooted in historical context and real-world practice but also closely associated with his legendary experience and great personality.

1.2.2 How was Mao Zedong Thought proposed

Let's look at the second question how Mao Zedong Thought was proposed.

The concept of "Mao Zedong Thought" was not something ready-made.

It was gradually formulated in the course of history.

In March, 1941 Mao Zedong's reading secretary Zhang Ruxin once published in the Journal of Communists an article entitled "On Bolshevik Educators."
In this article the concept of "Comrade Mao Zedong's Thought" was used

On July 5th, 1943 Liu Shaoqi published an article mentioning "Comrade Mao Zedong's Thought" and "Comrade Mao Zedong's Thought System"

On the exact same day in memory of the 22nd anniversary of CPC and the 6th anniversary of Anti-Japanese War Wang Jiaxiang published an article entitled The Communist Party of China and the Chinese Road to National Liberation

In this article the specific concept of "Mao Zedong Thought"

On May 14th and 15th, 1945 Liu Shaoqi made a report to the Seventh CPC Congress on changes to the party constitution

The report systematically summarized Mao Zedong Thought for the first time emphasized its position as a guiding principle and underlined the necessity and authoritativeness of it being documented in the party constitution

The Seventh CPC National Congress stipulated that Mao Zedong Thought was CPC's guiding principle However what was Mao Zedong's own take on the concept of "Mao Zedong Thought" His opinion evolved over time

In January, 1949 when Mao Zedong was revising the draft charter of New Democratic Youth League, he suggested that "Mao Zedong Thought", as appeared in the charter, should be changed into "thought that united Marxist-Leninist theory and China's revolutionary practice" and learning and promoting "Mao Zedong Thought" be changed into learning and promoting "Marxism-Leninism"

In March, 1949, at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of CPC Mao Zedong insisted that he should not be equated with Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin He said "if they were on a par it would indicate that China had a way of its own and Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin would be reduced to subordinates which is not acceptable

We invited them to be our masters and we should be apprentices

On September 25th, 1952 Mao Zedong specified that the term of "Mao Zedong Thought" should not be raised together with Marxism-Leninism and should be avoided in publications

In December, 1954 the Department of Publicity of CPC Central Committee drafted an announcement based on an order from the Secretariat of CPC Central Committee

The announcement was named

It went like this "Comrade Mao Zedong prescribed that the term of 'Mao Zedong Thought' should no longer be used in order not to cause severe misunderstandings

We deem it necessary that party comrades who write articles and make reports in the future should follow Comrade Mao Zedong's prescriptions"

When perusing this announcement, Mao Zedong added "When it entails Comrade Mao Zedong in publications and speeches the term 'Comrade Mao Zedong's writings' can be utilized" But why would Mao Zedong do that? Hu Qiaomu offered an explanation afterwards "It had to do with the indifference on the part of the Soviet Communist Party to the concept of Mao Zedong Thought" He said "After we proposed
Mao Zedong Thought the Soviet Communist Party refused to accept it nor did it ever mention Mao Zedong Thought in any Soviet publications

It turned into a taboo

Any CPC document mentioning Mao Zedong Thought would be expurgated before being published Given the Soviet Communist Party's strong objection to the term and our heavy reliance on their assistance we had to contemplate the big picture and maintain a good relationship with the Soviet Communist Party

It was due to such considerations that the term Mao Zedong Thought was deleted from the 'Historic Resolutions' and avoided in the Eighth CPC Congress in 1956" After the implementation of the Reform and Opening-Up policy we gave the concept of "Mao Zedong Thought" a scientific statement and illustration

On October 25th, 1980 Deng Xiaoping pointed out that "Mao Zedong Thought is Marxism-Leninism applied and developed in China" "It is CPC's guiding principle"

When discussing the draft of Resolution on Several Historical Questions for the Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China people were at variance about whether or not Mao Zedong Thought should be included and how it should be defined

On this issue, Deng Xiaoping emphasized that "In the Resolution, the section relating to Mao Zedong Thought cannot be omitted It's not merely a theoretical question that is involved but also and especially a political question of great domestic and international significance If we don't have this section, or if it is badly written it would be better to have no resolution at all" Deng Xiaoping added that "Our party educated an entire generation with Mao Zedong Thought and that is what enabled us to win the revolutionary war and found the People's Republic of China"

On August 21st, 1980 in an interview with Deng Xiaoping, the well-known Italian journalist Fallaci asked "Will Chairman Mao's portrait above Tiananmen Gate always be kept there?" Deng Xiaoping answered in a serious manner "It will always be kept there Portraits of Chairman Mao used to be hung everywhere which was improper and failed to really show respect for Chairman Mao Although Chairman Mao made some mistakes in a certain period he was after all a principal founder of CPC and the People's Republic of China

In evaluating his merits and mistakes we hold that his mistakes were only secondary What he did for the Chinese people can never be erased

In our hearts we Chinese will always cherish him as a founder of our party and our state”

We believe to understand the concept of "Mao Zedong Thought" in a correct way the following points should be borne in mind First of all Mao Zedong Thought consists not only of his own thoughts but also of the collective wisdom of the collective leadership of the first generation including Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De Ren Bishi, Chen Yun, Deng Xiaoping and so on Members of the first generation of the collective leadership all participated in the creation and development of Mao Zedong Thought

Of course the principal creator of Mao Zedong Thought was Mao Zedong himself Second Mao Zedong Thought didn't represent the entirety of Mao Zedong's thinking

The wrong thinking and practice in his later years were not included in Mao Zedong Thought Differentiating between Mao Zedong Thought and his mistakes carries special significance
It enables us to think dialectically about Mao Zedong and his thoughts. And third Mao Zedong Thought is different from Maoism.

The term of "Maoism" was originally proposed as a negative concept by Kuomintang's anti-Communist theorist Ye Qing. Ye Qing was originally named Ren Zhuoxuan and he was a CPC member at the very beginning but later he betrayed the party.

In the winter of 1941 after reading Mao Zedong's On Prolonged War On the New Stage On New Democracy and several other articles in the journal of Anti-Japanese War and Culture published in Chongqing Ye Qing wrote a response to the articles in which he put forward the term of "Maoism". That was the first time that Mao Zedong's name had been used in China to refer to CPC theories.

In Ye Qing's view the so-called "Maoism" was "Chinese Peasantism" or "a replica of Hong Xiuquan's Taiping Heavenly Kingdom". Soon afterwards this concept spread to Yan'an.

In February, 1941 as a rebuttal to Ye Qing Mao Zedong's reading secretary Zhang Ruxin published an article on Liberation Daily in which he offered a brief explanation to "Maoism" and refuted Ye Qing's arguments. Later "Maoism" evolved into a positive concept.

On July 1st, 1942 Deng Tuoh wrote an editorial on the CPC Central Committee Jinchaji branch organ newspaper Jinchaji Daily entitled Learning and Mastering Maoism by All Party Members in Memory of July 1st.

In the year of 1948 President of North China University, Wu Yuzhang, once wanted to make a speech in the opening ceremony and state that "The primary task is to learn Maoism". He invited Zhou Enlai, Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi to discuss the feasibility of this proposal.

In response, Mao Zedong rejected this proposal saying that "it is improper to use the term Maoism. "Students must be called upon to learn the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the experience of Chinese Revolution". Mao Zedong was opposed to himself being equated with Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin and thought that the usage of "Maoism" would give prominence to himself. Thus he objected to this term.

Fourth Mao Zedong Thought is different from the internationally-known concept of "Maoism".

In the year of 1950 Harvard PhD student Schwartz proposed "Maoism" for the first time.

The concept of "Maoism" identified three major points: "Marxist-Leninist belief, the party created according to Leninist principles and pure peasants movement which formed the foundation of the party."

It equated Maoism with Marxism and Leninism.

It was the first time that the international academy had used the leader's surname as a label on CPC's guiding principles. "Maoism" differed from Mao Zedong Thought in two major aspects. First, the term of "Maoism" attached more emphasis to Mao Zedong's own ingenuity, which was different from Mao Zedong Thought - the product of collective wisdom. Second, the term of "Maoism" included not only Mao Zedong's correct thoughts but also the theory and practice in his later years. Therefore we should not mistake Mao Zedong Thought and the internationally known term Maoism for the same thing.

1.2.3 Main content of Mao Zedong Thought

Next, let's look at the third question: the main content of Mao Zedong Thought.
When it comes to Mao Zedong Thought what occurs to you? Some students might come up with the saying "A single spark can start a prairie fire" Some students might think of "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" Some students might remember "Encircling the cities from rural areas" Yet other students might recall the verse "With power and to spare we must pursue the tottering foe, and not ape Hsiang Yu the conqueror seeking idle fame" They are all right But those words all described situations before liberation Therefore what I want to emphasize is that Mao Zedong Thought is not only concerned with democratic revolution but also with socialist revolution and socialist construction It's inappropriate to restrict it to the time period before the founding of new China

The theoretical themes of Mao Zedong Thought include both how to conduct new democratic revolution and how to implement socialist revolution and socialist construction Mao Zedong Thought not only successfully explored the law of China's democratic revolution but also profoundly investigated the rule of socialist revolution and socialist construction

The main content of Mao Zedong Thought can be summarized into the following aspects

The first is theory on new democratic revolution which will be discussed in chapter two

The second is theory on socialist revolution and socialist construction which will be analyzed in chapter three and four

The third is theory on the building of the revolutionary army and military strategy Mao Zedong methodically solved the problem of how to transform a revolutionary army consisting mainly of peasants into one that is proletariat strictly disciplined closely associated with the masses and up to date He also addressed a series of key issues including in the context of China-- a semi-colonial and semi-feudal agricultural country how to launch the people's revolutionary war what strategies and tactics to take and how to strengthen national defense He stipulated that serving the people whole-heartedly is the sole purpose of the people's army He laid it down that the Party commands the gun and not the other way round He formulated the Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention emphasizing the practice of political economic and military democracy and the principles of the unity of officers and soldiers the unity of army and people and the disintegration of the enemy forces He also proposed and summarized a set of policies and methods concerning political work in the army Having said so much I want to ask you a question Who still remembers the content of Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention? Yes

The Three Main Rules of Discipline refer to first obey orders in all your actions second do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses third turn in everything captured

As for the Eight Points for Attention they refer to speak politely pay fairly for what you buy return everything you borrow pay for anything you damage do not hit or swear at people do not damage crops do not take liberties with women do not ill-treat captives totaling eight items Mao Zedong summarized the experience obtained from China's prolonged revolutionary war and systematically proposed the concept of building a people's army put forward the notion of employing the people's army as the main force relying on the masses building rural base areas and waging people's war Raising guerrilla war to the strategic plane he maintained that China's revolutionary war would for a long time rely mainly on guerrillas warfare and mobile warfare of a guerrilla character as main forms of operation He illustrated that as the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves changed and the war progressed an appropriate change in military strategy should be effected He worked out a set of strategies and tactics for the revolutionary army to wage people's war in conditions when the enemy was strong and we were weak These strategies and tactics include fighting a protracted war strategically and campaigns and battles of quick decision turning
strategic inferiority into superiority in campaigns and battles and concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one

During the War of Liberation, he summarized the famous Ten Major Military Principles. Who can enumerate the Ten Major Military Principles? First attack dispersed, isolated enemy forces first attack concentrated, strong enemy forces later Second take small and medium cities and extensive rural areas first take big cities later Third make wiping out the enemy’s effective strength our main objective do not make holding or seizing a city or place our main objective Fourth in every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force encircle the enemy forces completely strive to wipe them out thoroughly and do not let any escape from the net This is what we usually call injuring the enemy's ten fingers is no better than breaking one finger Fifth fight no battle unprepared fight no battle you are not sure of winning make every effort to be well prepared for each battle make every effort to ensure victory in the given set of conditions as between the enemy and ourselves Sixth give full play to our style of fighting, courage in battle no fear of sacrifice no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting Seventh strive to wipe out the enemy through mobile warfare at the same time pay attention to the tactics of positional attack and capture enemy fortified points and cities Eighth with regard to attacking cities resolutely seize all fortified points and cities which are weakly defended Seize at with moderate strength provided circumstances permit

As for strongly defended enemy fortified points and cities wait till conditions are ripe and then take them
Ninth replenish our strength with all the arms and most of the personnel captured from the enemy Our army's main sources of manpower and material are at the front Tenth make good use of the intervals between campaigns to rest, train and consolidate our troops Periods of rest, train and consolidate generally shouldn't be too long and the enemy should so far as possible be permitted no breathing space This is the famous Ten Major Military Principles

The fourth is theory on policy and strategy Mao Zedong incisively elucidated the vital importance of policy and tactics in the revolutionary struggles He pointed out that policy and tactics were the life of the Party and that the Party must formulate its policies in the light of the existing political situation class relations, actual circumstances and the changes in them combining principle and flexibility Based on the accumulation of practical experience he put forward many important thoughts regarding policy and tactics which included First a weak revolutionary force under changing subjective and objective conditions could ultimately defeat a strong reactionary force Second we should despise the enemy strategically and take him seriously tactically Third we should keep our eyes on the main target of struggle and not hit out in all directions Fourth we should differentiate between and disintegrate our enemies and adopt the tactic of making use of contradictions winning over the many opposing the few and crushing our enemies one by one and do so in a reasonable beneficial and moderate way Fifth in areas under reactionary rule we should combine legal and illegal struggle and, organizationally, adopt the policy of assigning picked cadres to work underground Sixth as for members of the defeated reactionary classes and reactionary elements so long as they did not rebel or make trouble we should give them a chance to earn a living and to become working people living by their own labor Seventh the proletariat and its party in order to exercise leadership over their allies must fulfill two conditions one is to lead their followers to in waging resolutely against the common enemy and achieving victories

The other is to bring material benefits to their followers or at least avoid damaging their interests and at the same time give them political education and so on These thoughts regarding policies and strategies concentrated rich experience that the party accumulated during its long-term practice and carried important implications for us to cope with complex international and domestic environments and deal with all kinds of social conflicts in the new period
The fifth is theory on ideological and political work and cultural work Based on basic Marxist views on the relationships between culture, economy and politics Mao Zedong proposed many important ideas of far-reaching and long-term significance For example the theses that ideological and political work is the life-blood of economic and all other work and that it is necessary to unite politics and economics and to unite politics and professional skills and to be both red and expert the policy of development a national scientific and mass culture and of letting a hundred flowers blossom letting a hundred schools of thought contend, making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China and weeding through the old to bring forth the new the thesis that intellectuals have an important role to play in revolution and construction that intellectuals should identify themselves with workers and peasants that they should acquire the proletarian world outlook by studying Marxism-Leninism by studying society and through practical work and so on Mao Zedong pointed out that the question of 'for whom' is fundamental it is a question of principle and stressed that we should serve the people whole-heartedly be highly responsible in revolutionary work wage arduous struggle and fear no sacrifice These thoughts carry great significance until today.

The sixth is theory on party building Mao Zedong's theory on Party building provided a successful solution to the question that in a country where the proletariat was small in number yet strong in combat effectiveness while the peasantry and other sections of the petty bourgeoisie constituted the majority of the population how to build a mass-based Marxist proletarian party Mao Zedong attached special significance to building the Party ideologically and demanded that a Party member should join the Party not only organizationally but also ideologically and replace them with proletarian ideas He pointed out that the style of work which entailed integrating theory with practice forging close links with the masses and practicing self-criticism was the hallmark distinguishing the Chinese Communist Party from all other political parties in China To counter the erroneous "Left" policy of "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" once followed in inner-Party struggle he proposed the correct policy and stressed the need to achieve the objective of clarity in ideological education and unity among comrades in inner-party struggle as a form of ideological education in Marxism-Leninism First on the eve of the founding of the People's Republic and then later in view of the fact that our Party was about to become and then became a party in power leading the whole country he urged time and again the “Two Musts” that the comrades must be taught to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work and that the comrades must be taught to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle He demanded that the entire party should be wary of capitalist erosion and opposed to bureaucracy that estranged them from the masses These crucial thoughts added significantly to Marxist-Leninist party building theory in terms of content and pointed out a correct direction for CPC construction.

The seventh is Mao Zedong's philosophical thoughts Mao Zedong's oppose book Worship On Practice On Contradiction On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People Where Do Correct Thoughts Come From? and other philosophical writing and other compositions He derived profound analysis from summarizing China's experience and lessons in revolution and construction and enriched Marxist philosophy

The article of Where Do Correct Thoughts Come From? has a well-known opening paragraph Can you recite it? Where do correct thoughts come from? Do they fall from the sky? No Are they an inherent part of our mind? No People's correct thoughts can only be derived from social practice which includes production struggle class struggle and scientific experiment That is the opening paragraph of the article

In addition to the above mentioned seven aspects Mao Zedong's ideology also included theory on international strategies and diplomacy and theory on ideological and work methods and so on Last but not least Mao Zedong's poems also served as an important carrier and component of Mao Zedong Thought.
carried great aesthetic values and merited our attention. My favorite poem by Mao Zedong is *Ode to the Plum Blossom--to the Tune of Bu Suan Zi*.

As we all know Lu You, the great writer of Southern Song Dynasty, composed a poem called *Ode to the Plum Blossom--to the Tune of Bu Suan Zi* which went like this: Outside the post-house, beside the broken bridge: Alone, deserted, a flower blooms. Saddened by her solitude in the falling dusk: She is assailed by wind and rain. Let other flowers be envious: She craves not Spring for herself alone. Her petals may be ground in the mud: But her fragrance will endure. However, Mao Zedong's poem "patterned after Lu You's poem but reversed the meaning" His poem went like this: Wind and rain escorted Spring to go. Now spring returns welcomed by flying snow. High on the cliffs are icicles hundred-foot long, there A flower springs up so fair. So fair she is, yet, not so vain.

As to dominate Spring but to say it comes again One day when all flowers bloom in different styles. She stands amid them all and smiles. From this poem, we can fully appreciate Mao Zedong's revolutionary optimism which is lacking in many of the youngsters today. This poem therefore deserves our repeated revision. So among Mao Zedong's poems, which one is your favorite?

### 1.2.4 Living soul of Mao Zedong Thought

Next let's look at the fourth question: the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought.

The Sixth Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of CPC passed *Resolution on Several Historical Questions for the Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China* stating that the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought is the standpoint, opinions, and methods that run throughout Mao Zedong Thought and connect each theoretical component. They comprise three fundamental aspects: seeking truth from facts, the mass line, and independence and self-reliance.

The so-called seeking truth from facts means proceeding from reality in everything one does: linking theory with practice; insisting on testing and developing truth through practice; constantly deepening one's understanding about China's status quo: studying and mastering the objective law of social development; charting a course for revolution and construction that fits China's situation; determining a strategy that transforms China and builds China under the party leadership; realizing the goal of promoting the progress of history; Seeking truth from facts is the party's fundamental ideological line.

The so-called the mass line means everything for the masses; reliance on the masses in everything and from the masses to the masses.

The Party's mass line in all its work has come into being through the systematic application of the Marxist-Leninist principle that the people are the makers of history in all its activities; concentrating the wisdom of the masses; organizing the forces of the masses; overcoming all kinds of difficulties.

The mass line is the party's fundamental work line.

The so-called independence and self-reliance means sticking to independent thinking going our own way firmly uphold national independence, defending national sovereignty, putting the foothold in relying on our own efforts; meanwhile actively seeking foreign assistance; holding international economic and cultural exchanges; and learning all advanced stuff from overseas that may benefit us. Independence and self-reliance is the party's fundamental political principle.
The key to learning Mao Zedong Thought is mastering its living soul. Just as Xin Jinping pointed out, under new circumstances we must stick to and properly use the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought to make CPC a great party and continue to push the great socialist cause with Chinese characteristics forward.

The living soul of Mao Zedong Thought not only contributes to CPC's governance but also carries positive instructions for our own life and career.

In my opinion, in order to succeed, one should first of all seek truth from facts, recognize the truth of life, discover the law of life, and not be deceived by superficial phenomena. Secondly, one must follow the mass line, unite the majority of people rather than focus on several leaders, and the minority of people. Always think about forming cliques and favoring conformists over dissidents, and the last one is independence and self-reliance. That means we should according to one's own characteristics to develop strengths and avoid weaknesses, make unremitting efforts to improve oneself, go our own way rather than imitate others awkwardly and lose one's own individuality.

1.2.5 Historical status of Mao Zedong Thought

Next, let's look at the fifth question: the historical status of Mao Zedong Thought.

The historical status of Mao Zedong Thought can be summarized into three sentences. First, it is the theoretical product of the first historic leap in localizing Marxism. Second, Mao Zedong Thought is the scientific guide of Chinese revolution and construction. Third, Mao Zedong Thought is the valuable spiritual treasury of our party and our people. To obtain a correct view of the historical status of Mao Zedong Thought, involves a scientific judgment of Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought. This question concerns how to treat the party's and the country's history of struggle in the past several decades, concerns the unity of the party, the stability of the country, and the future of CPC and China.

It carries not only important historical implications but also significant practical implications. Mao Zedong devoted his entire life to the cause of the party and the people, but he also made severe mistakes in his later years. After the Cultural Revolution, on the issue of judging Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought, emerged two wrong trends. One was the belief that all of Mao Zedong's decisions and orders must be firmly upheld and always obeyed. The other viewpoint was to use severe faults that Mao Zedong committed in his elderly days as a pretext to deny outright Mao Zedong's historical status and the scientific value and guiding function in Mao Zedong Thought. Neither of the two attitudes differentiated between Mao Zedong Thought, which had stood the test of time and evolved into a scientific theory, and the mistakes that he made when he was old. Mao Zedong made mistakes in his elderly days because he violated the principle of seeking truth from facts which was put forward by himself.

In the course of setting things right, Deng Xiaoping spared great efforts to solve the problem of correctly judging Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought. Under his leadership at the Sixth Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party, the "Historic Resolutions" was passed, giving the historical status of Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought a scientific and fact-based judgment.

The "Historic Resolutions" declared that Mao Zedong was a great Marxist, a great proletarian revolutionary strategist, and theorist.

In founding and building up our party and the Chinese people's liberation army in winning victory for the cause of liberation of the Chinese people in founding of People's Republic of China and he rendered...
indelible meritorious service He made major contributions to the liberation of the oppressed nations of the world and to the progress of mankind Since China's socialist construction was a brand-new cause about how to chart a course that could be for China's status quo, people still lacked systematic understanding

The situation was worsened by complex and grave international dynamics

It is true that in Mao Zedong's later years and especially during the "Cultural Revolution" he made serious mistakes but, if we judge his activities as a whole his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweighed his mistakes His merits are primary and his mistakes secondary CPC insisted that the time-tested scientific theory--Mao Zedong Thought should be separated from Mao Zedong's mistakes committed in his old age which provided direction for us to correctly evaluate the historical status of Mao Zedong Thought completely and precisely understand Mao Zedong Thought and consciously uphold and develop Mao Zedong Thought Deng Xiaoping pointed out that "We will adopt a realistic approach towards the mistakes he made late in life

We will continue to uphold Mao Zedong Thought it is--and will continue to be--a treasured possession of our party and our country" Later in Jiang Zemin's speech at the 100th anniversary of Chairman Mao's birth in Hu Jintao's speech at the 110th anniversary of Chairman Mao's birth and in Xi Jinping's speech at the 120th anniversary of Chairman Mao's birth high accolade was dedicated to Chairman Mao and Mao Zedong Thought It's fair to say that Mao Zedong was not only a giant in the history of CPC but also a giant in the history of modern and contemporary China in the entire history of China and in the history of the world

In February, 1936 Mao Zedong composed

The poem was originally published on November 14th, 1945 in Chongqing on According to Mao Zedong himself the last three verses of the poem were devoted to the proletariat

Of course here we can absolutely use this poem to extol Mao Zedong himself What a scene in the north found A thousand li of the earth is ice-clad aground Ten thousand li of the sky is snow-bound Behold! At both sides of the Great Wall An expanse of whiteness conquers all

In the Yellow River, up and down

The surging waves are gone Like silver snakes the mountains dance Like wax elephants the highlands bounce All try to be higher than heaven even once Come, when the day is fine and bright How you'll be enamored of the beautiful sight To view the land adorned in red and white With so much beauty is the land endowed So many heroes thus in homage bowed Chin Shih-huang and Han Wu-ti Neither was a true literary man Tang Tai-tsung and Sung Tai-tsu Neither was noted for poetry or song Even the Proud Son of Heaven, for a time called Genghis Khan, in his prime Knowing only shooting eagle, over his tent with a bow so bent Alas, all no longer remain For truly great men One should look within this age's ken

1.3.1 Deng Xiaoping's three falls and three rises

Next let's learn the third section The Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics To begin with let's look at the first question Deng Xiaoping's "three falls and three rises"

When it comes to the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics we have to start with Deng Xiaoping because Deng Xiaoping is the founder of the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics
When it comes to Deng Xiaoping what can you think of? Some students might think of "the unbeatable small man" Some students might think of "the steel company" Some students might think of "black cat, white cat" Some students might think of " To cross the river by feeling the stones" Some students might think of "development is the hard truth" Still some students might think of "tale of springtime" Those are all correct

Of course what everyone can think of is Deng Xiaoping's legendary experience "three falls and three rises" Then I want to ask you a question what exactly are the three falls and three rises? At the end of March 1933 interim Central began the campaign to oppose Deng Xiaoping Mao Zeqin Xie Weijun and Gu Bai's so-called "Jiangxi Luoming path" and to blame Deng Xiaoping etc. for executing the so-called "pure defensive path" Due to his strong support for Mao Zedong's correct path, Deng Xiaoping was blamed as "head of Maoists" He was revoked the position of county party committee secretary of Huichang Center and transferred to the position of promotion department minister of Jiangxi province

In May 1933 Deng Xiaoping was again revoked the position of promotion department minister of provincial party committee He received the punishment of serious warning within the party and was sent to remote areas as an inspector

During this period his second wife Jin Weijing also left him That was his "first fall" Later deputy chairman of the Central Military Commission, director of the General Political Department of the Red Army Deng Jiaxiang offered to transfer Deng Xiaoping to the General Political Department

In June 1933 Deng Xiaoping went to Ruijin to assume the office of secretary of the General Political Department of the Red Army and editor of Red Star Newspaper

In October 1934 he participated in the long march of central Red Army At then end of 1934, he assumed the office of central secretary That was Deng Xiaoping's "first rise" At the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution" Deng Xiaoping was regarded as the "second important figure" of "Bourgeoisie command " and was thus overthrown His entire family was involved and delegated to Xinjian county Jiangxi province to be reformed through labor in a truck repair plant That was his "second fall"

In 1973 Deng Xiaoping's position as Vice Premier of the State Council was reinstated At the beginning of 1975 Deng Xiaoping was appointed Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of CPC first Vice Premier of the State Council Vice Chairman and Chief of Staff of the Central Military Commission in charge of daily affairs in the party, government and military system That was his "second rise" At the beginning of 1976 Deng Xiaoping overhauled mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution" which angered Mao Zedong "the Gang of Four" used the opportunity to launch "Criticize Deng Counter Right Overturning Trend" campaign Deng Xiaoping was again struck down That was his "third fall"

In July 1977 before the party's Third Plenary of the Tenth Central Committee Deng Xiaoping came back That was his "third rise"

The experience of "three falls and three rises" was a valuable treasure in life Deng Xiaoping later said "The reason why I could sustain so many blows is that I am an optimist I never become disappointed because I know politics is like the wave in the sea People riding it will sometimes move up and sometimes move down

In 1979

In the state banquet held by President of the United States Carter to welcome Deng Xiaoping Deng Xiaoping said "If for people who stage a comeback in politics there is an Olympic award I am qualified for
the gold medal"

On July 18th, 1981 when meeting famous martial arts novelist Jin Yong Deng Xiaoping said directly and openly "Welcome Mr. Zha

We are already old friends I have read your novel

It is the third time that I have come back Many protagonists in your book went through a series of trials before they made great achievements This is the law of life" Deng Xiaoping liked reading Jin Yong's novels Jin Yong also admired Deng Xiaoping Therefore we could say They were both "fans" for each other or "bidirectional fans" Deng Xiaoping's "three falls and three rises" together with Mao Zedong's "three falls and three rises" will remind people of Mencius' famous saying "When Heaven is about to place a great responsibility on a great man it always first frustrates his spirit and will exhausts his muscles and bones exposes him to starvation and poverty harasses him by troubles and setbacks so as to stimulate his spirit, toughen his nature and enhance his abilities"

We take this course not only to learn political theories but also to learn great people's life stories and exceptional qualities so as to facilitate our own growth and success

In Deng Xiaoping's former residence in Guang'an, Sichuan Guang'an is not Guangyuan There is a five-hundred-character antithetical couplet

The first line of the couplet starts with character "Xiao" and ends with character "Xiao"

The second line of the couplet starts with character "Ping" and ends with character "Ping" Inserting Comrade Xiaoping's name in it this antithetical couplet reflects the author's great originality making it both elegant and authentic This couplet, containing Deng Xiaoping's legendary life experience and crucial contributions is worth learning

The first line of the couplet goes Little things in a macro view Big things in a micro view Success in a vertical and horizontal view Failure in a subjective and objective view Firmly establishing heroic universal view How remarkable and spectacular Having great vision and judgment Attending to numerous affairs Seizing every minute Consulting with all diligence Recalling unusual years in the past Traveling in France and studying in Russia Suffering immense hardships during the Long March Beating wolves in Guiling Vying for state power in central plains Tying up the dragon in Huaihai Catching the turtle in Sichuan valley Paving the way for liberation Making consecutive exceptional accomplishments Resisting various demons Wrongly suffering severe disasters With houses searched, property confiscated, and household registration cancelled Harboring the original intention without any regret How dedicated With pent-up anger Continuing to practice Marxism—Leninism with ambitions strengthened Ten years of great disaster Several falls and rises With heroic qualities never impaired

The entire nation aspiring to good governance Coming back and saving the critical situation Sweeping red sheep and willling to accept orders Redressing injustices and obeying people's opinions Clearing up unjust, false and erroneous cases Lifting remaining stigma Dispelling lingering fear Clarifying confusion amid the ruins Promoting pragmatic spirit Without the accompaniment of small, noisy drums Relying on talent and military strategy Promoting the army's prestige along the frontier Returning my land Recommending virtuous and wise people Worshipping abdication Seizing the throne Denouncing Jiang Qing and Lin Biao Having exemplary conduct and noble character Inspiring future generations Admired as the contemporary giant by the entire world Having handsome appearance Sound morality Stepping on Mount Tai which dwarfs the world That is the first line
The second line goes Talent in normal times Courage during war times Moral integrity when poor Heroic spirit when successful Handsome and talented with great ambitions that parallel the sky So much and so nice Insightful opinions Multiple posts Discriminating between right and wrong Commanding in a composed manner Looking at today's beautiful country Full of talented people Memorizing grief as well as joy to seek perpetual governance Making production contracts in agriculture and fishery Expanding the power of factories and mines Levyng on both taxes and profits Dividing labor between the party and the government Facing the cause of PRC Always expressing ideas Uniting the country Keeping two institutions Signing the treaty to retrieve Hong Kong and Macao News coming suggesting that ambitions will be fulfilled Being sincere Extremely honest Eager to retrieve Taiwan and Penghu Great contribution over twenty centuries Twice the value Admired for talent and wisdom Lifting billions of people out of poverty Reviving China Making the country prosper Making people trust in law Breaking old rules Leaving self-made confines Removing self-made restrictions Eliminating corruption and redressing bias Conquering cutting-edge fields After the establishment of special regions Offering generous support Good news coming consecutively Carving jade Destroy the old and establish the new Importing technology from Europe and America Picking the essence Uniting domestic businessmen

In developing the country Countless families benefitted

The world extolling it as Asian miracle Unparalleled contribution Brilliant right path

The country in peace and prosperity That is the second line This antithetical couplet is very famous I hope you know about it

1.3.2 Formation and development of Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

Let's look at the second question the formation and development of the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

The Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics is the continuation and development of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought

It is the theoretical principle and experience summary that is verified by practice proving the validity of consolidating and developing socialism in China

It is the product of crystallized, collective wisdom of CPC

The Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics was gradually formed and developed against the historical backdrop when peace and development become the theme of our time in the great practice of reform and opening-up and the socialist modernization and on the basis of summarizing our country's historic experience in socialist construction both positive and negative, and new experience after reform and opening-up and learning other socialist countries' success experience and failure lessons

The 1978 Central Working Conference and the party's Third Plenary of the Tenth Central Committee started the new historical period of reform and opening-up Chinese communists, represented mainly by Deng Xiaoping re-established the ideological line of seeking truth from facts shifted the focus of the party and the country to economic construction implemented reform and opening-up and started the new exploration into socialist construction
In 1982 at the 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Deng Xiaoping proposed the major topic of "building a socialism with Chinese characteristics"

In 1987, the 13th National Congress of the Communist Party of China rather systematically stated Theory of Socialism in the Initial Stage for the first time designed the party's basic line in the initial stage of socialism summarized a series of scientific theories and opinions about socialist construction after reform and opening-up which constituted the outline of "Building a Socialism with Chinese Characteristics Theory" At the beginning of 1992 Deng Xiaoping delivered a speech in Southern China explained in great depth the substance of socialism the relationship between socialism and market economy the standard of "three benefits" and a series of crucial issues which greatly liberated people's thoughts

In 1992 the 14th National Congress of the Communist Party of China summarized this series of original thoughts naming it "Comrade Deng Xiaoping's theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics"

In 1997 the 15th National Congress of the Communist Party of China officially used the concept of "Deng Xiaoping Theory" and wrote it in the Party Constitution as the party's guiding thought For the first time, Deng Xiaoping Theory primarily answered how to construct socialism in a economically and culturally backward country like China how to consolidate and develop socialism and a series of fundamental questions in a rather systematic way

It is the pioneering work of the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

In late 1980s and early 1990s East Europe underwent drastic changes

The Soviet Union dissolved Our country experienced severe political turmoil Facing the grave, complex domestic and international situations Chinese communists as mainly represented by Jiang Zemin withstood unprecedented pressure defended the great socialist cause with Chinese characteristics endured the major test of political risks and continued to advance the great socialist cause with Chinese characteristics Jiang Zemin once said he paid continuous attention to two major issues one was to keep strengthening the party's construction and consolidating the party's ruling position under new historical circumstances

The other was to adhere to the party's basic line and accelerate socialist modernization With regard to these two issues, he conducted long-term theoretical contemplation and practical exploration which formed the important thought of Three Represents the important thought of Three Represents used a series of new, closely related and inter-connected thoughts opinions assertions to further answer questions of what was socialism and how to construct socialism creatively answer questions of what kind of party to construct how to construct the party and enrich and develop the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

The 16th National Congress of the Communist Party of China wrote the important thought of Three Represents in the Party Constitution realizing another timely update of the party's guiding thought

In the new century the Party Central Committee with Hu Jintao at core led the whole party and people of all ethnicities in advancing the socialist cause with Chinese characteristics

In this historical process it profoundly answered questions concerning our country's socialist economic construction political construction cultural construction social construction ecological civilization construction and other critical issues in the party's construction thereby proposing the Scientific Outlook on Development
The 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China included it as a guiding thought that the party must stick to in the long run and wrote it in the Party Constitution. Since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, President Xi Jinping concentrated wisdom of the entire party focused on reform, development, stability domestic affairs, foreign affairs, national defense party governance, state governance and military governance gave a series of new explanations proposed many insightful new thoughts new opinions new assertions and new demands profoundly answered under the new historical circumstance the critical theoretical and practical questions concerning the party's and the country's development formulated a series of latest results enriched and developed the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics further deepened our party's understanding of the law governing socialism with Chinese characteristics and the law governing construction by the Marxist ruling party and provided basic rules that we should abide by at the new historical starting point in order to achieve new goals.

### 1.3.3 SWCC Naming Convention

Next let's look at the third question why are Deng Xiaoping Theory the important thought of Three Represents and the Scientific Outlook on Development together called the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics?

The reasons are as follows: First they all use Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as guidance use socialism with Chinese characteristics as theme stick to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts use the fundamental reality of socialism in the initial stage as the basis for argument and regard realizing protecting and developing fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of people as the starting point and foothold. Second they all pay attention to summarizing new experience of reform and opening-up in different periods at different stages pay attention to exploring and answering new conflicts and new problems encountered in different periods and at different stages and make original contributions in terms of theoretical innovation and theoretical development respectively. Third they are interconnected as well as progressive reflecting the internal unity of periodicity and systematicity in the party's theoretical innovation results since reform and opening-up. Fourth their themes are all closely related to "what is socialism with Chinese characteristics how to construct socialism with Chinese characteristics".

### 1.3.4 What are the three major questions in the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

Next let's look at the fourth question in the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics. What are the three major questions? I want to ask all of you what are their three major questions?

As we know the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics is the theoretical achievement of the sinicization of Marxism after the second historical leap.

It is the thought basis for people of the entire party and entire country to unite and struggle.

It is the fundamental indicator for realizing the Chinese dream of China's rejuvenation. To construct and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics the most fundamental thing is to clearly recognize and scientifically answer three major questions that is what is socialism how to construct socialism what kind of party to construct how to construct the party what kind of development to achieve and how to develop. These three major questions are the theme of the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics.
The level of recognition and grasp of the three major questions determines the level of innovation diversity and profundity of socialist practice and theory with Chinese characteristics.

The Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics is closely centered around exploring and answering these three major problems From practice to theory, it conducted productive innovation.

It used a series of closely related interconnected new thoughts new opinions and new assertions to deepen and enrich the law of CPC governance the law of socialist construction and the law of human societies' development.

As for what exactly the three laws are it is a question that requires your continuous exploration as well as the continuous exploration on the part of our party There is a summary widespread in our society today People think Deng Xiaoping Theory answers the first major question that is, what is socialism how to construct socialism the important thought of Three Represents answers the second major question that is, what kind of party to construct how to construct the party.

The Scientific Outlook on Development answers the third major question that is, what kind of development to achieve how to develop Strictly speaking this kind of correspondence is incorrect Deng Xiaoping Theory mainly answers the first major question but it also answers the second and the third major questions the important thought of Three Represents mainly answers the second question but it also answers the first and the third major questions.

The Scientific Outlook on Development mainly answers the third major question but it also answers the first and the second questions That is to say these three theories all provide answers to the three major questions Above mentioned is the theme of the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics.

As for the major content of the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics it will appear in the 5th to the 12th chapter.

We will not repeat it here.

1.3.5 Correctly understand the concept of Socialism with Chinese characteristics

Next let's look at the fifth question correctly understand the concept of "socialism with Chinese characteristics" Socialism with Chinese characteristics is a well-known concept About this concept we should obtain a correct understanding First the formation of the concept "socialism with Chinese characteristics" had a long history which can be summarized as follows.

In the 1980s it was usually expressed as "You Zhong Guo Te Se De She Hui Zhu Yi" altogether ten Chinese characters.

In the 1990s it was expressed as "You Zhong Guo Te Se She Hui Zhu Yi" nine Chinese characters in total.

In the 21st century it was directly expressed as "Zhong Guo Te Se She Hui Zhu Yi" eight characters in total From ten characters to eight characters the expression became more condensed the title became more standardized and the theory became more profound and mature Second socialism with Chinese characteristics is a great banner.

It is the unity of path and theoretical system.
The 17th National Congress pointed out that to hold up the great banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics what is the most fundamental is to stick to the socialist path with Chinese characteristics and the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics

The socialist path with Chinese characteristics is to follow the leadership of CPC base upon basic national reality center around economic construction stick to the four cardinal principles stick to reform and opening up emancipate and develop social production force consolidate and ameliorate socialist institutions construct socialist market economy socialist democratic politics socialist advanced culture socialist harmonious society and build prosperous, democratic, civilized and harmonious modernized socialist country

The Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics including Deng Xiaoping Theory the important thought of Three Represents and the Scientific Outlook on Development and other important strategic thoughts is a scientific theoretical system Third socialism with Chinese characteristics is the unity of path institution and theoretical system Report at the 18th National Congress pointed out that the socialist path with Chinese characteristics is the realizing channel

The Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics is the action guide Socialist institutions with Chinese characteristics is the fundamental guarantee

The three are united in the great practice of socialism with Chinese characteristics Path and theoretical system have been mentioned before Now we only talk about institutions Socialist institutions with Chinese characteristics refer to the fundamental political system of the People 's Congress System system of multiparty cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of CPC system of regional national autonomy and system of community level self-governance and other basic political systems the legal system of socialism with Chinese characteristics the basic economic system of keeping public ownership as the mainstay of economy and allowing diverse forms of ownership to develop side by side and the economic system the political system the cultural system the social system and various specific systems that are built on the basis of these institutions Fourth socialism with Chinese characteristics is in fact "socialist construction path with Chinese characteristics"

The key to it is "going our own way constructing socialism from China's realities"

It is improper to understand socialism with Chinese characteristics as its name suggests "to construct socialism, China must have its own characteristics" To construct based on national realities we will highlight our characteristics in some aspects whereas downplay our characteristics in other aspects both of which are normal "With characteristics" should not be the starting point for China to construct socialism Nor should it be its foothold

The problem before reform did not lie in the lack of characteristics but rather in the transcendence of national realities

The achievement after reform did not lie in the presence of characteristics but rather the integration with China's basic realities Fifth many people often mix socialism with Chinese characteristics with "Chinese characteristics" which is wrong "Socialism with Chinese characteristics" is a particular category with its special meaning

We cannot infer its meaning from its name "Chinese characteristics" refer to some phenomena practice and logic unique to or often happen in China which usually carry negative connotations
We cannot dismiss "Chinese characteristics" as dustbin and throw anything queer in it.

We cannot dismiss "Chinese characteristics" as fig leaf and use it as a pretext for leaving various social problems long unresolved Nor can we dismiss "Chinese characteristics" as shield and use it to resist and repel mainstream civilizations Sixth "socialism with Chinese characteristics" is not the same as "Chinese style socialism"

The former has its particular extensions referring to the socialist construction path after reform and opening up whereas extensions of the latter not only include the socialist construction path after reform and opening up but also include the socialist construction path during Mao Zedong era.

The socialist construction path in Mao Zedong era had characteristics different from those in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries Therefore it could also be called Chinese style socialist construction path Seventh socialism with Chinese characteristics has multiple frames of reference.

The first are former Soviet Union countries.

The second are transition countries in the Soviet Union and East Europe.

The third are democratic socialist countries in North Europe.

The fourth are present socialist countries.

The fifth is China in the Mao Zedong era.

In different frames of reference socialism with Chinese characteristics would demonstrate different characteristics Eighth "socialism with Chinese characteristics" is both an ethnic concept and a historical concept.

It is both a horizontal comparative concept as well as a vertical comparative concept.

It is both a spatial concept as well as a time concept Ninth the concept of "socialism with Chinese characteristics" gives consideration to both socialist basic principles and China's basic realities.

It gives consideration to history since the foundation of new China and realities after reform and opening-up.

It also gives consideration to appeals of people with different inclinations.

It is therefore a brilliant concept that can be accepted by all parties in the society which deserves to be long cherished Tenth socialism with Chinese characteristics is different from classic socialism.

It is also different from classic capitalism and modified capitalism.

It is essentially part of the socialist category Just as report at the 17th National Congress pointed out in contemporary China sticking to the socialist path with Chinese characteristics is truly sticking to socialism Sticking to the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics is truly sticking to Marxism.

1.4.1 How is the ideological line of seeking truth from facts formed.

Next let's learn the fourth section the ideological line of seeking truth from facts To begin with let's look at the first question how is the ideological line of seeking truth from facts formed? I want to ask you what is an ideological line?
The ideological line is sometimes called the cognitive line

It refers to the direction channel principle and method that people follow in their cognition. A political party's ideological line refers to the cognitive line that the party identifies as its own guidance in thought and action. CPC's ideological line is the ideological line of seeking truth from facts. Then how was the ideological line of seeking truth from facts formed and developed?

On June 14th, 1929, Mao Zedong wrote a letter to Lin Biao.

In this letter for the first time in CPC history, Mao Zedong proposed the concept of "the ideological line" and elevated various conflicts in the party at that time to the level of worldview and methodology.

In 1930, Mao Zedong pointed out in the article Oppose Book Worship, Book worship "is totally wrong.

It is anything but the ideological line that Communists used during struggle to create new situations." This statement defined from the opposite side the basic meaning of Communist's ideological line. Here, "from struggle" meant starting from the reality rather than from subjective imagination and preventing book worship. "Creating new situations" meant avoiding plagiarism and advocating innovation. What Mao Zedong described as "book worship" was actually "dogmatism" that emerged later. About the article Oppose Book Worship, there is yet another story.

As we know, Mao Zedong wrote many articles in his lifetime, but many were lost before the founding of new China, especially those written during the Chingkang Mountains period. Some are still missing until today. At the Guangzhou Meeting in March 1961, Mao Zedong talked about missing articles in particular. He said "The loss of other articles did not make me sad. Nor did I remember. There were two articles that I would always remember.

When I suddenly found one, I got very happy." The two articles mentioned here were Research Work and Oppose Book Worship. Both articles were written in 1930.

As Mao Zedong recalled "Before writing Research Work, I wrote another essay named Oppose Book Worship.

It is missing now. Research Work was recently retrieved." However, we also know that various editions of Mao Zedong's writing that were published after 1964 all included an article named Oppose Book Worship. What happened then? Actually, the lithographed edition of Research Work was later discovered by a farmer in Shanghang, Fujian, and in February 1957, the farmer offered it to the party history office in Longyan, Fujian.

In August 1959, it was mailed to Beijing by Longyan Bureau of Culture and Education and stored in Central Revolutionary Museum.

In January 1961, after Mao Zedong's secretary Tian Jiaying heard about this, he borrowed this copy and handed it to Mao Zedong.

In March 1961, before the article was published, Mao Zedong changed its name to On Research Work.

In 1964, this article was taken into a species of Works of Mao Zedong. Mao Zedong changed the name of On Research Work into Oppose Book Worship.
The composition time was set in May 1930 Afterwards the 1986 version of Selection of Mao Zedong's Works and the 1991 version of Selected Works of Mao Zedong second edition both used this name and included this article That is to say the article of Oppose Book Worship as we see it today is not the original version of Oppose Book Worship that Mao Zedong composed in 1930 but rather the article of Research Work with its name changed

The original version of Oppose Book Worship is still missing today Who can find it? After hearing this story let's continue to learn the formation of the ideological line of seeking truth from facts

The phrase "seeking truth from facts" came from The Book of Han-Biography of Hejian Xianwang

The biography described Liu De as "studying history, having an inquiring attitude, seeking truth from facts" Later scholar of Tang Dynasty Yan Shigu defined "seeking truth from facts" as "facts must be identified in order to find truth" and extended to a practical style of study

In 1938 at the party's Sixth Plenary of the Sixth Central Committee, Mao Zedong proposed the concept of "the sinicization of Marxism" and use the statement of "seeking truths from facts" in our traditional culture to promote the scientific attitude of combining Marxism with China's realities He pointed out that "Communist party members should set an example of seeking truth from facts" "because only if seeking truth from facts can they fulfill the appointed tasks"

In order to unify thoughts in the entire party and lay an ideological basis for formulating the general line of new democratic revolution during Yan'an Rectification, Mao Zedong from the perspective of the ideological line systematically explained the significance of seeking truth from facts and defined the scientific meaning of seeking truth from facts

In the article of Transforming Our Study, he said "'Facts' are all the things that exist objectively 'truth' means their internal relations that is, the laws governing them 'to seek' means to study

We should proceed from the actual conditions inside and outside the country the province the county the district and derive from them laws which are inherent in them and not imaginary That is, we should find the internal relations of the events occurring around us as our guide to action And in order to do that we must rely not on subjective imagination not on momentary enthusiasm not on lifeless books but on facts that exist objectively

We must appropriate the material in detail and guided by the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and draw correct conclusions from it Such conclusions are not mere lists of phenomena in ABCD order or writings full of platitudes but are scientific conclusions Such an attitude is one of seeking truth from facts and not of currying favor by claptrap

It is the manifestation of party spirit the Marxist-Leninist style of uniting theory and practice

It is the attitude that every Communist party member should have at the very least He who adopts this attitude will be neither 'top-heavy, thin-stemmed and shallow of root' nor 'sharp-tongued, thick-skinned and hollow inside'" Here Mao Zedong emphasized seeking truth from facts from the level of party spirit Afterwards he inscribed for Party School of the CPC Central Committee "seeking truth from facts" as its school motto After Yan'an Rectification and the party's Seventh National Congress the ideological line of seeking truth from facts was established in the entire party By the way apart from Party School of the CPC Central Committee many other schools use seeking truth from facts as their motto For example former Peiyang University that is, today's Tianjin University Another example is Renmin University of China

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Besides Hunan public Industrial School moved to Yuelu Academy in 1917 Its school motto is also "seeking truth from facts"

We know that Mao Zedong lived in Yuelu Academy in 1918 Therefore some people guess Mao Zedong's emphasis on seeking truth from facts had to do with his experience at Yuelu Academy Whether or not there is such a relationship you can look it up

1.4.2 What is the scientific connotation of the ideological line of seeking truth from facts

Next let's look at the second question what is the scientific connotation of the ideological line of seeking truth from facts? What is the ideological line of seeking truth from facts?

The Party Constitution clearly stated that "The party's ideological line is to proceed from reality in handling all matters to integrate theory with practice to seek truth from facts and to verify and develop the truth through practice" There are four key points to this ideological line that need explanation one by one First "to proceed from reality in handling all matters" means "to view problems not from the abstract definition but from objective facts And to find direction policy and solution by analyzing these facts" because real objects are concrete whereas books and principles are the products of abstracting real objects and cannot be used as the starting point for research and decision

The starting point must be objective facts Engels pointed out that "Principle is not the starting point for research but its final result These principles are not applied to the Nature and human history but abstracted from them

It is not the Nature and human beings that should adapt to principles but rather principles, only if they suit the Nature and historical circumstances, are correct" Second "to integrate theory with practice" means to be good at applying Marxist standpoint opinion and method to conduct careful research into Chinese history and reality and to make theoretical innovations in all aspects that meet China's needs Mao Zedong used to compare this "integration" to "You Di Fang Shi" (shooting the arrow at the target) not "You De Fang Shi" (shooting the arrow at the target) He said "'Shi' means arrow 'Di' means target

We should shoot the arrow at the target

The relationship between Marxism and Chinese revolution is the relationship between arrow and target" Third "to verify and develop the truth through practice" means based on the result of social practice one can identify the truthfulness of cognition or theory rather than based on subject feelings Practice is the sole criterion for testing truth and sole criterion for testing the party line direction and policy

Of course describing it as the sole criterion means in the final analysis Fourth "to seek truth from facts"

It is the substance and core of the party's ideological line Internally, seeking truth from facts includes to proceed from reality in handling all matters to integrate theory with practice to verify and develop the truth through practice and other content To proceed from reality in handling all matters is the premise and basis for the ideological line of seeking truth from facts To integrate theory with practice is the fundamental channel and method for the ideological line of seeking truth from facts To verify and develop the truth through practice is the testing condition and goal of the ideological line of seeking truth from facts

In different periods according to different practical environments and specific tasks based on prominent problems occurring in implementing the ideological line the party separately emphasizes liberating
thoughts keeping pace with times staying truthful and pragmatic and so on Its goal and end are seeking truth from facts

It is because the substance and core of the party's ideological line is seeking truth from facts

We always briefly summarize the party's ideological line into "seeking truth from facts" and abbreviate the party's ideological line into "the ideological line of seeking truth from facts" Above is the scientific connotation of the ideological line of seeking truth from facts

In reality we must oppose the vulgarization and distortion of the ideological line avoid "to proceed from reality in handling all matters" being vulgarized as "to proceed from benefits in handling all matters" avoid "to integrate theory with practice" being vulgarized as "to integrate theory with benefits" and avoid "to verify and develop the truth through practice" being vulgarized as "to verify and develop the truth through benefits"

In addition seeking truth from facts has other positive manifestations and expressions in reality Deng Xiaoping's "group of seeking truth from facts" is an example

On March 3rd, 1987 Deng Xiaoping in the speech of China can only take the socialist path pointed out that "Some foreigners used to view me as a reformist and view others as the conservative I am a reformist

It is correct If you say that sticking to the Four Cardinal Principles is conservative Then I am a conservative Therefore it is rather correct to say I am a member of the seeking-truth-from-facts group"

On July 4th, 1987 Deng Xiaoping in the speech of The Two Basic Points of Our Country's Policies mentioned again "I am a member of the seeking-truth-from-facts group I stick to reform, opening up the party's leadership and the socialist path" Another example is Chen Yun's "worship not books, not authorities, only facts" is another manifestation of seeking truth from facts Yet another example involves the Daqing spirit of "San Lao Si Yan Do you know what "San Lao Si Yan" is?

The so-called "san lao si yan" refers to "when treating the revolutionary cause one should behave honestly speak honestly and do things honestly

When treating work one should have strict requirements tight organizations serious attitudes and firm disciplines" "San Lao Si Yan" is also a reflection of seeking truth from facts

1.4.3 What is difficult about seeking truth from facts

Next let's look at the third question what is difficult about seeking truth from facts? Seeking truth from facts is not only the core of CPC's ideological line but also the essence of the theoretical achievement of Marxism sinicization

We can say that seeking truth from facts is undoubtedly a good thing few people will oppose it However why is it hard to seek truth from facts in practice? You can think about it I think the reasons are as follows First people's cognitive abilities are limited but the external world we face is far too complex Therefore it is usually hard to seek truth from facts

As The Analects goes "There were four things from which the Confucius was entirely free. He had no foregone conclusions, no arbitrary predeterminations, no obstinacy, and no egoism." which reminds people that when understanding the world we cannot depend on pure imagination we cannot set purpose first we cannot stubbornly adhere to our own opinions and we cannot be self-righteous But in reality people usually
make such mistakes Thus it is difficult to identify the true colors of facts Second when understanding the external world, people are usually faced with many traps These traps make it hard for people to seek truth from facts British philosopher Bacon proposed the theory of "Four Idols"

The so-called idol refers to bias that severely prevents people from forming correct understanding about the objective world Bacon classified idols into four types

The first type is "idols of the tribe"
It is cognitive mistake caused by human nature

The second type is "idols of the cave"
It is cognitive partiality caused by people's personalities hobbies education and environment

The third type is "idols of the marketplace"
It is confusion of thinking caused by the uncertainty in the language concept when people interact

The fourth type is "idols of the theater"
It refers to the mistaken cognition caused by blindly worshiping authority and convention These idols are all traps in people's cognition which make it difficult for people to seek truth from facts Third revealing truth is a long process but people usually do not have time or patience Therefore it is difficult to seek truth from facts Bai Juyi, great poet of Tang Dynasty, wrote a poet called Unrestrained Speech which went like this To give you a method to determine suspicion Without drilling tortoise and wishing me Testing over three days to burn jade Identifying material is subject to a period of seven years

The Duke of Zhou feared rumors Wang Mang were humble before usurping If the original body died Who knows whether the life is authentic or not This poem indeed fully demonstrates that seeking truth from facts must sustain the test of history and time Fourth due to the lack of relevant institutional environment people who seek truth from facts often pay heavy prices deterring others from seeking truth from facts

In 1957 when Wu Lengxi was transferred from Xinhua News Agency to People's Daily Chairman Mao talked with him saying "You work for People's Daily You must be fully prepared mentally prepare for the worst situation and have the "Five No Fears" spirit

The "Five No Fears" refer to One, fear not revocation of position Two, fear not removal from party membership Three, fear not divorce from wife Four, fear not imprisonment Five, fear not death Having made such preparations you will be bold enough to seek truth from facts and stick to the truth" At the general assembly attended by seven thousand people at the beginning of 1962 Liu Shaoqi also mentioned "Five No Fears" He said to seek truth from facts one also needs courage what kind of courage is needed? "Five No Fears" Fear not revocation of position Fear not removal of party membership Fear not divorce from wife Fear not imprisonment Fear not death

When it came to fearing not divorce from wife Mao Zedong added humorously "This is addressed to men For women, it should be fear not divorce from husband" Liu Shaoqi continued "Having the "Five No Fears" what else is there to be feared of?"

In other words to seek truth from facts one must be mentally prepared with "Five No Fears" Maybe a minority of people, with the aim of finding truth telling truth seeking truth, can be fearless of those five
things but most people do not have such courage and qualifications. Therefore seeking truth from facts is difficult. Fifth due to the existence of overambition for great achievements, anxiety for success, and other impatient states of mind, seeking truth from facts is not easy. With the anxiety for success, people invariably take possibility as feasibility, take subjective initiative as objective regularity, take fine wishes as actual facts, and therefore turn hot-headed seek honors, take insults and cannot help doing harm. About this situation I have composed a poem a doggerel named Seeking Truth from Facts.

The poem goes like this: Why is it hard to seek truth from facts?

The royal road to fame bedazzles people's eyes. Stay down-to-earth and avoid the utilitarian attitude.

Seeking truth from facts will not be difficult. I hope this doggerel can help you understand this issue.

In summary, as long as we continue to learn and keep improving our cognitive abilities, improve our understanding of the complex, changing world, correct our attitude, stay patient and create an environment where people dare to tell truth and seek truth. The theory of seeking truth from facts will be turned into reality and changed from ideological line into political practice.

2.1.1 Analysis of the concept semi-colonial and semi-feudal society

Hello everyone. Today let's learn chapter two The New Democratic Revolution Theory.

The New Democratic Revolution Theory is a scientific theory system about a series of key issues in Chinese revolution as well as a major component of Mao Zedong Thought. To start with, I want to ask you a few questions. First, why did revolution take place in modern Chinese society? Second, after the old democratic revolution, why was there a need to carry out the new democratic revolution? Third, what was new about the new democratic revolution? Fourth, why could the new democratic revolution be a success? Let's start with these questions. First of all, we are going to learn the first section of the formation background of the New Democratic Revolution Theory. Let's start with the first question analysis of the concept "semi-colonial and semi-feudal society".

In December, 1939,

In the article The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China, Mao Zedong pointed out that only when we grasp the nature of Chinese society will we be able clearly to understand the target, tasks, motive forces, and character of the Chinese revolution and its perspectives and future transition. Therefore, a clear understanding of the nature of Chinese society is of Chinese conditions, is the key to a clear understanding of all the problems of the revolution. So, what are the fundamental realities of modern China?

The fact that China was reduced to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society is the fundamental reality. This fact is abbreviated as "two semi-" society.

The so-called "semi-colonial and semi-feudal society" is a well-known concept. From junior high school to senior high school, from middle school to college, we became quite familiar with this concept, but what is familiarly known may not be properly known now. I want to ask you a few questions. First, what is the other side of "semi-colonial"? Some people may say semi-feudal semi-colonial corresponds to semi-feudal, and semi-feudal corresponds to semi-colonial. Is that right? Indeed, it is wrong. Semi-colonial and semi-feudal are not comparable because "semi-colonial" refers to China's international status. However, "semi-feudal" refers to the nature of China's domestic society.

The two are not on the same level, so they are not comparable.
In this case what is the other side of "semi-colonial"?

The answer is "semi-independent" semi-independent and semi-colonial are corresponding to each other constituting the international status of modern China Modern China is a semi-colonial society rather than a completely colonized society

It can also be described as a semi-independent society Thus we can also say in terms of international status, modern China is a "semi-colonial and semi-independent society"

We should be wary that "semi" does not mean "half" or "fifty percent" but "quasi" To describe modern China as a "semi-colonial and semi-feudal society" is to regard it as a "quasi-colonial and quasi-independent society" That is the first question Second what is the other side of "semi-feudal"?

The answer of course is not semi-colonial Then what is it?

It is in fact "semi-capitalist" semi-feudal and semi-capitalist correspond to each other constituting the social nature of modern China Modern China is not a completely feudal society nor is it a completely capitalist society

It is indeed a "semi-feudal and semi-capitalist society" that is it is a "quasi-feudal and quasi-capitalist society" That is the second question Let's look at the third question now that the other side of semi-colonial is semi-independent then why do we call "semi-colonial society" rather than "semi-independent society"? What is the reason?

The reason is that in modern China semi-colonial and semi-independent are in contradiction the major aspect of the contradiction lies in semi-colonial rather than semi-independent

When it comes to this issue there has always been much controversy For example after the 1925 "May 30th Massacre" Chen Duxiu debated with Hu Shi about this issue Chen Duxiu asked "Shizhi, don't you even acknowledge imperialism?" Hu Shi did not acknowledge the existence of imperialist invasion He poked the floor several times with his walking stick making a "tuk tuk" sound and interrogated Chen Duxiu:"Zhongfu where on earth is imperialism! Where on earth is imperialism! Hu Shi was actually exonerating imperialist countries from their crimes of invading China

In fact imperialism not only existed but also inflicted serious harm on the Chinese nation For evidence on need look no further than Old Summer Palace relics located right outside the west gate of Tsinghua University You may take some time to have a look Fourth now that the other side of semi-feudal is semi-capitalist then why don't we call "semi-feudal society" "semi-capitalist society" instead? This is because in modern China semi-feudal and semi-capitalist are in contradiction and the major aspect of the contradiction lies in semi-feudal rather than semi-capitalist

On this issue this has also been much controversy For example prior to the Kuomintang-Communist cooperation in 1920 USSR leaders Stalin and Trotsky had a disagreement over this issue Stalin's followers thought of China as a "feudal" and "semi-feudal society" However, Trotsky's followers regarded China as a "capitalist society" Stalin's followers insisted that Chinese revolution should fight against feudalism and carry out bourgeois democratic revolution Therefore they supported Kuomintang-Communist cooperation However, Trotsky's followers claimed that Chinese revolution should fight against capitalism and carry out proletarian revolution Therefore they opposed Kuomintang-Communist revolution
In fact feudalism was deeply rooted in modern China and in comparison, capitalism had only a shaky foundation. Thus anti-feudalism was much more difficult than anti-capitalism and hence much more important. About this issue setting everything else aside one need only take a rough look at the history of the "Cultural Revolution" it will become quite clear.

On May 24th, 1980 when talking with Deng Xiaoping, Li Weihan said feudalism including its thinking patterns, customs, and habits spreads quite widely in our country and in our party which constitutes a serious problem.

The "Cultural Revolution" was an exact reflection of this serious problem. Because Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four" used feudalism to oppose the so-called capitalism.

The so-called pro-capitalist rightists or inner-party bourgeoisie used feudalist Facisit dictatorship. Although the "Cultural Revolution" has passed feudal legacies are still deeply rooted and need to be eradicated otherwise it is hard to guarantee that the "Cultural Revolution" would not occur again. Li Weihan's words were by no means ill-founded. They deserved our reflection. Fifth who first made the claim that modern China was a "semi-colonial and semi-feudal society"? By whom?

It was Mao Zedong.

In December, 1939

In the article Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China, Mao Zedong wrote like this: After the Opium War of 1840 China gradually changed into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. Since the September 18th Incident when the Japanese imperialists started their armed aggression China has changed further into a colonial semi-colonial and semi-feudal society" Colony here refers to the puppet regime in Manchuria and other enemy-occupied areas. Prior to Mao Zedong in the Soviet Union, Stalin's and Trotsky's followers had a debate about the nature of the Chinese society. China's academia also had similar debates over "the nature of the Chinese society". But the person who explicitly made the claim from a political perspective was Mao Zedong. Let's then look at the sixth question "semi-colonial and semi-feudal society". Can we change its order into "semi-feudal and semi-colonial society"? Some people think "semi-colonial" and "semi-feudal" are both attributes of the word society so it does not matter as to which comes first. What do you think? I will not tell you the answer right now.

It is time for you to think.

2.1.2 The one, two, three, four, five about modern Chinese national circumstances

Let's look at the second question the "one, two, three, four, five" about modern Chinese national circumstances. Against the backdrop of "semi-colonial and semi-feudal society" I summarized the basic realities of modern China into "one, two, three, four, five". "One" refers to "One big danger". Since modern times the Chinese nation was faced with a big danger that is "national subjugation and genocide". National subjugation is not equivalent to genocide. "National subjugation" means the ruining of the state. Whereas "genocide" means the destruction of race and culture. Some people say "national subjugation and genocide" is a mere illusion made up by intellectuals who want to resist foreign invasion and deliberately cause a sensation.

In fact national subjugation and genocide is not an illusion but a real danger. For example, during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 the Eight-Power Allied Forces' invasion of China. Japan's invasion of China...
Any slightest mistake would result in national subjugation and genocide

On August 25th, 1937 Mao Zedong wrote the article For the Mobilization of All the Nation's Forces for Victory in the War of Resistance stating that "If, at this critical juncture of life or death for our nation the Kuomintang continues in the same old groove and does not quickly change its policy it will bring disaster to the War of Resistance" "National subjugation and genocide" mentioned here is anything but exaggeration

In the face of "one big danger" there comes "one theme" that is "save the nation from subjugation and ensuring its survival"

The so-called "save the nation from subjugation" is to save the country and its citizens from great peril

The so-called "ensure its survival" is to ensure that the country and its citizens can survive

It is due to the danger of "national subjugation and genocide" that "saving the nation from subjugation and ensuring its survival" has become a crucial endeavor That is the basic logic of modern Chinese history That is "One"

As for "Two" "Two" refers to two major contradictions Modern Chinese society is one where all kinds of contradictions intertwined Among them the important ones are as follows First is the contradiction between colonists and rulers of China For example during the chaos of Gengzi the Eight-Power Allied Forces were in contradiction with Empress Dowager Cixi Second is the contradiction between colonists and revolutionists Take British colonists as an example leader of the foreign gun brigade Gordon had contradictions with the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Third is the contradiction between rulers of China and revolutionists For example, government of late Qing dynasty had contradictions with the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom the Nian Army and Tung Meng Hui Fourth is the contradiction between different forces of colonists For example the United Kingdom France the United States and Japan had contradictions with each other Fifth is the contradiction among Chinese rulers themselves For example during the 1898 Reform, reformists had contradictions with conservatives Sixth is the contradiction among revolutionists an example would be the severe contradiction among the kings of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and so on

Amid those complex contradictions Mao Zedong generalized the major contradiction characterizing modern Chinese society in the article The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China Mao Zedong pointed out that "The contradiction between imperialism and the Chinese nation and the contradiction between feudalism and the great masses of the people are the basic contradictions in modern Chinese society

Of course, there are others such as the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and the contradictions within the reactionary ruling classes themselves But the contradiction between imperialism and the Chinese nation is the principal one" Those words deserve our profound understanding To begin with how to interpret "the contradiction between imperialism and the Chinese nation" First imperialism refers to both forces of international monopoly capitalism which were formed in late 19th century and early 20th century and colonists who started to invade China after 1840 Second imperialism here not only means different imperialists such as British French Japanese and American imperialists but also means the imperialist system that was made up of those imperialists Third the Chinese nation includes not only China's masses but also China's ruling class

We cannot exclude the ruling class from the Chinese nation because of their reactionary nature Fourth the major aspect of the contradiction lies in imperialism rather than the Chinese nation Why is that?
It is because imperialists initiated the invasion of the Chinese nation instead of vice versa At the same time, imperialism was also comparatively stronger

It is exactly because the major aspect of the contradiction lies in imperialism that we normally refer to it as "the contradiction between imperialism and the Chinese nation" rather than "the contradiction between the Chinese nation and imperialism" Fifth the contradiction between imperialism and the Chinese nation is a national contradiction but it is also more than a national contradiction

The essence of the national contradiction is that the ruling class of imperialist countries coalesced with China's ruling class in suppressing China's ruled class

In this sense it is also a class contradiction Moreover how to understand "the contradiction between feudalism and the masses" First feudalism here is not the feudalism in the Pre-Qin Period which is characterized by the "enfeoffment system" but the feudalism after the Qin Dynasty which is ruled by an autocratic monarchy Second the feudalism here includes both traditional feudalist forces such as government of the late Qing Dynasty and other rulers who bore strong feudalist hallmarks such as the Northern Warlords Government and the Kuomintang government

In fact, feudalism also comprises the bureaucratic capitalism that emerged afterwards Third the masses include not only the common people during various periods such as the proletariat the peasantry but also the enlightened people of the ruling class during various periods because the concept of "the people" itself is a historical category Just as Mao Zedong pointed out "The concept of the People has different meanings in different countries and during different historical periods" Fourth the major aspect of this contradiction lies in feudalism rather than the masses because it is feudalism that inflicted harm on the masses rather than vice versa Feudalism was also quite strong whereas in comparison the masses were rather weak

It is exactly because the major aspect of the contradiction lies in feudalism that we normally express it as "the contradiction between feudalism and the masses" instead of "the contradiction between the masses and feudalism" Fifth the essence of the contradiction between feudalism and the masses is generally regarded as class contradiction However, the class contradiction here does not mean the contradiction between landlords and peasants nor does it refer to the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat Instead, it means the contradiction between the ruling class and the ruled class Finally how do we understand "the contradiction between imperialism and the Chinese nation is the most important contradiction of all contradictions" a claim as such

As we all know there were many contradictions in modern China of which two were important However the single most important one was "the contradiction between imperialism and the Chinese nation"

It is exactly because of this that the two attributes of semi-colonial and semi-feudal cannot be reversed "semi-colonial and semi-feudal society" cannot be expressed as "semi-feudal and semi-colonial society" At the same time we need to point out that the claim about major contradiction is used in terms of modern China However in different historical periods we should analyze the major contradiction on a case-by-case basis Generally speaking from 1840 to 1911 the major contradiction was that between government of the Qing Dynasty and revolutionary forces including the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom the Nian Army Boxers and Tung Meng Hui From 1911 to 1921 the major contradiction lay between the Northern Warlords and Kuomintang From 1921 to 1927 the major contradiction lay between the Northern Warlords and Kuomintang-Communist revolutionary forces From 1927 to 1937 the major contradiction was that between Kuomintang regime and Communist Soviet regime From 1937 to 1945 the major contradiction occurred between Japanese imperialism and Chinese anti-Japanese forces Whereas from 1945 to 1949 the major
contradiction occurred between Kuomintang regime and the Communist Party of China People used to say modern China's semi-colonial and semi-feudal social nature determined that the major social contradiction was the contradiction between imperialism and the Chinese nation and the contradiction between feudalism and the masses At least that is what is taught in textbooks from secondary school to college Then I want to ask you whether this claim is correct or not? Strictly speaking this claim is not precise because it was not due to the semi-colonial and semi-feudal social nature that these two contradictions came into being Right?

Of course we cannot reverse the claim by saying it was because of these two pairs of contradictions that modern China was reduced to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, either

The opposite claim is also incorrect Here social nature and major contradiction are not in a simple causal relationship They are in a reciprocal relationship serving as the cause-and-effect, and outside-and-inside of each other That is all about two major contradictions in modern China These contradictions determined that the Chinese revolution faced two enemies They are imperialism and feudalist landlord class which determines the dual characters of the Chinese revolution

On one hand it is a national revolution to overthrow foreign imperialists' suppression

On the other hand it is also a democratic revolution to overthrow domestic feudalist landlords' suppression

The two major contradictions determine the two major tasks of Chinese revolution defeating the two major enemies not only anti-imperialism but also anti-feudalism

When it comes to this seemingly simple question there have been many misunderstandings in history

The first is to resist imperialism but not feudalism and to regard national contradiction as the only contradiction That is incorrect

The second is to resist feudalism but not imperialism and to deny the existence of imperialism or to underestimate the extent of the problem

The third is neither to resist imperialism nor to resist feudalism and to believe China then was not corrupt and not bad

The fourth is to resist imperialism and feudalism without any strategies at all costs by all means and from all directions which was a reckless act that made enemies everywhere Even today there is still debate as to whether China should resist imperialism and feudalism

As a matter of fact the theme of modern China is not "whether we should resist feudalism and imperialism" but rather "how to resist imperialism and feudalism" that is, how to employ the correct strategy to achieve the desired purposes Just as Deng Xiaoping pointed out "But, can we say that by presenting this task we have truly understood the meaning of the struggle against imperialism and feudalism? No!

We cannot say this, because it is no easy job to formulate and implement correct strategies and tactics for such a struggle Over a fairly long period of time in this revolutionary stage Our Party was unable to settle or straighten out such question as how to fight against imperialism and feudalism What forces we should rely on what forces we should unite with And what forces we should attack Questions like these remain unclear and unsolved for a long period of time in our party" What is more About the two major historical tasks report of the fifteenth national congress of the CPC pointed out that "After the Opium War China was reduced to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country

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The Chinese nation was faced with two major historical tasks one is to seek national independence and people's liberation the other is to achieve prosperity of the country and welfare of its people

The first task is to remove obstacles and pave the way for the second task" That is a relevant statement

As we all know having finished "Two" we now come to "Three" Three refers to the "Three Big Mountains"

The Three Big Mountains refer to imperialism feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism that had oppressed Chinese people since modern times Who made the metaphor of the Three Big Mountains?

It was Mao Zedong

On June 25th, 1945 Mao Zedong made the closing speech at the seventh national congress of the CPC And the closing speech was later named The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains Along with In Memory of Dr Bethune and Service to the People this article was one of "laosanjian (the three old articles)"

In the closing speech Mao Zedong told a story He said There is an ancient Chinese fable called “The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains”

It tells of an old man who lived in northern China long, long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Man of North Mountain His house faced south and beyond his doorway stood the two great peaks obstructing the way One mountain was called Taihang Mountain and the other was called Wangwu Mountain He called his sons and hoe in hand they began to dig up these mountains with great determination Another greybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively How silly of you to do this

It is quite impossible for you few to dig up these two huge mountains

The Foolish Old Man replied

When I die, my sons will carry on when they die there will be my grandsons and then their sons and grandsons, and so on to infinity High as they are the mountains cannot grow any higher and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower Why can't we clear them away? Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view unshaken in his conviction he went on digging every day God was moved by this and he sent down two angels who carried the mountains away on their backs Now there are also two mountains Today, two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people One is imperialism the other is feudalism

The Communist Party of China has long made up its mind to dig them up

We must persevere and work unceasingly and we, too, will touch God's heart Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people If they stand up and dig together with us in digging the two mountains up why can't these two mountains be cleared away?

The "Two Big Mountains" that Mao Zedong referred to left out bureaucratic capitalism

It was because at that time the Anti-Japanese War was not yet over Kuomintang and the Communist Party were still in their second cooperation

During the War of Liberation bureaucratic capitalism naturally became the third big mountain giving rise to the "Three Big Mountains" allusion which is frequently mentioned by people afterwards For example, on July 9th, 1957 Mao Zedong wrote the article Beat Back the Attacks of the Bourgeois Rightists in which he
mentioned "Wasn't the purpose of the democratic revolution to topple the three big mountains of imperialism feudalism and bureaucratic-capitalism"

In 1961 Zhu De wrote in the poem of In Memory of CPC's Fortieth Anniversary "Overthrowing the three mountains shouldering the two revolutions"

In 1976 Guo Moruo wrote in the poem of Mourning Chairman Mao "The Three Big Mountains fell to the ground the Five-Starred Red Flag rose to the sky" Those are all about the three big mountains Having finished "Three" we now come to "Four" What does "Four" refer to Some students might come up with what Hu Shi referred to as the "four hazards" Hu Shi once wrote an article saying that revolutionists claimed China had three hazards opium eight-part essay and foot binding China actually had another hazard that is mahjong

The "Four hazards" that Hu Shi referred to are of course maladies of old China but they are not the "Four" that we are talking about Four" here means "four ropes" namely political authority clan authority religious authority and authority of the husband Who raised this statement?

It was Mao Zedong Mao Zedong wrote in Report on Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan A man in China is usually subjected to the domination of three systems of authority namely the first is the state system ranging from the national provincial county government down to that of the township that is political authority Second the clan system ranging from the central ancestral temple and its branch temples down to the head of the household that is clan authority Third the supernatural system ranging from the King of Hell down to the town and village gods belonging to the nether world and from the Emperor of Heaven down to all the various gods and spirits belonging to the celestial world that is religious authority

As for women in addition to being dominated by these three systems of authority they are also dominated by the men that is the authority of the husband He said those four authorities political authority clan authority religious authority and the authority of the husband are the embodiment of the whole feudal-patriarchal system and ideology and are the four thick ropes binding the Chinese people particularly the peasants"

The four ropes are the four inveterate problems plaguing old China Therefore they should be the targets of Chinese revolution

It is worth noticing that the authority of the husband is not only a bondage for women but also a burden for men Overthrowing that authority is not only conducive to female liberation but also beneficial to male liberation Having finished "Four" we now come to "Five" What does "Five" refer to? Perhaps some students would come up with Hu Shi's "five ghosts disturbing China" which was pattern after the saying "five barbarians harassing China"

In April 1930 Hu Shi published an article in New Moon monthly journal entitled We Go Down That Road He thought that what harming China were "five big enemies" or "five ghost" He said

The first enemy is poverty
The second enemy is disease
The third enemy is ignorance
The fourth enemy is corruption and the fifth enemy is chaos
In the five enemies capitalism is not included because we are not yet qualified to discuss capitalism

The bourgeoisie is not included, either because we have few wealthy people let alone bourgeoisie Feudalist forces are not included, either because feudalist institution collapsed two thousand years ago Imperialism was not included because imperialism cannot invade the country which even the five ghost keep at bay"

Those are Hu Shi's words

In our way of thinking Hu Shi thought China's hazards were poverty disease ignorance corruption and chaos. That is not wrong because old China indeed had those inveterate social problems However that assertion is two superficial and shallow Hu Shi separated the hazard of five ghosts from the hazard of capitalism bourgeoisie feudalism and imperialism which proved to be wrong since the rampancy of "five ghosts" and the rampancy of feudalism and imperialism were closely related That is Hu Shi's "Five" Then what is the "Five" that we are talking about?

It is not what Hu Shi referred to as "five ghosts" but rather the five wars between China and foreign forces in modern times which are abbreviated as "five wars"

In late Qing Dynasty foreign capitalist countries launched five aggressive wars against China. They are the Opium War the Second Opium War Sino-French War 1894 Sino-Japanese War and the war against Eight-Power Allied Forces

The results of the five wars are clear to us all. Government of the Qing Dynasty fought repeatedly and suffered repeated defeats. After the Opium War China started to become a semi-colonial society. After the Second Opium War China's semi-colonization aggravated. After the 1894 Sino-Japanese War China's semi-colonization severely exacerbated. After the signing of Xinhai Treaty China became a completely semi-colonial society.

The five wars brought Chinese people great disasters constituting the dark history that cannot be neglected in modern China. Meanwhile we need to point out that "five wars" are closely related to "five ghosts". If there had not been five ghosts spreading in China imperialist countries would not have occupied China without much effort. After the imperialist invasion China's "five ghosts" were not relieved but rather worsened. Let's now look back and sum it up. The one, two, three, four, and five of Chinese national circumstances namely one big danger national subjugation and genocide. One big theme saving the country from subjugation and ensuring its survival. Two major contradictions the contradiction between imperialism and the Chinese nation and the contradiction between feudalism and the masses. Two major enemies imperialism and feudalism.

The dual characters of Chinese revolution national revolution and democratic revolution.

The two major tasks of Chinese revolution anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism. Three big mountains imperialism feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism Four ropes political authority clan authority religious authority and the authority of the husband. Five wars the Opium War the Second Opium War Sino-French War 1894 Sino-Japanese War and the war against Eight-Power Allied Forces. Understanding the above one, two, three, four and five is the key to understanding basic realities of modern China and understanding the reason behind Chinese revolution. Why did China need a revolution? I summarized the reasons for the modern China's revolution.

The first reason is that the Chinese nation and Chinese people were subjected dual oppressions from both foreign colonists and domestic rulers. Second is that Chinese rulers failed to alleviate those oppressions either by self-improvement or by reformism. Revolution was thus inevitable.
On January 2nd, 1921 at the new year's conference held by Xinmin Institute Mao Zedong named the five solutions to solving social problems in the world One social policy Two social democratism Three radical communism or Leninism Four moderate communism which was advocated by Russell Five anarchism He then said Social policy is a way to correct deficiencies Therefore it should not be counted as a solution Social democratism makes use of parliament as a transformation tool but in fact the parliament's legislation always protects propertied class Anarchism denies power

It perhaps can never come into effect Moderate communism such as the extreme freedom advocated by Russell or laissez-faire capitalists can never be achieved, either Radical communism or the so-called labor theory makes use of class dictatorship and promises to accomplish desirable results Therefore it is appropriate for adoption" Mao Zedong here used the method of elimination He was absolutely right Revolution was indeed caused by some objective reason that was independent of man's will

2.1.3 Why was there need to carry out new democratic revolution after old democratic revolution

Next let's look at the third question after old democratic revolution why was there need to carry out new democratic revolution?

We know that China's modern history dates back to the outbreak of 1840 Opium War and concludes with the founding of new China in 1949 China's modern history is for the most part a history of revolution Revolution here refers to democratist revolution At the world sense democratist revolution also referred to as democratic revolution means revolution aimed at overthrowing feudalist landlords' ruling removing feudalist autocratic institutions and establishing democratic institutions

The revolution is usually led by the bourgeoisie Therefore it is also called bourgeois revolution or bourgeois democratic revolution Generally speaking democratic revolution is led by the bourgeoisie and participated by peasants, intellectuals craftsmen, and industrial workers

The targets of the revolution include feudalist autocratic monarchy and feudalist superstructure

The task of the revolution is to overthrow old relation of production that suppresses bourgeois free trade and capitalist relation of production

The goal of the revolution is to establish capitalist economic foundation and superstructure Due to China's unique national circumstances and the strong influence of the October Revolution China's democratic revolution was unique Marked by the May 4th Movement in 1919 China's democratic revolution was divided into old democratic revolution and new democratic revolution Who made the division?

It was Mao Zedong

In the article The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China, Mao Zedong stated that

The historical process of Chinese revolution must be divided into two steps

The first step is the democratic revolution and the second step is the socialist revolution

The two revolution processes are of different natures

The so-called democratic revolution no longer falls within the category of old democratism
It is no longer the old democratic revolution but falls within the new category of democratic revolution.

It is new democratic revolution.

The period of old democratic revolution includes the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom the 1898 Reform the Boxer Movement and the Revolution of 1911 and so on.

Of them, the Revolution of 1911 is a completely bourgeois democratic revolution.

It brought old democratic revolution to a climax.

The Revolution of 1911 overthrew the ruling of Qing Dynasty terminated autocratic monarchy that had ruled China for two thousand years spread democratic republic ideas and facilitated social changes in modern China.

However, the Revolution of 1911 failed to change modern China's semi-colonial and semi-feudal social nature failed to accomplish the two historical tasks of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism failed to fundamentally change the historical destiny of the Chinese nation and Chinese people.

Therefore, after old democratic revolution new democratic revolution was necessary.

On this point Cai Jimin, Hero of the Revolution of 1911 wrote a series of articles in 1912 entitled Six Poems on Anger satirizing the "sham democracy, sham republic" phenomenon after the Revolution of 1911.

The series of poems consists of six poems and the second goes like this: Amidst the vicissitudes of life, one wolf goes and another comes.

The revolution turns out to be a real mistake, and death brings no glory. Former comrades are seduced by wealth, who cares the destiny of China? Filled with regrets when reflecting on the Qing Dynasty, how can I manage to feign insanity? That is the second poem.

The fourth poem goes like this: Moanful and indignant, what can I do with demons going rampant? I thought after the Qing Dynasty was overthrown, China would no longer be in peril. But perversions of justice are widespread and wrongdoings go unchecked, Infinite money and blood only trade for a sham republic.

The last sentence "Infinite money and blood only trade for a sham republic" has now become an idiom that people use to describe the failure of the Revolution of 1911. I need to point out that these two sentences in the fourth poem are usually inserted into the third and fourth lines of the second poem which is incorrect. This series comprises six poems. They are similar in meaning but all carry great significance. Please take a close look if you are interested.

In June 1922, Chen Jiongming went against Sun Yat-sen.

In August, Sun Yat-sen was forced to go to Shanghai and the Second Constitution Protection Movement failed.

The failure of the Second Constitution Protection Movement is usually regarded as the conclusion of old democratic revolution.

The May 4th Movement marked the beginning of new democratic revolution.

The so-called new democratic revolution is anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist revolution led by proletariats and participated by the masses.
The new democratic revolution included the National Revolution led by Kuomintang-Communist joint leadership the Agrarian Revolutionary War Anti-Japanese War and the War of Liberation.

The new democratic revolution thoroughly ended China's semi-colonial and semi-feudal period overthrew the imperialist feudalist and bureaucratic capitalist ruling in China and fundamentally changed the historical destiny of the Chinese nation and Chinese people. Then, what is "new" about the new democratic revolution? Several points need to be mentioned. First, the new democratic revolution took place during the socialist revolutionary period participated by the world's proletariats.

It is part of the world's proletarian socialist revolution. Second, the leadership of the new democratic revolution is China's proletariat class and its vanguard--the Communist Party of China. Third, the guiding principle of the new democratic revolution is Marxism-Leninism. Fourth, the expected outcome of the new democratic revolution is socialism rather than capitalism. Conducting new democratic revolution calls for new democratic revolution theories.

The formation of new democratic revolution theories stems from revolutionary practices during the National Revolution, the Agrarian Revolution, Anti-Japanese War and the War of Liberation. From the perspective of its formation without the two Kuomintang-Communist cooperation there would have been no theory on united front. Without the establishment and consolidation of rural bases there would have been no theory on China's revolutionary path. Without the revolutionary war there would have been no theory on building people's army or on military strategies. Without CPC's experience of growing from small to big, from weak to strong there would have been no theory on Party building. All in all, without China's revolutionary practice and the summary of the practice new democratic revolution theories would not have been formed or developed.

2.2.1 The general line and basic program of new democratic revolution

Let's then look at the second section the general line and basic program of new democratic revolution. Relative to specific lines, the general line is a fundamental guiding line.

In 1939 in the article The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China Mao Zedong proposed for the first time the scientific concept of "new democratic revolution."

In 1948 in Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shanxi-Suiyuan Liberated Area he offered a complete version of the general line that is the revolution is against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism waged by the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat.

The general line of new democratic revolution reflects the basic law of Chinese revolution identifies the target motive force and leadership of Chinese revolution therefore constituting the fundamental guiding line of new democratic revolution. Let's look at the first question the target of new democratic revolution. Distinguishing between an enemy and a friend is the primary question of revolution.

On December 1st, 1925 Mao Zedong wrote directly and openly in the article Analysis of China's Social Classes. Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution.
The basic reason why all previous revolutionary struggles in China achieved so little was their failure to unite with real friends in order to attack real enemies. A revolutionary party is the guide of the masses.

When the revolutionary party leads them astray no revolution ever succeeds. To ensure that we will not lead the masses astray and that we will definitely achieve success in our revolution we must pay attention to uniting with our real friends in order to attack our real enemies. German scholar Schmitt also wrote in his book *The Concept of Politics* that

The specific political divisions underlying all political activities and political motives are the division between friends and enemies. Then, who is the target of Chinese revolution?

The social nature and major contradiction of modern Chinese society determine the major target of Chinese revolution that is imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. They are the three big mountains. Let's first examine the first big mountain. Imperialism is the primary target of Chinese revolution.

The biggest oppression afflicting modern China is the national oppression by imperialism. Imperialist countries launched a series of aggressive wars which brought endless chaos and disasters to the Chinese nation reducing modern China from a feudal society to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. By means of brutal aggressive wars, imperialist countries not only controlled the fiscal and economic lifelines of modern China but also controlled China's political and military forces representing the largest obstacle impeding the progress and development of Chinese society. Imperialism is the root cause of poverty and disasters in modern China. Overthrowing imperialist oppression is the precondition for China to gain independence and prosperity. Let's then look at the second big mountain. Feudalist landlord class forms the social foundation for imperialism to rule China. And for feudalist warlords to implement despotism. Landlord class exploits and oppresses peasants with feudalist institutions impeding the political, economic, and cultural progress of Chinese society.

It is the major barrier in China's economic modernization and political democratization. To oppose feudalism is basically to eradicate feudalist systems economically destroy warlords' despotism politically annihilate the landlord class, emancipate the productive forces and create conditions for China's economic modernization and political democratization. Meanwhile, imperialism and feudalism are in a complex relationship. Mao Zedong pointed out that, Chinese revolution is mainly targeted on these two enemies.

It is a national revolution to overthrow imperialist oppression on the outside and on the inside it is a democratic revolution to overthrow feudalist landlords' oppression.

The most important task is to overthrow imperialism. Mao Zedong further indicated that the two major tasks of Chinese revolution are interrelated. If imperialist ruling was not removed, feudalist landlords' ruling would not collapse because imperialism is the major supporter for feudalist landlords.

On the contrary, because feudalist landlords are the major social foundation for imperialist countries to rule China and peasants constitute the main force of Chinese revolution. If we did not help peasants overthrow feudalist landlords, a strong revolutionary force would not be formed, and imperialist ruling would not be removed. Therefore, the two basic tasks of national revolution and democratic revolution are not only different, but also coherent. Last but not least, let's look at the third big mountain. Bureaucratic capitalism developed by relying on imperialism, feudalism, and state political power.

It is feudalist, monopolistic national capitalism set up by compradors. Backed by imperialism it outrageously appropriated social wealth by over-issuing banknotes and national debt through national monopolistic financial institutions.
It recklessly made exorbitant profits by controlling large quantities of goods and supplies through the establishment of national proprietary systems and by monopolizing super economic privileges and franchises in some industries it oppressed and merged private capitalist firms Bureaucratic capitalism ruthlessly exploited laboring people and plundered national industries and commerce by cajolery and coercion which severely fettered the development of China's social productivity Thus it is also the target of Chinese revolution One need only look at the history of "Four Prominent Families" Chiang Soong Kung Chen and watch the TV series All Quiet in Beijing to understand what harm bureaucratic capitalism had inflicted on China Generally speaking the target of the Chinese revolution is three big mountains However, in different historical periods with the change of major social contradiction the major enemy changes

During the National Revolution under Kuomintang-Communist cooperation the major revolution target was imperialism-backed northern warlords

During the War of the Agrarian Revolution the major revolution target was new Kuomintang warlords

During the Anti-Japanese War the major revolution target was Japanese imperialism

During the War of Liberation the major revolution target was American-imperialism-backed Kuomintang reactionaries

It is important to note that the target of revolution includes not only the three big mountains but also the exploitative and oppressive institutions and relations that underlie the three big mountains For example, behind imperialism are the law of the jungle and the unfair international political and economic order Behind feudalist landlord class are feudalist exploitative and oppressive relations Behind bureaucratic capitalism are exploitative and oppressive institutions that are built upon power and monopoly To remove the three mountains is to eliminate those unjust international and domestic systems Only if those unjust institutions were uprooted could fairer institutions be established and would Chinese revolution be counted as a success

2.2.2 The motive force of new democratic revolution

Next let's look at the second question the motive force of new democratic revolution Before we conduct revolution we must identify the revolution target Meanwhile we must identify the revolution subject

The subject of revolution is also its motive force So what are the subjects and motive forces of new democratic revolution?

As we all know there are five stars in the Five-Starred Red Flag They are exactly what we are referring to

Of the five stars the biggest one refers to the Communist Party of China

The other four stars refer to the proletariat the peasantry urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie Those four classes are also the subjects and motive forces of new democratic revolution

In that case why would they become the subjects and motive forces of revolution? Let's take a look one by one First the proletariat was the most basic motive force of the Chinese revolution

The proletariat class was the first social class that emerged during China's gradual reduction to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society
It emerged not only with the emergence and development of China's national industry but also alongside the emergence of foreign capitalist firms operating in China Chinese proletariat class was representative of new social productivity and was the most advanced class in modern China.

It was the leading force of the Chinese revolution Second the peasantry was the main force of the Chinese revolution of whom poor peasants were the proletariat's most trustworthy allies whereas middle peasants were the proletariat's trustworthy allies.

In the semi-colonial and semi-feudal Chinese society peasants accounted for more than 80% of the country's population They suffered severely from imperialist feudalist and bureaucratic capitalist oppression and exploitation They had strong anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist demands Peasants' problem was the basic problem of the Chinese revolution New democratic revolution was in essence peasant's revolution under the party's leadership China's revolutionary war was in essence peasants' war under the party's leadership Peasants' problem during the Chinese revolution was actually raised by Mao Zedong.

In December 1925 Mao Zedong wrote the article Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society.

The article was aimed at the two trends that existed in the party At that time, the first trend was represented by Chen Duxiu which only emphasized Kuomintang-Communist cooperation while ignoring peasants That was Right-opportunism.

The second trend was represented by Zhang Guotao which only emphasized labor movement while also ignoring peasants That was "Left"-opportunism.

The two kinds of opportunism both felt the insufficiency of their own forces but they did not know where to seek forces or where to find allies.

In Mao Zedong's article he pointed out that peasants were Chinese proletariats' most massive and loyal allies.

In this way the most important problem in the Chinese revolution of finding allies was solved Third urban petty bourgeoisie was proletariats' trustworthy allies Urban petty bourgeoisie included intellectuals small merchants handicraftsmen and freelancers They were also oppressed by imperialism feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism Therefore urban petty bourgeoisie was also the motive force of the Chinese revolution Fourth national bourgeoisie was also one of the motive forces of the Chinese revolution.

In the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society national bourgeoisie was a class with dual characters.

On one hand national bourgeoisie suffered from imperialist oppression and feudalist trammels They were in contradiction with imperialism and feudalism constituting one of the revolutionary forces But on the other hand due to its close economic and political ties with imperialism and feudalism they did not have complete courage to resist imperialism and feudalism At the critical moment of revolution they would usually demonstrate apparent indetermination.

The dual character of national bourgeoisie determined that in certain periods and to a certain extent it could participate in anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist revolution but in other periods it would run the risk of following bureaucratic bourgeoisie in opposing revolution Hence it could not be the main force of revolution let alone the leading force of revolution.
The reasons for the above mentioned classes to participate in revolution can be summarized into the following points: One is the need to survive. Two is the general dissatisfaction with realities. Three is patriotism. Four is the forceful guidance of revolutionary theories and so on. You can also summarize other reasons.

2.2.3 Leadership of new democratic revolution

Let's then look at the third question: leadership of new democratic revolution. Proletariat leadership is the key issue in Chinese revolution and it is also the core issue in new democratic revolution theories. Do you know the basic sign of differentiating new democratic revolution from old democratic revolution? That is whether the leadership of revolution is controlled by the proletariat or by the bourgeoisie. Why did the proletariat manage to become the leading class of new democratic revolution? That is determined by the following characteristics of Chinese proletariat. To begin with, Chinese proletariat possessed the general characteristics of world proletariat. First, they were associated with advanced ways of production and were representatives of advanced productive forces. Second, they were not in possession of private means of production. Therefore, they were selfless and fearless. Third, they were well organized and disciplined and both good at and bold in conducting revolutionary activities. Those are the general characteristics. Moreover, let's look at Chinese proletariat's distinguishing features and merits. They are first since their birth they were oppressed by foreign imperialism, domestic feudalist forces and the bourgeoisie.

The gravity and brutality of oppression was rare in the world. Therefore, in revolutionary struggles, Chinese proletariat were more resolute than any other class. Second, they were densely populated which was conducive to their organization and solidarity and beneficial for the spread of revolutionary ideas and the consolidation of revolutionary forces. Third, most members of them were born bankrupted peasants who had a natural association with peasants. That made it easy for proletariat to form a close alliance with peasants and fight together. Those features and merits of Chinese proletariat made them the most enlightened social class. Under CPC leadership from the day they stepped onto the revolutionary stage and made them the leading force of Chinese revolution.

The proletariat and their political party's control over Chinese leadership were not formed automatically. Rather, it was achieved by fighting against the bourgeoisie. Mao Zedong once pointed out that leading class and its party which want to achieve leadership over following classes, political parties, and mass organizations must fulfill two requirements: One, to lead followers in fighting against the common enemies resolutely and achieving victory. Two, to reward followers with material welfare at least not to harm their benefits and to educate followers politically. He said without those two conditions or without either one of the two conditions, leadership would not have been achieved.

2.2.4 The nature and perspective of new democratic revolution

Next, let's look at the fourth question: the nature and perspective of new democratic revolution.

The semi-colonial and semi-feudal nature of modern China and the historical task of Chinese revolution determine that the nature of Chinese revolution is not proletariat socialist revolution but bourgeois democratic revolution. Then, why was new democratic revolution still bourgeois democratic revolution? Mao Zedong once answered that question: First, China was still a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society dominated by feudalist economy.

The current stage of revolution was aimed at terminating the semi-colonial and semi-feudal social formation. Second, the targets of Chinese revolution were mainly imperialist and feudalist forces.
The task of revolution was to overthrow the two major enemies Third, the revolution was participated by the bourgeoisie who used to lead the revolution Fourth, the economic policy of the revolution was not abolishing private property but protecting private property Specifically speaking, it was to transform land private ownership from feudalist landlords to peasants clear the road and protect the development of national capitalism Therefore, the nature of current Chinese revolution was not proletariat socialist revolution but bourgeois democratic revolution However, the nature of current Chinese revolution was not old and general bourgeois democratic revolution but new democratic revolution

It is important to note that new democratic revolution is also different from socialist revolution Why is that? The reason lies in the following points First, new democratic revolution still fell within the realm of bourgeois democratic revolution

It overthrew imperialist feudalist and bureaucratic capitalist reactionary ruling and strived to unite national bourgeoisie in fighting against common enemies Second, new democratic revolution protected national industries and commerce economically and allowed the development of private capitalism that was beneficial for people's livelihood Third, new democratic revolution was aimed at establishing dictatorship led by proletariats and participated by all revolutionary classes instead of proletariat dictatorship But socialist revolution was proletariat revolution in nature Its goal was to eradicate capitalist exploitative institutions and transform private ownership of small-scale production However, new democratic revolution was connected with and closely linked to socialist revolution Bourgeois dictatorship was not allowed to step into this process Mao Zedong compared new democratic revolution and socialist revolution to the first and second half of an article He said "In the writing of an article, the first and the second half the second half can be written only after the first half is finished Resolute leadership of the democratic revolution is the prerequisite for the victory of socialism"

The democratic revolution is the necessary preparation the socialist revolution

The socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the democratic revolution A clear understanding of both the differences and the interconnections between the democratic and the socialist revolutions is indispensable to correct leadership in the Chinese revolution

In history of our party the mistake with "Left's " dogmatic "theory of a single revolution” was that it only recognized the relationship between democratic revolution and socialist revolution but confused the difference between democratic revolution and socialist revolution

It insisted that the task of socialist revolution should be removed to the democratic revolution period

It resisted imperialism, feudalism and national capitalism

It implemented "Left" political and economic policies resulting in huge damage to Chinese revolution That is "Left"

The problem with Right's “The Second Revolutionism” was that it only recognized the difference between democratic revolution and socialist revolution However, it failed to recognize the association between the two revolutions and insisted that after the victory of democratic revolution a bourgeois dictatorship should be insisted Capitalist countries should carry out socialist revolution in the future Therefore, it abandoned the party's leadership over democratic revolution which also brought severe losses to Chinese revolution Both mistakes should be avoided
2.2.5 The general programme of new democratic revolution

Next let's look at the fifth question the general programme of new democratic revolution

In 1940, in the article On New Democracy Mao Zedong illustrated new democratic politics, economy and culture On New Democracy was originally a speech made by Mao Zedong on January 9th, 1940 at the first congress of the cultural association in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region

The speech was originally named New Democratic Politics and New Democratic Culture and published on February 15th, 1940 in the first issue of Chinese Culture by Yan’an

On February 20th, 1940, when it came out in Liberation published by Yan'an the title was changed into On New Democracy Mao Zedong's On New Democracy was firstly targeted on the die-hards in Kuomintang After the Anti-Japanese War entered a strategic stalemate some Kuomintang theorists proposed claimed that Wasnt it the Communist Party which agreed to Mr. Sun Yat-Sen's Three People's Principles China needs only one version of Three People's Principles Three People's Principles can satisfy all of China's current and future demands Thus, China no longer needs socialism nor the Communist Party This article written by Mao Zedong was a response to the challenge of Kuomintang theorists On New Democracy written by Mao Zedong was also targeted on the mistaken ideas within the Communist Party At that time in the Communist Party some people asserted that everything we do should notify and obey Kuomintang or the so-called everything should notify the united front and everything should obey the united front Some people held that we should implement socialism directly and try to accomplish the task at one stroke

In December 1935, at the Wayaobu Meeting Mao Zedong and Bo Gu had a heated debate over "whether we should unite national bourgeoisie in the Anti-Japanese War"

On the grounds of "the middle forces are the most dangerous" dogmatism Bo Gu was against uniting national bourgeoisie in the Anti-Japanese War Mao Zedong rebutted with violence Is uniting national bourgeoisie in resisting Japanese invader a form of disloyalty to ancestors or impiety for forefathers? Bo Gu was rendered speechless by his rebuttal After Mao Zedong's of "new democratic theories" Wang Ming composed a colloquial Wulv (an eight-line poem with five characters to a line) On New Democracy--Comment on the Fundamental Mistakes in Mao Zedong's Essay

The poem went like this New democracy, old theory from Trotsky and Chen Duxiu Bourgeois revolution succeeded, socialist revolution failed Kindly advising him to change, his anger was apparent Theory has been revised, future is in doubt "Tuo Chen" here refers to Trotsky and Chen Duxiu

The poem was in fact a distrust and denial of Mao Zedong's new democratic theories About those challenges in 1945 at the Seventh Congress of CPC, Mao Zedong delivered a political report entitled On Coalition Government

The report established a further relationship between new democratic politics economy and culture and the party's general programme made specific illustrations and responded to many challenges

The general programme of new democratic revolution includes political programme, economic programme and cultural programme

The political programme of new democracy is to overthrow imperialist and feudalist ruling and establish a new democratic republic led by the proletariat based on worker-peasant alliance and jointly dictated by all revolutionary classes
The new democratic republic is different from European or U.S. republic under bourgeois dictatorship

It is also different from the proletariat dictatorship characterizing the socialist republic in the Soviet Union

The polity of the new democratic country is joint dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat, based on worker-peasant alliance participated by petty bourgeoisie national bourgeoisie, other anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist masses and all other revolutionary classes

The economic programme of new democracy is to appropriate feudalist landlords' land and distribute it to peasants appropriate the monopolistic capital of bureaucratic bourgeoisie and hand it over to the state and protect national industries and commerce Mao Zedong once pointed out that substituting certain capitalist development for foreign imperialist and domestic feudalist oppression is not only a step forward but also an inevitable process

It is not only beneficial to the bourgeoisie but also conducive to the proletariat

The benefit for the proletariat is even greater Commensurate with new democratic politics and economy there must be a corresponding culture New democratic culture is the culture led by the proletariat and created by the masses

It is an anti-imperialist, anti-feudalist national, scientific, and mass culture Mao Zedong's On New Democracy exerted a significant influence at that time and later Under that circumstance On New Democracy could only be secretly spread in Kuomintang occupied areas To escape Kuomintang's inspection its cover was disguised in various formats some as romantic fictions some as Faith in Mahayana Theory and some as General History, and so on Mr. Wen Yiduo, who then taught at the Southwest Associated University read and several other books He said "We always talk about patriotism

As to what the country that I love is like I cannot figure out myself

It is merely a Utopian shadow Having read those books I gradually become confident in China's future."

It was due to this reason that On New Democracy attracted many intellectuals to the Communist Party After On New Democracy came out and became impactful Chiang Kai-shek appointed a ghost writer Tao Xisheng to write the book China's Destiny under his own name

In the book Chiang Kai-shek openly advocated dictatorship of "one party, one doctrine, one leader" He was not only opposed to communism but also intolerant with liberalism

The book made many negative impacts on the society Mr. Wen Yiduo said the publication of the book China's Destiny played a critical role in my life I was utterly shocked by the boxers' spirit it exuded Did our wise leader actually think in this way?

The May 4th Movement influence me so much that the outright challenge to May 4th spirit in China's Destiny was intolerable for me So we could say that On New Democracy and China's Destiny Yan'an and Chongqing, were quite distinct from each other and shook in sharp contrast

In fall 1947 Mao Zedong composed a poem called Qliv in memory of Chongqing Negotiations which specifically reflected that contrast

The poem is rarely known by people

We can learn it together
The poem goes like this: Relying on land, Kuomintang wants to be people's master; the Communist Party has to respond it with anarchy. Officials in Chongqing are all corrupt; land in Yan'an is all abundant. Kuomintang regards burning down bridges and roads as solidarity; the Communist Party deems fighting for land and cities as struggle. Under Kuomintang's governance, China is full of refugees and bloodshed; as a result, the Communist Party decides to save the people. Indeed, at that time new democratic theories were used to "save common people's lives."

2.3.1 The path and basic experience of new-democratic revolution

Next let's learn the third section, the path and basic experience of new democratic revolution. Let's look at the first question: the gradual formation of new democratic path.

In the primary stage of CPC, it focused on cities and led the working class in launching labor movements which helped expand the party's class basis. But it failed to adequately recognize the importance of involving peasants in the revolution and establishing rural revolutionary bases. After the failure of the National Revolution in 1927, the then CPC central committee still adhered to "city-centered theory" and launched the Nanchang Uprising, the Autumn Harvest Uprising, and the Guangzhou Uprising, but suffered consecutive defeats. After the failure of the Autumn Harvest Uprising, Mao Zedong established the Jinggangshan revolutionary base. He changed the main target of military struggle toward rural areas and in this process, he immersed himself in studying theories related to China's revolutionary paths.

In October and November 1928 in articles of Why Is It That Red Political Power Can Exist in China? and The Struggle in Chingkang Mountains, he analyzed the reasons and conditions of establishing and developing rural revolutionary bases while encircled by the white power. He proposed the notion of "Independent regimes of the workers and the peasants by armed force" which paved the way for the formation of "encircling the cities from the countryside" theory.

In January 1930, in response to pessimistic ideas over the status quo which were then widespread in the party, Mao Zedong wrote in the article A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire, the answer to the question of "how long can we keep the Red Flag flying." At the closing paragraphs of this article, Mao Zedong wrote poetically that: But when I say that there will soon be a high tide of revolution in China, I am emphatically not speaking of something which in the words of some people "is possibly coming" something illusory, unattainable and devoid of significance for action.

It is like a ship far out at sea whose mast-head can already be seen from the shore; it is like the morning sun in the east whose shimmering rays are visible from a high mountain top; it is like a child about to be born moving restlessly in its mother's womb.

When the Red Army reached northern Shan after the Long March, Mao Zedong analyzed the basic realities of modern China in great depth and illustrated the chronicity and imbalance of Chinese revolution. He further enriched the strategic thinking of encircling the cities from the countryside.

In November 1938, in the article Problems of War and Strategy, Mao Zedong first analyzed revolutionary paths of western countries. He wrote like this: Internally, capitalist countries practise bourgeois democracy when they are not fascist or not at war and there is no feudalism in their external relations, they are not oppressed by but themselves oppress, other nations. Because of these characteristics, it is the task of the party of the proletariat in the capitalist countries to educate the workers and build up strength through a long period of legal struggle and thus prepare for the final overthrow of capitalism.
In these countries, the question is one of a long legal struggle of utilizing parliament as a platform of economic and political strikes of organizing trade unions and educating the workers There the form of organization is legal and the form of struggle bloodless (non-military)

On the issue of war the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries oppose the imperialist wars waged by their own countries if such wars occur the policy of these Parties is to bring about the defeat of the reactionary governments of their own countries.

The one war they want to fight is the civil war for which they are preparing But this insurrection and war should not be launched until the bourgeoisie becomes really helpless until the majority of the proletariat are determined to rise in arms and fight and until the rural masses are giving willing help to the proletariat And when the time comes to launch such an insurrection and war the first step will be to seize the cities and then advance into the countryside and not the other way about All this has been done by Communist Parties in capitalist countries and it has been proved correct by the October Revolution in Russia Later Mao Zedong analyzed the characteristics of Chinese revolution He said: China is different however

The characteristics of China are that she is not independent and democratic but semi-colonial and semi-feudal that internally she has no democracy but is under feudal oppression and that in her external relations she has no national independence but is oppressed by imperialism

It follows that we have no parliament to make use of and no legal right to organize the workers to strike Basically, the task of the Communist Party here is not to go through a long period of legal struggle before launching insurrection and war and not to seize the big cities first and then occupy the countryside but the reverse From that time on engaging in long-time armed struggles occupying villages and then cities and ultimately winning nationwide victory was established as the revolutionary path for the Communist Party of China

2.3.2 What is the basis for choosing new democratic revolution path

Let's then look at the second question what is the basis for choosing new democratic revolution path?

The reason for Chinese revolution to take the path of encircling cities from the countryside and seizing power by armed forces was determined by China's status quo What was the basis?

The basis was grounded in the following aspects: First, in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal Chinese society people were oppressed by feudalism due to the lack of democratic institutions and were oppressed by imperialism due to the lack of national independence

It was impossible for China's proletarians to imitate their counterparts in capitalist countries engaging in long-term open, and legal struggles and organizing armed rebellions to seize power

The major form of revolutionary struggle in China could only be armed struggle To eradicate reactionary arm forces with revolutionary armed forces the corresponding form of organization must be military troops Second, modern Chinese peasants accounted for the vast majority of the country's population constituting trustworthy allies of proletariats and main forces of revolution Only if the agrarian revolution was launched could peasants' land problem be solved and peasants be fully mobilized to destroy the basis for imperialists and feudalist landlords' reactionary ruling Thus, proletariats and their party must dispatch the vanguard down to rural areas start to resolve peasants' land problems organize, mobilize and arm peasants obtain the support of peasants encourage their participation in the revolutionary war in order to lay a solid mass foundation and pave the way for securing power nationwide built strong reactionary armies and
occupied central cities for a long time rural areas were the weak link in its ruling Proletariats and their party must focus on rural areas save and train their forces Only if rural areas were built into advanced consolidated revolutionary bases could we engage in long-term, effective struggle against the enemy in central cities encircle cities from the countryside seize cities step by step and obtain ultimate victory Fourth, the continued progress of national revolutionary circumstances provided another important objective condition for the persistence and development of China's red power

The existence of a rather strong formal Red Army the party's leadership and its correct policies provided the subjective reason and condition for the persistence and development of the red power To take the path of encircling cities from the countryside and seizing power by armed forces Chinese revolution must handle the relationships between agrarian revolution, armed struggle and the construction of rural revolutionary bases

The agrarian revolution was the basic component of democratic revolution Armed struggle was the the major form of Chinese revolution lending considerable support to the construction of rural revolutionary bases and agrarian revolution Rural revolutionary bases were the strategic battlefields of Chinese revolution laying the foundation for armed struggle and agrarian revolution

The three were closely intertwined

2.3.3 The three magic weapons of new democratic revolution

Next let's look at the third question the three magic weapons of new democratic revolution

As we all know new democratic revolution had three weapons: united front armed struggle and party building That summary was not something natural but something gradually formulated

On July 9th, 1939 Mao Zedong made a speech in front of Northern Shanxi College students who went to fight on the anti-Japanese front in northern China He quoted a story in The Legend of Deification as a metaphor

When Jiang Ziya went down Mt. Kunlun the Emperor of Heaven gifted him with the apricot yellow flag Fangtian seal and God-beating whip With the help of three magic weapons, Jiang Ziya beat all his enemies Today you are also going down the hills to fight against Japanese invaders on the front I am also going to give you three magic weapons They are united front guerrilla war and revolutionary solidarity Mao Zedong compared the united front to "God-beating whip" He said this is the truth that after 40 years' revolution, Sun Yat-Sen realized before death

It is our magic weapon Making a good use of the weapon can drive Japanese invaders out of China Mao Zedong compared guerrilla war to "Fangtian seal" and thought that with this weapon all ghosts and spirits could be cracked down

In cooperation with regular warfare, guerrilla wars could beat Japanese imperialism and an independent, free new China would be created Mao Zedong compared revolutionary solidarity to "apricot yellow flag" He pointed out that in our revolutionary ranks there has to be such a flag

The Eighth Route Army the New Fourth Army and the Communist Party of China were fearless of any difficulty exactly because of revolutionary solidarity United front guerrilla war and revolutionary solidarity were Mao Zedong's preliminary definition of the three magic weapons
On October 4th, 1939 in *Introducing the Communist*, Mao Zedong summarized the experience and lessons of two victories and two failures in Chinese revolution revealed the objective law of Chinese revolution development and compared united front armed struggle and party building to the three magic weapons. He said the issue of united front the issue of armed struggle and the issue of party building were three basic issues of our party during Chinese revolution. To adequately understand the three basic issues and their interrelationship is to correctly lead the entire revolution. Eighteen years' experience taught us that united front armed struggle and party building are CPC's three magic weapons in beating enemies during Chinese revolution and they are three major weapons. That is CPC's great achievement and the great contribution of Chinese revolution.

In 1949 in the article *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship*, Mao Zedong fully summarized the basic experience of new democratic revolution. He said a well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people, an army under the leadership of such a Party, a united front of all revolutionary classes, and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party, these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy. They distinguish us from our predecessors. Relying on them, we have won basic victory.

The "basic experience" here is expressed in a different way than "three magic weapons" but they are interlinked in essence.

The "party" here is equivalent to "party building" in the three magic weapons.

The "army" here equals to "armed struggle" in the three magic weapons. "United front" here is the counterpart of "united front" in the three magic weapons.

The united front is important because just as Mao Zedong famously said, politics is to reduce as many enemies as possible and make as many friends as possible.

The armed struggle is important because as Mao Zedong said, political power grows out of the barrel of a gun, and as he said in China, without armed struggle, the status of proletariats of people and of CPC cannot be secured and the victory of revolution cannot be ensured.

The party building is important because without it, united front and armed struggle cannot be effectively launched.

The fundamental reason for the success of new democratic revolution is that our party nicely grasped the three magic weapons and their interrelationships.

The three magic weapons not only significantly enlighten our revolutionary success but also shed light upon our personal success. I think people who want to succeed must first have an awareness of "united front" make more friends and fewer enemies. Handle all kinds of relationships properly and make good conditions for success. One also needs to have the awareness of "armed struggle." Be willing to take tough challenges and meet difficulties to create a solid capital for success. Finally, one also needs to be aware of "party building" that is to make up deficiencies, bring out strong suits, accumulate steadily and break forth. Vastly keep enriching oneself will create a strong subject for success.

2.3.4 The significance of new democratic revolution theory

Let's then look at the fourth question, the significance of new democratic revolution theory.
The theoretical significance of new democratic revolution theory is that it solved a series of theoretical problems of launching revolution in a vast, peasant-dominated less-developed, semi-colonial and semi-feudal country in the East scientifically answered the question in modern Chinese revolution of where it should be headed adequately resolved the problem of the development stage of Chinese revolution revealed the law of development in modern Chinese revolution Those are its theoretical significance Its practical implication are as follows under the guidance of new democratic revolution theories CPC led Chinese people in winning the grand victory of new democratic revolution terminating the history of feudalist landlords’ exploitative ruling of the laboring people that had persisted in China for thousands of years ending the history of imperialism and colonialism enslaving Chinese people of all nationalities and establishing the People's Republic of China

The victory also encouraged and inspired the struggle of world's oppressed nations

It therefore carried universal significance

The establishment of the People's Republic of China symbolized the victory of new democratic revolution At that time many people extolled the founding of new China and the victory of new democratic revolution in various artistic forms

The most famous works included the following types First was a long political lyric composed by Hu Feng in November 1949 entitled Time Begins

The poem included five chapters of Song of Joy Praise of Glory Melody of Youth Score of Heroes and Ode to Victory

It spanned 4600 lines in total making it the longest poem in new China Have you read it You can have a look if interested Second was the oil painting The Founding Ceremony of China created by Dong Xiwen in 1953

The painting portrayed the solemn moment when Chairman Mao announced the founding of the People's Republic of China on Tiananmen rostrum Later for political reasons the original version was revised twice which impaired its artistic authenticity Do you know the story? You can read about it if you are interested Third was the song Ode to the Motherland composed by Wang Xin in September 1950

On September 12th, 1951 Premier Zhou signed an order of the central government in person requiring the song to be promoted nationwide

The song has now become the song of etiquette the opening song or the closing song on various grand occasions in China

The song is indeed touching Many people, especially students studying abroad and overseas Chinese would shed tears at the sound of it You can practice singing it after class Fourth is To the tune of Silk-Washing Stream coauthored by Mao Zedong and Liu Yazi After watching an opera on the national day in 1950 Mr. Liu Yazi improvised a poem To the tune of Silk-Washing Stream which went like With fiery trees and silvery flowers it is a darkless night Brothers and sisters dance gracefully all with their feet light Songs echo the Full Moon through so far and so wide But for one man who has offered his brilliant and wise guide How could today the hundred peoples fortunately assemble here Never before have we enjoyed a grand gathering with good cheer After hearing this poem, Mao Zedong at once composed a poem in response

It went like
The long night long enshrouded the sky over the Red State For a century devils and monsters danced in an ugly gait And five hundred million people suffered a split-up fate At a crow of the cock the dark world is suddenly exposed to light Cald music comes from all corners, even Yutian, the remotest site Never before has the zeal of the poet been inspired to such a height This poem of Mao Zedong described in merely forty-two characters the past and present of China that spanned over a hundred years

The first part portrayed old China

The second part was dedicated to new China This pair of comparison was quite sharp "At a crow of the cock the dark world is suddenly exposed to light" was a vivid description of the founding of new China

Of course of all the works that portrayed the victory of new democratic revolution the most famous must be a poem composed by Mao Zedong in April 1949 entitled The People's Liberation Army Captures Nanjing--to the tune of Seven-character Lv Shi Let's conclude this chapter with this poem Over the Bell Mountain a tremendous storm sweeps headlong Crossing the Yangzi River, our army is mighty, a million strong Once a den of tiger and dragon, now a victorious town How excited we are, seeing heaven and earth upside-down

We now should pursue the defeated foe with our remaining power Ape not King Xiang for a fame of mercy in a lucky hour Were Nature sentimental, she would have a dying day

The change of seas into lands is Man's world's true way

3.1.1 Why was the new democratic society called a transitional society

Hello everyone Today let's learn Chapter Three together The Socialist Transformation Theory What is socialist transformation?

The so-called socialist transformation is to build socialist institutions from scratch to transform a non-socialist society into a socialist society and to transform a non-socialist country into a socialist country

As for China it means transforming new democratic society into socialist society

As its name implies people understand "socialist transformation" as "transforming socialism" or as "socialism being transformed"

It is wrong Here I want to ask you a few questions

The first question How many socialist countries are there at the height of socialism? How many? Right 26 was the usual answer Apart from the Soviet Union which spanned Europe and Asia socialist countries in Eastern Europe included Poland Hungary Romania Bulgaria Czechoslovakia Albania Yugoslavia and East Germany East Germany was also called German Democratic Republic Socialist countries in Asia included Mongolia North Korea China Vietnam Cambodia Laos Afghanistan and Yemen Socialist countries in Africa included Somalia Benin Ethiopia Angora Mozambique Zimbabwe and Congo

We know that there are two Congos one with the capital of Brazzaville the other with the capital of Kinshasa

The socialist Congo refers to Congo whose capital was Brazzaville There were also socialist countries in Latin America That is Cuba and Nicaragua At the height of socialism socialist countries had more than 34%
of the world's population and over 30% of the world's land At these materials you can take a closer look if you are interested Harvard professor Janos Kornai wrote a book called The Socialist System

The diagrams on Page Six and Seven of this book showed that after drastic changes in Eastern Europe Collapse of the Soviet Union Communist Movement began to ebb and the number of socialist countries dropped sharply Then here comes the second question How many socialist countries are there now? How many in total? Right

The answer is five They are China North Korea Vietnam Cuba Laos abbreviated as Zhong, Chao, Yue, Gu, Lao They are also called "Five Golden Flowers of Socialism"

Of these two groups China belonged to both Then here comes the third question

When did China become a socialist country? Was it in 1949? No 1949 was the year when the People's Republic of China was founded Was it in 1952? Not either

It was the year when post-war recovery was completed Then which year was it?

It was in 1956

In 1956 socialist transformation was basically completed the establishment of the basic system of socialism in China marked China's transition to a socialist country Many people have a misunderstanding thinking that China became a socialist country in 1949

It is wrong Then how did China become a socialist country? This is the core question that this chapter intends to answer Next let's learn the first section transition from New Democracy to socialism Let's start with the first question Why was the new democratic society called a transitional society Generally speaking the period from the establishment of PRC to the basic completion of socialist transformation was China's transition period from New Democracy to socialism

During this period China was a new democratic society

In the new democratic society old bureaucratic capitalist economy and feudal landlord economy were gradually eradicated After a series of changes five economic elements were formed They were state economy with socialist characteristics co-operative economy with semi-socialist characteristics individual economy of peasants and handicraftsmen private capitalist economy and state capitalist economy There were all together five elements Corresponding to the five economic elements were the four social classes at that time They were working class the peasantry petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie Lenin pointed out that "The whole question is—whom will the peasantry follow

The proletariat which wants to build socialist society or the capitalist who says 'Le us turn back

It is safer that way we don't know anything about this socialism they have invented"

The core of this conversation was that the proletariat and the bourgeoisie the socialist path and the capitalist path represented two distinct directions At that time in China with the basic completion of agrarian reforms the conflict between the proletariat and bourgeoisie gradually became the major domestic conflict Solution of the conflict would automatically transform the Chinese society into a socialist society

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As we could see new democratic society was not capitalist society because the proletariat and its party were politically in a leading position There would never be a capitalist society in this world led by the proletariat and the communist party Meanwhile new democratic society was not socialist society, either because public economy did not yet establish dominance in the national economy Therefore new democratic society was not an independent social status but a transitional society Its future was either socialism or capitalism Under the leadership of CPC its future could only be socialism

3.1.2 The changing attitude of the party on transition to socialism

Let's look at the second question the changing attitude of the party on transition to socialism China is supposed to follow a socialist path

The new democratic society must be transformed into the socialist society This point was made clear at the onset of democratic revolution However concerning when and how to conduct transition the views of Mao Zedong and other leaders had experienced significant changes This process could be divided into two phases

The first phase was the incipience of the People's Republic of China

The then CPC Central Committee insisted we should spend three Five-Year Plans on the industrial construction and then transition to socialism That is, in terms of transition time it was believed to take a long time for the country to build new democracy

The duration was estimated at 15 to 20 years

In terms of transition conditions it was believed that only after national industrialization can we achieve the nationalization of the private industry and the collectivization of agriculture

In terms of transition procedures and approaches it was believed that only when the industrial sector developed and the state economy prospered could we implement the nationalization of capitalist industry and commerce and the collectivization of individual farming This conception could be summarized into "conducting transition after construction" But this conception changed soon due to the fact that after three years' effort our national economy picked up tremendously

In 1952 the residual task of democratic revolution was basically completed Economic political and social features underwent profound changes Therefore Mao Zedong and the CPC Central Committee had a new understanding of the original conception believing that the time was right for socialist transition and socialist transformation was both imperative and feasible They started to reconsider issues of socialist transition time and procedures which marked the beginning of the second phase

In September 1952 Mao Zedong announced at the meeting of Secretariat of CPC Central Committee that we are going to spend ten to fifteen years on socialist transition rather than wait another ten years This conception could be summarized into "conducting construction and transition at the same time" Then what was the rationale behind ten to fifteen years of socialist transition?

As we know the socialist transition of the Soviet Union started in the year of 1924

On December 5th, 1936 the Eighth Extraordinary Congress of USSR passed Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics pronouncing the Soviet Union a socialist country

The process took twelve years
We patterned after USSR and meanwhile made discretionary time for ourselves Therefore we proposed a schedule of ten to fifteen years

3.1.3 Mao Zedong and Liushaoqi's agreement and disagreement over socialist transformation

Let's then look at the third question Mao Zedong and Liushaoqi's agreement and disagreement over socialist transformation

On the issue of how to conduct socialist transformation Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi had both agreement and disagreement Their agreement was manifested in the following aspects First they both thought the future of new democratic revolution was socialism rather than capitalism Second China's revolution must take two steps

The first step was to build a new democratic society

The second step was to build a socialist society Third new democratic society was a transition period to socialism

The focus of this period must be economic construction with the aim of transforming China from an agricultural country into an industrial country These were what they agreed However, they had different views on "how to realize this goal" For example on the question of how to transition to socialism

In 1952 Mao Zedong already proposed to start the transition to socialism

In 1953 he formally proposed the general line of the party during the transition period But Liu Shaoqi insisted on a longer period of new democracy and a transition to socialism after conditions were mature

In the early years of PRC foundation he also proposed to "establish new democratic social orders" Why would such variance happen?

It was because they had different bases for cognition For example when it came to the treatment of private industry and commerce Mao Zedong insisted on restricting rather than using capital but Liu Shaoqi insisted on developing and using instead of restricting capital He made a mistake in his Tianjin speech by saying "exploitation is beneficial" and "the more exploitation the better" which triggered some controversy Another example involved the problem of peasants Mao Zedong emphasized organization and cooperation His attitude was consistent He opposed individualism until his death But Liu Shaoqi thought it was improper to shake peasants' private ownership prematurely He proposed to first mechanize and then collectivize He insisted that we should not be afraid of peasants becoming rich or that party members could become rich peasants, too Yet another example involved the question of how to conduct industrialization Mao Zedong insisted that under the premise of developing heavy industry first the proportion of agriculture light industry and heavy industry should be properly arranged Liu Shaoqi also agreed to give priority to the development of heavy industry But his premise was to first properly arrange the proportion of agriculture, light and heavy industry Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi's disagreement over socialist transformation concerned only specific policies

It was not a struggle between two lines but a normal phenomenon Later after democratic discussion within the party Liu Shaoqi gave up his original views and lent support to Mao Zedong's opinions
3.1.4 What is the basic content of the general line for the transition period

Let’s then look at the fourth question what is the basic content of the general line for the transition period

On June 15th, 1953 at the Central Political Bureau meeting, Mao Zedong formally proposed the general line and major task of transition period

In December 1953 when reviewing the Central Promotion Department’s draft of Outline of Studying and Promoting the Party’s General Line for the transition Period Mao Zedong offered a normative statement on the general line which went as follows “The time between the founding of the People’s Republic of China and the basic completion of socialist transformation is a period of transition

The Party’s general line or general task for the transition period is basically, over a fairly long period of time to accomplish the country’s socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce” This general line is This general line should be the beacon illuminating all our work and wherever we deviate from it we shall make Right or “Left” mistakes

The first is "a fairly long period of time"

The second is "socialist industrialization"

The third is "transformation in three aspects" From the first key phrase we could see that when the Party Central Committee proposed the general line it thought socialist transition would require a rather long period of time

We should not rush which was in line with our status quo Mistakes of over-fast transformation over-careless work actually went against the spirit of the general line

The second and third key phrases were the core of the general line Therefore the major content of the party’s general line during transition period was summarized into "one localization and three changes" One localization" referred to socialist industrialization "Three changes" referred to socialist transformation of agriculture handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce They were interrelated and inseparable A bird’s "main body" and "two wings" could be used to describe this relationship "One localization" was the "main body" "Three changes" were the "two wings"

The two complemented each other and helped each other forward This was a line that emphasized both socialist construction and socialist transformation

It manifested the close integration of socialist industrialization and socialist transformation

It also manifested the organic unity of emancipating productive forces and changing production relations versus developing productive forces Emancipating productive forces and changing production relations referred to socialist transformation Developing productive forces referred to socialist industrialization

3.1.5 What is the theoretical basis for the general line for the transition period

Let’s then look at the fifth question what is the theoretical basis for the general line for the transition period?
The aforementioned points could be summarized into practical basis for the general line for the transition period. Let's then look at its theoretical basis that is, as forefathers of the communist party how did Marx Engels and Lenin discuss the transition to socialism.

In The Communist Manifesto Marx and Engels pointed out that "The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class to win the battle of democracy" And then "The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degree, all capital from the bourgeoisie to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the state --i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class and to increase the total productive forces as rapidly as possible"

In Critique of the Gotha Programme written in 1875 Marx wrote "Between capitalist and communist society there lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat"

In a 1881 letter in response to Russian revolutionist Zasulich Marx commented on Russia "It could circumvent the Caudine Forks of capitalism while occupying all positive products created by capitalist institutions" After success of the October Revolution Lenin pointed out at the second congress of the Communist International "With the help of the proletariat in advanced countries backward countries can bypass the capitalist development stage and transition to Soviet institutions and then after a certain period of development, transition to communism"

In On Our Country's Revolution Lenin also indicated that "While the development of world history as a whole follows general laws it is by no means precluded but, on the contrary, presumed that certain periods of development may display peculiarities in either the form or the sequence of this development" Meanwhile Lenin stated that "You say that civilization is necessary for the building of socialism Very good But why could we not first create such prerequisites of civilization in our country as the expulsion of the landowners and the Russian capitalists and then start moving towards socialism? Where, in what books have you read that such variations of the customary historical sequence of events are impermissible or impossible?" Let's then turn to Mao Zedong

As early as May 1937 at the National Conference of CPC held in Yan'an Mao Zedong compared new democracy and socialism to two halves of an article saying that "In the writing of an article the second half can be written only after the first half is finished Resolute leadership of the democratic revolution is the prerequisite for the victory of socialism" He specially stressed that "We are fighting for socialism and in this respect we are different from those who confine themselves to the revolutionary Three People's Principles"

Later on

In the article of Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China Mao Zedong wrote "The democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the democratic revolution

The ultimate aim for which all communists strive is to bring about a socialist and communist society A clear understanding of both the differences and the interconnections between the democratic and the socialist revolutions is indispensable to correct leadership in the Chinese revolution" While formally proposing the general line in 1953 Mao Zedong also pointed out the substance and reasons of the general line He said "The substance of the Party's general line for the transition period is to make socialist ownership of means of production the only economic basis for our country and our society
The reason for doing so is that only after we complete the transition from private ownership of means of production to socialist ownership can we rapidly accelerate the development of social productive forces and initiate a technological revolution.

In this way can we change the situation where the vast majority of our economy uses simple and backward agricultural instruments into the situation where we use various kinds of machinery and the most advanced machinery in order to produce all kinds of industrial and agricultural products on a large scale meet people's growing needs increase their living standards steadily enhance national defense powers resist imperialist invasion ultimately consolidate people's regime and prevent anti-revolutionaries from coming back"

3.2.1 The three debates about agricultural socialist transformation

Next let's learn the second section the path and historical experience of socialist transformation To start with, let's look at the first question the three debates about agricultural socialist transformation

As we know Three Rural Issues including agriculture, peasants and the countryside have always been the primary problem facing China --this ancient agricultural country Mao Zedong had long ago pointed out that the major problem of the Chinese revolution was the problems of peasants China's revolutionary war was essentially the peasant war Therefore, the agricultural sector was the primary concern in socialist transformation After the completion of the agrarian reform China's agricultural sector should be transformed and embark on a socialist rather than capitalist path

On this issue concerning basic direction there was no controversy within the party but on specific issues of "when should the transformation be conducted" "how should the transformation be conducted" and "at what speed should the transformation be conducted", etc. there was disagreement and resulting in three debates

The first one happened in spring 1950

It was triggered by some conflicts within the Northeast Bureau of CPC Most villages in the northeastern area after the completion of the agrarian reform in 1948 saw a rapid increase in peasants' living standards as well as some new trends of divergence Some people bought carriages some hired farmhands, some bought or rented land However, due to a lack of labor force the occurrence of disease and disaster a lack of means of production or indolence some people even experienced a harder life Some people of the latter group already started to sell or rent their land or borrow grain and money from the former group Some party members also started to hire farmhands Some village cadres were worried that peasants would start individual farming and therefore prevented uprising households from buying cars and horses or simply coerced them into joining mutual-aid teams

On these issues then member of the standing committee of Northeast Bureau Zhang Wentian and then secretary of Northeast Bureau Gao Gang had different views After investigation, Zhang Wentian sent three separate telegrams in May 1949 to Northeast Bureau and forwarded to Mao Zedong in which he stated his views He held that, the party should stick to New Democratic policies in rural areas and avoid a "Left" tendency

As for class polarization in rural areas it should not be exaggerated Tenancy sales and immigration which were conducive to social division of labor should not be opposed
When it came to mutual aid and cooperation he was opposed to "Left" views thinking that supply and sales cooperation preceded production cooperation.

On December 10th, 1949, Gao Gang made a speech at the forum for Northeastern rural affairs systematically stating his views. Although he also criticized agricultural socialism, his emphasis was on criticizing the notion of "demand for individualism and distress over organization." Although individual farming was allowed but the focus should be on its limitation and on strengthening leadership. Later, Northeast Daily summarized Gao Gang's thought into "further enhance mutual-aid cooperative organizations." After the forum, Northeast Bureau wrote a report to the central government on "party member's hiring problems" and asked for instructions.

In January 1950, Liu Shaoqi signed a letter from the Organization Department of the Central Committee of the CPC in response to Northeast Bureau saying that it was the New Democratic stage and therefore New Democratic policies should be implemented.

In fact, his viewpoint was similar to that of Zhang Wentian. However, he had different views from Zhang Wentian on the issue of co-operatives. Liu Shaoqi objected to what Zhang Wentian proposed as "supply and sales cooperation precedes production cooperation." Here comes another problem with the former one not solved. Discussion surrounding Northeast Bureau had hardly been settled when another debate broke out within the party in 1951 over the agricultural production co-operatives in Shanxi. This debate was actually a continuation of the discussion in 1950.

It seemingly concerned the problem of whether or not mutual-aid organizations in the old liberated area should be further strengthened, but in essence, it concerned that whether the villages in old liberated areas or villages which had undertaken agrarian reforms should start the transition to socialism. For this, on April 17th 1951, Shanxi Provincial Party Committee submitted a report to the Party Central Committee and North China Bureau, which was entitled Further Enhance Mutual-aid Organizations in Old Liberated Areas.

The report argued for improving mutual-aid teams to a higher form. Otherwise, they would risk collapsing or being turned into rich peasants' manors. After receiving the report, North China Bureau was in disagreement with the opinion of Shanxi Provincial Party Committee.

The then North China Bureau first secretary Bo Yibo went to Liu Shaoqi who made public his disagreement with the opinion of Shanxi Provincial Party Committee. He said: If we take measures to uproot private ownership now, the conditions are not mature. Without the availability of tracks or fertilizer, we should not rush to build agricultural production co-operatives. Meanwhile, he dismissed the view of Shanxi Provincial Party Committee as a kind of utopian agricultural socialist thought. He thought it shook, undermined and even rejected private property.

The idea of intending to embark on collectivization was wrong and against the principle of equal value based on private property which directly damaged mutual-aid teams. What Liu Shaoqi intended was to strengthen New Democratic policies in rural China. But Mao Zedong disagreed with Liu Shaoqi and North China Bureau.

When he talked with Liu Shaoqi and Bo Yibo in July 1951, He explicitly supported Shanxi Provincial Party Committee. He thought: since Western capitalism experienced a phase of workshop handicraft industry in its course of development that is, before the application of team power mechanism new productive forces were created by division of labor in workshops. But co-operatives in China relied on unified management to create new productive forces. Therefore, shaking the foundation of private ownership was also viable.
indeed thought that agriculture at that phase could start the transition to socialism Mao Zedong persuaded Liu Shaoqi etc. thereby concluding the debate

The third debate took place in 1955 over the development speed of agricultural co-operatives. After the previous two debates about agrarian reform, the problem of whether or not agriculture should be transformed was settled. China's socialist transformation started in 1953 and grew vigorously already.

The number of agricultural co-operatives nationwide increased from 14 thousand or so in December 1953 to more than 670 thousand in spring 1955.

The speed of development was rather moderate. But after the summer of 1955, China's socialist reform dramatically picked up speed. Peasant households joining agricultural co-operatives accounted for over 60% of the country's peasant households. This turning point occurred at the exact same time as the party started to criticize the so-called "walking like a woman with bound feet" in summer 1955.

The debate took place between Mao Zedong and Deng Zihui. Deng Zihui was then head of the Rural Work Department of the Central Committee. I have a question for you. Have you heard of the Rural Work Department of the Central Committee?

The department was established on November 12th, 1952 and revoked on November 9th, 1962. Interestingly, it existed for ten years. If you are interested, you can go look it up.

The focus of Mao Zedong and Deng Zihui's debate was whether agricultural cooperative movement should be vigorously developed or moderately developed after a solid foundation was laid. Deng Zihui thought agricultural co-operative movement should fit the pace of industrialization.

The existing 600 thousand co-operatives should be consolidated and the current task should be laying a solid foundation and preparing for all-round collectivization. Therefore, he suggested that in the second half of 1955, the number of co-operatives should be limited to one million. They should be restricted in new liberated areas and suspended in old liberated areas. But Mao Zedong thought agricultural co-operatives should not wait for mechanization. Changing production relations in rural areas could also facilitate the development of productive forces. Peasants had the initiative to embark on a socialist path. Therefore, in the second half of 1955, one million co-operatives would not be too few.

The number should increase to one million three hundred thousand, doubling the former size. They should be vigorously promoted in new liberated areas and promoted again in old liberated areas.


The report came straight to the point by saying that throughout the countryside, an upsurge in the new, socialist mass movement is imminent. Throughout the countryside, but some of our comrades are like a woman with bound feet, tottering along and complaining all the time. "You're going too fast, much too fast." Too much carping, unwarranted complaints. Boundless anxiety and countless taboos all this they take as the right policy to guide the socialist mass movement in the rural areas. No, this is not the right policy. It is the wrong one. This conversation was indeed an unnamed criticism against Deng Zihui and the Rural Work Department of the Central Committee. Mao Zedong added that some comrades take a wrong approach to the vital question of the worker–peasant alliance proceeding as they do from the stand of the bourgeoisie, the rich peasants or the well-to-do middle peasants with their spontaneous tendencies towards capitalism.
They think that the present situation in the co-operative movement is very dangerous and they advise us to “get off the horse quickly” in our present advance along the road of co-operation "If you don’t," they warn us "there will be the danger of breaking up the worker-peasant alliance"

We think exactly the opposite is true. There will be the danger of breaking up the worker-peasant alliance if you don’t get on the horse quickly. There is a difference of only a single word here one says "off" while the other says "on" yet it demonstrates the difference between the two lines.

On October 11th, 1955 in the 6th Plenary Session of the 7th Central Committee named and shamed Deng Zihui. He said, some comrades in the Rural Work Department of the Central Committee and principally Comrade Deng Zihui, have made mistakes.

The mistakes he has made this time are Right and empiricist in nature. At the meeting, Deng Zihui was forced to make a self-criticism. Mao Zedong's idea of speeding up agricultural cooperation gained a complete victory. Since then the pace of socialist transformation was vastly expedited. At the same time there emerged a harmful tendency of developing too fast.

3.2.2 The socialist transformation of agriculture

Let's look at the second question the socialist transformation of agriculture. How to transform the private ownership of hundreds of thousands of peasants into collective ownership was a historic dilemma. Communists as represented by Mao Zedong resorted to Marx-Leninist principles about agricultural socialist transformation started from China’s rural realities devised and implemented a set of guidelines, policies, and methods that suited Chinese characteristics to transform the agricultural sector and blazed a trail of agricultural socialist transformation that suited China’s realities.

The path had the following four characteristics First actively guiding peasants to organize themselves and embark on the path of mutual-aid and cooperation. After the completion of agrarian reforms peasants' production initiative was greatly boosted.

The initiative was manifested in two aspects. One was initiative in individual economy the other was initiative in mutual-aid and cooperation.

The Party Central Committee correctly analyzed peasants' initiative in these two aspects.

On the one hand it proposed not to hurt the initiative in individual economy.

On the other hand, it proposed to organize peasants and develop their initiative in mutual-aid and cooperation. After the completion of agrarian reforms, the party grasped the opportunity and led peasants to the path of mutual-aid and cooperation thereby gaining their loyalty and support. Second following the principles of voluntary participation and mutual benefit demonstration with typical examples and state assistance and using the advantages of mutual-aid and cooperation to attract peasants onto the path of mutual-aid and cooperation. Peasants were both private owners and laborers. Exploitation could not be applied to them but only guidance. Persuasion and education in order for them to voluntarily go for cooperation. Third, correctly analyzing the class stratification in rural areas in formulating correct class policies. After agrarian reforms poor peasants and farmhands obtained land and other means of production. Half of them grew into middle peasants. According to middle peasants' status in production living conditions and attitudes toward socialism, Mao Zedong divided them into upper-middle peasants and lower-middle peasants. Together with lower-middle peasants, poor peasants accounted for 60% to 70% of the rural population. They were the forces that the party relied upon in rural areas. Thus the problem of
relying on peasants' majority and establishing a proletariat advantage in rural China was solved. Based on this fact the party designed and implemented the policy of relying on poor and lower-middle peasants, uniting other middle peasants in developing mutual-aid and cooperation gradually limiting and ultimately eradicating rich peasants' exploitation as its rural class policy which laid a solid class and mass foundation for agricultural cooperation Fourth sticking to the policy of active leadership stable progress and taking orderly procedures.

The socialist transformation of agriculture mainly experienced three development stages of mutual-aid teams elementary co-operatives and advanced co-operatives.

The first stage was developing mutual-aid teams as well as experimenting elementary co-operatives. Mutual-aid teams were formed by several or several dozen voluntary households. Land, farm animals and other means of production still belonged to peasants themselves but the way of production was organized with mutual help which bore emerging socialist characteristics.

The second stage was mainly to establish elementary agricultural co-operatives. Elementary co-operatives were characterized by land pooling and unified management. Collective labor was adopted. Production distribution was based on labor as well as land input. Farm animals and large farm tools were also paid for. This form carried semi-socialist characteristics.

The third stage was to develop advanced co-operatives.

In advanced co-operatives means of production were collectively owned by peasants. Distribution was based on labor alone. Dividend on land shares was cancelled. This form had pure socialist characteristics. At the end of 1956 the socialist transformation of agriculture was basically completed.

In the course of the socialist transformation of agriculture many stories took place. such as "paupers' co-operative" a chicken feather could fly up to heaven" and so on. You can have a look if you are interested. Other means of production were lacking, too members had no money to invest. Therefore they were called paupers' co-operative.

It was exactly this group of paupers that relied on their own labor and built this co-operative. They did not rely on state loans but on their own labor. They went to the deep mountains in Qingxi County which was located 35 li from their own village gathered firewood, and sold them for means of production. From winter 1952 to spring 1953 they collected 400 yuan worthy of firewood.

In addition to solving some members' living difficulties they also bought a bull, a donkey, 30 goats, an iron-wheeled car. There were also cattle manure fertilizer and other means of production. After that they continued to gather firewood.

In spring 1954 there were already a mule five bulls, two donkeys 65 goats, 12 pigs an iron-wheeled car sprayers and other production materials. These items as described by themselves were obtained from the mountains.

When Mao Zedong learned about their story and gave them great applause. He was full of pride and said I think they represent our national image. Can't six hundred million paupers in the next several decades rely on their own effort and grow into a socialist rich and strong country? Social wealth is created by workers, peasants and working intellectuals.
As long as these people master their own fate guided by Marx-Leninism do not evade problems but rather, face them with a positive attitude.

Any difficulty in this world can be resolved.

In addition to that you can watch the TV drama casted by Chen Baoguo and Feng Yuanzheng called *Old Peasants* You will have a more profound understanding of this issue.

3.2.3 The socialist transformation of handicrafts

Let's then look at the third question the socialist transformation of handicrafts Individual handicraft was closely associated with individual farming Both were isolated small-scale individual economy Handicraftsmen were like middle peasants and poor peasants They were both laborers and private owners Their production was influenced by seasonal factors off and on Take blacksmiths as an example.

The usual case was that "Blacksmiths were king in March" After "Grain Full" they entered low seasons of May, June and July After July they came again to high seasons of August, September and October Due to natural or manmade disasters market competition and seasonal production individual handicraftsmen, like individual farmers were prone to polarization Similar to agriculture the socialist transformation of handicrafts also took steady steps.

The first step was to build handicraft supply and sales groups with emerging socialist characteristics.

The second step was to build handicraft supply and sales co-operatives with semi-socialist characteristics.

The third step was to build handicraft production co-operatives with socialist characteristics.

Of course our transformation of the handicrafts was problematic to some extent For example maintenance and service industries adopted central production and revoked too many sites.

The variety of people's daily commodities decreased and the quality dropped Some specialities with ethnic characteristics risked being lost To solve this problem Mao Zedong specifically pointed out that Don't let our fine handicraft products be discarded Pock-marked Wang's and Chang Hsiao-chuan's kitchen knives and scissors must not be discarded, no, not even ten thousand years from now Anything good and characteristically Chinese that has been discarded must be restored and even improved" Our country has a glorious historical culture Many traditional handicrafts are non-material cultural heritage They are entrusted with Chinese wisdom over time and inheriting unique Chinese historical genes They are a crucial component of socialist China's cultural soft power.

We construct socialism and conduct socialized large scale production not to annihilate traditional artistry but to invigorate it in the modern society by giving it a new form.

3.2.4 The socialist transformation of capitalist industry and business

Let's then look at the fourth question the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce.

As rural cooperative movement proceeded CPC Central Committee systematically started the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce China's transformation was distinct from that of the Soviet Union Its Chinese characteristics could be summarized into the following aspects.
The first was transforming capitalist industry and commerce by peaceful redemption Marx and Engels had long before conceived of eradicating capitalists with redemption.

In 1894, one year ahead of Engels' death he wrote in *The Peasant Question in France and Germany* that

As soon as our Party is in possession of political power it has simply to expropriate the big landed proprietors just like the manufacturers in industry Whether this expropriation is to be compensated for or not will to a great extent, depend not upon us but the circumstances under which we obtain power and particularly upon the attitude adopted by these gentry, the big landowners, themselves.

We by no means consider compensation as impermissible in any event Marx told me (and how many times!) that, in his opinion we would get off cheapest if we could buy out the whole lot of them What was redemption?

The so-called redemption was to transform private enterprise into state enterprise with compensation from the state and transform capitalist private ownership into socialist public ownership.

The specific form of redemption was not a large sum of monetary compensation from the state but a portion of firm profits paid to capitalists within a specific time period. Then, why would the proletariat redeem bourgeois assets? That was because the peaceful redemption of capitalist industry and commerce ensured the role of private industry and commerce in improving national welfare and people's livelihood and developing national economy rallied and united national bourgeoisie united various democratic parties and patriots in all walks of life in strengthening and developing the united front put into full play the knowledge, talent expertise and management experience of national bourgeoisie and rallied and united intellectuals who were previously associated with bourgeoisie in serving socialist construction Then, why was China able to redeem capitalist industry and commerce through peaceful purchase?

The reason was multifaceted. First, national Bourgeoisie were double-faceted.

In the socialist revolutionary stage national bourgeoisie on the one hand exploited workers for profits.

On the other hand, they embraced constitution and were willing to accept socialist transformation. Between China's proletariats and national bourgeoisie there was an antagonistic contradiction resulting from exploitation If the contradiction was handled properly it could be turned into a non-antagonistic contradiction. Peaceful means was a way to resolve the contradiction. Second, the Communist Party of China was for a long time on the same united front as the national bourgeoisie which provided conditions for turning the antagonistic contradiction between proletariats and national bourgeoisie into non-antagonistic contradiction and resolving it as an internal contradiction among the people. Moreover, China had already established national regime led by the working class, based on worker-peasant alliance and under the people's democratic dictatorship built a strong socialist state economy and seized the country's economic lifeline which caused private capitalism to rely on socialism both politically and economically. Coupled with the country's central purchase and distribution of food and industrial raw materials and workers' supervision of capitalists in capitalist firms private capitalist firms could only accept socialist transformation. Second we adopted both elementary and advanced forms of state capitalism to achieve transition. First we must understand what state capitalism is.

In July 1953, Mao Zedong pointed out that the present-day capitalist economy in China is a capitalist economy which for the most part is under the control of the People's Government and which is linked in various forms with the state-owned socialist economy in various forms and supervised by the workers.
It is not an ordinary but a particular kind of capitalist economy namely, a state-capitalist economy of a new type

It exists not chiefly to make profits for the capitalists but to meet the needs of the people and the state. Therefore, this state-capitalist economy of a new type takes on a socialist character to a very great extent and benefits the workers and the state.

The transition period was divided into the following three steps:

The first step was to adopt elementary state capitalism. Its forms included consigned processing, planned ordering, central purchasing and distribution, consigned dealing, commissioned dealing, etc. Its profits were divided into four parts.

The four parts referred to national income taxes, firm reserve funds, workers' welfare funds, and the management's dividends which were shared in the profits of state capitalist enterprises.

The management's dividends accounted for 1/4. Capitalist exploitation was to a certain extent restricted and workers' status in the firm was improved. That was the first step.

As for the second step, public-private joint management was implemented in certain enterprises.

The state invested in the company and appointed cadres to participate in the company management.

The public party took up a leading position giving the company a semi-socialist nature.

The third step involved industry-wide public-private joint management.

The state reappraised the stocks and assets of the joint enterprises. Determined stock shares and returns were assigned to oversee the company's production, operation, and management, and allocated the firm's personnel, property, and assets under unified management.

The state owned means of production. Based on the firm's share in the capital, 5% fixed interest was paid to the former industrialists and businessmen.

The duration was originally 7 years but was extended for another 3 years, namely 1956 to 1966. 10 years in total.

The firm would thus be turned into a socialist state-owned enterprise. That was the second characteristic.

As for the third characteristic, industrial commercial capitalists were transformed into self-dependent socialist laborers. Our country's transformation of capitalist industry and commerce was characterized by the combination of the transformation of enterprises and the transformation of people.

The transformation of capitalists was combined with the eradication of their social class.

During the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, the state adopted a "buyout" policy on capitalist employees and agents. Based in enterprises and on the principle of "meritocracy and appropriate preferential treatment," the state gave them proper political arrangement job opportunity and good daily care. Through the change of their class status, the state aimed at eradicating the bourgeoisie on the whole.
As an integrity of both man and class, capitalists when faced with socialist transformation were on the horns of a dilemma and in agony

On March 1st, 1954 in one of his speeches, Huang Yanpei quoted the term "painless labor" to demonstrate to the industrial commercial community that the process of transitioning to socialism was painless Mao Zedong disagreed to this statement

On March 12th, he pointed out in a letter to Huang Yanpei that the term "painless labor" had better not appear in publications because those unenlightened people would by any means feel painful More promise would bring about more illusion and therefore less attention would be paid to education, study or increasing political awareness

As a result people who felt painful would be angry at us

In November 1955 in his talk with Rong Yiren, Zhou Enlai said that He(Rong Yiren) was China's No.1 capitalist He spoke in public that his class should be eradicated However, when someone met him and told him that for three generations, your family took great to build the factory what a pity that you gave it away! He also shed tears That feeling was natural and understandable Indeed, people described many capitalists at that time as singing praises during the day and crying out loud at night which reflected capitalists' authentic feelings when facing socialist transformation

It was also worth mentioning that our country's path of socialist transformation was utterly different from that of the Soviet Union China learned lessons from the Soviet Union

We took steady steps to transform the agricultural sector progressed from lower to higher forms respected farmers' wills and avoided reduction in output or death of livestock After agricultural socialist transformation was completed crops reported harvests in consecutive years Rich peasants were not eradicated but transformed into socialist laborers that belonged to collective economic organizations

In Russia, after the October Revolution capitalists pitted themselves against revolution Thus the USSR regime used dictatorial measures to eradicate bourgeoisie Stalin described it as "exploit exploiters"

As a result, Lenin's assumption of peaceful purchase failed to continue

In our country, the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce adopted the policy of peaceful redemption and avoided violent incidents

### 3.2.5 The historical experience of the socialist transformation

Let's then look at the fifth question the historical experience of the socialist transformation

In the process of the socialist transformation and socialist transition our party formulated policies based on China's realities and accumulated plenty of historical experience

The valuable experience was both the reason for the success of socialist transformation and the demonstration of the success China's socialist transformation had important experience First, simultaneous promotion of socialist industrial construction and socialist transformation

In 1955, Mao Zedong pointed out that "We are now carrying out a revolution not only in the social system the change from private to public ownership but also in technology the change from handicraft to large-scale modern machine production and the two revolutions are interconnected"
As socialist transformation unfolded China also started to implement the first "Five-year Plan" which focused on developing heavy industry. Altogether 156 projects were initiated in steel automobile, energy and other sectors. Angang Steel China FAW Group Corporation, Baoji-Chengdu Railway, Wuhan Yangtze River Bridge were all built during this period of time. These projects lay a solid foundation for our country's socialist industrialization. Second, adoption of active guidance and step-by-step transition. To transform agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce we adopted the approach of differential treatment, active guidance and step-by-step transition.

As for agriculture the establishment of mutual-aid team, junior agricultural production co-operative and senior agricultural production co-operative gradually increased the farmers' awareness changed their lifestyle and prevented them from destroying means of production.

In terms of handicrafts the formation of handicraft supply and distribution team. Handicraft supply and distribution co-operative and handicraft production co-operative not only protected and facilitated the development of the handicrafts but also created conditions for technological transformation of the handicrafts.

In the process of transforming capitalist industry and commerce we devised various forms of transition. From elementary to advanced state capitalism that is, from elementary state capitalism that adopted public-private joint management in individual industries to industry-wide public-private joint management in order to peacefully redeem capitalist means of production and prevent potential social unrest and economic destruction in the course of transformation. Third, employment of peaceful approaches.

In January 1956, Mao Zedong summarized in the supreme state conference the peaceful transformation approaches that we had adopted. He said, "we are using peaceful means to conduct socialist revolution. Regarding this method many people, communist or non-communist had expressed doubts. However, since last summer as rural co-operative movement culminated and in recent months urban socialist transformation also reached a climax their doubts have largely been expelled. Under our country's circumstances using peaceful means or persuasion and education will not only change individual ownership into socialist collective ownership but also change capitalist ownership into socialist ownership.

In the past few months, the pace of socialist transformation has exceeded all expectations. Some people in the past had feared that socialism was difficult to achieve. Now it seems it is not that difficult."

In the history of our socialist transformation two facts were rare in the world's history of revolutions.

The first was the successful implementation of such complicated tough and profound social change in a country with hundreds of millions of people without wrecking productive forces. Instead, the social change facilitated the development of industry, agriculture and the entire national economy.

The second was the avoidance of massive social unrest in the course of transformation. Instead, it enhanced national solidarity.

3.2.6 Problems in the socialist transformation

Let's then look at the sixth question problems in the socialist transformation. China's socialist transformation achieved historic success. Meanwhile it had some mistakes and errors.

The 1981 Historical Resolution Committee of CCP pointed out that "From the summer of 1955 onwards we were over-hasty in pressing on with agricultural co-operation and the transformation of private handicraft
and commercial establishments we were far from meticulous the changes were too fast and we did our work in a somewhat summary, stereotyped manner leaving open a number of questions for a long time. Following the basic completion of the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce in 1956 we failed to do a proper job in employing and handling some of the former industrialists and businessmen. There was a story about this the story of Donglaishun instant-boiled mutton Everybody has tried Donglaishun instant-boiled mutton, right?

It is truly delicious

During the time of public-private joint management many time-honored brands adopted this policy, too. At that time firms like Guanshengyuan Quanjude Tongrentang Jiuzhitang Daoxiangcun Ruifuxiang Nelliansheng and Donglaishun all became public-private jointly managed. After Donglaishun became a joint venture the taste of its instant-boiled mutton deteriorated. Therefore some people said "Capitalist mutton turned unpalatable in Socialist societies." At the sixth Supreme State Conference in 1956 Mao Zedong drew special attention to this problem and appointed Chen Yun to solve it. He said you should investigate the reason "why Capitalist mutton turned unpalatable in Socialist societies?" After investigation Chen Yun found out the answer. What was that?

The reason behind Donglaishun instant-boiled mutton's deteriorating quality was that during our transformation of private firms we automatically "transformed" their operating "rules", too. Donglaishun used to only utilize little lambs that weighed 35 to 42 jin as its ingredients.

The mutton was considerably tender and good to be boiled which also served as the key to Donglaishun's long-time business success. However, after the implementation of public-private joint management this strict standard of picking ingredients was abandoned by the firm. Such things as old goats, old sheep and frozen mutton were all used and served on the table. Such mutton was too tough for boiling let alone instant boiling. How could that be delicious?

The way the mutton was cut also became less careful and not as thin Donglaishun used to attach special significance to the way the mutton was cut how many slices the meat was cut into how thin each slice was were both strictly prescribed. One worker could cut 30 jin of mutton each day at best because the mutton had to be cut into extremely thin pieces. Another reason that brought about Donglaishun mutton's deteriorating quality was the unfair purchasing price of raw materials which was against economic laws.

The price of mutton that was used for instant boiling used to be one yuan two jiao eight fen per jin. Now that the purchasing price was unified after joint management it had to buy mutton at the same price as other restaurants which was the unified price.

In this way the purchasing price of instant-boiled mutton must be lower than one yuan eight fen.

The price factor caused the quality of instant-boiled mutton to drop dramatically.

In addition to Donglaishun instant-boiled mutton Chen Yun also pointed out that "Quanjude" roast duck was not as delicious as it used to be. People were complaining bitterly. According to field investigation "Quanjude" roast duck used to utilize a special kind of duck. Since its birth, this kind of duck was subject to strict feeding rules. For about 100 days it fed on green beans and millet. After unified purchase and allocation of food and public-private joint management the ingredients of "Quanjude" roast duck changed. Under unified coordination the state allocated old ducks that were grown in penal farms.

The old ducks were neither crisp nor tender after being roasted and were of course unpalatable.
The seriousness of the problem was easily seen. Reasons behind these problems that occurred during socialist transformation were as follows. First, during the socialist transformation, the guiding principle was over-ambitious and imprudent, and the method was overly simple. According to the original plan, socialist transformation would take 10 to 15 years to complete, but the plan was advanced again and again in reality. In the end, only 3 years had past before socialist transformation was completed. This "Left" guiding principle later became the root cause of launching the Great Leap Forward and the Campaign of People's Commune. Second, by historical conditions, people at that time had some misunderstandings. For example, the choice and understanding of socialist economic models was too narrow, pursuing pure and unmixed socialist economic elements. What's more, the choice and understanding was over-simple, noticing only the two forms of collective ownership and public ownership. After the basic completion of socialist transformation, there was a lack of understanding that publicly-owned economy could coexist with non-publicly-owned economy. Furthermore, with regard to the problem of socialist developmental stage, our party had not yet formulated a scientific theory nor had it thoroughly figured out what socialism was. Therefore, certain problems were left unresolved for a long time.

It was due to the above reasons that some problems occurred during socialist transformation but it could not be denied that China's socialist transformation achieve a great success.

On March 18th, 1981, Deng Xiaoping pointed out during a talk that "Our country's socialist transformation was a success and was marvelous."

It was Comrade Mao Zedong's significant contribution to Marxism-Leninism."

3.3.1 The establishment of the basic system of socialism in China.

Next let's look at the third section, the establishment of the basic system of socialism in China and its great significance. Let's look at the first question: the establishment of the basic system of socialism in China. At the end of 1956, our country's socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, and capitalist industrial and commerce was basically completed, marking the end of the class exploitation system that existed in China for thousands of years, as well as the preliminary establishment of the basic system of socialism in China. Our country's economic structure and class structure experienced dramatic changes. People's democratic political institutions were being steadily constructed.

The basic completion of socialist transformation brought fundamental changes to China's socio-economic structure. Socialist economic elements gained absolute advantage. Socialist public ownership had become the economic foundation of our society. Let's look at two pictures.

The first is the diagram of national economic structure in 1952.

The second is the diagram of national economic structure in 1956. From these two pictures, we can see that after socialist transformation from 1952 to 1956, state economy saw an increase from 19.1% to 32.2%, Co-operative economy increased from 1.5% to 53.4%, Public-private joint economy increased from 0.7% to 7.3%. These three kinds of economies accounted for 92.9% of the national economy. Individual economy dropped from 71.8% to 7.1%. Private capitalist economy dropped from 6.9% to almost zero.

The above conditions demonstrated that private ownership of the means of production that existed in China for thousands of years upon which class exploitation system was built was basically uprooted. The basic system of socialism based on public ownership of the means of production was already established.
In September 1954 the first National People's Congress convened established Constitution of the People's Republic of China and put it into effect.

The constitution clearly stipulated that China's state system is people's democratic dictatorship and China's government system is the system of people's congresses.

During the discussion over the chapter of "State Institutions" in the Constitution Mao Zedong said "Our chairman premier are both elected in National People's Congress They must be subjected to National People's Congress and cannot jump out of the realm of the Tao."

The system of people's congresses was a fundamental political system.

The system of multiparty cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The system of regional ethnic autonomy and other basic political institutions were established marking China's transition from a new democratic country to a socialist country.

3.3.2 The great significance of establishing the basic system of socialism.

Let's then look at the second question the great significance of establishing the basic system of socialism.

The establishment of the basic system of socialism had great theoretical and practical significance. To begin with the establishment of the basic system of socialism in China was the systematic answer and correct solution from Chinese communists as represented by Mao Zedong to the question of how to conduct socialist revolution in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country in the East.

It was also the correct application and creative evolution of Marxist-Leninist theories about socialist revolution in China.

It not only proved again the truthfulness of Marxism-Leninism but also, by virtue of its originality in theoretical principles and experience summary, enriched and developed socialist scientific theories. What's more the establishment of the basic system of socialism greatly boosted the initiative and creativity of the working class and the broad working masses greatly facilitated the development of our social productive forces. Mao Zedong said in 1957 that "During the 50 years prior to liberation except for Northeast China our steel production was merely tens of thousands of tons. With Northeast China added the highest national annual production was merely 900 thousand tons.

In 1949 national steel production was only hundreds of thousands of tons. Only seven years after national liberation its production already increased to over 4000 thousand tons.

In Old China there were hardly any machine building industries let alone automobile making or aircraft manufacturing industries. But now they were all established. After people overthrew imperialism feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism where should China go? To capitalism or socialism?

The reality already answered this question. Only socialism could save China. Socialist systems facilitated the rapid development of our production power. This point could not be denied even by foreign enemies." At last the establishment of the basic system of socialism made the broad working masses masters of their country. This represented the most fundamental change in class relations in China over thousands of years. At the same time the establishment of the basic system of socialism in China marked the transition of this
Eastern country with a quarter of the world's population into socialist society This was another great historic success in the history of world socialist development At the beginning of 1956 Mao Zedong told his secretary Tian Jiaying "I am very happy happier even than in 1949 when the entire country was liberated

In 1955 when I saw so many peasants participate in agricultural co-operatives and socialist transformation was conducted in private industrial commercial sector I started to be happy" At that time not only leaders but also the masses were exalted by socialist transformation

We know that there is a video clip called Socialist Transformation Victory Party online

It recorded the occasion on January 15th, 1956 when people from all walks in Beijing celebrated "running into socialism"

The video lasted about ten minutes You can go and have a look

In 1956 Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio released a documentary called Spring Festival Gala

It could claim to be New China's earliest version of "Spring Festival Gala Evening" Famous people who attended the gala were Lao She Ba Jin Zhou Libo Du Pengcheng Sun Qian Chen Qitong Yuan Xuefen Mei Lanfang Hou Baolin Qian Xuesen Hua Luogeng Guo Moruo Rong Yiren Yue Songsheng Guo Lanying Zhang Ruifang Bai Yang Zhao Dan and so on

The film fully reflected fruitful results of socialist transformation

The film lasted 78 minutes and can also be found online You can have a look if you are interested

In June 1956 upon the completion of socialist transformation Mao Zedong toured Yangtze River and created the popular poem of Swimming—to the tune of Shui Diao Ge Tou

The poem was indeed a great hymn to socialist transformation Let’s sing it together

The waters of Changsha just drunk is a good view Now I come to taste the Wuchang fish stew Swimming across the longest Yangzi River Looking as far as my eye can reach to the sky of Chu Let the wind blow and waves swill To me, it's better than having a stroll in a courtyard at will Ah, today, how much at ease I feel "By the river Confucius is heard to say: Thus do things flow away!" Lo! Sails move with the wind Tortoise and Snake silently stand

We begin a plan so grand-- To span the north and south a bridge we will lay

The chasm will be turned into a broad high--way A dam will be built across the upstream to the west Bringing Wushan Mountains clouds and rain to rest A lake will appear around the deep gorge's crest Should the Wushan goddess be alive and sound today She would marvel at the world two in new array

4.1.1 Exploration products 〈On the Ten Major Relationships〉

Hello everyone Today let's learn Chapter Four Theoretical Achievements of Initial Explorations of Socialist Construction Path

As we know the basic completion of socialist transformation in 1956 marked our entry into a socialist society But the establishment of a socialist society does not mean the completion of socialist society Between establishment and completion there is still a long period of construction

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In China to construct the socialism is an unprecedented cause No mature experience or model can be patterned after Strenuous exploration is the only way out At the second Lushan Plenum in 1961 Mao Zedong pointed out that of socialism we now have some understanding but not much

We are constructing socialism while learning how to construct Only by constructing socialism can we have socialist experience There never has been a girl who first learned to bring up a child, that she might afterwards marry Here there never has been a girl who first learned to bring up a child, that she might afterwards marry was quoted from The Book of Rites

The Higher Education

The original text went like this no girl ever needs to learn about nursing a baby firstly, before she marries which means that there is no law in this world suggesting that one should first learn how to raise a child before one gets married Mao Zedong's metaphor was pretty striking People today describe socialist reform as "To cross the river by feeling the stones"

In fact socialist construction is nothing but "To cross the river by feeling the stones"

We can also describe it as first getting married and then learning to raise a child Then in the exploration of a path for socialist construction in the course of "To cross the river by feeling the stones" in the process of getting married and then learning to raise a child what ideas did we generate? What experience and lessons did we obtain? To start with, let's look at the first section initial explorations into the path for socialist construction and the major theoretical achievements I need to remind you in the first place that when we take ideological and political theory courses we must make a conscious effort to read the classics in their original version For example learning Moral Education and Legal Foundation requires the reading of moral and legal classics and some classics on traditional Chinese culture Learning Conspectus of Chinese Modern History one should read some first-hand historical literature Learning Introduction to Basic Principles of Marxism one should read some philosophical and political economic classics Similarly when you take this course you should also read some classics in their original version

In this section I will introduce you to two classic works written by Mao Zedong One is On the Ten Major Relationships

The other is On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People Let's look at the first question exploration products in On the Ten Major Relationships

On April 25th and May 2nd, 1956 Mao Zedong delivered the same report at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of CPC and Supreme State Conference entitled On the Ten Major Relationships

The report tentatively summarized China's experience in socialist construction and proposed to bear in mind lessons drawn from the Soviet Union mobilize all positive factors to serve socialist causes and independently explore a socialist construction path that were suitable for China How was the report composed? Bo Yibo recalled in the book Recollection of Several Major Decisions and Events which went like this At the beginning of 1956 Chairman Mao had just returned from Hangzhou when I reported to him I accidentally mentioned that Comrade Shaoqi was now listening to the reports of several ministries Out of my expectation Chairman Mao became quite interested in this issue and said to me

It is great I also want to hear their opinions Can you help me organize some department reports? I was of course willing to accept the task Shortly after that the report began which lasted more than two months
and included 34 departments

It was an important investigation and exploration on the part of Chairman Mao at the time when our country was at the height of socialist transformation and when the first Five-year Plan entered the fourth year

It directly provided materials for his proposal and analysis of the ten major relationships Mao Zedong was already 63 years old at that time

In order to hear all the reports and obtain the information he went to great lengths

As Bo Yibo recalled every day Mao Zedong went from bed to work and work to bed

The first thing after he got up was to listen to reports which was punctuated by handling daily affairs After hearing the reports he would went to bed This task was not only painstaking but also mind-wracking For example when listening to one of the ministers report Mao Zedong commented listening to such a report is like a drill for me which is even worse than being thrown in jail At least my mind will be free in jail My mind is not free now but under your command He added the items that you listed must have been quoted from a variety of specific materials You should have written the specific cases clearly

It is like you promised to treat me but withheld meat from me Are you going to reserve the best for yourselves?

It is thus clear that out of a complex set of particulars to summarize and conclude and abstract them into laws is not an easy task

In addition to this investigation Mao Zedong also paid many visits out of Beijing

The product of this series of investigations was the report On the Ten Major Relationships

In this report Mao Zedong summarized ten problems or ten major relationships as well ten major contradictions I have a question for you do you know what the ten major relationships are? What is the detailed content?

In fact the basic content of the ten major relationships went as follows First on the relationship between heavy industry on the one hand, and light industry and agriculture on the other Mao Zedong suggested we develop agriculture and light industry more to facilitate the development of heavy industry He said

In dealing with this relationship between heavy industry and light industry, agriculture we have not made an error of principle

We have done better than the Soviet Union and a number of East European countries

The prolonged failure of the Soviet Union to reach the highest pre-October Revolution level in grain output

In some Eastern European countries the grave problems arising from the glaring disequilibrium between the development of heavy industry and that of light industry such problems do not exist in our country Second in terms of the relationship between industry in the coastal regions and industry in the interior Mao Zedong insisted making good use of the industries in the coastal regions and developing their capacities will put us in a stronger position and support industry in the interior He said the notion that the atom bomb is already overhead and about to fall on us in a matter of seconds is a calculation at variance with reality and it would be wrong to take a negative attitude towards coastal industry on this account Third when it
came to the relationship between economic construction and defence construction Mao Zedong stressed the importance of defence construction. Meanwhile he proposed to cut military and administrative expenditures down to appropriate proportions and increase expenditures on economic construction. Only with the faster growth of economic construction can there be greater progress in defence construction. He said, Would it be all right to demobilize all our troops now? No, it would not. For enemies are still around and we are being bullied and encircled by them.

We must strengthen our national defence and for that purpose we must first of all strengthen our work in economic construction. Fourth, when it came to the relationships between the state and the units of production and the producers, Mao Zedong indicated that interests of the three parties must all be handled well without biasing towards any of them.

We should advocate plain living and hard work but also advocate concern for the livelihood for the masses. He said the Soviet Union has adopted measures which squeeze the peasants very hard. Through its system of so-called obligatory sales and other measures it takes away too much from the peasants at too low a price. This method of capital accumulation has seriously dampened the peasants’ enthusiasm for production. You want the hen to lay more eggs and yet you don’t feed it. You want the horse to run fast and yet you don’t let it graze. What kind of logic is that? Our policies towards the peasants differ from those of the Soviet Union and take into account the interests of both the state and the peasants. Fifth, on the relationship between the central and the local authorities, Mao Zedong pointed out that on the premise that the unified leadership of the central authorities is to be strengthened, enlarging the powers of the local authorities to some extent giving them greater independence and letting them do more will promote both central and local initiatives. He said our territory is so vast, our population is so large and the conditions are so complex. Having the initiative come from both the central and local authorities is much better than from one source alone.

We must not follow the example of the Soviet Union in concentrating everything in the hands of the central authorities shackling the local authorities and denying them the right to independent action. Sixth, when it came to the relationship between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities, Mao Zedong suggested we put the emphasis on opposing Han chauvinism as well as local-nationality chauvinism.

We must sincerely and actively help the minority nationalities to develop their economy and culture. He said in the Soviet Union the relationship between the Russian nationality and the minority nationalities is very abnormal. We should draw lessons from this. Seventh, as for the relationship between party and non-party, Mao Zedong pointed out that the Communist Party and democratic parties should co-exist in the long term and mutually supervise. He said which is better, to have just one party or several.

As we see it now it’s perhaps better to have several parties. This has been true in the past and may well be so for the future, it means long-term coexistence and mutual supervision. Mao Zedong added even those who condemned us like Long Yun Liang Shuming Peng Yihu and so on we also need to support them and allow them to rail at us while refusing their nonsense and accepting what makes sense in their rebukes. This is better for the Party, for the people and for socialism. Eighth, when it came to the relationship between revolution and counter-revolution, Mao Zedong pointed out that we must draw a clear distinction between the enemy and ourselves. Turn negative factors into positive factors. He said all counter-revolutionists should be given a chance to earn a living so that they can start anew. This will be good for the cause of the people and be well received abroad. Ninth, as for the relationship between right and wrong, Mao Zedong pointed out that for comrades who have made mistakes we should adopt a policy of “learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient.” Allow them to make mistakes.
allow and help them to correct their mistakes He said some people are quite like that bogus foreign devil
They barred from the revolution those who had committed errors drawing no distinction between the
making of mistakes and counter-revolution and went so far as to kill a number of people who were guilty
only of mistakes

We must take this lesson to heart

It is bad either to bar people outside the Party from the revolution or to prohibit erring comrades inside the
Party from making amends

It is worth noting that what Mao Zedong referred to as the bogus foreign devil are characters in Lu Xun's
*The True Story of Ah Q* He did not allow Ah Q to participate in revolution Tenth when it came to the
relationship between China and other countries Mao Zedong suggested that we learn from the strong
points of all nations and all countries including capitalist countries

We should learn their advanced science and technology and scientific management methods Meanwhile
we should oppose indiscriminate rejection or imitation He said we must firmly reject and criticize all the
decadent bourgeois systems, ideologies and ways of life of foreign countries But this should in no way
prevent us from learning the advanced sciences and technologies of capitalist countries and whatever is
scientific in the management of their enterprises Above is the basic content of the ten major relationships

The ten major relationships concern all aspects including the productive forces and the relations of
production the economic base and the superstructure

The spiritual substance of the ten major relationships, as Mao Zedong pointed out includes the following
two aspects First learning lessons from the Soviet Union

When expounding the ten major relationships Mao Zedong basically used the Soviet Union as the frame of
reference and comparative item

In the report Mao Zedong pointed out directly and openly Particularly worthy of attention is the fact that in
the Soviet Union certain defects and errors that occurred in the course of their building socialism have
lately come to light Do you want to follow the detours they have made?

It was by drawing lessons from their experience that we were able to avoid certain detours in the past and
there is all the more reason for us to do so now Second mobilizing all positive factors to serve the socialist
cause

The positive factors that Mao Zedong referred to included both factors inside the party and factors outside
the party both internal factors and external factors both direct factors and indirect factors both positive
factors in the first place as well as positive factors that were transformed from negative factors Internal
factors included both the workers and peasants and other basic forces as well as the middle forces that
could be won over and the reactionary forces that could be transformed External factors included all forces
that could be united as well as the forces that were not neutral and could be neutralized through our
efforts and the reactionary forces that could be split and made use of About the theoretical theme Mao
Zedong openly pointed out that

It is to focus on one basic policy that these ten problems are being raised the basic policy of mobilizing all
positive factors, internal and external to serve the cause of socialism
In the past we followed this policy of mobilizing all positive factors in order to put an end to the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and to win victory for the people's democratic revolution.

We are now following the same policy in order to carry on the socialist revolution and build a socialist country. At the end of the report Mao Zedong again summarized these ten relationships are all contradictions.

The world consists of contradictions. Without contradictions the world would cease to exist. Our task is to handle these contradictions correctly.

As to whether or not they can be resolved entirely to our satisfaction in practice we must be prepared for either possibility. Furthermore, in the course of resolving these contradictions we are bound to come up against new ones and new problems. But as we have often said while the road ahead is tortuous the future is bright.

We must do our best to mobilize all positive factors, both inside and outside the Party both at home and abroad both direct and indirect and make China a powerful socialist country. *On the Ten Major Relationships* is an important ideological product in the initial exploration of socialist construction path. Whether its detailed explanation of the ten major relationships or its spiritual substance both carry great significance to the exploration of socialist construction laws.

It is a pity that such crucial ideological achievements were not published when Mao Zedong was alive. What happened?

In fact after delivering this report Mao Zedong's focus and opinion changed Therefore the report was not published in time but only circulated among the party's senior members.

On December 15th, 1965 Liu Shaoqi advised Mao Zedong to distribute this speech to the level of counties and communities. After reviewing the transcript, Mao Zedong replied the transcript is not satisfactory. Distribute it and ask for comments in order to make further revisions. Add this opinion to the central committee's comment.

On December 27th the report was published under the name of confidential document and specially labelled "No publishing in party journals".

In 1975 when Deng Xiaoping resumed office and presided over daily affairs in the central government he ordered Hu Qiaomu to lead the reorganization of Mao Zedong's speeches on April 25th, 1956 and May 2nd Content that was missing in previous transcripts were recovered.

The theoretical orientation and logic of the articles were enhanced. New transcripts were formed. Later Deng Xiaoping wrote a letter to Mao Zedong saying that when we were reading and revising we all agreed that this article was extremely important.

It carried great relevance and instructive significance for the present and the future as well as for the international community (especially for third world countries). Therefore we hoped the transcript could be finalized as soon as possible and published as an important theoretical document for the entire nation to study. Mao Zedong reviewed the new transcript that day and replied approved. Send it to comrades in the Political Bureau for comments. Do not make it public for the moment.

It can be sent to the entire party for discussion. Do not publish it in newspapers. Wait until the selected works are published. Therefore the article of *On the Ten Major Relationships* which was reorganized by Hu
Qiaomu still failed to be published Until December 26th, 1976 in memory of Mao Zedong's 83rd year of birth On the Ten Major Relationships was published in People's Daily At that time Mao Zedong had already been dead for more than three months Since Mao Zedong made the report of On the Ten Major Relationships Twenty years had passed

We have to say it is a shame in history

4.1.2 〈On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People〉 and its exploration results

Let's then look at the second question On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People and its exploration results

In February 1956 Communist Party of the Soviet Union held the 20th National Congress

As the Congress approached the end CPSU Central general secretary Khrushchev made a confidential report condemning Stalin On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences Influenced by CPSU 20th Congress and the confidential report some socialist countries in East Europe were filled with turbulent atmosphere

In June 1956, the "Poznan Incident" occurred in Poland

In October 1956, the "Hungarian Incident" happened in East Europe Imperialism took the opportunity to run an anti-communist and anti-socialist campaign "Poznan-Hungarian Incident" also exerted some influence on our country Due to some mistakes made in our socialist transformation and construction besides, some cadres had bureaucratic working styles and severely isolated themselves from the masses which angered part of the masses

In autumn and winter of 1956 in some villages "disturbances" occurred in factories and schools

On January 18th, 1957 Mao Zedong mentioned this phenomenon in his speech He said if some people grow tired of life and so become bureaucratic if, when meeting the masses, they have not a single kind word for them but only take them to task and if they don't bother to solve any of the problems the masses may have they are destined to be overthrown. Now this danger does exist If you alienate yourself from the masses and fail to solve their problems the peasants will wield their carrying-poles the workers will demonstrate in the streets and the students will create disturbances Whenever such things happen they must in the first place be taken as good things and that is how I look at the matter

When faced with newly emerged contradictions some party members and cadres are not mentally prepared handled their work improperly and caused contradictions to worsen Such situations showed that when the entire party and entire country changed their working focus from revolution to construction we faced the problem of how to view and handle contradictions in the socialist society Were there still contradictions in a socialist society? Contradictions of what nature? How to view and resolve these contradictions in a correct way?

It was a crucial question in the all-round socialist construction Only if these questions were correctly answered and resolved could we make further progress in our socialist cause

When it came to the problem of contradictions in the socialist society Marx, Engels and Lenin did not specially deal with it
In Stalin's leadership of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union he did not acknowledge the existence of contradictions in a long time which resulted in severe consequences in practice Mao Zedong and other party and state leaders profoundly learned experience and lessons from the Soviet Union carefully analyzed and researched the new situations and new problems in China's socialist construction.

On the basis of wide investigation theory on contradictions in the socialist society was formed.

On February 27th, 1957 at the Supreme State Conference 11th (Expanded) Meeting, Mao Zedong delivered a report named *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* he systematically explained the theory on contradictions in the socialist society.

The report was usually abbreviated as *Zheng Chu* the same "Zheng Chu" in "Zheng Chu" and "Fu Chu".

In *Zheng Chu* Mao Zedong pointed out that contradictions exist everywhere socialist society is also full of contradictions.

It is precisely these contradictions that are pushing our society forward. Contradictions keep emerging and being resolved. That is the dialectical law of development. He advocated using the law of the unity of opposites to analyze contradictions in the socialist society in depth Mao Zedong's thought about contradictions in the socialist society mainly included the following three aspects.

The first was about the basic contradiction in the socialist society Mao Zedong pointed out that in the socialist society the basic contradictions were still those between the relations of production and the productive forces the contradictions between the superstructure and the economic base.

The basic contradictions in the socialist society were fundamentally different from those in the old societies in terms of character and features.

The basic contradictions in the socialist society were those that occurred when the relations of production generally suited the productive forces the superstructure and the economic base generally suited each other and people's fundamental interests were consistent. Therefore they were not antagonistic contradictions but rather non-antagonistic contradictions.

The movement of the basic contradictions in the socialist society had the features of mutual adaptation and mutual contradiction.

On one hand socialist relations of production had been established. They corresponded to the development of productive forces.

On the other hand they were far from perfect.

The imperfect aspects are in conflict with the demands of developing productive forces.

In addition to such mutually adaptive and mutually contradictory relationship between the relations of production and the productive forces between the superstructure and the economic base such mutually adaptive and mutually contradictory situation also occurred.

The mutually adaptive aspect was the basic aspect whereas the mutually contradictory aspect was the nonbasic aspect. Since contradictions in the socialist society were not antagonistic contradictions.

It could be continuously resolved through the socialist system Mao Zedong analyzed the nature characteristics and solution of the basic contradictions in the socialist society and revealed the general law.
of development in the socialist society

The second was about the major contradiction and fundamental task of our society

The party's 18th National Congress correctly analyzed after the completion of socialist transformation the change of major contradiction in our society and pointed out that the major domestic contradiction in our country was already the contradiction between people's demand for establishing an advanced industrialized country and the fact as a backward agricultural country and the contradiction between people's need for a fast growing economy and culture and the fact that current economy and culture could not meet people's demands. Based on this the Party Central Committee proposed to change the party and the state's focus to technological revolution and socialist construction.

The third was theory about two different types of contradictions Mao Zedong stressed that contradictions in the socialist society could be politically classified into contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and contradiction among the people. Those were two types of contradictions totally different in nature. Contradiction between ourselves and the enemy is the contradiction between people and the social forces and social groups that resisted the socialist revolution and were hostile to or sabotage socialist construction.

It was the contradiction based on contradictory fundamental interests.

It was therefore antagonistic contradiction. Whereas contradiction among the people was contradiction based on consistent fundamental interests.

It was therefore non-antagonistic contradiction. Contradiction among the people include contradiction within the working class contradiction within the peasantry contradiction within the intelligentsia contradiction between the working class and the peasantry contradiction between the workers and the peasants on the one hand and the intellectuals on the other contradiction between the working class and other sections of the working people on the one hand and the national bourgeoisie on the other contradiction between the government and the masses contradiction between democracy and centralism contradiction between the leadership and the led and the contradictions arising from the bureaucratic style of work of some of the state personnel in their relations with the masses.

Besides contradiction between those who could rather correctly reflect the objective law and those who could not rather correctly reflect the objective law also belonged to the contradictions among the people. Mao Zedong specially pointed out that in our country because the Chinese national bourgeoisie has a dual character the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie came under the category of contradictions among the people. Mao Zedong reminded people of the transition between two types of contradictions. He thought that the existence of two types of contradictions was objective but not unchanged. Under certain conditions the two types of contradictions could be interchanged. Mao Zedong explained the basic methods of handling the two types of social contradictions. He pointed out that since the two types of contradictions were different in nature they must be resolved by different methods. To put it briefly the former entail drawing a clear distinction between ourselves and the enemy and the latter entail drawing a clear distinction between right and wrong. He said,

It has been our consistent view that under the people's democratic dictatorship two different methods, one dictatorial and the other democratic should be used to resolve the two types of contradictions which differ in nature those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people. He pointed out that the so-called method of dictatorship is to use the state machine of people's democratic dictatorship to transform
the enemy inside the country who oppose socialist transformation and destroy socialist construction and
to legally punish those serious criminals deprive them of their political rights force them to engage in labor
and transform them into new men through such labor Whereas the so-called method of democracy is the
method of discussion criticism and persuasive education Mao Zedong further pointed out that using
democratic methods to resolve contradiction among the people is a general policy For different situations
that occurred in the practice of resolving contradiction among the people Mao Zedong proposed a series
of specific policies and principles which included the following aspects First for contradiction among the
people in the political ideological realm policy of "unity-criticism-unity" should be implemented method of
persuasion, education and discussion should be adopted Second for contradiction among the people
concerning the distribution of material interests overall consideration and proper arrangement should be
adopted which could balance the interests of the state the collective and the individual Third for
contradiction between the masses and the government the principle of democratic centralism should be
adopted bureaucratic style in government organs should be surmounted and people's ideological
education should be enhanced Fourth for contradiction in the scientific and cultural realm the policy of "Let
a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend" should be adopted

The contradiction should be resolved through free discussion, scientific practice and artistic practice Fifth
for contradiction between the Communist Party and democratic parties under the premise of insisting the
socialist path and CPC leadership the policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" should be
adopted Sixth for the contradiction between nationalities the policy of national equality solidarity and
mutual assistance should be adopted Han chauvinism should be especially opposed as well as local-
nationality chauvinism and so on All those policies were specifications of using democratic methods in
resolving contradiction among the people which provided direction for resolving contradiction among the
people in various forms Then what was the purpose of proposing to correctly resolve contradiction among
the people? Mao Zedong pointed out that we raise the question of distinguishing contradictions among the
people from those between ourselves and the enemy as well as the question of the correct handling of
contradictions among the people in order to unite the people of all nationalities in our country for the new
battle the battle against nature develop our economy and culture consolidate our new system and build up
our new state Mao Zedong again stressed that

The key point of the statement that resolving contradiction among the people is the theme of political life in
the socialist country is to mobilize all positive factors unite all forces that could be united and change the
entire party's focus to socialist construction About the thought on two different types of contradictions
there was an interesting interaction between Mao Zedong and Guo Moruo in which one wrote a poem and
the other replied

On October 18th, 1961 after watching the opera The Golden Monkey Subdues the Demon Three Times
Guo Moruo wrote an eight-line poem with seven characters to a line upon the troupe's invitation

The name of the poem was Thoughts on Seeing The Golden Monkey Subdues the Demon Three Times

The poem went like this Humans and demons, right and wrong, he all blends,

The monk pities the foes and cruel to his friends. He keeps numbling the curse on the monkey in a vexed
tone, And three times he let off the evil demon of white bone.

The monk should die a thousand times if dealt with fair, Thanks to the monkey who comes to help by
plucking his hair. Timely teaching proves to be a laudable and worthy school, So even the Pig can be
taught therein wiser than a fool.
In this poem Guo Moruo regarded the contradiction between the Golden Monkey and Tang Monk was 
contradiction between the enemy and ourselves Therefore he proposed that "The monk should die a 
thousand times if dealt with fair" This view was of course incorrect but understandable

As a child I used to enjoy the 1986 version of the TV drama *The Pilgrimage to the West*

When I watched the episode of *The Golden Monkey Subdues the Demon Three Times* my friends and I all 
disliked the Monk and even hated him

The feeling was similar to that of Guo Moruo Now people often say fear not godlike opponents fear only 
piglike partners

When I first saw this sentence I thought of the story of "The Golden Monkey Subdues the Demon Three 
Times" Let's get back to the point Shortly after that when Mao Zedong read Guo Moruo's poem in 
Guangzhou he disagreed with Guo Moruo's opinion

On November 17th, 1961 Mao Zedong wrote the famous *Reply to Comrade Guo Moruo--to the tune of 
Seven-Character Lvshi* which went Ever since a thunder and storm crashes the earth with might, An evil 
demon has been born of a heap of bones white.

The monk though simple-headed is not an uneducated mole,

The demon so evil and malignant must disasters provoke. Once the Golden Monkey wields his cudgel of 
ten thousand jin,

The fair and boundless sky is soon cleared of dust and din.

We hail Sun Dasheng, the Wonder-worker, today, Because the evil mist again on the way.

The poem was actually saying that the contradiction between the Golden Monkey and Tang Monk 
belonged to the contradiction among the people Such a contradiction should be resolved by the method of 
"criticism" that is to say by education, persuasion and democracy Whereas the contradiction between the 
Golden Monkey and the Skeleton Demon belonged to the contradiction between the enemy and ourselves 
Such a contradiction must be resolved by the method of "cudgel of ten thousand jin" that is to day, by the 
method of struggle and dictatorship

It was correct Comrade Tang Monk though stupid as to confuse enemies with friends and verbose as to 
always ask "what is your mother's name" was after all part of the people

As a "fair-skinned, rich, attractive lady", the Skeleton Demon though good-looking with a sweet voice was 
after all part of the enemy

We should not "take friends for enemies" simply because our friends were disagreeable Similarly we 
should not "take enemies for friends" simply because our enemies were lovely

The poem was a vivid portrait of Mao Zedong's two types of contradictions thoughts as well as a portrait 
of Mao Zedong's other thoughts like the thought of class struggle the thought of armed struggle and the 
thought of united front They all deserved our careful study

The story did not end here
On January 6th, 1962 thanks to Kang Sheng, Guo Moruo accessed Mao Zedong's poem in reply and benefitted greatly. He wrote another Qi Lv that day in reply which went Thanks to the thunderstorm burst over the earth, White bones did not compile in stacks. Heavy mist covered the entire world, Dreadful disasters were pending.

The monk was regretful after being tortured, Wishing to pay back the benefits.

The Monkey King had penetrating eyes that tolerant of no devil, Fearless of any demon that came back. This poem of Guo Moruo was handed over to Mao Zedong through Kang Sheng. Mao Zedong wrote a letter back to Guo Moruo saying that.

The poem in reply was well-written.

It was good not to say "The monk should die a thousand times if dealt with fair. Adopting the policy of united front on the centrists was a nice try.

It was obvious that in Mao Zedong's eyes the Golden Monkey was a revolutionist. The Skeleton Demon was a reactionist while Tang Monk was a centrist. He believed that reactionists should be firmly beaten while centrists should be actively fought for. Strategies on those two groups should not be mixed. Finally, it was worth noting that On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People was originally a speech made by Mao Zedong on February 27th, 1957 at Supreme State Conference. 11th (Expanded) Meeting. Later based on the original transcript, Mao Zedong reorganized the speech made some additions and revisions.

The article was published in People's Daily on June 19th, 1957. Influenced by the Anti-Rightist Movement, Mao Zedong added some content to the speech. For example, he emphasized that class struggle was fierce.

The outcome of the war between socialism and capitalism was still unsettled. He proposed six standards to differentiate between fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds. "Fragrant flowers" referred to correct remarks while "poisonous weeds" referred to incorrect remarks. Do you know what the six standards are? They were the "Six Beneficial's" First Words and deeds should help to unite and not divide, the people of all our nationalities. Second They should be beneficial and not harmful to socialist transformation and socialist construction. Third They should help to consolidate and not undermine or weaken, the people's democratic dictatorship. Fourth They should help to consolidate and not undermine or weaken, democratic centralism. Fifth They should help to strengthen and not shake off or weaken, the leadership of the Communist Party. Sixth They should be beneficial, and not harmful to international socialist unity and the unity of the peace-loving people of the world. Mao Zedong specially pointed out that of the six criteria the most important were the two about the socialist path and the leadership of the Party.

The article as we see today in Selected Works of Mao Zedong Volume Five and Works of Mao Zedong Volume Seven was actually the revised speech after addition and revision.

It was not the original speech.

It was reasonable to add and revise the original speech but the addition and revision were inconsistent with the spirit of the speech.

We must say that it was a shame in history.
4.1.3 Thought of industrializing China

Let's then look at the third question the thought of industrializing China

In On the Ten Major Relationships and On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People Mao Zedong proposed the thought of industrializing China. Industrialization was the inevitable demand of historical development since modern China as well as the necessary condition for China to gain independence and prosperity. Since modern times, China repeatedly ceded territory and paid indemnities suffered abuses. An important reason was that as an agricultural country, China lagged far behind western industrialized countries in overall national strength. CPC started to emphasize the China's industrialization from very early on and proposed the policy of protecting national industrial commerce during the new democratic revolutionary period.

During Anti-Japanese War Mao Zedong pointed out that in order to provide a solid support for China's national independence we must industrialize.

The party's Second Plenary of the Seventh Central Committee proposed the goal of achieving national industrialization. At the beginning of new China's foundation Liu Shaoqi planned to use major force to develop agriculture and light industry then use bigger force to lay a foundation for heavy industry and develop heavy industry and ultimately use developed heavy industry to fully promote mechanization of agriculture and light industry. Liu Shaoqi's plan was described as "industrialization following the sequence of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry". This plan belonged to the traditional industrialization path which was similar to that in most developed countries and newly industrialized countries but different from that of the Soviet Union which first developed heavy industry. However as the Korean War broke out our party chose the Soviet Union's model of first developing heavy industry and quickly formed the industrialization sequence of "heavy industry, light industry, agriculture".

In the establishment of this path occurred several debates between Mao Zedong and other people.

The first debate was about "division of power and cooperation".

The focus of the debate was "whether private capital could participate in industrialization".

In 1953 some non-Communists believed that after 22 years of civil war China's economy was in urgent need of recovery. People aspired to stability and no more wars. To quickly improve people's lives more energy should be contributed to developing industry. Industrial commercial workers could develop light industry whereas the state could specialize in developing heavy industry.

The two could divide the labor. Each might have strong-suits and shortcomings and complement each other. Three goals could be achieved.

The first was public and private balance.

The second was heavy and light balance or the balance between heavy industry and light industry.

The third was capital and labor balance or the balance between labor-intensive and capital-intensive. That was the so-called "division of labor and cooperation". "Division of labor and cooperation" exerted some influence within the party but was severely criticized by Mao Zedong.

On July 29th, 1953 at the Enlarged Meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Mao Zedong made a speech "Some people in our party proposed a view of the bourgeoisie that is, the state develops
heavy industry while leaving light industry to be developed by individuals

We must not adopt this path

The situation should not be that the state makes raw materials capitalists manufacture while a large bunch of private light industry factories embark on state capitalist road

We must also develop local state industry such as cotton mill, fountain pen factory and other light industry People's increasing purchasing power should be satisfied by state enterprises mainly local state enterprises Private enterprises could only account for a small portion" Due to Mao Zedong's criticism "division of labor and cooperation" was not turned into reality

The second debate took place between Mao Zedong and Liang Shuming

The focus of the debate was "could we sacrifice agriculture and peasants in order to industrialize"

On September 11th, 1953 or "Nine One One" at the CPPCC Standing Committee meeting Liang Shuming said "In the past thirty years of Chinese revolution CPC relied upon peasants and used villages as bases but after entry into cities

The focus transferred to cities Cadres who were originally peasants also transferred to cities Villages became empty Especially in recent years living standards of urban workers increased rapidly whereas rural peasants still lived a hard life Therefore rural people in various areas all swarmed into cities including Beijing Cities could not sustain so many people and chased them back which created a conflict Some people said the workers are up in the ninth heaven whereas the peasants are down in the ninth hell

The difference was like "the ninth heaven and the ninth hell"

It merits our attention While building our country, if we ignore or omit the majority of people in China--peasants it would be improper Especially for CPC to be the leading party peasants played a big role in the past If they were ignored today people would say that you entered cities and became shamed by them This problem deserves the government's attention" After Liang Shuming's speech nobody gave a counterargument on the spot Some people even agreed

The next day September 12th the CPPCC Standing Committee meeting ended and the Enlarged meeting of the Central People's Government Committee was held Mao Zedong made an impromptu speech saying that some people disagree with our general line thinking that peasants' life is so hard and demanding us to take care of peasants

It is probably the policy of benevolence created by Confucius and Mencius but we should be aware of lesser benevolence and greater benevolence Taking care of peasants is lesser benevolence Developing heavy industry and defeating the United States is greater benevolence Mao Zedong added some people even wanted to teach fish to swim

It seemed CPC was dedicated to several decades of peasant movement but did not know peasants How ridiculous!

The foundation for our regime today and workers and peasants' fundamental interests are consistent This foundation cannot be separated or destroyed Mao Zedong stressed "Policies of benevolence are of two kinds One is concerned with the people's immediate interests
The other is concerned with their long-term interests such as resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea and building heavy industry.

The first is a policy of lesser benevolence and the second a policy of greater benevolence Both must be taken into consideration and it is wrong not to do so Where then is the emphasis to be placed?

On the policy of greater benevolence At present the emphasis in our policy of benevolence should be on the construction of heavy industry Construction takes money Therefore much as the livelihood of the people needs to be improved this cannot be done to any great extent for the time being.

In other words while we have to improve the people's livelihood we must not try to do too much and while we have to make some allowance for it we must not make too much To make allowance for the policy of lesser benevolence at the expense of the policy of greater benevolence is to go off the right track"

The debate escalated later and ended up with Liang Shuming being criticized and Mao Zedong winning a complete victory After several debates the industrialization sequence of "heavy industry, light industry, agriculture" with heavy industry as priority was finally determined However there were some shortcomings in this path For example due to the "price scissors" between industry and agriculture too much was taken away from peasants Another example when heavy industry was developed first agriculture and light industry rather lagged behind resulting in the fact that the improvement in people's living standards was long overdue With the basic completion of socialist transformation Mao Zedong started to review the problem of China's industrialization.

The first major relationship mentioned in On the Ten Major Relationships was the relationships between heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other hand Mao Zedong pointed out that "There are now two possible approaches to our development of heavy industry one is to develop agriculture and light industry less and the other is to develop them more.

In the long run the first approach will lead to smaller and slower development of heavy industry or at least will put it on a less solid foundation and when the over-all account is added up a few decades hence, it will not prove to have paid.

The second approach will lead to a greater and faster development of heavy industry and, since it ensures the livelihood of the people it will lay a more solid foundation for the development of heavy industry" On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People had altogether twelve sections.

In the last section "China's Industrialization" Mao Zedong pointed out that "In discussing our path to industrialization we are here concerned principally with the relationship between the growth of heavy industry, light industry and agriculture.

It must be affirmed that heavy industry is the core of China's economic construction. At the same time, full attention must be paid full attention must be paid to the development of agriculture and light industry.

As China is a large agricultural country with over 80 per cent of its population in the rural areas agriculture must develop along with industry for only thus can industry secure raw materials and a market and only thus is it possible to accumulate more funds for building a powerful heavy industry" He added that "As agriculture and light industry develop heavy industry assured of its market and funds will grow faster Hence what may seem to be a slower pace of industrialization will actually not be so slow and indeed may even be faster" After exploration Mao Zedong and other leaders learned from the Soviet Union's
experience and lessons in first developing heavy industry and proposed the policy of basing on agriculture centering around industry and a whole set of "walking on two legs"

The content of "walking on two legs" included promoting heavy industry and light industry simultaneously promoting central industry and local industry simultaneously promoting industry in coastal regions and industry in the interior simultaneously promoting large enterprises and small and medium sized enterprises simultaneously and so on

It was a pity that these thoughts were not fully implemented However they were all important achievements of the initial explorations into socialist construction path and carried certain practical significance even today

In late 1950s and early 1960s in the process of exploring socialist construction path, the party also proposed many important ideological, theoretical viewpoints in many aspects which concerned the stage of socialist development strategic goals and procedures of socialist modernization directions of economic construction adjustment in ownership structure reform of economic and operating institutions socialist democratic and political construction science and education intellectuals national defense construction and military construction national reunification diplomacy, international strategy, construction of the ruling party and many other aspects These important theoretical achievements constituted an important part of Mao Zedong Thought

It enriched and developed scientific socialism and become an important ideological source of the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

4.2.1 What is the significance of the initial explorations of the socialist construction path

Let's then look at the second section the significance, experience, and lessons in the initial explorations into socialist construction path To begin with let's look at the first question what is the significance of the initial explorations into the socialist construction path?

In the process of exploring the socialist construction path, the party led people through twists and turns and achieved a series of important achievements in theory and practice

The significance of such achievements was as follows First consolidation and development of our country's socialist system After the establishment of socialist system faced with grave and complex domestic and international situations the party led the entire nation in gaining independence, making a living and building socialism on a large scale

It made major achievements in economy, politics, culture and various other aspects These achievements demonstrated the superiority of socialist system enhanced people's confidence in the socialist path Socialist system were also consolidated and developed in practice Second provision of valuable experience theoretical preparations material foundation for initiating socialism with Chinese characteristics Report at the party's 18th National Congress pointed out that "The Party's first generation of central collective leadership with Comrade Mao Zedong at the core led the whole Party and the people of all ethnic groups in China in completing the new-democratic revolution carrying out socialist transformation and establishing the basic system of socialism thereby accomplishing the most profound and the greatest social transformation in China's history This created the fundamental political prerequisite and systemic foundation for development and progress in contemporary China
In the course of socialist development the Party developed distinctively creative theories and made
tremendous successes despite serious setbacks it went through thus providing invaluable experience as
well as the theoretical and material basis for launching the great initiative of building socialism with Chinese
characteristics in the new historical period Third enrichment of scientific socialist theory and practice
China's practice in socialist construction was different from what Marx and Engels had imagined as
socialism based on well-developed production forces

It was also different from the Soviet Union's socialist construction which was based on developed
capitalism

The party led people in exploring the socialist construction path and learned experience and lessons from
the Soviet Union's model Based on its own practice, it formed many original achievements and deepened
the understanding of socialism Achievements of the exploration indicated that there was not a changeless
model for socialist construction Each country should base on its own circumstances and independently
choose its own development path which not only enriched China's socialist theory and practice enriched
scientific socialist theory and practice but also provided experience and lessons for other countries'
socialist construction Nowadays social comment on Mao Zedong era showed two extremes

The first extreme thought of Mao Zedong era as complete darkness and completely wrong

It was the ultra Right trend

The second extreme thought of Mao Zedong era as perfect and alright

It was ultra Left trend Neither of the two trends was correct and must be firmly opposed

In 1981 Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of

The People's Republic of China correctly pointed out that Our party has made mistakes owing to its
meager experience in leading the cause of socialism and subjective errors in the party leadership's analysis
of the situation and its understanding of Chinese conditions Before the "cultural revolution" there were
mistakes of enlarging the scope of class struggle and of impetuosity and rashness in economic
construction Later there was the comprehensive, long-drawn-out and grave blunder of the "cultural
revolution" All these errors prevented us from scoring the greater achievements of which we should have
been capable

It is impermissible to overlook or whitewash mistakes which in itself would be a mistake and would give rise
to more and worse mistakes But after all our achievements in the past thirty-two years are the main thing

It would be a no less serious error to overlook or deny our achievements or our successful experiences in
scoring these achievements

It was worth noting that despite various errors and severe frustrations that occurred in the process of
exploration we could not deny Comrade Mao Zedong's toil and passion during this period

In the process of exploring the socialist construction path and construction law especially during the Great
Leap Forward Mao Zedong was very diligent very hardworking He went on many trips for investigation For
example on October 23rd, 1959 Mao Zedong departed from Beijing via Hebei Tianjin Shandong Anhui
Jiangsu Shanghai Zhejiang Jiangxi Hunan Guangdong, altogether 10 provinces and returned to Beijing on
March 26th, 1960 which lasted five months and three days
During the half year investigation outside Beijing Mao Zedong kept working day and night and had an extremely tight schedule He stopped for meetings and talks for 59 times among which 18 took place on his special train He paid visits to factories, communities and troops for 7 times studied political economy for 30 times reviewed *Selected Works of Mao Zedong* for 8 times and received foreign guests for 5 times

We should applaud for Mao Zedong's diligent spirit of "attending office morning and night" Meanwhile during the Great Leap Forward Mao Zedong remained passionate

In September 1958 while making an inspection tour in Anhui Mao Zedong told Zhang Zhizhong that "You said you were happy since 1949 and felt comfortable I don't believe it I never feel happy or comfortable I went to several provinces in 1955

When seeing that more than half households attended agricultural co-operatives I started to be a bit happy But an unhealthy tendency broke out in 1956 saying that we rushed and should be quick to step back I became unhappy again Until this year when I saw the Great Leap Forward in industrial and agricultural production I became truly happy"

During the Great Leap Forward Mao Zedong's passion also demonstrated in his urge for poetic creation and great productivity For example on the morning of July 1st, 1958 after a sleepless night Mao Zedong wrote two Qi Lv's named *Farewell to the God of Plague* There was a mini preface to the poem saying "After reading the People's Daily of June 30, 1958 which said in Yujiang County schistosomiasis had been completely wiped out I could not sleep well at night with thoughts throning in my mind Then in the next morning as sunlight penetrates into my window amid the warm breeze I, looking into the distant sky pen the following lines with great pleasure"

The first poem went like this What's the use of so many green and blue streams and hills

When even Hua Tuo could do nothing about this tiny creature of ills Thousands of villages choked with weeds, men were sick in despair Ten thousand homes deserted, ghosts howled everywhere Sitting still on the earth is travelling eighty thousand li a day Touring the heaven I command a distant view of many a Milky Way If, of the God of Plague, the Cowherd asks about the Plague's crime Say griefs and happiness all are gone with the passage of time"

The second poem went like this

The spring breeze caresses thousands of willow wands and boughs Millions of people in this Divine Land are all Shun's and Yao's At our will swirling into waves is red and flowery rain To our taste turning into bridges is the green mountain chain Shiny hoes are wielded on the Five Ridges towering into the skies Iron arms move, the Three Rivers area are shaking in surprise Now, the God of Plague, we ask, where are you bound anon? Burning candles and paper boats to the sky we'll get you gone

On June 25th, 1959 Mao Zedong returned to his hometown Shaoshan after 32 years away from home Full of romance and pride he wrote the famous *Shaoshan Revisited--to the tune of Seven-Character Lvshi* which went Thirty-two years ago was the time I left the native place last

The leave-taking scene faded like a dream, I curse the vanished past

The serfs halberds amid the red flags were held aloft While the despot's black hand raised the whip over head oft Sacrifice could only rouse people's fighting spirit and an ideal high They dare to demand the sun
and moon change their course in a new sky Now behold, the green crops ripple into waves upon waves beyond

The home-bound heroes are seen in the smoky twilight all around Several days later on July 1st Before the opening of the Lushan Meeting Mao Zedong composed the famous Ascent of Lushan Mountain---to the tune of Seven-Character Lvshi which went Towering above the mighty river the mountain seems about to fly Four hundred twists to wooded heights in a flash we pass by I now glance at the world across the ocean with a cold eye

When hot wind blows raindrops onto the waters and into the sky Clouds sail over the nine streams with the Yellow Crane in flight Eastward billows sweep on to Three Wu area amid the foam white Where I ask does Tao Yuanming the Prefect right now dwell Does he in the Peach Blossom Land till the fields well There was originally a preface to the poem "On June 29th, 1959 I ascended Lushan Mountain where I composed a poem of eight lines while I looked into the distant Poyang Lake Yangzi River manifold peaks vying with their charms innumerable valleys bristling and the red sun rising in the east" Mao Zedong was very satisfied with the two poems of Shaoshan Revisited and Ascent of Lushan Mountain He wrote a letter to Journal of Poems on September 1st, saying that "I wrote two poems recently Attached are the copies I find them satisfactory and can be published in Journal of Poems" He added "Recently Rightist opportunism launched a fierce attack criticizing people's cause in all aspects------ These two poems could serve as a response to those bastards"

We usually say poems express our ideals From the aforementioned four poems we can clearly see that in the process of exploring the socialist construction path Mao Zedong was full of enthusiasm Objectively speaking the enthusiasm not only brought various achievements but also generated various problems

4.2.2 What are the experience and lessons the initial explorations of the socialist construction path

Next let's look at the second question what are the experience and lessons of initial explorations into socialist construction path

The party made great achievement in its initial explorations into socialist construction path and accumulated plenty of experience

In 1981 Resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People's Republic of China pointed out that After the basic completion of socialist transformation our Party led the entire people in shifting our work to all-round, large-scale socialist construction

In the ten years preceding the “cultural revolution” we achieved very big successes despite serious setbacks By 1966 the value of fixed industrial assets, calculated on the basis of their original price was 4 times greater than in 1956

The output of such major industrial products as cotton yarn, coal, electricity, crude oil, steel and mechanical equipment all recorded impressive increases Beginning in 1965, China became self-sufficient in petroleum New industries such as the electronic and petrochemical industries were established one after another

The distribution of industry over the country became better balanced Capital construction in agriculture and its technical transformation began on a massive scale and yielded better and better results Both the
number of tractors for farming and the quantity of chemical fertilizers applied increased over 7 times and rural consumption of electricity 71 times

The number of graduates from institutions of higher education was 4.9 times that of the previous seven years Educational work was improved markedly through consolidation Scientific research and technological work, too, produced notable results

In the initial exploration there were good intentions such as the Rectification Movement as well as shames such as the Expansion of the Anti-Rightist Movement There was a good beginning with socialist construction as well as the mistake of the Great Leap Forward and its dire consequences There was a quick recovery of national economy as well as the gradual launch of the "Cultural Revolution" About Anti-Rightist, the Great Leap Forward, and the "Cultural Revolution" there are all kinds of misleading opinions in today’s society

We should first know the official version of these incidents That was statement in the Resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People’s Republic of China passed at the Sixth Plenary of the 11th Central Committee "Historical Resolutions" was a very important political document You should have a good look at it About Anti-Rightist " Historical Resolutions" pointed out that Nineteen fifty-seven was one of the years that saw the best results in economic work since the founding of the People’s Republic owing to the conscientious implementation of the correct line formulated at the Eighth National Congress of the Party To start a rectification campaign throughout the Party in that year and urge the masses to offer criticisms and suggestions were normal steps in developing socialist democracy

In the rectification campaign a handful of bourgeois Rightists seized the opportunity to advocate what they called “speaking out and airing views in a big way” and to mount a wild attack against the Party and the nascent socialist system in an attempt to replace the leadership of the Communist Party

It was therefore entirely correct and necessary to launch a resolute counter-attack But the scope of this struggle was made far too broad and a number of intellectuals patriotic people and Party cadres were unjustifiably labelled "Rightists" with unfortunate consequences About the Great Leap Forward "Historical Resolutions" pointed out that

In 1958 the Second Plenum of the Eighth National Congress of the Party adopted the general line for socialist construction

The line and its fundamental aspects were correct in that it reflected the masses’ pressing demand for a change in the economic and cultural backwardness of our country Its shortcoming was that it overlooked objective economic laws Both before and after the plenum all comrades in the Party and people of all nationalities displayed high enthusiasm and initiative for socialism and achieved certain results in production and construction However it was due to our lack of experience in socialist construction and inadequate understanding of the laws of economic development and of the basic economic conditions in China More important, it was due to the fact that Comrade Mao Zedong and many leading comrades, both at the centre and in the localities had become smug about their successes were impatient for quick results and overestimated the role of man's subjective will and efforts After the general line was formulated the Great Leap Forward and the movement for rural people's communes were initiated without careful investigation and study and without prior experimentation “Left” errors, characterized by excessive targets the issuing of arbitrary directions boastfulness and the stirring up of a “communist wind" spread unchecked throughout the country From the end of 1958 to the early stage of the Lushan Meeting of the
Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee in July 1959 Comrade Mao Zedong and the Central Committee led the whole Party in energetically rectifying the errors which had already been recognized. However in the later part of the meeting he erred in initiating criticism of Comrade Peng Dehuai and then in launching a Party-wide struggle against "Right opportunism"

The resolution passed by the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party concerning the so-called anti-Party group of Peng Dehuai, Huang Kecheng, Zhang Wentian and Zhou Xiaozhou was entirely wrong. Politically, this struggle gravely undermined inner-Party democracy from the central level down to the grass roots. Economically, it cut short the process of the rectification of "Left" errors thus prolonging their influence.

It was mainly due to the errors of the Great Leap Forward and of the struggle against "Right opportunism" together with a succession of natural calamities and the pernicious scrapping of contracts by the Soviet Government that our economy encountered serious difficulties between 1959 and 1961 which caused serious losses to our country and people. That was the "the Great Leap Forward".

As for the Cultural Revolution "Historical Resolutions" pointed out that

The "cultural revolution" which lasted from May 1966 to October 1976 was responsible for the most severe setback and the heaviest losses suffered by the Party, the state and the people since the founding of the People's Republic.

It was initiated and led by Comrade Mao Zedong.

The history of the "cultural revolution" has proved that Comrade Mao Zedong's principal theses for initiating this revolution conformed neither to Marxism, Leninism nor to Chinese reality. They represent an entirely erroneous appraisal of the prevailing class relations and political situation in the Party and state. "Historical Resolutions" also pointed out that practice has shown that the "cultural revolution" did not in fact constitute a revolution or social progress in any sense nor could it possibly have done so.

It was we and not the enemy at all who were thrown into disorder by the "cultural revolution". Therefore, from beginning to end, it did not turn "great disorder under heaven" into "great order under heaven" nor could it conceivably have done so. After the state power in the form of the people's democratic dictatorship was established in China and especially after socialist transformation was basically completed and the exploiters were eliminated as classes the socialist revolution represented a fundamental break with the past in both content and method even though its tasks remained to be completed.

Of course, it was essential to take proper account of certain undesirable phenomena that undoubtedly existed in Party and state organs and to remove them by correct measures in conformity with the Constitution, the laws and the Party Constitution. But on no account should the theories and methods of the "cultural revolution" have been applied. Under socialist conditions there is no economic or political basis for carrying out a great political revolution in which "one class overthrows another".

It decidedly could not come up with any constructive programme but could only bring grave disorder, damage and retrogression in its train. History has shown that the "cultural revolution" was initiated by a leader labouring under a misapprehension and capitalized on by counter-revolutionary cliques which led to domestic turmoil and brought catastrophe to the Party, the state and the whole people.

In today's society many people reversed the verdict of the "Cultural Revolution". They should first understand the verdict of the "Cultural Revolution" in "Historical Resolutions". All Tsinghua students know
As Tsinghua's symbol, the Second School Gate was not the protoplast but a reconstruction. Then where is the protoplast?

It was destroyed by the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution. That tragedy was only one of the myriad tragedies during the "Cultural Revolution".

It was like a grain of corn in the wide sea. Setting all else aside, only this point deserves our profound contemplation of the "Cultural Revolution".

On June 12th, 1987, Mao Xiaoping pointed out in a speech that I would say that since 1957 our major mistakes have been "Left" ones.

The "cultural revolution" was an ultra-Left mistake.

In fact, during the 20 years from 1958 through 1978, China was hesitating, virtually at a standstill. There was little economic growth and not much of a rise in the standard of living.

On June 22nd, 1988, Deng Xiaoping pointed out in a speech that China suffered greatly from the ten-year disaster the "cultural revolution".

In fact, not just from that as early as the second half of 1957 we began to make "Left" mistakes. To put it briefly we pursued a closed-door policy in foreign affairs and took class struggle as the central task at home. No attempt was made to expand the productive forces and the policies we formulated were too ambitious for the primary stage of socialism.

When I was a child, I watched a film called *The Idiot Wang* which reflected that the "Left" mistake brought various troubles to the masses.

The film left a deep impression on me. Another touching film *Jiao Yulu* also reflected that the "Left" mistake generated troubles to the masses and grassroots cadres.

In Lu Yao's novel *Ordinary World* there were vivid descriptions of how the "Left" mistake hurt people's life.

In addition, in the biography of famous storyteller Shan Tianfang called *Back to the Subject* there were also many descriptions of such situations. Those works were all very touching. You can have a look. Let's get back to the subject.

During initial explorations we not only made significant achievements but also suffered severe setbacks. Left valuable experience as well as profound lessons. Then what were the experience and lessons? First we must correctly associate the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism with China's specific circumstances and explore a socialist construction path that suited Chinese characteristics.

As the social transformation approached the end, Mao Zedong proposed to realize the "second integration" of Marxism with China's realities and explore China's own socialist construction path. Then why was it "the second integration"?

During the new democratic revolution, Marxism and China's realities achieved "the first integration".

During socialist construction, Marxism and China's realities achieved "the second integration".
On March 9th, 1958 when talking about the issue of regulations and institutions at the Chengdu Meeting, Mao Zedong said "Imitating the Soviet Union was harmful Those regulations and institutions restricted productive forces created waste and bureaucratism" "Imitation needs analysis Pure imitation is improper"

It lacked independent thinking and forgot the lesson of dogmatism in history" "We should learn positive experience of the Soviet Union and discard the negative Isolating the Soviet Union's experience from China's realities is learning the negative experience" What we are talking about now is "the second combination" However judged from the consequences of practice the second combination was not successful

It was also the fundamental reason why we did not equate "the second combination" with "the second leap" Reasons for the second combination to be unsuccessful were as follows One, the understanding of some basic principles of Marxism about socialism was not deep enough Two, a profound understanding of China's basic circumstances was lacking Three, it was still not clear what was socialism how to construct socialism Therefore some policies and measures that isolated from realities and transcended development stage Four, the Soviet Union model was not dialectically treated Though the Soviet Union model had many weaknesses it was rather mature

In the age when market economy was not implemented and only planned economy was feasible imitating the Soviet Union model could help us make fewer mistakes But due to various reasons we first automatically imitated the Soviet Union model and then overcorrected

We not only went contrary to the market law but also disobeyed planned rationality resulting in severe losses People used to view those losses as the result of rigidly imitating the Soviet Union

It was not completely true

On June 12th, 1987 Deng Xiaoping pointed out in a talk that we used to copy foreign models mechanically which only hampered the development of our productive forces induced ideological rigidity and kept the people and grass-roots units from taking any initiative

We made some mistakes of our own as well such as the Great Leap Forward and the “cultural revolution” which were our own inventions Second we must correctly identify the major contradiction and fundamental task in a socialist society and concentrate energy in developing the productive forces

As the socialist construction began the party formed a rather correct understanding of the major contradiction in our society Based on this, it proposed that our fundamental task was to protect and develop the productive forces under new relations of production However these understandings were not held on to

The second meeting of the party’s Eighth National Congress changed the correct judgment of our society's major contradiction that was formed in the Eighth National Congress and wrongly regarded the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie the contradiction between the socialist path and the capitalist path before the establishment of the socialist society as the major contradiction in our country This was an important reason causing the expansion of class struggle later Practice showed that in the initial stage of socialism we should stick to the party's scientific judgment of the major contradiction center around economic construction keep improving people's material, cultural and living standards Within the socialist society class struggle long existed
We could not simply equate it with national class struggle let alone launching large-scale political movement Third we must construct socialism based on realities

The scale and speed of construction must correspond to national strength

We should not over-rush

As for this point Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping both stressed many times At the meeting participated by seven thousand people in 1962 due to the difficulty in national economy caused by the Giant Leap Forward Mao Zedong had deep feelings "Understanding the law of socialist construction must take some time must start with practice proceed from inexperienced to experienced from having little experience to having much experience from socialist construction--this unrecognized inevitable kingdom to gradually overcome blindness identify objective rules and gain freedom achieve a leap in recognition and reach the free kingdom"

In 1992 Deng Xiaoping also stressed in his southern speech "We have been building socialism for only a few decades and are still in the primary stage

It will take a very long historical period to consolidate and develop the socialist system and it will require persistent struggle by many generations a dozen or even several dozens

We can never rest on our oars" Do you know what dozens of generations mean? Confucius' offspring had only seventy and less than eighty generations up to now whereas Confucius lived two thousand years ago I remember when I was a child Grandpa always taught me to be slow is to be fast This sentence was highly dialectical and left a deep impression on me at that time Therefore when we were too anxious for success we should think about the famous Chinese saying "Less haste, more speed"

We should also think of the famous western saying "Rome was not built in a day!" Fourth we must develop socialist democracy and improve socialism legal institutions

The substance of socialist democracy is people's right as masters After the founding of new China especially the establishment of socialist system we designed the Constitution issued a series of laws and established a large number of regulations and institutions which fundamentally guaranteed people's right as masters But since our society transitioned from semi-colonial and semi-feudal society the party lacked experience in developing socialist democracy

It was not totally clear about what socialist democracy was how to develop socialist democracy Therefore many extreme phenomenons that went against people's democracy or even "speaking out", " airing views in a big way", "mass debate", "big-character poster" and other extreme cases of "big democracy" occurred in practice Although the law was formulated its authority was not established Due to the incompleteness of democracy and legal institutions differing views on socialist construction from within and outside of the party were suppressed and attacked Correct assertions were not adopted and were even labelled as capitalism and condemned Wrong decisions were not deterred in time or were even regarded as socialism and firmly kept

The consequence was the expansion of class struggle and even the severe mistake such as the "Cultural Revolution" For example during the Shanghai Meeting in March 1959 Mao Zedong strongly promoted the spirit of Hai Rui but he expressed his anxiety in private "Talking about Hai Rui I regretted Maybe when Hai Rui actually emerged I will not be able to tolerate that" At Lushan Meeting that was held afterwards Peng Dehuai submitted an article containing tens of thousands of words but was later reduced to "Rightist
opportunist anti-party clique" and "military club" Mao Zedong's explanation for this was "Now I heard that Hai Rui emerged among you Hai Rui moved home Hai Rui in the Ming Dynasty was a Leftist He represented rich middle class, rich peasants, urban citizens and fought against big landlords and big bureaucrats Now Hai Rui moved his home to the Rightist headquarters and fought against Marxism Hai Rui like this is the Rightist Hai Rui I advocated Hai Rui in Shanghai right? Some people said I promoted Hai Rui but disliked the emergence of Hai Rui That was half true I would be unhappy when Hai Rui became a Rightist I must fight against such Hai Rui"

At the end of 2013 I went to a meeting in Haikou and paid a special visit to Hai Rui’s tomb and his former home to receive the edification of Hai Rui spirit Practice testified that for China to construct socialism it must develop socialist democracy enhance socialist legal institutions strongly develop people's democracy guarantee people's right as masters and protect citizens' democratic rights

The party must operate within the realm of the Constitution and law

Any level of party organization and leaders cannot possess rights that exceed law All kinds of institutions and laws cannot change as leaders change They cannot change as leaders' views and focuses change Fifth we must stick to democratic centralism in the party and collective leadership and enhance the construction of the ruling party improve democratic centralism and collective leadership Enhancing the construction of the ruling party is the political guarantee for the successful development of socialist causes Democratic centralism is the fundamental organizational principle of a proletariat political party and the fundamental criterion for guiding the party life Due to the recent establishment of socialist basic system the party and state leadership still had many areas to improve Especially influenced by the highly centralized political institutions in the Soviet Union multiplied by the long-term feudalist autocratic remains that could not be eradicated in the short-term China's democratic centralism and the party’s collective leadership were once severely destroyed "One person alone had the say" "Patriarchy" replaced collective leadership Personality cult went rampant Ke Qingshi even proposed that "Trust Chairman Mao as to be superstitious Obey Chairman Mao as to be blind!" All these were manifestations of personality cult

The phenomenon of personality cult was indeed a problem with system

On June 27th, 1980 Deng Xiaoping pointed out during his speech with comrades in charge of the Central government "Comrade Mao Zedong said many good words but due to problems with past system he was pushed to the opposite" This viewpoint was very insightful

On August 18th, 1980

In the speech named On the reform in the system of party and state leadership Deng Xiaoping made a very crucial remark Let's study it here Deng Xiaoping said

It is true that the errors we made in the past were partly attributable to the way of thinking and style of work of some leaders But they were even more attributable to the problems in our organizational and working systems If these systems are sound they can place restraints on the actions of bad people if they are unsound, they may hamper the efforts of good people or indeed, in certain cases, may push them in the wrong direction Even so great a man as Comrade Mao Zedong was influenced to a serious degree by certain unsound systems and institutions which resulted in grave misfortunes for the Party, the state and himself If even now we still don't improve the way our socialist system functions people will ask why it cannot solve some problems which the capitalist system can? Such comparisons may be one-sided but we must not just dismiss them on that account Stalin gravely damaged socialist legality doing things which Comrade Mao Zedong once said would have been impossible in Western countries like Britain, France and the United States Yet although Comrade Mao was aware of this he did not in practice solve the problems in
our system of leadership. Together with other factors this led to the decade of catastrophe known as the “Cultural Revolution”. There is a most profound lesson to be learned from this: I do not mean that the individuals concerned should not bear their share of responsibility but rather that the problems in the leadership organizational systems are more fundamental widespread and long-lasting and that they have a greater effect on the overall interests of our country. This is a question that has a close bearing on whether our Party and state will change political colour and should therefore command the attention of the entire Party. Deng Xiaoping’s speech was made on August 18th, 1980.

It was therefore called “August 18th speech”. "August 18th speech" still carries strong realistic significance today and deserves our repeated study. Practice testified that after the proletariat party seized regime it must stick to democratic centralism and collective leadership oppose personality cult keep improving the party’s construction fully promote the party organization's and party members’ initiative creativity guarantee the science and democracy in the party’s decisions strongly promote democracy within the party protect party members' democratic rights and avoid the phenomenon that the minority of people had the say. That was the fifth point. Sixth we must stick to reform and opening-up.

We cannot close doors and construct socialism

We must learn and absorb collective products of human civilizations to construct socialism. Practice of the development of human society testified that history always progresses in inheritance and transcendence.

The emergence of capitalism started the era of the rapid development of the productive forces which became an important stage in the history of human development.

The fact that socialism replaced capitalism did not indicate that socialism totally denied and discarded all achievements created by capitalism. Nor did it indicate that socialism did not have any association with capitalism. Contrarily in order for socialism to demonstrate an advantage against capitalism and finally conquer capitalism it must boldly imitate and absorb all achievements of human civilizations including capitalist civilizations and create social productive forces and material and cultural living standards that exceeded those in capitalist countries. After the founding of new China Mao Zedong pointed out for many times we should conduct economic and technological exchange on equal terms including developing economic and trade relationships with some capitalist countries. He also proposed to learn strong suits of all countries and nationalities. However due to the hostile blockade and embargo policies implemented by imperialism and "Left" mistakes that were made afterwards our country closed doors and constructed socialism for some time which further enlarged the gap between our country and developed capitalist countries.

When summarizing historical experience of this period, Deng Xiaoping pointed out that "One important reason for China’s backwardness after the industrial revolution in Western countries was its closed-door policy. After the founding of the People's Republic we were blockaded by others so the country remained virtually closed which created difficulties for us.

The experience of the past thirty or so years has demonstrated that a closed-door policy would hinder construction and inhibit development".

In the era of globalization we must remember Deng Xiaoping's words. Finally I need to say that exploration into socialist construction path was indeed a trial. Now that as a trial it could be successful but it could also be unsuccessful. Lu You once composed a poem called Nei Ren Yuan which went like this: "To build a thousand-feet statue in the river and cover it with a shelf. First determine the size of the shelf. Sigh slightly
in the setting sun There is no trial that can be successful in history” Hu Shi wrote another poem that was opposite in meaning “There is no trial that can be successful in history Lu You's words are not entirely correct I offer a change of meaning today All success in history depends on trials” They both made sense Then in the process of explorations and trials what kind of attitude should we take? Mao Zedong composed a poem in May 1965 called Reascending Jinggang Mountain— to the tune of Prelude to Water Melody which could bring us some edifications

The poem went like this With a long-cherished clouds-reaching ideal I again visit Jinggang Mountain with zeal Covering a thousand miles to view the old land I see the former scene become newly grand Everywhere swallows dance, orioles sing And streams splash and ring A high way mounts to the cloud's wing

The boundary of Huangyangjie is passed once No other passes deserve a glance Behold! in this human world Wind and thunder are heard to roar Flags and banners gaudily soar Thirty-eight years are past So quickly as if you snapped a finger fast Up in the Ninth Heaven we can pluck the moon Down in the Five Oceans we may seize turtles soon

In triumph we return with laughter and songs soon

In this world nothing is hard to do Try scaling the heights, success attend you Yes when we make various explorations and trials we should remember this sentence that is

In this world nothing is hard to do Try scaling the heights, success attend you! That is all for this course Thank you!

4.3.1 Discussion

Having finished Chapter Four I want to ask you a question

As we know in the course of exploring a socialist path we not only made great achievements but also suffered serious losses Now some people say there is no need to explore a socialist construction path Things would have been better if we had directly started the reform What is your take on the issue Let's invite Wang Xiaolong to share his views Hello everyone I am a master's student of Tsinghua University School of Marxism My name is Wang Xiaolong I am also one of the teaching assistants of this course I don't think this view is correct I want to share an parable with you from One Hundred Buddhist Parables

The story is about a rich man who wanted to build a high-rise with three floors He told the craftsman I don't want the second floor Can you build the third floor for me first?

The story quickly spread and made people laugh Building a country is like building a house High-rises emerged from the ground Some intermediate steps cannot be skipped Exploration into socialist construction is like building the first floor

The process itself carries great significance First it consolidated and developed socialist system in our country Second it provided valuable experience theoretical preparation and material basis for constructing socialism with Chinese characteristics Third it enriched theory and practice of scientific socialism

Of course we also learned much experience and many lessons through the exploration Comrade Mao Zedong stressed many times that we should make good use of "negative examples"
The detours and wrong course that we took during socialist construction constituted a book of "negative examples"

The experience itself was a valuable treasure Without the experience and lessons drawn from such exploration without our summary of the experience and lessons or reflection or clarification of confusion in terms of ideology and action we would not have taken the road of reform and opening up later Master of dialectics Hegel told us the development of all objects will experience a dialectical process of "positive-negative-composition"

The exploration of socialist construction constituted a composite force for us to conduct reform and opening up later This period cannot be skipped

It is true for a country's development

It is also true for an individual's growth One has to learn to walk before learning to run

The stumbles that one encounters when learning to walk despite making us depressed will teach us to walk better and run faster I believe everyone has had such firsthand experience If you think exploring the socialist construction path is futile you will risk getting into the trap of historical nihilism Be careful! Good job That is Wang Xiaolong's view What is your take on this Please think it over after class That is all for our course Thank you all