

**MAO TSE-TUNG**

**ON**

**PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC**

**DICTATORSHIP**

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PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP

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Together with  
His two speeches delivered at  
The Preparatory Committee Meeting  
and  
The First Plenary Session  
of  
The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

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ON PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP

*Written to commemorate the 28th Anniversary of the Communist Party of China  
(July 1, 1949)*

This day, the first of July, 1949, marks the fact that the Communist Party of China has already been in existence for twenty-eight years. A political party, like a human being, has its childhood, youth, prime and old-age. The Communist Party of China is no longer a child or a teen-aged lad. It has reached maturity. When a man becomes old, he will soon die; the same is true of political parties. When classes are done away with, all instruments of class struggle—political parties and the state apparatus — will thereby lose their functions, become unnecessary and gradually wither away, having fulfilled their historical mission. Human society will then move to a higher stage.

Our party is entirely different from the political parties of the bourgeoisie. They are afraid to speak of the elimination of classes, state power and parties. We, however, openly declare that we are energetically striving to set up conditions just for the sake of eliminating these things. The Communist Party and the state power of the people's dictatorship furnish such conditions.

Anyone who does not recognize this truth is not a Communist. Perhaps young comrades who have recently joined the party and have not studied Marxism-Leninism do not understand this truth. They will have to understand it before they can develop a correct world outlook. They will have to understand that all mankind must go through the process of eliminating classes, state power and parties; it is only a matter of time and conditions.

Communists everywhere in the world are more competent than the bourgeoisie. They understand the laws governing the existence and development of things. They understand dialectics and can see further ahead.

The bourgeoisie does not welcome this truth because it does not want to be overthrown by the people. The prospect of being overthrown as the Kuomintang is now being overthrown by us, or as Japanese imperialism has been overthrown by us in co-operation with the peoples of various other countries, is painful and inconceivable to those confronted by it.

For the working class, the labouring people, and the Communists, such a problem of being overthrown simply does not exist. Their problem is one of working hard to create the conditions for the natural elimination of classes, state power and political parties so that mankind may enter upon universal harmony.

We have here touched briefly upon the long-range perspectives of human progress in order to clarify the problems which follow.

Our party has existed for twenty-eight years. As everyone knows, we did not pass these years peacefully but in the midst of difficulties. We had to fight foreign and domestic enemies, as well as enemies inside and outside of the party. We are indebted to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin for giving us our weapon. This weapon is not a machine-gun, but Marxism-Leninism.

In his book "Left-Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder," written in 1920, Lenin described how the Russians sought after revolutionary theory. The Russians experienced several decades of hardships and tribulations before they eventually found Marxism. Many of China's conditions are identical with or similar to those of Russia before the October Revolution. Both had the same sort of feudal oppression. Economically and culturally they were similarly backward, though China was the more so. In both countries alike, the more advanced people, disregarding all hardships, sought after revolutionary truth in order to restore national prosperity.

Following China's defeat in the Opium War of 1840, progressive Chinese experienced

countless difficulties in their search for truth from the Western countries. Hung Hsiu Ch'uan, K'ang Yu Wei, Yen Fu and Sun Yat-sen represent the group of people who, prior to the birth of the Chinese Communist Party, looked to the West for truth. At that time, all Chinese who craved progress would read any book so long as it contained the new teachings of the West. Students were sent to Japan, Great Britain, the United States, France and Germany in amazing numbers. Every effort was made to learn from the West. The ancient imperial examination system was abolished and schools sprang up like bamboo shoots after a spring rain. I also studied these things in my youth.

These new teachings comprised the modern culture of Western bourgeois democracy, the so-called new school of learning which included the social doctrines and natural sciences of that period, and were in opposition to the Chinese feudal culture, the so-called old school of learning.

For quite some time, those who studied the new teachings felt confident that this knowledge could surely save China. Apart from adherents of the old school, very few persons expressed any doubt regarding the new teachings. The only way to save the country was to modernize it, and the only way to modernize it was to learn from abroad.

Of the foreign countries at that time, only the Western capitalist countries were progressive. They had succeeded in creating modern bourgeois states. The Japanese had studied the West to good effect, and the Chinese now hoped to learn from the Japanese. The Chinese of that time saw Russia as a backward country and few wanted to learn from her.

These were the conditions under which the Chinese learned from the foreign countries during the period lasting from the 1840's up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

Imperialist invasions shattered Chinese illusions about learning from the West. Was it not strange that the teachers should always be encroaching upon their pupils?

The Chinese learned quite a lot from the West, but they could not put what they learned into effect. Their ideals could not be realized. All of their many struggles, including such a nationwide movement as the Revolution of 1911, ended in failure. Day by day, conditions in the country deteriorated until finally life became impossible. Doubts arose, increased and developed. The First World War shook the whole world. The Russians carried out the October Revolution, creating the first Socialist state in the world. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the revolutionary energy of the great Russian proletariat and labouring people, hitherto latent and invisible to outsiders, suddenly erupted like a volcano. The Chinese people and all mankind began to look at the Russians in a new light.

Then and only then did the Chinese enter an entirely new era, both in thought and in life. They found Marxism-Leninism, a universal truth which is applicable anywhere. The face of China then began to change.

The Chinese were introduced to Marxism by the Russians. Before the October Revolution, the Chinese were not only unaware of Lenin and Stalin but did not even know of Marx or Engels. The salvoes of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism. The October Revolution helped the advanced people of China and of the whole world to adopt a proletarian world outlook as an instrument for looking into a nation's future or for reconsidering one's own problems. Follow the path of the Russians — this was the conclusion.

In 1919, China was the scene of the "May 4th" movement. In 1921, the Communist Party of China was formed. Sun Yat-sen, then in the depths of despair, encountered the

October Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party. He welcomed the October Revolution, welcomed Russian aid to the Chinese and welcomed the cooperation of the Chinese Communist Party.

Sun Yat-sen died and Chiang Kai-shek rose to power. In the course of the long period of twenty-two years, Chiang Kai-shek dragged China into hopeless straits.

Within this period there occurred the anti-fascist Second World War, with the Soviet Union as its main force. This resulted in the downfall of three great imperialist powers and the weakening of two others. Only one great imperialist power was left in the world, namely, the United States, which had suffered no losses. However, America's domestic crisis was very grave; she wanted to enslave the world. By supplying Chiang Kai-shek with arms, she helped slaughter several million Chinese. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people, after driving out Japanese imperialism, have carried on the War of Liberation for three years and have won basic victory.

This is how it happened that Western bourgeois civilization, bourgeois democracy and the bourgeois form of republic went bankrupt in the eyes of the Chinese people. Bourgeois democracy gave way to the people's democracy under the leadership of the working class, and the bourgeois republic gave way to the people's republic. This, then, created the possibility of making a transition through a people's republic to Socialism and Communism, to the elimination of classes and attainment of universal harmony.

K'ang Yu Wei wrote the book "Universal Harmony" but he did not, and could not, find the path to it. A bourgeois republic was something which foreign countries have had, but which China could not have because she was a country oppressed by imperialism. The only path to universal harmony lies through a people's republic led by the working class.

All other ways have been tried and have failed. Among those people who have yearned for something else, some have fallen by the wayside, some have awakened to their error, and some are just in the process of changing their minds. Events have developed so swiftly that many people feel the change has come too abruptly and that they need to re-learn everything. This state of mind is understandable; we welcome such good intentions to learn anew.

Having learned Marxism-Leninism following the October Revolution, the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat established the Communist Party of China. Then it entered into political combat and went along a winding road for twenty-eight years before attaining basic victory.

On the basis of the experience of these twenty-eight years, we have reached the same conclusions that Sun Yat-sen, in his will, said he had drawn from "the experience of forty years". That is, "we must awaken the masses of the people and unite ourselves in a common struggle with those peoples of the world who treat us on a basis of equality". Sun Yat-sen had a world outlook different from ours and he set off from a different class standpoint in observing and dealing with problems. Nevertheless, on the problem of how to struggle against imperialism in the 1920's, he reached this conclusion which was basically the same as ours.

Twenty-four years have elapsed since Sun Yat-sen's death, and under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, Chinese revolutionary theory and practice have made tremendous strides forward, fundamentally altering the face of China. The Chinese people have by now accumulated vital and basic experiences along the following two lines.

(1) Internally, the people must be awakened. This means welding the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie into a united front under

the leadership of the working class, and from this proceeding to the creation of a state of the people's democratic dictatorship, a state led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.

(2) Externally, we must unite in a common struggle with the peoples of all countries and with those nations which treat us as equals. This means allying ourselves with the Soviet Union, with every New Democratic country, and with the proletariat and broad masses in all other countries. This means forming an international united front.

“You incline to one side.” That is right. The forty years' experience of Sun Yat-sen and the twenty-eight years' experience of the Chinese Communist Party have convinced us that in order to attain victory and consolidate it, we must incline to one side. According to these experiences, the Chinese people must incline either toward the side of imperialism or toward that of Socialism. There can be no exception to this rule. It is impossible to sit on the fence; there is no third road. We oppose Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary clique, which inclines to the side of imperialism. We also oppose illusions about a third road. Not only in China but throughout the world, without exception, -one inclines either toward imperialism or toward Socialism. Neutrality is merely a camouflage; a third road does not exist.

“You are too provocative.” Yes, in speaking of our dealing with domestic and foreign reactionaries, that is, imperialists and their running dogs, but not with any other people. In regard to the reactionaries, the question of being provocative or not does not arise. It is all the same whether one is provocative or not — because they are reactionaries. Only by drawing a sharp line between reactionaries and revolutionaries, only by exposing the intrigues and plots of the reactionaries and arousing the vigilance and attention of the revolutionaries, and only by raising our own morale while deflating the enemy's prestige — only by these methods can the reactionaries be isolated, overcome and ousted.

One cannot display the slightest cowardice before a wild beast. We must learn from Wu Sung,\* [who slew a tiger with his bare hands], on Ching-yang Ridge. As far as Wu Sung was concerned, the tiger on Ching-yang Ridge would eat a person regardless of whether or not it had been provoked. There were only two alternatives: either to kill the tiger or be eaten by it.

“We want to do business.” That is entirely correct. Business must certainly be done. We oppose only domestic and foreign reactionaries, who hinder our business transactions, and we certainly do not oppose anyone else.

All people should realize that it is precisely the imperialists and their henchmen, Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary clique, who are hindering our foreign trade and obstructing the establishment of our diplomatic relations with foreign nations. Only after uniting all forces inside and outside of the country and smashing the domestic and foreign reactionaries can we carry on business. Only then will it be possible to establish diplomatic relations with all foreign countries upon a foundation of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territorial sovereignty.

“It is possible to attain victory even without international assistance.” This is a mistaken idea. In an era when imperialism still exists, it is impossible for a genuine people's revolution in any country to win its own victory without many different kinds of help from the international revolutionary forces. Even should victory be won, it could not

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\* Wu Sung is a famous hero described in the old Chinese novel -“Shui Hu,” which has been translated into English as “Water Margin” and “All Men Are Brothers.”

be consolidated without international help. This was true of the victory and consolidation of the October Revolution, as Stalin long ago told us. This was also the case in overthrowing the three imperialist countries during the Second World War and in establishing the New Democratic countries. This is also true of the present and future of the people's China.

Let us just consider. If the Soviet Union did not exist, if there had been no victory over fascism in the Second World War, if Japanese imperialism were not defeated, if the various New Democratic countries had not arisen, if the oppressed nations of the East had not begun to fight, if there were no struggle inside the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and other capitalist countries between the popular masses and their reactionary rulers and if there were no sum-total of all these developments, well then, the reactionary forces bearing down upon us would certainly be immeasurably greater than at present. Could we be victorious under such circumstances? Obviously not. Furthermore, it would be impossible to consolidate the victory were it attained.

The Chinese people have already had more than enough experience in such matters. This experience was reflected long ago by Sun Yat-sen's statement shortly before his death regarding the necessity of uniting with the international revolutionary forces.

"We need assistance from the British and American governments." At present this is also a naive idea. The present rulers of Great Britain and the United States are imperialists. Would they extend aid to a people's state?

If Great Britain and the United States do business with us, or supposing that in the future they are willing to grant us loans on mutually advantageous terms, why would these things be done? The reason would be that the capitalists of these countries want to make money and the bankers want to earn interest, thereby easing their own crisis. This is certainly not assisting the Chinese people.

The Communist Parties and the progressive parties and groups in Britain and America are at this moment campaigning for the establishment of trade and even diplomatic relations with us. This is goodwill. This is aid. This cannot be spoken of in the same breath as the actions of the bourgeoisie in these countries.

During Sun Yat-sen's lifetime, he had appealed to the capitalist countries for help countless times, but without result. On the contrary, he met with merciless blows. Only once in his lifetime did Sun Yat-sen receive international aid. This came from the Soviet Union.

Let the reader refer to Sun Yat-sen's will. In his specific injunctions to the people, he did not call upon them to look for help from the imperialist countries; he called upon the people "to unite with all nations in the world who treat us as equals." Dr. Sun had experience. He had been taken in and given a raw deal. We should remember his words, and not allow ourselves to be taken in again.

Internationally we belong to the side of the anti-imperialist front, headed by the Soviet Union. We can only turn to this side for genuine and friendly assistance, not to the side of the imperialist front.

"You are dictatorial." My dear sirs, what you say is correct. That is just what we are. All the experiences of the Chinese people, accumulated in the course of successive decades, tell us to carry out a people's democratic dictatorship.

This means that the reactionaries must be deprived of the right to voice their opinions; only the people have that right.

Who are the "people"? At the present stage in China, they are the working class, the

peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie.

Under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party, these classes unite to create their own state and elect their own government so as to enforce their dictatorship over the henchmen of imperialism — the landlord class and bureaucratic capitalist class, as well as the reactionary clique of the Kuomintang, which represents these classes, and their accomplices. The people's government will suppress such persons. It will only permit them to behave themselves properly. It will not allow them to speak or act wildly. Should they do so, they will be instantly curbed and punished. The democratic system is to be carried out within the ranks of the people, giving them freedom of speech, assembly and association. The right to vote is given only to the people, not to the reactionaries.

These two things, democracy for the people and dictatorship for the reactionaries, when combined, constitute the people's democratic dictatorship.

Why must things be done in this way? Everyone is very clear on this point. If things were not done like this, the revolution would fail, the people would suffer and the state would perish.

“Don't you want to abolish state power?” Yes, we want to, but not at the present time. We cannot afford to abolish state power just now. Why not? Because imperialism still exists. Because, internally, reactionaries still exist and classes still exist.

Our present task is to strengthen the people's state apparatus — meaning principally the people's army, the people's police and the people's courts — thereby safeguarding national defence and protecting the people's interests. Given these conditions, China, under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party, can develop steadily from an agricultural into an industrial country and from a New Democratic into a Socialist and, eventually, Communist society, eliminating classes and realizing universal harmony.

Such state apparatus as the army, the police and the courts are instruments with which one class oppresses another. As far as the hostile classes are concerned, these are instruments of oppression. They are violent and certainly not “benevolent” things.

“You are not benevolent.” Exactly. We definitely have no benevolent policies toward the reactionaries or the counter-revolutionary activities of the reactionary classes. Our benevolent policy does not apply to such deeds or such persons, who are outside the ranks of the people; it applies only to the people.

The people's state is for the protection of the people. Once they have a people's state, the people then have the possibility of applying democratic methods on a nationwide and comprehensive scale to educate and reform themselves, so that they may get rid of the influences of domestic and foreign reactionaries. (These influences are still very strong at present and will remain for a long time to come; they cannot be eradicated quickly.) Thus the people can reform their bad habits and thoughts derived from the old society, so that they will not take the wrong road pointed out to them by the reactionaries, but will continue to advance and develop toward a Socialist and then Communist society.

The methods we use in this respect are democratic, that is, methods of persuasion and not of compulsion. If people break the law they will be punished, imprisoned or even sentenced to death. But these will be individual cases, differing in principle from the dictatorship imposed against the reactionaries as a class.

As for those belonging to reactionary classes or groups, after their political power has been overthrown, we will also give them land and work, permitting them to make a living and to reform themselves through labour into new persons — but only on condition that

they do not rebel, sabotage or create disturbances. If they do not want to work, the people's state will force them to do so. Furthermore, the propaganda and educational work directed toward them will be carried out with the same care and thoroughness as the work already conducted among captured army officers. This may also be spoken of as a "benevolent policy," but it will be compulsorily imposed upon those originally from enemy classes. This can in no way be compared to our work along self-educational lines among the ranks of the revolutionary people.

This job of reforming the reactionary classes can be handled only by a state having a people's democratic dictatorship. When the work has been completed, China's major exploiting classes — the landlord class and the bureaucratic capitalist class, i.e., the monopoly capitalist class — will have been finally eliminated.

Then there will remain only the national bourgeoisie. In the present stage a great deal of suitable educational work can be done among them. When the time comes to realise Socialism, that is, to nationalise private enterprise, we will go a step further in our work of educating and reforming them. The people have a strong state apparatus in their hands, and they do not fear rebellion on the part of the national bourgeoisie.

The education of the peasantry presents a serious problem. Peasant economy is dispersed. According to the Soviet Union's experience, it takes a long time and much painstaking work before agriculture can be socialised. Without the socialisation of agriculture, there can be no complete and consolidated socialism.

If we wish to socialise agriculture, we must develop a strong industry having state-operated enterprises as its main component. The state of the people's democratic dictatorship must, step by step, solve the problem of industrialising the country. Since this article has no intention of taking up economic questions, I will not go into detail here.

In 1924 a famous manifesto was adopted at the Kuomintang's First National Congress, which was led by Sun Yat-sen himself and in which the Communists took part. This manifesto stated:

"In modern times, the so-called system of popular rights prevailing in various countries is frequently monopolised by the bourgeoisie and becomes an instrument for oppressing the common people. But the Principle of Popular Rights\* of the Kuomintang belongs to the common people as a whole and is not the private possession of a small minority."

Except for the question of who is to lead whom, the Kuomintang Principle of Popular Rights referred to here, when viewed as a general political program, corresponds to the people's democracy or New Democracy that we have been talking about. If the state system is not allowed to become the private possession of the bourgeoisie but is the common property of the general population, and if to this condition is added the leadership of the working class, then you have the state system of the people's democratic dictatorship.

Chiang Kai-shek betrayed Sun Yat-sen and grasped the dictatorship of the bureaucratic capitalist class and the landlord class as an instrument for oppressing China's common people. This counter-revolutionary dictatorship remained in force for twenty-two years. It is only now that the Chinese common people, under our leadership, have overthrown it.

The foreign reactionaries who accuse us of practising "dictatorship" and "totalitarianism" are just the very people who are practising dictatorship and

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\* One of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles.

totalitarianism. They enforce the dictatorial system of one class, the totalitarianism of one class — of the bourgeoisie in opposition to the proletarian class and other people.

They are the very people referred to by Sun Yat-sen as the bourgeoisie of every country in modern times who oppress the common people. It was from just such a reactionary bunch that Chiang Kai-shek learned how to conduct his counter-revolutionary dictatorship.

Chu Hsi, a philosopher of the Sung Dynasty, wrote many books and said many things that everyone has forgotten. But one sentence of his has not been forgotten: “Do unto others as they do unto you.” That is exactly what we do. We do unto the imperialists and their lackey, Chiang Kai-shek’s reactionary clique, as they do unto others. That is all.

The revolutionary dictatorship and the counter-revolutionary dictatorship are direct opposites in nature, yet the former learned from the latter. Such learning is very important. If the revolutionary people did not master the methods for ruling over the counter-revolutionaries, they could not maintain their political power, which would be overthrown by the domestic and foreign reactionaries. Such reactionary groups could then restore their rule over China, and this would spell disaster for the revolutionary people.

The foundation of the people’s democratic dictatorship is the alliance of the working class, peasantry and urban petty-bourgeoisie. It is essentially the alliance of the workers and peasants because these two classes comprise eighty to ninety percent of China’s population. In overthrowing imperialism and the reactionary clique of the Kuomintang, these two classes are the major force. The transition from New Democracy to Socialism also depends primarily upon the alliance of these two classes.

The people’s democratic dictatorship must have the leadership of the working class. This is because the working class is the most far-sighted class, most impartially just and most filled with revolutionary thoroughness and consistency. The entire history of revolution proves that without the leadership of the working class, a revolution will fail; but with the leadership of the working class, a revolution will be victorious. In the era of imperialism, no other class in any country can lead any genuine revolution to victory. Proof lies in the fact that China’s petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie have led revolutions on many occasions, but all ended in failure.

The national bourgeoisie is of great importance during the present stage. We still have imperialism standing beside us, and this enemy is very ferocious. It will require a very long time for China to attain genuine economic independence. China’s modern industry is still very small compared to the nation’s entire economy. There are no reliable statistics yet, but it is estimated on the basis of certain data that modern industry occupies only about ten per cent of the total production of the entire national economy. In order to offset imperialist pressure and to push her backward economy a step forward, China must utilise all elements of urban and rural capitalism which are beneficial and not harmful to the national economy and the people’s livelihood. We must unite the national bourgeoisie into the common struggle. Our current policy is to control capitalism, not to eliminate it. But the national bourgeoisie cannot serve as a leader of the revolution and should not occupy a major position in the state administration. This is because the social and economic status of the national bourgeoisie has determined its weak character, its lack of foresight and of sufficient courage. In addition, quite a few members of this class fear the masses.

Sun Yat-sen advocated “awakening the masses,” or “helping the peasants and workers.” Who is going to “awaken” or “help” them? In Sun Yat-sen’s opinion, it was to be

the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. But this, in fact, was not feasible. What was the reason for the defeat of Sun Yat-sen's forty years of revolution? In the era of imperialism, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie are not capable of leading any genuine revolution to victory. That is where the reason lies.

Our twenty-eight years have been quite different. We have had much valuable experience, the essence of which consists of the following three factors: one is a disciplined party armed with the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, employing the method of self-criticism and closely linked with the masses; another is an army led by such a party; and the third is a united front of all revolutionary strata and all revolutionary parties and groups, led by such a party. All these factors distinguish us from our predecessors. Reliance on these three things has led us to gain a basic victory. We travelled along a winding road. Our party has struggled against opportunistic tendencies inside the party, both leftist and rightist. Whenever any serious mistakes were committed in these three matters, the revolution suffered set-backs. The mistakes and set-backs trained us, making us somewhat wiser so that our affairs were then managed a bit better. No political party or person can avoid mistakes, but we demand that not many mistakes occur. When a mistake is made, we demand correction, the more quickly and thoroughly the better.

Summarising our experiences and condensing them into one point, we have the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class (through the Communist Party) and based upon the alliance of the workers and peasants. Our dictatorship must unite with all international revolutionary forces. This then is our formula, our main experience, our main program.

During the long period of its twenty-eight years' existence, our party has done just one thing, and that is, it has attained a basic victory in the revolutionary war. This is worth celebrating because it is a people's victory, and because it is a victory in such a large country as China.

But much work still lies ahead of us. If we were walking down a road, our past work would not seem like more than the first step of a ten-thousand *li* march. The remnants of the enemy must still be wiped out. A grave task of economic construction spreads out before us. Some of the things we are familiar with will soon be laid aside, and we will be compelled to tackle things with which we are not familiar. This means difficulties. The imperialists count upon our not handling our economic problems well. They stand on the side-lines and wait for our failure.

We must overcome all difficulties and learn the things we do not understand. We must learn to do economic work from all who know the ropes (no matter who they are). We must respect them as teachers, learning from them attentively and earnestly. We must not pretend to know when we do not know. We must not put on bureaucratic airs. If one bores into a subject for several months, for one year or two years, perhaps three years or four years, it can eventually be mastered.

Some of the Communists in the Soviet Union were also unable to handle economics at the beginning, and the imperialists also waited for their failure. But the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. emerged victorious. Under Lenin's and Stalin's leadership, the Soviet Communists not only have been able to stage a revolution but have also been able to carry on construction. They have already built up a great and glorious Socialist state.

The Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. is our very best teacher, and we must learn from it. Both the international and the domestic situation are in our favour. There is absolutely no doubt that we can rely upon the weapon of the people's democratic dictatorship, unite

all the people throughout the country with the exception of the reactionaries, and march steadily toward our goal.

SPEECH AT  
THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE MEETING  
OF  
THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE  
*June 15, 1949*

Fellow delegates:

The preparatory meeting of our new Political Consultative Conference opens today. The task of this meeting is the completion of all necessary preparatory work, so as to convene the new Political Consultative Conference quickly and form a democratic coalition government. This will lead the people of the whole country to clean out the remaining forces of the Kuomintang reactionary clique as fast as possible, to unify the whole of China, and to carry out systematically, step by step and on a nationwide scale, construction work in the field of politics, economics, culture and national defence. The people of the whole country hope we will do these things, and we must do them.

The new Political Consultative Conference was proposed to the people of the country by the Communist Party of China on May 1, 1948. This proposal obtained immediate response from all democratic parties and groups in the country, all popular organisations, democratic personages of all circles, national minorities within the country, and from the overseas Chinese. The Chinese Communist Party and all the above mentioned groups and people regard it as necessary to overthrow the rule of imperialism, feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism and the Kuomintang reactionary clique. They also consider it necessary to convene a political consultative conference having representatives of all democratic parties and groups, all popular organisations, democratic personages of all circles, national minorities within the country and the overseas Chinese. In addition, they believe it necessary to proclaim the creation of the People's Democratic Republic of China and to elect the democratic coalition government of this Republic. Only thus can our great fatherland free itself from a semi-colonial and semi-feudal fate and take the road of independence, freedom, peace, unity, strength and prosperity.

This is a common political foundation. It is the common political foundation for the united struggle of the Chinese Communist Party, all democratic parties and groups, all popular organisations, democratic personages of all circles, national minorities within the country, and overseas Chinese. It is also the common political foundation for the people's united struggle throughout the nation. This political foundation is so firm that no divergent opinion has been raised by any clear-sighted, honest, democratic party or group, popular organisation or democratic personage. Everyone believes that this course alone constitutes a correct line for solving all of China's problems.

The people of the whole country supported their own People's Liberation Army and attained victory in the war. This great People's Liberation War, which began in July, 1946, has already lasted three whole years. This war was launched by the Kuomintang reactionary clique with the help of foreign imperialism. The Kuomintang reactionary clique treacherously tore up the Truce Agreement and the resolutions of the PCC, which had been made in January, 1946, and launched the civil war against the people. However, in only three years' time the reactionaries have been defeated by the heroic People's Liberation Army. Not long ago, after the peace plot of the Kuomintang-reactionary clique had been exposed, the People's Liberation Army courageously advanced and crossed the Yangtze River. Nanking, the capital of the Kuomintang reactionary clique, has already been captured. Shanghai, Hangchow, Nanchang, Wuhan and Sian are already liberated. At this very moment, the various field armies of the People's Liberation Army are carrying out a great drive on the southern and north-western provinces, such a drive as has never occurred before in the history of China.

In three years, the People's Liberation Army has wiped out 5,590,000 reactionary Kuomintang troops. At the present time, the remnants of the Kuomintang army, including

regular and irregular forces as well as rear area military organizations and military schools, number only about one and a half million men. It will still take a certain time to clean up these remaining troops, but not too long.

This is a victory of the whole Chinese people, and it is also a victory of the people of the entire world. "There is no one in the whole world, with the \ exception of the imperialists and reactionaries of various countries, who does not excitedly rejoice over this tremendous victory of the Chinese people. The struggle of the Chinese people against their enemies and the struggle of the other peoples of the world against their own enemies have the same significance. The people of all China as well as the people of the whole world have seen the following fact: that the imperialists directed the Chinese reactionaries to wage a counter-revolutionary war in cruelly opposing the Chinese people; the Chinese people have waged a revolutionary war in victoriously overthrowing the reactionaries.

At this point, I think there is need to draw the people's attention to one thing: that the imperialists and their henchmen, the Chinese reactionaries, will not submit to their defeat on Chinese territory. They will still collaborate with each other, using every possible means of opposing the Chinese people. For instance, they will send their lackeys to sneak into China in order to carry on the work of dismemberment and disruption. This is inevitable; they certainly will not forget this type of work. For example, they incite the Chinese reactionaries to blockade China's seaports, even contributing their own forces to this operation. As long as they still have the possibility, they will act in this manner. Or again, if they still wish to be adventuristic, it is not impossible for them to send some of their armed forces to invade China's frontiers. We must fully take into account all of such things. We definitely must not, because of victory, relax our vigilance against the wild vengeful plots of the imperialist dements and their henchmen. Whoever relaxes this vigilance is politically discarding his weapons and placing himself in a passive position. Under these circumstances the people throughout the nation must unite, and must resolutely, thoroughly, cleanly and completely smash whatever conspiratorial plots against the Chinese people that are devised by the imperialists and their henchmen, the reactionaries of China.

China must be independent, China must be liberated. China's affairs must be determined and handled by the Chinese people themselves. We will not permit the slightest intervention again by any imperialist country.

China's revolution is a revolution of the masses of the whole nation. Except for the imperialists, feudalists, bureaucratic capitalists, the Kuomintang reactionary clique and its accomplices, everyone is our friend; we have a broad and consolidated united front. Our united front is so broad that it includes the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. This united front is so consolidated that it has the staunch willpower and inexhaustible capacity to vanquish all enemies and overcome all difficulties. We are now in an era in which the imperialist system is heading toward total collapse, and in which the imperialists have already sunk into a crisis from which there is no escape. Regardless of how they continue to oppose the Chinese people, the Chinese people have the means to win final victory.

At the same time, we declare to the whole world: what we are opposing is only the imperialist system and its conspiratorial plots against the Chinese people. We will be willing on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territorial sovereignty, to negotiate the question of the establishment of diplomatic relations with any foreign government, provided that it is willing to sever relations with the

Chinese reactionaries, that it will not again collaborate with or help the Chinese reactionaries, and furthermore that it will adopt an attitude of genuine, not hypocritical, friendship towards the People's China. The Chinese people are willing to carry on friendly cooperation with the people of all countries in the world, and also to restore and expand international trade in order to increase production and make the economy flourish.

Fellow delegates: We already have all the conditions necessary for convening the new Political Consultative Conference and forming a democratic coalition government. The people throughout the nation are eagerly hoping that we will convene such a meeting and form such a government. I am convinced that the work we are now undertaking will be able to satisfy these hopes, and furthermore, that it will not require a long time to satisfy these hopes.

Once a democratic coalition government has been formed, its main work will centre upon: (1) cleaning up the remnants of the reactionaries and suppressing all their disruptive activities; (2) using all possible efforts to restore and develop the people's economic enterprises, simultaneously restoring and developing the people's cultural and educational activities.

Once China's destiny has been grasped in the people's own hands, the Chinese people will see China, shining like the rising sun, casting its radiance over all the land and quickly drying up the muddy puddles left behind by the reactionary government. The wounds of war will be healed. We will build up an entirely new, strong, and prosperous People's Democratic Republic of China, not only in name but in fact.

Long live the People's Democratic Republic of China!

Long live the democratic coalition government!

Long live the great unity of the people of the entire country!

OPENING SPEECH AT THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION OF  
THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

*September 21, 1949*

Fellow delegates:

The Political Consultative Conference, which the people throughout the country have been longing for, is now opened.

Our conference is composed of more than six hundred delegates, representing all of China's democratic parties and groups, popular organisations, the People's Liberation Army, various regions, all nationalities and the overseas Chinese. This shows that our conference is one of great nationwide popular unity.

Such great nationwide popular unity has been achieved because we have vanquished the Kuomintang reactionary government which is aided by American imperialism. In the course of a little more than three years, the heroic Chinese People's Liberation Army, an army such as the world has seldom seen, crushed the offensive of the several million troops of the American-supported Kuomintang reactionary government, thereby enabling us to swing over to the counter-offensive and the offensive; At present the several million troops of the People's Liberation Army field armies have carried the war to areas in the proximity of Taiwan, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Kweichow, Szechuan and Sinkiang; and the bulk of the Chinese people have already been liberated. During this period of over three years, the people throughout the country have united themselves, supported the People's Liberation Army, opposed their enemy, and won basic victory. This is the foundation upon which the People's Political Consultative Conference is convened.

Our conference is named the Political Consultative Conference because once, three years ago, we held a political consultative conference together with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang.

The results of that conference were destroyed by Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and its accomplices, but it has left an indelible impression on the people. That conference has proved that no task beneficial to the people can be carried out together with the running dogs of imperialism, Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and its accomplices. Even when resolutions were adopted at all, they were still useless. As soon as the time was opportune, the Kuomintang tore up all resolutions and opposed the people with a ruthless war. The only gain of that conference was the profound education it gave the people. It made them understand that there is definitely no room for compromise with the running dogs of imperialism, Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and its accomplices — we must either overthrow these enemies or be slaughtered and oppressed by them. We must choose between these two alternatives', there can be no other choice.

In this period of over three years, the Chinese people, the leadership of the Communist Party of China, rapidly became politically awakened and organised themselves, forming a nationwide united front against imperialism, feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism and their collective representative, the Kuomintang reactionary government. The Chinese people supported the People's Liberation War, basically defeated the Kuomintang reactionary government, overthrew imperialist rule in China and restored the political consultative conference.

The present Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is convened on an entirely new basis. It possesses the nature of representing the people throughout the country, and it has obtained their trust and support. Therefore the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference announces that it exercises the functions and powers of the All-China People's Congress.

The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference has on its agenda the formulation and adoption of the Organic Law of the Chinese People's Political

Consultative Conference, the Organic Law of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the election of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the election of the Central People's Government Council of the People's Republic of China, the adoption of the national flag and national emblem of the People's Republic of China, the selection of the site for the capital of the People's Republic of China and the adoption of a calendar such as that used by the majority of countries in the world.

Fellow delegates: We have a common feeling that our work will be written down in the history of mankind, and that it will clearly demonstrate the fact that the Chinese, who comprise one quarter of humanity, have from now on stood up. The Chinese have always been a great, courageous and industrious people. It was only in modern times that they fell behind, and this was entirely the result of the oppression and exploitation of foreign imperialism and the domestic reactionary government.

For over a century, our predecessors have never paused in their indomitable struggles against the foreign and domestic oppressors. These struggles include the Revolution of 1911 led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the great pioneer in China's revolution. Our predecessors instructed us to carry their work to completion. We are doing this now. We have united ourselves and defeated both our foreign and domestic oppressors by means of the People's Liberation War and the people's great revolution, and we announce the establishment of the People's Republic of China.

Our nation will from now on enter the large family of peace-loving and freedom-loving nations of the world. It will work bravely and industriously to create its own civilisation and happiness and will, at the same time, promote world peace and freedom. Our nation will never again be an insulted nation. We have stood up. Our revolution has gained the sympathy and acclamation of the broad masses throughout the world. We have friends everywhere the world over.

Our revolutionary work is not yet concluded. The People's Liberation War and the people's revolutionary movement are still forging ahead and we must continue our efforts. The imperialists and the domestic reactionaries will certainly not take their defeat lying down; they will still put up a final struggle. After peace has been attained throughout the country, they may still sabotage and create various forms of disturbances. Daily, hourly, they will try to restore their rule in China. This is inevitable and beyond all doubt. Therefore we must not relax our vigilance.

Our state system of the people's democratic dictatorship is a powerful weapon for safeguarding the fruits of the people's revolutionary victory and for opposing the plots of the foreign and domestic enemies for their restoration to power. We must firmly grasp this weapon. Internationally, we must unite with all peace-loving and freedom-loving countries and peoples, first of all with the Soviet Union and the New Democratic countries. Thus we will not stand alone in our struggle to safeguard the fruits of the people's revolutionary victory and to oppose the plots of domestic and foreign enemies to regain power. If only we uphold the people's democratic dictatorship and unite with our international friends, we shall be everlastingly triumphant.

The people's democratic dictatorship and unity with international friends will enable us to obtain rapid success in our construction work. We are already confronted with economic construction work on a nationwide scale. A very favourable condition of ours lies in the fact that we have a population of 475,000,000 persons and a national territory of

9,597,000 square kilometers.

It is true that there are difficulties ahead of us, and, moreover, a great many of them. But we firmly believe that all the difficulties will be surmounted by the heroic struggle of all the people in the country. The Chinese people have had extremely abundant experience in overcoming difficulties. If we and our predecessors could come through the long period of extreme difficulties and defeat the powerful domestic and foreign reactionaries, why can we not build up a prosperous and flourishing country after our victory? If only we still hold fast to the spirit of hard work and bitter struggle, if only we keep united as one, and if only we uphold the people's democratic dictatorship and unite with our international friends, we can then quickly win victory on the economic front.

Following the upsurge of economic construction, an upsurge of cultural construction will inevitably arise. The era in which the Chinese were regarded as uncivilised is now over. We will emerge in the world as a nation with a high culture.

Our national defence will be consolidated and no imperialist will be allowed to invade our territory again. Our people's armed forces must be preserved and strengthened, having our heroic and tested People's Liberation Army as their foundation. We will have not only a powerful army but also a powerful navy and a powerful air force.

Let the domestic and foreign reactionaries tremble before us. Let them say that we are no good at this and no good at that. Through the Chinese people's indomitable energies, we will steadily reach our goal.

Immortality to the people's heroes who were sacrificed in the People's Liberation War and the people's revolution!

Hail the victory of the People's Liberation War and the people's revolution!

Hail the establishment of the People's Republic of China!

Hail the success of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference!