

will be incorrect and the work cannot be carried out, thereby creating confusion and will make it difficult for the cooperation to last long. Due to the fact that, on the one hand, the enemy's war is barbaric in nature, and, on the other, because of the correct policy and the necessary work to be done in the United Front, the Chinese National United Front should, and can be, a protracted one. It is a national front and not a people's front. It includes the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party during and after the war, and it is not a cooperation planned to split into civil war after the war has ended,

#### 4. The Three People's Principles and Communism

The Three People's Principles is the political foundation for the Anti-Japanese National United Front and the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. But what is the relationship between the Three People's Principles and the Communist Party? What attitude should Communist Party members adopt toward it? Up to now there are still some people who are not clear on this point, and, therefore, it will be necessary to explain it once more.

In the provisional congress of our party held in May 1936, it passed the following document on "resolutely implement the Three People's Principles."

"Is the Communist Party in agreement with the Three People's Principles? Our answer is, yes.. The Three People's Principles has its historical changes. The revolutionary Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen gained the trust of the people through cooperation with the Communist Party and by resolute implementation. It launched the victorious great revolution of 1925 to 1927. And because it drove out the communists (the movement to purge the Party) and carry out a contrary policy, it lost the trust of the people and brought about the failure of the revolution. Because the national and social peril are now extremely grave, there is an urgent request for cooperation between the two parties from the people of the nation and patriotic elements in the Kuomintang. Therefore, the spirit of the Three People's Principles has been reorganized. Under the principles of nationalism with independence and liberation internationally, the people's powerism of democratic freedom domestically, and the increase of the people's happiness under the principle of people's livelihood, the two parties came into cooperation again and led the people in resolutely carrying these principles out. This completely meets the historical needs of the Chinese revolution, and each party member should understand and recognize it. The Communist Party will never discard its ideals of socialism and communism. They must go through the stage of bourgeois democratic revolution in order to reach the stage of socialism and communism. The Communist Party has its own party and political programs. The Party program is socialism and communism, and it is different from the Three People's Principles. Its democratic revolutionary political program is more thorough than any other parties' or factions', but basically, it is not in conflict with the Three People's Principles program proclaimed by the first and second congress of the Kuomintang. Therefore, we not only do not reject the Three People's Principles, but are willing to resolutely implement it. We, furthermore, requested the Kuomintang to join us in implementing the Three People's

Principles, and also called upon the people of the whole country to implement the Three People's Principles so as to enable the Kuomintang, the Communist Party, and the people of the whole country to struggle together for the three great objectives of national independence, freedom of people's powers, and happiness in the lives of the people." (The task of the Chinese Anti-Japanese National United Front in its current stage, p 11)

On 22 September of last year, our Party Central Committee, in the announcement proclaiming the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, emphasized: "The Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen is necessary today. Our Party is willing to struggle for its thorough implementation."

Why did such a political party as the Communist Party adopt this attitude? It is quite obvious that national independence, freedom of people's rights, and the happiness of people's livelihood are the general objective that the Communist Party seeks to realize in the national democratic revolutionary stage. It is also the general objective sought by the people of the nation, and it is not a thing sought by a certain party on its own. Understanding will come if you only look at the documents since the founding of the Communist Party and its political program. Therefore, in the past, not only during the first period of cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party from 1924 to 1927, our Party members had resolutely implemented the Three People's Principles. Even after the unfortunate disruption of the two party cooperation in 1927, all our actions did not contravene the Three People's Principles. At that time we resolutely opposed imperialism, and this is in conformity with nationalism. We implemented the political system of people's congresses, and this is in conformity with the principle of people's rights; we also initiated the land system of fanners having their own land to cultivate, and this conforms with the principle of people's livelihood. All our methods did not exceed the basic category of the system of private property of the bourgeoisie and the democratic revolution. The current stage of the war of resistance and the stage to thoroughly establish a democratic republic are, by nature, the stages of the Three People's Principles and the bourgeois democratic revolution. In order to thoroughly carry out this task of the democratic stage, all Communist Party members, undoubtedly, should sincerely implement the Three People's Principles in accordance with the general revolutionary policy they always have, as well as their own resolution and announcement, and work together with the Kuomintang, the other parties, and the broad masses of the people throughout the country. Whoever is not loyal to the beliefs of the Three People's Principles and implementing it, he is a hypocrite, not a loyal Marxist. In China, anybody loyal to Marxism, has two responsibilities at the same time, one is the current actual task, and the other is the far reaching ideals of the future. It must be understood that only by completing as much as possible the current task can there be a basis and a foundation to develop into the far-reaching and great ideal is communism, and it is the most perfect social system for all mankind. Dr. Sun Yat-sen had also considered the necessity of implementing it in order to resolve future social problems. The so-called real task of the present is the Three People's Principles. This is the task of the present stage to "achieve equal status internationally, politically, and economically," and it is a demand made by the Kuomintang, the Communist Party, and the people of the entire country. Therefore, Communist Party members should study the

Three People's Principles as carefully as they did with communism, and apply the viewpoint of Marxism to study the theories of the Three People's Principles in order to find out how the Three People's Principles can be implemented in a concrete manner, and how to use the correct ideas of the Three People's Principles to educate the masses so as to bring about a transformation from understanding to action, and struggle to beat back Japanese imperialism and construct a new China based upon the Three People's Principles.

## 5. The Organizational Form for Long-Term Cooperation

In order to ensure long-term cooperation, it will still be necessary to resolve the problem of the organizational form for cooperation. We have already rejected the idea of one-party-ism. Whether it is in respect to past history, with respect to the current task, and with respect to the natural qualities of Chinese society, there is no basis at all for one-party-ism. It cannot be achieved nor can it be implemented. It betrays the major objective of uniting all to oppose Japan and construct the nation, and is thoroughly harmful. Then, is there a need for a kind of unified and common organization for the various parties to co-exist and form a national united front against Japan? Yes, and it is necessary. Without such a unified and common organization for all, it will not help with the effort to unite and oppose Japan, and it is even more harmful to long-term cooperation. Therefore, the various parties should earnestly study and find a unified and common organizational form which will be most suitable for long-term cooperation. Let us take this under study now.

Due to the historical characteristics of the various parties and China's politics and economy, today's view presents three kinds of organizational forms as follows.

First, the Kuomintang itself is transformed into a national alliance, with the various parties participating in the Kuomintang but retaining their independent nature. But this will be different from the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. If the Kuomintang agrees to our participation, what attitude shall we adopt? First, we approve of this method, because this is one of the best kinds of united organization for the Anti-Japanese National United Front, and it will be beneficial to national construction. It is not only the Communist Party, but all other parties as well which can participate in the Kuomintang. As long as the Kuomintang agrees to it, we will definitely not oppose it. If it is done this way, we can then apply the method differently from the 13 years of cooperation. That is, first, all Communist Party members will openly participate in the Kuomintang, and a list of such party members will be provided to the Kuomintang's leading organization. Second, we will not enlist any Kuomintang members to join the Communist Party. Those that want to join will be counselled not to do so in order to preserve the general situation. Third, if our young party members have been approved by the Kuomintang to participate in the Three People's Principles Youth League, it shall be the same. There will be no organization of secret party or groups, and we shall

not accept non-communist members to enter our Party. The use of this method there will be peaceful assurance for everybody, and it will be beneficial to all and without harmful effects. This is the first type of organizational form for the United Front.

The second kind is for the various parties to organize a national alliance and support Chiang Kai-shek as the supreme leader of this alliance. The various parties, on the basis of equality, dispatch representatives to organize a committee of all parties concerned from the Central Government to the various levels of local governments to work for the implementation of the common program and administer common matters. This is also a good form, and we also approve it. We proposed such a form long ago, but unfortunately, it was not implemented.

The third kind is the present method. There are no formulated documents, no need for set sites, and when problems arise, consultations will be held between the two parties to resolve them. But this form of organization is too loose, and many problems cannot be resolved satisfactorily and in a timely manner. For instance, the implementation of major political policies and the adjustment of friction in lower echelons have been neglected because there was no fixed organization to handle them. Therefore, this method is not beneficial toward long-term cooperation. However, if the first and second methods are inapplicable, this method can temporarily remain as it is.

#### 6. The Policy of Mutual Aid and Mutual Concession in the Long-Term Cooperation

It has been said before that a protracted war requires a long-term united front, and this is the proceeding point for all policies. Therefore, Communist Party members must keep in mind this long-term nature in their work and in their relationships with friendly parties. He should carry out with determination all those that are beneficial to this long-term cooperation, and should absolutely refrain from doing those that will be harmful to it.

Herein occurs the problem of mutual aid and mutual concession among the various parties. With regard to mutual aid, for example, the various parties must develop and consolidate. Any party, besides attending to its own expansion and consolidation, should also adopt an approving attitude toward the development and consolidation of a friendly party. What kind of attitude should a Communist Party member adopt toward the expansion and consolidation of the Kuomintang? In a word, approve. The reason is that the expansion and consolidation of the Kuomintang will be beneficial to the war against Japan and to the entire nation. Thus, it is also beneficial to the working people and the Communist Party. I have discussed this before.

The Kuomintang is presently organizing the Three People's Principles Youth League. What kind of attitude should a Communist Party member adopt? Without doubt he should adopt an attitude of approval. We hope that the Youth League will develop massively. If the Youth League is carried out in accordance

with Chiang Kai-shek's declaration, there is a bright future for its development. Because we approve and support it, we hope that revisions will be made in certain items of the methods presently implemented in the League. Otherwise a good cause will not bring forth good results. The Three People's Principles Youth League should become a united organization for the broad masses of youths and people of China to unite and save the nation. It should absorb various parties and factions, youths of various circles, and individual young men<sup>T</sup> and youth organizations to become a massive group in which the entire generation of youths will collectively receive national revolutionary education and training. Therefore, it should be organizationally democratized, and the spirit of initiative and consciousness of the organization members should be given play politically to rouse the enthusiasm of the masses of youths. This is our attitude and our proposals to the Three People's Principles Youth League.

Mutual aid is not mutual despoliation, benefiting oneself from another's loss. As an individual it is morally wrong, and it is even more so with regard to national morals. Therefore, unreasonable frictions, even to the extent of arresting and killing people, just cannot be done. Communist Party members absolutely should not treat friendly parties in this manner, but should be treated in this manner, we definitely will not let it go at that. All unreasonable matters must be treated sternly, and this is the correct way to treat others and oneself. Mutual counselling is a virtue among friends, and it is also an attitude that should be promoted among the political parties.

What kind of mutual concessions are there to be made in the United Front? There are such concessions. We had made political concessions, stopping the confiscation of land, reorganizing the Red Army, changing the system of the Soviet areas. This is a type of political concession, and a necessary measure to establish the United Front and unite the people of the nation to fight the enemy together. Our friendly Party has also made concessions by admitting the legal status of the Communist Party, etc. The policy of mutual concession for uniting against the enemy and for long-term cooperation is a very good and correct one. It is only the politically confused, or those with covert ideas, will say that the Communist Party has surrendered to the Kuomintang, or vice versa.

We now again advocate that all the parties in the United Front should not enroll members of the other parties, organize branch parties, and engage in secret activities. We hold that such a policy is necessary. Of course, today is different from the past. In the civil war of the past, besides open warfare between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, secret methods were used on both sides to sabotage the activities of the other side. After cooperation, there naturally should not be motives and actions for sabotaging each other. But the method of secretly recruiting party members from the other<sup>T</sup>s ranks to form party branches should also stop so that both sides will be assured. Only thus can it become compatible with the objective of long-term cooperation in a protracted war. We officially announce to the comrades of the Kuomintang that we have stopped our activities to recruit party members

from your ranks to organize party branches. Regardless of what kind of common organizational form is adopted for the United Front, we will abide by our decision. But at the same time, we hope you will reciprocate. After such an agreement has been arrived at, and a lower-level party member should renege, then the higher level of the renegade should be responsible for handling this matter.

Besides, when comrades of both sides meet, the attitude to be adopted should be one of friendliness, respect, and consultation, and not one of arrogance, contempt, and arbitrariness in order to improve mutual relationships, and this is also necessary.

Communist Party members should first put into effect all that we have said, regardless of whether some of the personnel on the other side have not applied the same policy, method, and attitude in treating us. We shall still do it this way, and, in the long run, some of those who are not clear about this will come around to an understanding.

A Communist Party member should adhere to his own standpoint in matters concerning the nation and the people, and march toward the direction of defeating the Japanese and constructing a new China without the slightest deviation. Whoever betrays this standpoint and this direction will lose his qualifications to be a Communist Party member. But the Communist Party member must have the spirit of mutual aid and mutual concession. They must have the spirit of respecting friendly parties and to resolve problems through friendly, consultative attitude. Wherever there are comrades of friendly parties present, they should be consulted to resolve related matters, and it must not be done arbitrarily. Without such a spirit there would be no consolidated unified unity, and the objective of defeating the enemy and constructing a new China, and the so-called enterprises for the nation and for the people cannot be attained. Therefore, the necessary policy of mutual concession absolutely must not be translated into negativism. Not only is mutual aid activism, but so is mutual concession, because necessary concessions is an indispensable condition to consolidating the cooperation of the two parties to attain even better unity and greater progress.

## 7. On the Problem of a Democratic Republic

Although our party, in September 1936, announced the resolution on constructing a democratic republic, and comrades of the Central Committee have explained this question, there are many outside our circle who do not understand our proposals. This is a problem concerned with the future of the war of resistance. What will be the result of the war of resistance? With regard to the so-called war of resistance and national construction, what kind of a nation should be established in accordance with the Communist Party's ideas? This is a problem that is with us, and to explain it once more will be beneficial to the consolidation of the confidence of various parties and factions in the long-term cooperation.

What kind of a nation should be established? The answer in a word is the establishment of a republic based upon the Three People's Principles. The democratic republic as we called it is the republic of the Three People's Principles and its nature is that of the Three People's Principles. According to Dr. Sun Yat-sen, it is one that "seeks equal status internationally, an equal political status, and equality in the economic status." First, it is a country of nationalism. It is an independent nation and will not be subjected to any interference from any country and, at the same time, it will not interfere with any foreign nations. That is to say that the original semi-colonial status of China has been changed, and it has become independent. At the same time, regardless of how powerful it becomes, it absolutely will not turn itself into an imperialist country, but have peaceful intercourse and co-exist in friendship in the spirit of equality with all the friendly countries that respect China's independence. Equal rights will be given to the various nationalities in the country and, under the principle of their own volition, to unite and establish a unified government. Second, this country will be a nation based upon the rights of the people. The people in the country will all have equal political status, officials at various grades will be elected by the people, and the political system will be that of democratic centralization. National and local assemblies of people's representatives will be established, and citizens over the age of 18, with the exception of criminals, will all have the right to elect and be elected, regardless of class, sex, nationalities, beliefs, and education. The nation will give the people the freedom of speech, publications, gathering, association, beliefs, residence and change of residence, and to protect them politically and materially. Third, it is a country based upon the people's livelihood. It does not deny the system of private ownership, but it requires that workers will have jobs and their working conditions are to be improved. Farmers will have land to cultivate, and excessive taxation and exorbitant rentals and usurious interest rates are to be abolished. The students will be able to continue with their education, but it also guarantees that the poor will be able to attend school. The other fields will be occupied with tasks and they can give full rein to their geniuses. In short, it is to enable every one to have clothing and food, schooling and jobs. The democratic republic we envisaged is precisely such a nation, a China truly based upon the Three People's Principles. It is not a Soviet, nor is it socialism.

With whom must we struggle to transform China into such a country? We must struggle against Japanese imperialism. Japanese imperialism deprived us of our independence, and we must get it back from them. Japanese imperialism considered us as slaves, and we must demand from them our freedom. Japanese imperialism brought hunger and cold upon us, and we must demand food from them. How are these to be done? Demand it at gunpoint. In brief, driving away Japanese imperialism will give us an independent, free, and prosperous new China based upon the Three People's Principles.

## VI. China's War Against Aggression and the Anti-Fascist Movement of the World

### 1. China Cannot Be Separated From the World

China is closely bound to the world, and the Sino-Japanese war is part of the world war. The victory of China's war of resistance against Japan cannot be isolated from the rest of the world. In the new situation of the war of resistance it is possible that part of the foreign aid will decrease, thereby making China's self-reliance efforts even more significant. China should, at all times, rely upon self-reliance as the basic standpoint. But China is not, and cannot be, isolated. The fact of China's close ties with the world is also our standpoint, and should be our standpoint. We are not and cannot have a closed-door policy. China could not do this a long time ago, and now an imperialism of a world-wide nature has penetrated into China with war. All Chinese are concerned about China's relation with the world, especially the current changes in the situation in Europe. Therefore, it will be a significant thing to analyze the current international situation.

### 2. World War II To Carve Up the World Again Has Already Begun

The basic nature of capitalist imperialism is not only in contradiction with its own people, but it is also in contradiction with colonial and semi-colonial countries, with socialist countries, and between the various imperialist countries. The most intense expression of this last type of contradiction was in the world war of 20 years ago. The result ~~of~~ that war between two groups of imperialist countries created a new international situation. The new development of the world's politics and economy after the war resulted in the world again approaching a new great war. The aggression of Japan against the four eastern provinces in the Orient and the coming on stage of Hitler launched the new world war to re-divide the world. It is quite true that "fascism is war." Under this situation, Japan, Germany, and Italy, on the one hand, organized an aggression front, to carry out large-scale aggression, and, on the other hand, the various democratic countries prepared for war in order to defend the benefits they already hold and in the name of preserving peace. But up to now, they are still unwilling to use actual force to stop the aggressors, especially the British policy of compromise, in actuality, is helping the aggressors. Under such circumstances, China's four eastern provinces were the first to be sacrificed and, subsequently, Abyssinia was lost to the Italians. In Spain it infused the rebel army with vigor, China was subjected to a new massive aggression by Japan, and, recently, Austria and Czechoslovakia were sacrificed to Hitler. Six hundred million people of the world are in a state of war, and -its sphere covers the three continents of Asia, Africa, and Europe. This is the current situation of the new world war.

### 3. The Characteristics of the Current World War

Due to the determination of Japan, Germany, and Italy to commit aggression on the one hand, and the unwillingness of the various democratic to use their



power to restrain them on the other—especially with regard to the compromise policy of the British—there is a difference in characteristics displayed by the current situation of the new world from that of the World War I. This characteristic is the aggression of countries in between first, and the adoption of various different forms of war. China, Abyssinia, Austria, and Czechoslovakia are all semi-independent or small countries, and Japan, Germany, and Italy selected them first for swallowing up. In launching their aggression against these in-between countries, the aggressors adopted three specific forms of warfare. The first kind is the war launched by Japan against China, and by Italy against Abyssinia. These are large-scale wars conducted openly but carried out without a formal declaration of war, and it opens up a new era in the history of wars. The objective in adopting this policy of undeclared war is to take advantage of the unwillingness of the various democratic countries to restrain them—especially Britain's policy of compromise—to temporarily avoid coming into direct conflict with them and facilitate their moves to first seize the in-between countries. The second type is the form of aggression adopted by Germany and Italy against Spain. They adopted the method of giving assistance to the rebel army. This is but a replay of an old method abundantly found in history. The third type is Hitler's aggression in Austria and Czechoslovakia. On the surface there is no war (no actual fighting), but the essence of war is there. A powerful force of troops was moved in to occupy all of Austria and part of Czechoslovakia and to place the rest of Czechoslovakia under its rule. This is a most ingenious method of seizing another country without fighting.

The utilization of these three forms of war, on the one hand, is because the strength of the aggressor countries themselves is not adequate and is temporarily unable to engage the various big countries in direct warfare. Therefore, this ingenious method was adopted in an attempt to first strengthen themselves and, at the same time, to weaken the various big countries and then engage them in war. On the other hand, because of the unwillingness of the various democratic countries to restrain the aggressors, and specifically as a result of Britain's cowardly policy of compromise, it, in reality, aided the enemy and it made it easy for them to commit aggression against the countries in the middle.

#### 4. Britain's Policy of Compromise Will Lead the Various Fascist Countries To Launch a War on an Even Greater Scale

The conservative cabinet of Britain headed by Chamberlain is carrying out step by step the so-called policy of cooperation among the four powers. After the Munich agreement it is possible that the political situation in Europe will take a turn for the worse. The major part of Britain's conservative party's policy, in principle, has all along rejected the Soviet Union and sought compromise with Germany and Italy. Because of its fear of the Soviet Union becoming strong, of becoming involved in a war too early, of the people's movements in its own country and the movement for independence in the colonies, it has very early decided to sacrifice Spain, Austria, and Czechoslovakia and formed its plan to reject the Soviet Union and seek compromise with Germany and Italy. In the past, it was not successful because of the

division within the conservative party, the active policy of the popular front in France, and the censure received domestically and from abroad. But now, they took advantage of the anti-war psychology of the British and European people, and the rightist tendency of (Flandin's party of France to set up the Munich agreement under the threat of Hitler. This agreement is the result of Britain's policy of compromise, and if it does not change its policy it definitely will induce the various fascist countries to mount an even more massive war of adventurism. Although it is still possible that, for the time being, war will not break out among the big countries, and temporarily it will be limited to the continuation of aggression of the countries in the middle, but, in the end, it will be inevitable that the various big countries will be dragged into a war of unprecedented ruthlessness. This will be a future certainty. The inevitable result of Chamberlain's policy will be like "lifting a lock only to drop it on one's own toes."

#### 5. The Majority of Mankind in the World Are on the Move to Mobilization

With respect to the various capitalist countries, they have come to a dead end because of the economic crisis, the war involving 600 million people has its impact on the whole world, and a new and even more massive war threatens mankind. All is bright and well with the socialist countries, and they are advanced and strong. Under the comparison of these two opposite things, the majority of the people throughout the world are gradually finding the direction how to defend and liberate themselves, and they are uniting and preparing for war on an unprecedented massive scale and intensity. World War I, the growing power of the socialist countries in the past 20 years, the weakening of the capitalist countries, the war of aggression waged by the fascist countries in the past 6 or 7 years, China's glorious war of resistance against Japan, the people's war of Spain, and the compromise policy of Chamberlain have taught the people of the world and of Britain and France to understand that the only way out is to organize and put up a struggle. There can be a way out only by uniting as one all mankind in the world who seek liberation, and the formation of a united front of the people of the world and all oppressed nationalities. The glorious process of wakening the consciousness of the people throughout the world, their organization and struggle, and the formation of the united front is progressing in its development, but it will require arduous efforts before it can be completed. The future of the fascist threat of war and Chamberlain's policy of compromise is certain to meet with massive opposition in the end, and it is also an inevitable result of the fascist war and Chamberlain's policy.

#### 6. The Coordination of China's War Against Aggression and the Anti-Fascist World Movement

It is common knowledge that in the past the various democratic countries all gave assistance to China in varying degrees, mainly in the sympathy expressed by their people for China. The aid from the Soviet Union was even more positive. Now, because of the deeper penetration of the Japanese offensive, it has intensified the contradictions between Japan and Britain, the United States, France, and the Soviet Union. Although it is possible that Britain

may use its policy of compromise in the West and apply it to the Orient, and compromise to a certain degree with Japan in the hope of preserving some of its commercial enterprises in the occupied areas, and in dreaming to lessen Japan's threat to southeast Asia, it will find that a basic compromise will be difficult. At least for the time being, it will be difficult because of Japan's policy to solely occupy China. Under current concrete conditions, there are differences of a certain degree between the problems of the East and that of the West. The deeper penetration of Japan's offensive against China has further intensified the contradiction between Japan and the United States. The friendship between China and the Soviet Union has grown, and there is the possibility of increased friendship between China, the United States, and the Soviet Union. But first of all, we must not forget the distinction between the capitalist and socialist countries, secondly, the distinction between a capitalist government and its people, and, thirdly, we must keep in mind even more firmly the distinction between the present and the future. We must not place too great a hope on the former, but should exert ourselves to gain all possible aid from the former. To a certain degree it is not only possible but also practical. But to maintain too high a hope is not suitable.

The coordination between China's liberation movement and foreign aid is mainly the coordination in the future with progressive countries and the world-wide massive anti-fascist movement of the people, and it should be based principally upon the policy of self-reliance and at the same time, not to slacken our efforts to obtain foreign aid,

#### VII. The Communist Party's Position in the National War

(This chapter's contents are similar to another essay-pp 241-264-and it is deleted here in order to avoid repetition.)

#### VIII. The Convening of the Party's Seventh National Congress

I will now talk about the last problem, the problem of convening the Seventh Congress

Comrades, the National Congress of our Party has not been convened since the sixth one was held in 1928. Due to circumstances, it has been 10 years since we held a congress. Last December, the political bureau meeting decided to make preparations for convening the Seventh Congress. Due to incompleteness of the preparatory work it will be difficult to hold it this year. This enlarged general membership meeting should discuss the question of stepping up the preparatory work and decide on convening the congress in the near future. The political significance of this congress will be very important. It will sum up past experiences, mainly that of the war of resistance throughout the nation and the Anti-Japanese National United Front. It will discuss the political situations domestically and internationally. It will discuss how to further unite the entire nation, unite the Kuomintang, the Communist Party, and other parties and factions, and further consolidate and expand the Anti-Japanese National United Front. Policy, methods, and plans on how to win

final victory in the war of resistance in the course of a protracted war and long-term cooperation will also be discussed. We must discuss how to mobilize the working class and laboring people throughout the nation to take an even, more active part in the war of resistance. How the Party can further its own unity and strengthen itself under the new situation should also be discussed so as to consolidate the relationship between itself and the Kuomintang and as well as the other parties and factions and the people throughout the nation in order to smoothly implement the general policy of the Anti-Japanese National United Front.

Besides these problems of politics and organizations, the Seventh National Congress should elect a new Central Committee, selecting many of the comrades in the entire Party with the most prestige and authority to become part of the committee in order to strengthen the leadership of the entire Party's work. Comrades, since this congress has such great significance, all comrades, upon returning to their various areas to work after the closing of the sixth enlarged meeting of the general membership of the Party, should, on the basis of expanding and consolidating the Party's foundation carry out elections in a timely manner and in accordance with democratic methods so as to enable the best cadres who have the greatest trust and confidence of the Party members to have the opportunity to be elected as representatives to the congress, thereby bringing together under one roof the best representatives to the Seventh National Congress and ensure that the congress will be a success. We believe that this National Congress will definitely be successful. It will provide the most serious and powerful reply to the Japanese imperialist's war of aggression, make imperialist Japan tremble in fear in the face of our National Congress, and throw them back into the eastern sea. The Chinese nation will be victorious.

My report ends here.

Chia Fang, Vol 7, 25 November 1938  
HSIN HUA DAILY (Chungking) December 1938

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HSIN HUA DAILY, 1939

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## DIALECTIC MATERIALISM (LECTURE OUTLINE)

1938

[Text] Chapter I Idealism and Materialism

This chapter discusses the following problems:

- (1) Two opposing camps of philosophy;
- (2) Distinction between idealism and materialism;
- (3) Origin and development of idealism; and
- (4) Origin and development of materialism.

### (1) Two Opposing Camps of Philosophy

The entire history of philosophy is the history of struggle and development of idealism and materialism, the two opposing schools of philosophy. All philosophical thoughts and factions are variations of these two basic schools.

All philosophical theories are created by people belonging to a definite social class. The consciousness of these people is historically determined by a definite social life. All philosophical theories express the need of a definite social class and reflect the level of development of social productive force and the historical stage of man's knowledge of nature. The fate of a philosophy is determined by the degree it satisfies the need of society.

The social origin of idealism and materialism lies in the social structure of class contradictions. The original idealism was the product of ignorance of the primitive barbarian man. Later, as productive forces developed, scientific knowledge-also developed. Consequently, idealism should have declined and been replaced by materialism. However, from antiquity to modern times, idealism has not declined. On the contrary, it has developed further and become a close rival of materialism. The reason is that society is divided into classes. On the one hand, the oppressing class cannot but develop and consolidate its idealism for its own interest. On the other hand, the oppressed class, similarly, cannot but develop and consolidate

its materialism for its own interest. Both idealism and materialism exist as tools of class struggle, and the war between the two schools of philosophy will continue until the elimination of classes. In its process of development, idealism represents the ideology of the exploiting class and has a reactionary function. Materialism is the world outlook of the revolutionary class. In a class society, materialism grows and develops continuously in its struggle against the reactionary philosophy-idealism. For this reason the struggle between idealism and materialism always reflects the struggle between the interest of the reactionary class and that of the revolutionary class. No matter whether a philosopher is conscious of it or not, his philosophic inclination is always influenced by the political orientation of the class to which he belongs. Any inclination in philosophy always directly or Indirectly supports the basic political interest of the class the philosopher belongs. In this sense, the implementation of a certain philosophical Inclination is a special form of the policy of the class the philosopher belongs.

The special characteristic of the Marxist philosophy, dialectic materialism, is to explain clearly the class attributes of all social consciousness (including philosophy). It openly declares its proletarian nature, wages a resolute struggle against idealism of the capitalist class, and subordinates its function to the general task of overthrowing the capitalist institution, establishing proletarian dictatorship, and building socialism. In the present stage in China, the mission of philosophy is subordinated to the general task of overthrowing imperialism and semi-^feudalism, thoroughly implementing the democracy of the bourgeois class, establishing a brand new Chinese Democratic Republic, and preparing to transform the present society to a socialist and Communist society with peaceful means. Philosophical theories and political practices should be closely related.

## (2) Distinction Between Idealism and Materialism

Where is the basic difference between idealism and materialism? It lies in the opposite answers given by the two schools in regard to the basic problem of philosophy, that is, the problem of the relationship between spirit and matter (the problem of the relationship between consciousness and existence). Idealism considers spirit (consciousness, concept, and subject) as the origin of everything in the world and matter (natural or social object) as subordinate to spirit. Materialism holds that matter exists independent of spirit, while spirit is only subordinate to matter. From the opposite answers to this basic problem, diversified opinions arise on all other problems.

From the viewpoint of idealism, the world is probably a synthesis of our different kinds of senses, or it is the spiritual process created by our or worldly rationality. The external material world is viewed as an illusion, or an external shell of spiritual elements. Human knowledge is viewed as subjective and a product of spirit.

Conversely, materialism holds that the unity of universe lies in its material property. Spirit (consciousness) is one of the properties of

matter. It occurs only when matter develops to a definite stage. Nature, matter and the objective world exist outside of spirit and independent of spirit. Human knowledge is a reflection of the objective world.

### (3) Origin of Idealism and Its Development

Idealism considers that matter is a product of spirit. It turns the real world upside down. What is the origin of this philosophy, and where is the source of its development?

As mentioned before, idealism occurred as a product of the ignorance of primitive man, but after the development of production the primary condition that enabled idealism to become a philosophical thought was the separation of physical and mental labor. As a result of the development of social productivity, division of labor occurred in society. Further development of division of labor produced people who devoted themselves exclusively to mental labor. At a time when social productivity was relatively low, the separation of physical and mental labor was not complete. But after the emergence of classes and private property, when exploitation became the foundation for the existence of the dominating class, great changes began. Mental labor became a special privilege of the dominating class, while physical labor became the fate of the oppressed class. The dominating class began to examine their own relationship with the oppressed class in a topsy-turvy way. They thought that, it was not the laborers who provided them with materials for living. Instead, they thought, it was they who provided the laborers with materials for living. For this reason, they despised physical labor and generated the viewpoints of idealism. Eliminating the distinction between physical and material labor is one of the conditions for eliminating the philosophy of idealism.

The social origin which enabled the philosophy of idealism to develop is mainly the fact that this philosophy consciously expresses the interest of the exploiting class. The superiority of the idealist philosophy in all cultural realms should be explained by this fact. If the exploiting class did not exist, idealism would lose its social origin. The final extinction of the philosophy of idealism will come only after the elimination of classes and the establishment of a Communist society.

We must look for the origin that accounts for the development and intensification of idealism and its ability to become a rival of materialism in the process of man's knowledge. When man uses concept in thinking, there is a possibility for him to slip into idealism. When man thinks, he cannot but use concepts. This will apt to make our knowledge split into two aspects. In one aspect are the individual and special things and events. In another aspect are the concepts of a general nature (such as this judgment: "Yenan is a city.") The specific and the general are originally related and inseparable. When they are detached, they are separated from the objective truth. The objective truth demonstrates the consistency between the general and the specific. Without the specific, the general does not exist.

Without the general, there can be no specific. If we separate the general from the specific, then the general is considered the objective body and the specific is considered only a form of general existence. This is the method used by all idealists. They use consciousness, spirit, and concept to replace the objective substance which exists independent of man's consciousness. With this as a starting point, the idealists stress the dynamic nature of human consciousness in social practice. They are unable to point out the truth of materialism that consciousness is limited by matter. Instead, they say that only consciousness is dynamic, while matter is nothing but a collective body of immobile things. Driven by class motivations, the idealists use all methods to exaggerate the dynamism of consciousness and develop it one-sidedly to such an extent that it is infinitely expanded in the mind to become a dominating thing. Matter is covered up and made subordinate to consciousness. They affirm this artificially expanded thing as the general outlook of the universe, and even worship it as an idol or demigod. Idealist economics excessively exaggerate the immaterial side of exchange, and elevates the status of the principle of supply and demand to that of the fundamental law of capitalism. Many people saw the dynamic function of science in social life, but did not know that this function is ruled and limited by a definite social production relationship. They therefore came to the conclusion that science is the motive force of society. Idealist historians regard heroes as the creators of history. Idealist politicians consider politics as an omnipotent thing. Idealist militarists practice the principle of fighting-to-the-death in war. Idealist revolutionaries advocate Blanquism. All these are exaggerations of subjective dynamism. Our thinking cannot reflect the object all at once as a whole. It is only an infinite, colorful, vivid and dialectic process of knowing things close to their reality. Based on this characteristic of human thinking, the idealists exaggerate certain individual aspects of this process. Unable to correctly reflect this process, they distort it. Lenin said: "Human knowledge is not developed along a straight line, but along a curve. Any section of this curve can become an isolated and integral section of straight line. This section of straight line can possibly lead you to confusion. Linearity and one-sidedness are 'not seeing the forest for the trees'; obstinacy, subjectivism, and subjective blindness—all these are the origins of idealist epistemology."<sup>11</sup> "Idealism one-sidedly exaggerates one fragment or one aspect of the process of cognizance into a mysterious absolute thing divorced from matter and divorced from nature. It is correct to say that idealism is religious dogma."

Pre-Marxist materialism (mechanical materialism) did not emphasize the dynamism of thinking in cognizance. It only gave thinking a passive function, and regarded thinking as a mirror to reflect nature. Mechanical materialism took a violent attitude toward idealism without paying attention to the origin of idealist epistemology. Therefore, mechanical materialism could not prevail over idealism. Only dialectic materialism correctly points out the dynamic nature of thinking and, at the same time, points out that thinking is limited by matter. It points out that thinking occurs in the process of social practice and also dynamically directs practice. Only this type of dialectical theory of "unity between knowledge and practice" can thoroughly prevail over idealism.



#### (4) Origin of Materialism and Its Development

Recognition of the existence of external matter independent of consciousness is the foundation of materialism. This foundation is acquired by man through practice, the practice of labor and production. The practice of class struggle and the practice of scientific experimentation enabled man to depart from superstition and fantasy (idealism), to gradually recognize the nature of the world, and to reach materialism.

Primitive man, who could only use simple tools and yielded to the force of nature, was unable to explain the changes surrounding him. Therefore, he asked help from the spirit. This is the origin of religion and idealism.

In the long processes of production, man came in contact with nature surrounding him, acted on nature, changed nature, and secured things for clothing, food and shelter in order to make nature more suited to the interest of man. This convinced man that matter does objectively exist.

In social life, relationships and influence occur between one man and another. In class society, class struggle went on. The oppressed class weighed the situation, estimated their strength and made plans. When their struggle succeeded, they firmly believed that their opinion was not a product of imagination, but a reflection of the material world which objectively exists. When the oppressed class failed in their struggle because of the adoption of wrong plans, and when they succeeded in their struggle after changing their plans, they began to understand that they could reach their goal only if their subjective plans were based on a correct knowledge of the material property and rules of the objective world.

The history of science proved to man the material property and regularity of the world, and made him realize the uselessness of the fantasy of religion and idealism, and finally accept the conclusion of materialism.

In short, in the long history of practice—the history of human struggle against nature, the history of class struggle, and the history of science—man, for the necessity of living and struggle, thought about the reality of material and its rules, proved the correctness of the philosophy of materialism, and found the ideological tool for his own struggle—the philosophy of materialism. As social production developed to a higher and higher degree, class struggle became more and more developed; scientific knowledge further exposed the "secrets" of nature, the philosophy of materialism became more and more developed and consolidated; gradually became able to liberate himself from the dual oppression of nature and society. When it was necessary for the bourgeois class to struggle against the feudal class and before the proletariat had become a threat, the bourgeoisie also found and used materialism as a tool in their own struggle, and believed at one time that the things and events surrounding them were products of matter rather than products of spirit. Not until they themselves became rulers and the struggle of the proletariat threatened their position did they give up this "useless" tool, and pick up another tool—the philosophy of idealism.

The proletarian class, the grave diggers for capitalism, is materialist by nature. But, due to the fact that the proletarian class is the most advanced class in history, the materialism of the proletarian class is different from the materialism of the capitalist class. The former is more thorough and more profound, characterized only by dialectics and not by mechanism. The proletarian class absorbed the fruits of all practices in human history and, through their practice and their spokesmen and leaders—Marx and Engels—created dialectic materialism. It maintains not only that matter exists independent of and separated from human consciousness, but also that matter is changing. It thus becomes a completely systematic and totally new world outlook and methodology. This is the philosophy of Marxism.

## Chapter II Dialectic Materialism

This chapter discusses the following problems:

- (1) Dialectic materialism as a weapon of proletarian revolution;
- (2) Relationship between the heritage of old philosophy and dialectic materialism;
- (3) Consistency of outlook of the universe and methodology in dialectic materialism;
- (4) The problem of object in philosophy;
- (5) Theory of matter;
- (6) Theory of movement;
- (7) Theory of time and space;
- (8) Theory of consciousness;
- (9) Theory of reflection;
- (10) Theory of truth; and
- (11) Theory of practice.

The following is a "brief discussion of our viewpoints on these problems. (1)

### Dialectic Materialism as a Weapon of Proletarian Revolution

This problem has already been discussed in Chapter I. We shall talk about it briefly again.

Dialectic materialism represents the universal view of the proletarian class. The proletarian class uses dialectic materialism as its spiritual weapon in

its struggle and as its philosophical basis for its various opinions. Only when we view the world from the proletarian standpoint can we correctly and completely grasp dialectic materialism. Only when, we start from this viewpoint can the real world be truly and objectively known. This is due to, in one respect, the fact that the proletarian class is the most advanced and most revolutionary class; and in another respect, the fact that dialectic materialism is the most correct and most revolutionary outlook of the universe and methodology in which a highly precise scientific characteristic is closely associated with a thorough and uncompromising revolutionary characteristic.

The proletarian class in China has -now shouldered the historical responsibility of carrying the democratic revolution of the bourgeois class. It must adopt dialectic materialism as its spiritual weapon. If dialectic materialism is accepted by the proletarian class, the Communist Party, and .all revolutionary elements who are willing to take a stand on the side of the vast proletarian class, they will have the most correct and the most revolutionary universal view and methodology, and they will be able to correctly understand the development and changes of the revolutionary movement correctly, propose correct revolutionary tasks, unite with their allies, defeat reactionary theories, take correct actions, avoid mistakes in their work, and reach the goal of liberating and rebuilding China. Dialectic materialism is especially a required subject of study for those cadres who direct revolutionary movements because subjectivism and mechanism, the two erroneous theories and working methods, often lead cadres into wrong actions in violation of Marxism, and into wrong ways in revolutionary movements. .In order to avoid and to correct this shortcoming, it is necessary for cadres to study dialectic materialism self-consciously, and rearm their minds.

## (2) Relationship Between the Heritage of the Old Philosophy and Dialectic Materialism

Modern materialism is not a simple successor to the various old schools of philosophy. It was born and developed in the struggle against the dominant philosophy of the past and in the struggle of freeing science from idealism and myth. The Marxist philosophy, dialectic materialism, has not only inherited the best product of idealism, the fruits of Hegelian philosophy, but also overcome the idealism of that school of philosophy and materialistically transformed Hegel's dialectics. Marxism is not only the continuation and consummation of all the past development of materialism, but also an opponent of the narrowness of all the old schools of materialism, that is, the mechanical and intuitive materialism (mainly French materialism and Feuerbach materialism). Marxist philosophy, dialectic materialism, took over the scientific heritage of the past culture and at the same time gave it a revolutionary transformation to become the most correct, the most revolutionary, and the most complete philosophical science unprecedented in history.

After the 4 May 1919 Movement, as the proletarian class of China consciously walked onto the political stage, and as the nation's scientific standard continued to rise, a Marxist philosophy movement developed. However, during

the initial stage of China's materialist movement our understanding about dialectics was inadequate. As a result, the capitalist mechanical materialism and the Deborin school's subjectivism predominated. When the revolution of 1927 failed, our understanding of Marxism-Leninism improved, and materialist dialectic thinking gradually developed. Recently, due to the seriousness of national and social crises and due to the purge of philosophy in the Soviet Union, a broad movement of dialectic materialism began among the thinkers in China.

Due to the backwardness of Chinese society, the current dialectic materialism thinking in China is not a continuation or transformation of China's own philosophical heritage. It came, rather, from learning Marxism-Leninism\*. In order that dialectic materialism will take root and advance in China and will definitely guide the Chinese revolution toward an ultimate triumph, it is necessary to struggle against all existing obsolete philosophy, to raise a banner of criticism on the ideological front all over the country, and thereby to liquidate the philosophical heritage of ancient China.

### (3) Consistency of the Outlook of the Universe and Methodology in Dialectic Materialism

Dialectic materialism is the proletarian outlook of the universe, and at the same time it is also the method used by the proletarian class to know the surrounding world as well as the method for revolutionary action. It is a unity of the outlook of the universe and methodology. The idealist Marxist revisionists think that the substance of dialectic materialism lies in its "method." They sever method from the general philosophical outlook of the universe, and sever dialectics from materialism. They don't understand Marxist methodology—dialectics—which is not like Hegelian idealist dialectics, but materialist dialectics. Marxist methodology can never be separated from Marxist outlook of the universe. On the other hand, mechanical materialism not only views Marxist philosophy as a general philosophical outlook of the universe without its dialectics, but also regards this kind of outlook as the conclusion of mechanical natural science. They do not understand that Marxist materialism is not simple materialism, but dialectic materialism. These two separated views of Marxist philosophy are wrong. Dialectic materialism is a unity of outlook of the universe and methodology.

### (4) The Problem of the Object of Dialectic Materialism—What Does Materialist Dialectics Study?

Lenin considered materialist dialectics (as a Marxist philosophy) as a study of the laws of development of the objective world, as well as a study of the laws of development of cognizance (which reflects the objective world through various categories in dialectics). He said that logic is not an external formal study of thinking; it is rather a study concerning the law of development of all material, natural and spiritual things. In other words, logic is the total, summation, and conclusion of human knowledge about the world. Although Lenin emphasized the significance of materialist dialectics as a

general scientific methodology, he did this because dialectics is the conclusion drawn from the history of our cognizance about the world. Hence he said: "Dialectics is the history of cognizance."

The above is Lenin's definition of materialist dialectics as a science and its objectives. What he means is as follows: First, just as any other science, materialist dialectics has its object of study. The object is the most general laws of development of nature, history, and human thinking. The task of materialist dialectics is not to think from our head the relationship between various phenomena, but to observe the relationship between the various phenomena from the phenomena themselves. This viewpoint of Lenin's is basically different from that of the members of the minority faction of the idealists who regard category (divorced in fact from specific science or specific knowledge) as the object of study of materialist dialectics. This is because of the fact that the members of the minority faction of idealists attempt to establish a philosophical system of categories isolated from the development of human knowledge about the reality of epistemology, history, social science and natural science. By so doing, they have in fact abandoned materialist dialectics. Second, the various branches of science (mathematics, mechanics, chemistry, physics, biology, economics and other natural sciences and social sciences) are for the study of the various aspects of the material world and its development. Therefore, the principles of the various sciences are narrowly limited by each specific realm of study. But materialist dialectics is not so. It summarizes, draws conclusions about, processes and generalizes all the valuable contents of all specific branches of science and other scientific knowledge of mankind. Thus, the concepts, judgments, and principles of materialist dialectics are extremely broad (including the most general laws of all sciences, and hence including the substance of the material world). In this respect, it is an outlook of the universe. On the other hand, materialist dialectics is the foundation of true scientific logic and epistemology liberated from all empty thinking, clericalism, and metaphysics. Therefore, it is also the only realistic objective methodology for the study of specific sciences. It is further clear why we say that materialist dialectics or dialectic materialism is the unity of the outlook of the universe and methodology. So the mistakes of those who distort and vulgarize Marxism and deny Marxism as a philosophy can be understood.

Concerning the problem of the object of philosophy, Marx, Engels and Lenin all opposed separating philosophy from reality or making philosophy something independent of substance. They pointed out the inevitability of philosophy growing out of actual life and based upon the analysis of actual life and actual relationships.. They specially opposed using logical concepts and logic as the objects of study as practiced by the formalists and members of the minority faction of the idealists. Marx, Engels, and Lenin all interpreted materialist dialectics as a theory concerning development. Engels regarded materialist dialectics as "a theory discussing the general principle of development of nature, society and thinking." Lenin considered materialist dialectics as "the most multi-faceted, the richest and the most profound theory of development." They all considered "the formulas of all principles of

development offered by other schools of philosophy as narrow, without substance, and severed from the process of development of nature and society." (Quotation from Lenin) The reason by materialist dialectics is called the most multi-faceted, the richest, and the most profound theory of development is nothing but that it reflects the contradictions and the leaping nature in the process of natural and social changes in the most multi-faceted, the richest and the most profound way.

There is another problem to be resolved about the object of philosophy; that is, the consistency between dialectics and logic.

Lenin emphatically pointed out the identity among dialectics, logic, and epistemology, saying that .this is "an eKtremely important problem." He said: "These three terms are superfluous. They indicated only one thing." He was fundamentally opposed to those Marxist revisionists who treat these three theories as entirely independent of one another.

Materialist dialectics is the only scientific epistemology, and the only scientific logic. It deals with the growth of our cognizance of the external world and the development of such cognizance; the transformation from not knowing to knowing and from not completely knowing to completely knowing; and reflection of the laws of development of nature and society which deepens enhances daily in the mind of mankind. This is the unity between materialist dialectics and epistemology. Materialist dialectics studies the most general laws of development of the objective world, and reflections of the most developed form of the objective world in our mind. This is how materialist dialectics studies the process of development of realistic things, and the laws of occurrence, disappearance and mutual transformation of phenomena. At the same time, it also studies the phenomena of the human mind which reflects the laws of development of the objective world. This is the unity of materialist dialectics and logic.

In order to understand the relationship between dialectics, logic, and epistemology thoroughly, we shall examine in the following how dialectics resolves the problem of mutual relationship between logic and history.

Engels said: "As far as the method of thinking of all schools of philosophy is concerned, the advantage of Hegel's method is its extremely rich sense of history. Although Hegel's form is abstract and idealistic, the development of his thinking parallels the development of world history. Moreover, history is in fact a verification of our thinking. History often proceeds rapidly in a complex manner. Because of this, if we obey history, we must not only pay attention to a lot of unimportant material, but also interrupt our train of thought. This is the only suitable method and this is the logical method. This logical method is still fundamentally the historical method except for the elimination of the form of history and its accidental characteristic." This viewpoint of "unity of logical development and historical development" was given full attention by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. "The category of logic is the simplification of the innumerable characteristics of external existence and activities." Category is a separated segment which helps us to know the links of different networks. "The activity of human practice is a repeated

application of human consciousness to various formulas of logic. Then, these formulas acquire the significance of an axiom. It takes thousands and millions of times of repeated practice for a theoretical formula to be stabilized in human consciousness. All these formulas have some perpetual prejudice because they are the results of thousands and millions of practice before they take on the characteristics of axioms." The above sayings of Lenin point out the fact that the characteristics of materialist dialectical logic are not the same as those of formal logic, which looks upon principles and categories as empty things existing independently from contents and unrelated to contents. Materialist dialectical logic is also different from Hegelian logic. Unlike Hegelian logic which regarded category as concepts isolated from and independent of the material world, materialist dialectical logic treats concepts as manifestations of material movements reflected and transplanted to our mind, and then processed by our brain. Holding the view of unity between existence and thinking, Hegel treated the unity among dialectics, logic and epistemology in the same way as unity in idealism. On the contrary, in Marxist philosophy, the unity, of dialectics, logic and epistemology is built on the foundation of materialism. Only if materialism is used to resolve the problem of the relationship between existence and thinking, and only if the viewpoint of the reflection theory is taken, can the problem of dialectics, logic, and epistemology be thoroughly resolved.

The best model of using dialectical materialism to resolve the problem of the mutual relationships between logical things and historical things is Karl Marx's "Capital." It discusses the historical development of capitalist society, and at the same time discusses the logical development of that society. What "Capital" analyzes is the dialectics of the development of various economic categories reflected by the growth, development, and extinction of capitalist society. The materialist solution of this problem is based upon using the materialist objective history as the foundation, and using concept and category as the reflection of this realistic history. The unity of logic and history of capitalism and the unity of logic and epistemology of capitalist society are illustriously expressed in "Capital." From "Capital," we can understand a little bit about the unity among dialectics, logic and epistemology.

The above concerns the problem of the object of dialectic materialism. (5)

### Theory of Matter

Marxism took over and developed the line of materialism in philosophy. It correctly resolved the problem of the relationship between thinking and existence; that is, it thoroughly and materialistically pointed out the materialistic character of the world, the objective existence of matter, and the fact that matter is the origin of consciousness (or the reliance of consciousness on existence).

The acceptance of matter being the origin of consciousness is based on the premises of the materialistic character of the world and its objective existence. The first condition for one to belong to the camp of materialism

is his acceptance of the existence of the materialistic world independent of man's consciousness—that is, the world existed before the appearance of mankind, and it existed after the appearance of mankind. Acceptance of this point is the basic premises for any scientific study.

How can we prove this point? There are many proofs. Man is in contact with the external world at all the times, and must use cruel ways to deal with the oppression and resistance of the external world (nature and society). Man can and should overcome these oppressions and resistance. The human social practice demonstrated in the historical development of human society is the best proof. China does not doubt the objective existence of Japanese imperialism which invaded China, nor the objective existence of the Chinese people. The students of the Anti-Japanese Military and Political University also never doubted the objective existence of the university and the students themselves. These things are all material things which exist independent of and separate from our consciousness. All these are the basic viewpoints of materialism, or the philosophy of materialism.

The materialistic viewpoint in philosophy is different from the materialistic viewpoint in natural science. If we say materialistic viewpoint in philosophy is to point out the objective existence of matter, and that the so-called matter is the entire world which is separated from man's consciousness and exists independently (this world acts upon man's senses to cause man's feelings and to cause man to have reflection from feelings), then this statement is absolute, and will never change. The materialistic viewpoint in natural science concerns the study of the structure of matter, such as the former atomic theory and the current electronic theory. Such statements change with the advance of science and are relative.

To use dialectic materialism to distinguish the materialistic viewpoint in philosophy and that in natural science is a necessary condition for the implementation of the materialistic viewpoint, in philosophy. This point has a great significance in the struggle with idealism and mechanical materialism.

On the bases of the theory of electrons, the materialists smashed the absurd theory about the extinction of matter. Those who held this absurd view did not know that the advancement of scientific knowledge concerning the structure of matter is sufficient proof of the correctness of the theory of matter in dialectic materialism. As a result of modern discoveries in natural science and the discovery of electron theory, it has been proven that certain material attributes exhibited in old material concepts (such as weight, hardness, impenetrability, inertia, etc.) exist only in certain material forms, and do not exist in other material forms. This fact breaks down the narrowness and one-sidedness of the old materialist view toward matter, and proves the correctness of dialectic materialism which accepts the materialistic characteristics and the objective existence of matter. The materialist view of dialectic materialism sees the unity of the material world from its multiple characteristics, i.e., the unity of matter's multiple characteristics. This type of concept of matter does not contradict at all the perpetual movement



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or change from one from to another. Ether, electrons, atoms, molecules., crystalline cells, social phenomena, mental phenomena, etc., represent various stages of development of matter. They are temporary states in the history of the development of matter. Scientific studies bring about profound discoveries of all kinds of material states (the discovery of the multiple characteristics of matter), and these discoveries only enrich the contents of - the concept of matter of dialectic materialism. How can there be any contradictions? It is necessary to make a distinction between the concept of matter in philosophy and that in natural science, because the former is broad and the latter narrow, but they are not contradictory. The broad concept of matter includes the narrow concept of matter.

The concept of matter of dialectic materialism does not recognize any non-material things in the world (independent and spiritual things). Matter exists permanently and universally in time and space. If we say that there is in this world a thing which "has always been so," or which "is so everywhere" (as far as its consistency is concerned), then that thing is the so-called objectively existing matter in philosophy. When consciousness is viewed from thorough materialism (that is from the viewpoint of materialist dialectics), it is nothing but a state of matter, a form of material movement, a special characteristic of the material brain, and that kind of special characteristic of the material brain reflected from matter outside of consciousness to consciousness. Thus, our distinction between matter and consciousness, and our setting up the two opposing each other are conditional. That is to say, the distinction is meaningful only in epistemology because consciousness or thought is only an attribute of matter (brain). Therefore, the opposition between cognizance and existence doesn't go beyond this. This type of opposition between the subject and the object has no meaning beyond the realm of epistemology. If cognizance is set up opposing matter outside the realm of epistemology, we are revolting against materialism. In this world there is only matter and its various manifestations. The subject itself is also matter. This is what is meant by the material attributes of the world (matter is perpetual and universal), the objective reality of matter, and matter is the origin of consciousness. In short, matter is everything in the world. We say "all belongs to Ssu-ma I," and "all belongs to matter."<sup>11</sup> This is the principle of unity of the world.

The above is the concept of matter in dialectical materialism. (6)

#### Theory of Motion (Theory of Development)

The first basic principle of dialectic materialism is its acceptance of the material nature of the world, the objective reality of matter, and matter being the origin of consciousness. This unity theory of the world has been discussed in the aforementioned theory of matter.

The second basic principle of dialectic materialism is its theory of motion (or the theory of development). It acknowledges that motion is the form of material existence, i.e., the inner attributes of matter. Motion is an expression of the multiple attributes of matter. This is the theory of development of the world. A combination of the development theory of the world and

the aforementioned unity theory of the world forms the entire outlook of the universe of dialectic materialism. The world is nothing but an infinite development of the material world (or the material world is developing without limit) .

The concept of motion of dialectic materialism will not permit (1) mental motion separated from matter, (2) mental matter separated from motion, or (3) simplification of material motion. The concept of motion is established after a resolute struggle with idealistic, metaphysical and mechanical viewpoints.

First of all, the theory of motion of dialectic materialism is opposed to idealism in philosophy and theism in religion. The basic characteristic of all idealism and theism is their denial of the material unity of the world. They imagine that the motion and development of the entire world are without matter, or there is no matter at the very beginning. It is, rather, the result of spiritual action or the power of God. The German idealist philosopher Hegel believed that the actual world was developed from the so-called "concept of the world." In China, believers of Chou I and Li Hsueh of the Sung and Ming Dynasties all expressed idealistic concepts of the development of the universe. The Christians say that God created the world. Buddhists and fetishists in China ascribe the development of everything in the universe to spiritual power. All these views separating human thinking from matter are incompatible with dialectic materialism. Not only idealists and clergymen, but all the materialists before Marx, and all the current anti-Marxist mechanical materialists maintain materialistic theory of motion when they talk about natural science. But when they talk about social phenomena, they no longer adhere to materialistic principles, and ascribe everything to spiritual reasons.

Dialectic materialism resolutely refutes all these erroneous concepts of motion, points out their limitations—the limitations of their class status and the limitation of scientific development, and builds its own concept of motion thoroughly on materialism from the standpoint of the proletarian class and based on the most developed scientific standard. First of all, the dialectic materialists points out that motion is the form of existence of matter, and is an inner characteristic of matter (not due to external force). It is just as impossible to imagine motion without matter as to imagine matter without motion. They set up a materialistic concept of motion sharply opposed to the idealist or theist concepts of motion.

If we observe matter isolated from motion, it will be a metaphysical theory of a stationary universe, or the theory of absolute equilibrium. Those who subscribe to this theory maintain that matter is unchanging, and that there is no such thing as development in matter. They believe that an absolute standstill is the general state of matter, or the primitive state of matter. Dialectic materialism firmly opposes this point of view. It believes that motion is the most common form of material existence, and an inner and inseparable attribute of matter. All static and equilibrium states have only relative meaning, while motion is absolute. Dialectic materialism acknowledges that all material may have the possibility of being in a stationary state or a state of equilibrium. It also believes that this is the most important

condition for distinguishing matter and, therefore, is also the most important condition for distinguishing life. (Engels) However, dialectic materialism believes that being in a stationary state or in a state of equilibrium is only one of the elements of motion, or a kind of special condition of motion. The mistake of observing matter without reference to motion lies in the exaggeration of the elements of standstill or equilibrium. These elements are wrongly used to cover up or to substitute for the entirety. A special condition of motion is generalized to become absolute. An ancient Chinese metaphysical thinker had a favorite saying: "Heaven does not change; reason does not change." His theory is one of stationary universe. Although the followers of this saying acknowledge the changes in universe and social phenomena, they deny these changes as changes of matter itself. In their eyes, the substance of the universe and society is forever unchanging. The main reason for their thinking is their class limitation. If the feudal landlord class acknowledges that the substance of the universe and society is moving and developing, it would be like theoretically declaring their own death sentence. The philosophy of all reactionary forces is always a motion-less philosophy. In view of the principle of development of the world, the revolutionary class and the people advocated for the transformation of this society and world. Their philosophy is dialectic materialism.

Moreover, dialectic materialism does not accept simplification of the concept of motion, or reduce all motion to one form—the form of mechanical motion. This is the characteristic of the old materialistic concept of motion. The old materialism (French materialism of the 17th and 18th century and the German Feuerbach materialism of the 19th century) accepted the permanent existence and permanent movement (unlimited movement) of matter, but it was confined to a metaphysical outlook of the universe. Not only that their social viewpoint reflected a viewpoint of idealist development, even in natural science they ascribed the unity of material world to a certain one-sided characteristic, or to one form of motion—mechanical motion. The cause of this type of motion is external force. It is a motion like that of a machine which is pushed by an external force. They do not explain matter of motion from internal causes and the multiple nature of relationships. They explain motion simply from external form they have discovered, or from external reasons. In this way, the multiple characteristics of the world are lost. They explain all motions in the world as a change in location and a decrease or increase in quantity. Motion is described as a phenomenon of matter being at one location during a certain moment of time and at another location during another moment. If there is a change, it is only a change in numerical increase or decrease. There is no change in characteristics and all changes are cyclical and will repeatedly produce the same result. Dialectic materialism, is at odds with this. It considers motion not as simple displacement or cyclical motion. But as infinite varieties of matter. Motion is looked upon as transformation of matter from one form to another, the unification and motion of matter in the world. Engels said: "All high-level forms of motion are inevitably associated with the form of mechanical (external or molecular) motion. For example, if there is no change in heat or electricity, chemical reactions will be impossible. If there is no mechanical

(molecular), heat, electrical and chemical changes, organic life will be impossible. This, of course, cannot be denied. But if there exists some form of low-level motion, they cannot include the substance of major forms of motion under various conditions." These words are absolutely in conformity with reality. Even if we consider only the simple mechanical motions, we cannot explain them from the metaphysical viewpoint. We should know that all forms of motion are dialectical, even though their dialectical contents and their multi-faceted nature may be greatly different. Thus, mechanical motion is still dialectic motion. When we say that a body "is" at a certain location at a certain moment, that body is, in fact, "at" a certain location, and yet, at the same time, "not at" that certain location at that particular moment. The so-called "being" at a certain location and the so-called "immobile" state are but special situations of motion. The body is in fact in motion. Matter moves within a limited time and within a limited space. Matter is continuously overcoming the limitations in order to go out of fixed time and space to become an unceasing flow of motion. Mechanical motion is only one form of motion of matter. In the actual world, it does not exist absolutely independent, and it is always related to other forms of motion. From heat, chemical reaction, light, and electricity to organic and social phenomena, all of them are special forms of motion. At the turn of the 20th century, the greatest achievement of natural science was the discovery of the principle of motion transfer. It pointed out that the motion of matter is always transforming from one form to another. After transformation, the new form and the old form are substantially different. The reason for material transfer is internal and not external. The transfer is not caused by external mechanical drive, but by the struggle within the matter itself between two mutually contradictory elements of different nature. Due to the discovery of this law of motion transfer, dialectic materialism is able to expand the theory of material unity in the world to the history of nature and science. The world is observed not only as a matter in perpetual motion, but also as matter advancing from a lower form of motion to a higher form of motion. The world is thus observed as a development as well as a process. In other words, "the unity of the material world is a process of development." In this way, the cyclical theory of old materialism is destroyed. Dialectic materialism observes the form of motion of nature and society in a profound way and in its numerous aspects. It considers that the process of development of the world as an entity is perpetual (with no beginning and no end), but at the same time the form of the specific motion in each historical process is temporary (with a beginning and an end). This is to say that it occurs under a definite condition and disappears under a definite condition. It believes that the process of development of the world from a lower form of motion to a higher form of motion demonstrates both its historical and temporary characteristics. But at the same time, no one form of motion is in a perpetual long stream (a long stream with no beginning and no end). Based on the principle of opposition and struggle (the reason for motion), the form of each motion always moves to a higher level. It moves straight forward, but as far as each individual form of motion is concerned (or as far as each specific process of development is concerned), the motion may change its direction, or may be backward. When the advancing motion is combined with the retreating motion, the resulting motion is a complex helical motion. The new form of motion occurs as an opposite to the old form of motion, but at the same time the new form of motion preserves

many elements of the old form of motion. The new things grows out of the old. New forms, new characteristics and new attributes emerge from the disruption of continuity, or from a break-through, but the link and the mutual relationship between things and events cannot be absolutely destroyed. Finally, dialectic materialism believes that the world has no end. This is so not only in its entity, but also in its parts. Are not electrons and atoms the same in demonstrating a complex and endless world?

The basic form of motion of matter also determines the various subjects of natural and social sciences. Dialectic materialism observes the development of the world as a forward motion from an inorganic through an organic to the highest form of matter (society). The relationship arising from this form of motion becomes the foundation of the corresponding sciences (inorganic science, organic science, and social science). Engels said: "The various kinds of science analyzes a special form of motion or the mutual relationship of a series of forms of motion. Thus classification of science is to arrange and classify various motions according to the original order of motion. Only on this point can classification be meaningful."

The entire world includes human society and the motions of matter in various forms. Therefore, we cannot forget the various forms of motion of matter. There is no so-called "matter in general," or "motion in general."<sup>11</sup> In this world, there are only concrete matter and motion in various forms. "Matter and motion are only simple terms. In these terms we include all things and events sensed by us according to their common characteristics." (Engels)

The above is the theory of motion of the world in dialectic materialism or the principle of world development. This thinking is the essence of Marxist philosophy. It is the proletarian outlook of the universe and methodology. If all the proletarian revolutionaries use this explicit science as a weapon, they will understand this world and can rebuild this world.

#### (7) Theory of Time and Space

Motion is a form of material existence. Space and time .are also forms of material existence. Moving matter exists in time and space, and the material existence of time and space is the premises of the motion of matter itself. Time and space cannot be separated from matter. "Matter exists in space" is to say that matter itself has the characteristic of expansion. The material world is a world in which there exists the characteristic of expansion. This is not to say that matter is placed in a non-material empty space. Space and time are not independent non-material things. They are not subjective forms of our senses, but forms of existence of the objective world. They do not exist outside of matter; nor does matter exist outside of them.

Regarding space and time as a form of material existence is a thoroughly materialistic view. This concept of space and time is basically opposite to the following idealistic concept of space and time:

- (1) Kantian concept of space and time: Space and time are not regarded as objective reality, but objective forms of intuition.
- (2) Hegelian concept of space and time: The concept of developing space and time is approaching absolute concept.
- (3) Machian concept of space and time: Time and space are different kinds of senses, and "tools for harmonizing experience."

All these idealistic viewpoints do not accept the objective reality of time and space. They do not accept the fact that the concept of space or time, during its own development, reflects the form of materialistic existence. These erroneous theories have been refuted by dialectic materialism one by one.

On the problem of space and time, dialectic materialism must not only struggle with those idealistic theories, but also struggle with mechanical materialism, especially Newton's theory of mechanics which regards space as an immobile, empty frame with no relationship to time, and puts matter into this empty frame. Opposing this theory, dialectic materialism points out that our concept of space is developing. "Aside from moving matter, there is nothing else in the world. If moving matter is not in space and time, there will be no possibility of motion. Man's concept of space and time is relative, but when all these relative concepts are put together, they become absolute truth. These relative concepts are developing uninterruptedly along the line of absolute truth, and are approaching closer and closer to absolute truth everyday. Man's changing concept about space and time can never overthrow the objective reality of the two. This is similar to the fact that the changing character of scientific knowledge about the form of motion and matter cannot overthrow the objective reality of the external world." (Lenin) The above is the theory of time and space of dialectic materialism.

#### (8) Theory of Consciousness

Dialectic materialism maintains that knowledge is a product of matter, a form of development of matter, and a special characteristic of a definite state of matter. This materialistic and historical theory of consciousness is basically opposed to the viewpoints of all idealists and mechanical materialists concerning this problem.

According to Marx, consciousness originally develops from the inorganic world which has no consciousness to the animal world which has a low level of consciousness, and finally to mankind which has a high level of consciousness. The high level of consciousness is inseparable not only from the physiological development of the high nervous system, but also from the social development of labor and production. Marx and Engels have emphatically pointed out the dependence of consciousness upon the development of material production and the relationship between consciousness and human language.

The so-called consciousness is a special characteristic of a definite form of matter which constitutes a complex nervous system. This kind of nervous system can only occur in a high stage of natural evolution. In the entire inorganic, vegetative and low animal world, there is no possibility for consciousness to occur internally as well as externally, that is, the possibility of self-reflection, or the possibility of understanding the process of self-reflection. The objective physiological process in our nervous system parallels the subjective expression which, internally, takes the form of consciousness. To objective things, this physiological process is a process of certain matter, but to the material body equipped with a brain this process is, at the same time, subjective psychological behavior.

There is no such thing as the spirit of the substance of a special thinking. There is only the matter for thinking—the brain. This matter for thinking is a matter of special quality. It develops to a high degree along with the development of language in the social life of mankind. This kind of matter possesses the ability to think as its special characteristic—a characteristic that other matters do not possess.

However, the vulgar materialists maintain that thinking is a matter derived from the brain. This viewpoint distorts our concept in regard to this problem. It is necessary to know that thinking, emotion, and conscious behavior are not things which have such characteristics as weight, expansion, etc. Consciousness, weight and expansion are different characteristics of the same matter. Consciousness is an inner state of matter in motion, and reflects the special characteristic of the life process which occurs in moving matter. This special characteristic cannot be separated from the process of objective nervous function, but is also the same as that process. If the two are confused, the special characteristic of consciousness is obliterated. This is the viewpoint of the vulgarized materialism.

Similarly, the mechanical theory of the fake Marxism agrees with the opinion of certain capitalist rightists in the field of psychology. They, in fact, obliterate consciousness. They consider consciousness, a physiological process, as a special characteristic of a high-level substance, without seeing that consciousness is a product of social practice of mankind. They equate the subject with the object, and replace both with one-sided mechanical objective world. This viewpoint which confuses consciousness with physiological process is hardly different from eliminating the basic problem of thinking and existence in philosophy.

Menshevik idealism attempts to use a compromising theory to replace Marxist epistemology. It harmonizes materialism with idealism, using the "alliance" of objectivism and subjectivism to oppose the principle of dialectics. But their principle is neither mechanical objectivism, nor idealistic subjectivism, but the principle of concrete objective and subjective history.

There is also the strange theory of Plekhanov who maintained that matter is alive. His remark "rock also has consciousness" fully expresses his opinion

that consciousness does not occur in the process of development of matter, but exists in all matter at the very beginning. Later, it exists in low-level organic bodies and man, different only in degrees. This type of anti-historical opinion is also basically opposed to the viewpoint of dialectic materialism which regards consciousness as possessing material characteristics. Only the materialist theory of consciousness is the correct thought regarding the problem of consciousness.

#### (9) Theory of Reflection

To a thorough materialist, just regarding matter as the origin of consciousness is not enough. One has to accept that matter can be known to consciousness,

Concerning the problem as to whether or not matter can be known, it is a complex problem, so complex that all the old philosophical schools were unable to resolve it. Only dialectic materialism can correctly resolve this problem. The position of dialectic materialism is opposed to the non-cognizable theory, and different from the blunt theory of realism.

Hume and Kant's non-cognizable theory separates the cognizing subject from the object. It believes that it is impossible to go beyond the limits of the subject—an unsurpassable ditch between the "self-existing" matter and its image.

Mach's reality theory; equates the object with feelings, maintaining that truth has established its complete form in feelings. At the same time, Machists do not understand that feeling is the result of external action. Nor do they understand the positive function of the subject during the process of cognizance, that is, the transformation work done by external action in the sense organs and the brain (or the formal expression of image and perception) .

Only the reflection theory of dialectic materialism affirmatively answered the question of cognizability, and this answer becomes the "soul" of Marxist epistemology. This theory points out that our images and percepts are not only induced by objective things, but also reflects them. It also points out that images and percepts are neither products of the voluntary development of subjective bodies as the idealists say, nor symbols of objective things as said by those who maintain that nothing is cognizable. Such images and percepts are reflections of objective things, photographs, or copies.

Objective truth exists independent of subjective bodies. Although reflected in our feelings and percepts, objective truth does not take a complete form immediately. The form is completed step by step. It is a mistake to think that objective truth has taken a completed form in our feelings. Truth is gradually acquired. The blunt theory of reality is wrong.

Although objective truth does not take the completed form all at once in our feelings and percepts, it is by no means non-cognizable. The reflection theory of dialectic materialism opposes the theory of non-cognizability.



It believes that consciousness can reflect objective truth during the process of cognizance. The process of cognizance is a complicated one during which the unknown "self-existing thing," as it is reflected in our image and percept, becomes "my thing." Feelings and thoughts are not what separate us from the external world as Kant said. They are, in fact, links between us and the external world. Feelings and thoughts are reflections of the external objective world. Thoughts (images and percepts) are nothing but "material things that have appeared and transformed in man's brain." (Marx) During the process of cognizance, the material world becomes more intimately, more accurately, more many-sidedly, and more profoundly reflected in our cognizance. To wage a two-front struggle against Machism and Kantism is the task of Marx epistemology.

The dialectic materialist reflection theory maintains that our ability of knowing the objective world is limitless. This is exactly opposed to the opinion of those who believe that human ability to know is limited. However, we are not close to the absolute truth. Every time, we come to a line defined by history. Lenin said: "The approach of our knowledge to the objective absolute truth is limited by history, but the existence of this truth is absolute, and the fact that we are continuously getting closer to the truth is also absolute. The external form of a picture is historically conditional, b'ut the existence of the objective reality which is the model of that picture is absolute. We accept the fact that man's knowledge is limited by historical conditions and that truth cannot be acquired once and for all, but we are not those who believe that things are not cognizable. We do not accept that truth can be completed in the historical movement of man's cognizance." Lenin also said: "Let us not understand the reflection of nature in man's thoughts in a rigid and absolute way. Cognizance is not motionless, or without contradictions. Cognizance is perpetually in the process of motion, that is, the perpetual process of movement of the occurrence of contradictions and the resolution of contradictions." The movement of cognizance is a complicated movement full of contradictions. This is the opinion of the dialectic materialistic epistemology.

In epistemology, all philosophies reflect the historical viewpoint, and none regards cognizance as a process. All these viewpoints are therefore narrow. The narrowness of the theory of experience creates a gap between feeling and percept. The narrowness of rationalism causes percepts separated from feeling. Only dialectic materialism which regards cognizance as a process (the theory of reflection) thoroughly eliminates this kind of narrowness and places cognizance in a materialistic and dialectic perspective.

The reflection theory points out that the process of reflection is not limited to feelings and images. It also exists in thoughts (in abstract concepts). Cognizance is therefore a moving process from feeling to thinking. Lenin once said: "Cognizance which reflects nature, is not a simple, direct, and total reflection. It is a formation process of many abstract thoughts, concepts, etc."

Meanwhile, Lenin also pointed out: "The cognizance process from feeling to thinking is a flying and leaping action." On this point, Lenin precisely

clarifies the experience and rationality elements in cognizance and the viewpoint of dialectic materialism concerning their mutual relationship. Many philosophers do not understand that the movement of cognizance is a sudden change occurring in the moving process from feeling to thinking (from image to concept). Therefore, to understand this sudden leaping change produced from contradictions is to understand the dialectic unity concerning the unity of feeling and thinking. This is the most essential element for understanding the substance of Lenin's reflection theory.

#### (10) Theory of Truth

Truth is objective, relative, and absolute. This is the materialist dialectic theory of truth.

First of all, truth is objective. Accepting the reality of matter and the opinion that matter is the origin of consciousness is the same as accepting truth being objective. That is to say, the objectively existing material world is the only source of our knowledge or concepts, and there is no other source.- Only idealists deny the independent existence of the material world separated from man's consciousness-this is the basic principle of idealism. They maintain that knowledge or concepts are produced by the subject body, and the object body is unnecessary. Therefore, they accept subjective truth and deny objective truth. This does not conform to facts. Any knowledge or any concept which does not reflect the regularity of the objective world is not scientific. It is not objective truth, it is only subjective, self-deceiving superstition or delusion. The purpose of mankind is to change the environment. All practical actions, whether they are productive or not, are commanded by thoughts (knowledge). If these thoughts do not coincide with objective regularity, then the latter is not reflected in the brain of man. If the objective regularity did not form the contents of man's thoughts or knowledge, his action will certainly not be able to bring him to his goal. The so-called subjective errors in revolutionary movements indicate this situation. (The reason why Marxism becomes the scientific knowledge of revolution is that it correctly reflects the actual regularity of the objective world. It is the truth of the objective world.) All anti-Marxist thoughts are wrong because they are not based on objective regularity and are completely subjective imagination. Some people said that whatever is generally accepted is objective truth. (Subjective idealist Bogdanov so said.) According to this viewpoint, religion and prejudice are also objective truth, because although they are absurdities, they are accepted by the majority of people. Sometimes correct scientific thoughts cannot compete with these absurdities. Materialist dialectics is fundamentally opposed to this. It believes that only the knowledge that correctly reflects objective regularity can be called truth and all truth must be objective. Truth and absurdity are absolutely opposed to each other. In order to judge whether a knowledge is truth or not, it is only necessary to see whether it reflects objective regularity. If it does not agree with objective regularity, then no matter whether it is accepted by everyone, or no matter how it is widely supported or enthusiastically described in a revolutionary movement, it must be treated as erroneous or absurd.

As materialist dialectics accepts objective truth, it accepts absolute truth. When we say the contents of knowledge reflecting the objective world, we are saying that the object of our knowledge is that perpetual and absolute world. "Knowledge of truth concerning nature is perpetual and infinite; it is, therefore, absolute," (Engels) Objective absolute truth does not become our knowledge all at once in its entirety. We reach absolute truth through the endless process of development of our knowledge through numerous introductions of relative truths. The aggregate of numerous relative truths is the expression of absolute truth. The common denominators of human thinking lead us to absolute truth. Absolute truth is the accumulation of relative truths. During each stage of scientific development, new seeds are sown into the sum total—the absolute truth. The element of truth in each scientific principle is relative. Absolute truth can only be expressed through innumerable relative. Absolute truth can only be expressed through innumerable relative truths. If not expressed through these innumerable relative truths, absolute truth has no way of being known. Materialist dialectics does not deny the relativity of knowledge. However, this is only to point out the limitations of objective truth as far as history is concerned. We are not saying that knowledge itself is only relative. Scientific knowledge is different from errors. The former shows and describes the objective absolute truth. This is the viewpoint of dialectics concerning the relationship between absolute truth and relative truth.

There are two viewpoints. One is metaphysical materialism and the other is idealist relativism. Both are wrong on the problem of mutual relationship between absolute truth and relative truth. Based upon the cardinal metaphysical principle "the material world does not change," the metaphysical materialists believe that man's thinking also does not change. They believe that in the process of human knowledge, the never-changing world is known to man all at once. That is to say that they deny absolute truth, which they say, is acquired by man in one stroke. They regard truth as motionless, dead, and not developing. Their mistake does not lie in that they accept absolute truth. In this respect, they are correct. Their mistake lies in their failure to understand the historical nature of truth, in their not treating the acquiring of truth as a process of cognizance, and in their failure to understand that absolute truth is released step by step during the process of development of human knowledge. Each forward step in this process shows some contents of absolute truth. As far as the entire truth is concerned, each forward step has its relative significance. Metaphysical materialist opinion on truth is an extreme view in epistemology.

Another extreme concerning the problem of truth in epistemology is idealist relativism. They deny absolute truth and accept only its relative meaning. They believe that a scientific discovery does not contain absolute truth, and hence it is objective truth. Truth is regarded as subjective and relative. Because of this, all erroneous theories have their right of existence. Thus imperialist aggression of weak nations and exploitation of the working masses by the ruling class become truths because truth is subjective and relative anyway. The result of denying objective truth and accepting subjective truth

has, of necessity, brought about this kind of conclusion. The original purpose of idealist relativism **is** to defend the ruling class. For instance, the purpose of relativist pragmatism (or empiricism) is exactly so.

In view of the above, neither metaphysical materialism nor idealist relativism can correctly resolve the problem of the mutual relationship between absolute truth and relative truth. Only materialist dialectics can give the correct answer to the problem of the mutual relationship between thinking and existence. With this answer, the objectivity of scientific knowledge is affirmed, and the meanings of absolute truth and objective truth are correctly understood. This is the theory of truth of materialist dialectics.

#### (11) Theory of Practice

(There is no text for this section in the original manuscript. There is no explanation for its absence. Editor)

### Chapter III Materialist Dialectics

In the last two chapters, the two problems "idealism and materialism" and "dialectic materialism" were discussed. Dialectics was briefly mentioned. Now let us discuss this subject systematically. The Marxist world outlook (called outlook of the universe) is dialectic materialism, not metaphysical materialism (or mechanical materialism). This difference is a serious heaven-turning earth-shaking problem. What is the world? From ancient times to now, there are three answers. The first is idealism (be it metaphysical idealism or dialectic idealism). It maintains that the world is created by mind or the God. The second is mechanical materialism. It denies that the world is mind's world, and maintains that the world is a material world, but the material is not developing and not changing. The third is the Marxist answer which refutes the first two, maintaining that the world is not created by our mind, and not made of undeveloping matter. Instead, it is a developing material world. This is dialectic materialism. The Marxist way of looking at the world is to turn the image in man's eyes around. Is it not a great earth-shaking argument? The argument that the world is a developing material world has long existed in ancient Greece, but due to limitations at that time, it was only simply and generally stated. It was called simple materialism. If there were no such argument, it would be impossible for science to have a foundation. This argument is basically correct. Later, Hegel created dialectic idealism, maintaining that the world is developing, but is created by mind. His theory is idealist development theory. His theory of development (dialectics) is correct, but his idealist development theory is wrong. In the West, in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, the idealism of the bourgeois class in France and Germany is mechanical idealism. They were right in saying that the world is a material world, but very wrong in saying that the world is moving like a machine, and that it has only quantitative and positional changes without qualitative changes. Marx inherited simple materialism and transformed mechanical materialism and dialectic idealism into historically unprecedented and scientifically based dialectic materialism, which has become a weapon for the proletariat of the world and for the revolution of all oppressed people.

Materialist dialectics is a Marxist scientific methodology, a method of cognizance, as well as a world outlook. The world is basically a developing material world. This is a world outlook. Using this world outlook to look at the world, to study the problems of the world, to direct revolution, to work, to produce, to direct warfare, and to argue with other people is a methodology. In Marxism, world outlook and methodology are one thing. Dialectics, epistemology, and logic are also one thing.

We wish to talk about dialectics systematically. It has many categories, many rules, and many principles (these terms have the same meaning).

What are the rules of materialist dialectics? Among these rules, which are the basic ones, and which are the subordinate ones but indispensable in materialist dialectics? What are the unresolved problems? What are the side issues?

Why these laws are the original rules of the objective world rather than subjectively created? Why do we wish to understand and learn these laws?

This complete theory of materialist dialectics was created by Marx and Engels. Lenin developed this theory. With the triumph of the socialist revolution in Russia and the world revolution, this theory came to a new stage of development, and its contents were further enriched. The categories contained in this theory are as follows:

The law of unity of contradictions;

The law of mutual changes between quality and quantity; and

The law of negation of negation.

The above are the basic laws of materialist dialectics. All these laws were negated by metaphysical philosophy (philosophy opposed to the theory of development), although the ancient Greeks had simply but unsystematically pointed out the meaning of some of the laws, and later Hegel developed these laws along the idealist line. It was Marx and Engels who transformed the Hegelian laws into the most basic portions of the Marxist world outlook and methodology.

In addition to the above laws, there are the following related categories:

Substance and phenomena; Form and content; Cause and effect; Bases and conditions;

Possibility and reality;

Accidental and inevitable; and

Chain and link.

Some of these categories have been emphatically studied in metaphysics and idealist dialectics, others have only been partially studied, and still others were new categories proposed by Marxism. When these categories are in the hands of Marxist revolutionary theoreticians and practitioners, their idealist and metaphysical cloak is ripped off, their one-sidedness is overcome, and their true form is discovered. As time advances, their contents are greatly enriched to become the important elements of scientific methods. Combining these categories and the aforementioned basic categories, a complete and profound materialistic dialectical system is formed.

All these principles and categories are not created by man's thoughts, but original principles of the objective world. All idealists say that matter is created by spirit. In their eyes, philosophical principles, rules, or categories are of course created by the mind. Hegel, who developed dialectic system, looked at dialectics in this way. In his eyes, dialectics is not a rule abstracted from the history of nature and society, but purely rational system of the mind. After this system is created by man's mind, it is then applied to nature and society. Marx and Engels ripped off Hegel's mythical cloak and got rid of his idealism, putting dialectics in the place of materialism, Engels said: "Dialectical rules are abstracted from natural and human history, and they are nothing but the most general rules of development of natural and human history. In essence, they may be summarized into the rule of mutual change of quality and quantity, the rule of unity of contradictions, and the rule of negation of negations." Dialectical rules are rules of the objective world, and at the same time they are also rules of the subjective mind. Rules in human mind are nothing but reflections of the rules of the objective world through practice. As we have said before, dialectics, epistemology and logic are one and the same thing.

Why do we learn dialectics? We learn dialectics in order to transform this world, and to improve the old relationship between man and man and between man and matter. In this world, most people are suffering. They are controlled by a few people and oppressed by various political and economic systems. People living in China are under inhuman dual oppressions—national and social. We must change this old relationship in our strife for national and social liberation.

Is it necessary to learn dialectics in order to rebuild China and rebuild the world? Since dialectics is the most general principle of development of nature and society, if we understand it, we shall have acquired a scientific weapon, and we shall be equipped with a theory and method suitable to our practice of transforming the nature and society. Materialist dialectics itself is a science (philosophical science). It is the starting point of all sciences, and it is also methodology. Our revolution is also a kind of

science, called social science or political science. If we do not understand dialectics, we will not be able to do our work well. All mistakes in revolution were due to violations of dialectics. If we understand dialectics, great and powerful effect will be generated. If we analyze things that have been done correctly, we find that they were done according to dialectics. Therefore, all revolutionary comrades, and first of all the cadres, should carefully study dialectics.

Some people say that there are many people who understand dialectics and are actual materialists. Although they have never read books on dialectics, they are always right in their work, and they always follow the materialist dialectic method. In this case, it is unnecessary for them to study dialectics. Materialist dialectics is a complete and profound science. Those revolutionaries who are endowed with materialistic and dialectical brains may learn dialectics through practice, but their knowledge is not systematical, not so complete and so profound. As a result, they are unable to see the bright future of their movement, to analyze the complicated process of development, to grasp the important links in politics, or to deal with all aspects of revolutionary work. Therefore, they still have to study dialectics.

Some people say that dialectics is profound and hard to understand, and that it is impossible for an ordinary person to learn dialectics. This kind of talk is also wrong. Dialectics consists of principles of natural and social thinking. Anyone who has some social experience (experience in production and class struggle) knows some dialectics. Those who have more social experience will know dialectics more. But their knowledge is scattered and confused, and falls within the realm of common sense. To enhance their common sense about dialectics and put it in order is not difficult. The reason why people think dialectics is difficult is lack of good books on dialectics. Many of the books published in China are either poorly written or not well written. So much so, people are afraid to read those books. Books interpreting dialectics should use popular language and intimate experience. I believe that this kind of book will be written eventually in the future. This lecture of mine is not good either because I myself am a beginner in the study of dialectics, unable to write a good book. Probably I can in the future. This is only a wish. It may become true, depending upon the progress of my study.

<sup>0</sup> War of Resistance University, No 6, Chapter 1, 8 April 1938  
No 7, Chapter 2, 6 May 1938  
No 8, Chapter 2, 22 May 1938

\* "Democracy," Vol 1, Ho 1 (Chapter 1) March 1940  
Vol 1, Ho 2 (Chapter 1) 20 March 1940

TO AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

1938

[Text] American Friends of the Chinese People  
168 West 23rd Street  
New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.

Dear Friends,

We are enclosing a circular announcement of the 8th Route Army Trustee Committee and wish to appeal for your special support for a very urgent cause.

Of course we know that you have carried on numerous activities in supporting the cause of world peace and obtaining aid for China. This time in addition we appeal to you to divert part of your support for a region where untold suffering and need exist. This region—North and Northwest China—is becoming more and more the base for large scale partisan and guerilla warfare against Japan, especially in the rear of the enemy. The 8th Route Army and the partisan-peasant detachments here have been fighting hand in hand in this region for more than a year and are in urgent need of help.

All sorts of help is needed. Medical and surgical supplies, warm winter clothing, blankets, and funds are required. The wounded must be taken care of in the rear of the enemy. Supplies must be sent to them constantly and this takes funds and supplies in large quantities. Just to transport one wounded soldier from the Shansi front to a base hospital it takes \$800.00. Many operations have to be done without anesthesia. No pain-killing drugs are to be had. Bandages, gauze and antiseptics are not to be had in sufficient quantities. The refugees are constantly coming in and are mostly women and children. Their menfolk have joined the partisans and their families must be taken care of. Funds for their relief are urgently needed. A million and one needs can be listed so that any help will go a very long way.

We appeal to your organization to help in collecting medical and surgical supplies to care for the wounded and the refugees. Any contributions and supplies can reach us thru the China Defense League, Hong Kong, China, or thru your national organization if especially marked for the 8th Route Army Trustee Committee.

With greeting, MAO TSE-TUNG, Hon. Chairman LI  
FU-CHUN, Chairman .--



## INAUGURAL STATEMENT OF THE 8TH ROUTE ARMY MILITARY-POLITICAL JOURNAL 2

January 1939

[Text] As the war of resistance against Japan is proceeding toward a new stage of development, the colleagues of the 8th Route Army are publishing this "Military-Political Journal." Its significance is obvious: for enhancing the strength of the 8th Route Army in the war against Japan and, at the same time, for providing our friendly forces and people engaged in the war of resistance with the experience of the 8th Route Army.

During the 1 and one-half year war of resistance against Japan, the 8th Route Army, under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and the commanding officers of our war zone, under the leadership of Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh, Deputy Commander-in-Chief Peng Te-huai, officers of various departments at various levels, and in cooperation with friendly armed forces, conducted a heroic war of resistance, executed the correct strategy of fighting "basically a guerrilla war without giving up the opportunity of fighting a mobile war under favorable conditions," persisted in and developed the guerrilla warfare in North China, established many anti-Japanese bases behind enemy lines, reduced the territory occupied by the enemy, tied down a large number of enemy troops, coordinated the war of resistance waged by the main forces at the front, thwarted the enemy advance toward northwest China, boosted the morale of the people all over the country, broke up the wrong concept of those national defeatists and pessimists, who said that "it is impossible to persist in fighting the war of resistance behind the enemy," and exposed the shameless rumors spread by China's Trotskyite reactionaries, the pro-Japanese Wang Ching-wei faction, and certain conservative, stubborn elements in the country.

In addition, the rear guard units, as a part of the 8th Route Army, defended the dikes along the Yellow River, and are preparing, in coordination with its friendly forces in Northwest China, to check the enemy advance in North China. All these accomplishments of the 8th Route Army are unanimously recognized and visible to everyone who has eyes to see, except those Trotskyite reactionaries, pro-Japanese Wang Ching-wei faction, and certain conservative stubborn elements. This is fully demonstrated by the fact that the enemy who not only dares not take the 8th Route Army lightly, but has developed an increasing fear of the 8th Route Army. The sincerity of the 8th Route Army in its sacrifice and

struggle for the defense of the motherland and its indomitability are plainly laid before the eyes of all the people in the entire country and the entire world. These facts are undeniable by anybody^ except the reactionaries, pro-Japanese and certain stubborn elements. Numerous serialized stories and sketchy reports have been written by Chinese and foreign correspondents, observers and travellers. It is not accidental that unbiased people are willing to study the experience of the 8th Route Army. If anybody raises the question as to whether the existence and development of the 8th Route Army, which has Chinese Communist Party members as its backbone, is advantageous or disadvantageous to the Chinese nation, then we can reply in one sentence: those who say "disadvantageous" are in fact unwilling to win the war of resistance, and their allegation is nothing but absurdity which gives direct aid and comfort to the enemy.

From where do these accomplishments of the 8th Route Army come? They came from the correctness of their leadership, the heroism of their commanding officers, the support of the people, and the assistance of their friendly forces. These are the four reasons for the accomplishments of the 8th Route Army. Among these four reasons, the importance of the assistance of our friendly forces is obvious. Without the heroic resistance put up by the main forces in the front, there will be no way to conduct guerrilla warfare smoothly behind the enemy line. Without the coordination of friendly forces located behind the enemy, it is also impossible to score such a great accomplishment. The officers and men of the 8th Route Army ought to thank their friendly forces which have directly or indirectly coordinated with their war effort. Especially, they should thank the officers and men of their friendly forces who have given them different kinds of bona-fide assistance and sincere, enthusiastic encouragement. In front of the common enemy of the nation, the Chinese armed forces forgot their old grudges against each other and became intimate friends helping each other. This is the basic reason why China as a nation is not going to perish. People used to say that those who read Ko's "Chu Shih Piao" without shedding tear are not loyal, and those who read Li Mi's "Ch'en Ch'ing Piao" without shedding tears are not pious to their parents. Today we may say: those who see or hear that the Chinese armed units have forgotten their old mutual hatred and are helping each other and closely united but do not feel touched must be unpatriotic. Those who are engaged in profiteering and living off friction should do some introspection.

Does the 8th Route Army have any weakness? Yes, it does, lots of them. First of all, it is inferior to the enemy and some friendly armed units in technical equipment. This is the basic weakness of the 8th Route Army. It is also the general weakness of the Chinese armed units. Therefore, how to strengthen our technical equipment in order to defeat the enemy has become a serious task of the 8th Route Army during this new stage of war of resistance. Second, the 8th Route Army is famous for its ability to conduct guerrilla and mobile warfare, but some cadres still do not have enough understanding about the strategy and tactics for the war against Japan and their application. Up to now, the cadres in general, especially the newly promoted cadres, still lack a preliminary study about the management and

command of a modern army. Many cadres with worker or peasant background have not yet elevated their cultural standard to a necessary level. To resolve these problems is the second task of the 8th Route Army. Third, consolidation and broadening of the National United Front is the general policy to attain the goal of winning the war and rebuilding the country. The 8th Route Army has scored great achievements in this respect, but many cadres, especially the new cadres, do not have enough understanding about the United Front. In some respects, they have performed poorly in working together with friendly political parties and friendly armed units and in adjusting the relationship between different classes of society with a view to turning these relations beneficial to the war effort. Therefore, strengthening the education about United Front has become an important task. Fourth, wooing the enemy and puppet troops has long been one of the three main goals of the 8th Route Army's political work. Achievements have been made in this respect, but the Japanese language study program among our warriors and cadres and the study of various techniques for conducting propaganda among enemy soldiers and lower level officers for an anti-aggression united front are very inadequate. We had some success in wooing the Mongolian puppet troops, but further steps should be taken. Collection and study of information about the enemy and puppet forces are very important, but our achievements in this respect have not yet reached the desired degree. Fifth, one of the most difficult problems for a protracted war of resistance is the economic and financial problem. This is a difficult problem for the entire country as well as a difficult problem for the 8th Route Army. Our awareness of this problem should be elevated to a high degree. This problem has aroused the attention of certain units of the 8th Route Army, but it has not yet aroused general attention. In each anti-Japanese base, we should pay attention not only to implementing local financial and economic policies such as those we have carried out in the past, but also to possible participation of armed units in production without hampering their combat function. In relatively stabilized bases the combat units take up the responsibility of combat, while government workers in the rear perform the duties of production. Whenever circumstances permit, combat units may also utilize opportunities to mobilize soldiers and masses to make clothes, shoes, gloves, etc. In stabilized bases, the non-combat personnel may be utilized to plant vegetables, raise pigs, gather firewood and run cooperatives. By so doing, they will, on the one hand, improve the livelihood of the troops and supplement their insufficient provisions and, on the other hand, lift the morale of the armed forces and enhance their combat strength.

The aforementioned increase of technical equipment, intensive study of strategy and tactics, correct application of the United Front policy, broadened effort at wooing the enemy and puppet armed personnel, and the participation of armed units in production movements are the important problems to which the 8th Route Army should pay attention during this new stage. The defects existing in other tasks will be conquered as improvements are made in regard to these important problems.

To further develop what has been achieved and to correct defects are the tasks of all officers and men of the 8th Route Army as well as the tasks of the

Military-Political Journal. The war of resistance is a long and cruel war. Further development of the achievements of the 8th Route Army and correction of the defects of the 8th Route Army are urgently needed to enhance the combat strength of the 8th Route Army. At the same time, it is also necessary to offer our experience to the people and our friendly forces engaged in the war of resistance. The "8th Route Army Military-Political Journal" should exert its effort for this purpose.

<sup>0</sup> "Eighth Route Army Military-Political Journal," Political Dept., 8th Route Army, National Revolutionary Army, 15 January 1939.

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## THE CHINESE ARMY SHOULD EMULATE THE RED ARMY OF THE SOVIET UNION 16

February 1939

[Text] Written at the request of the PRAVDA on the occasion of the 21st founding anniversary of the Soviet Red Army

When we hear of the 21st anniversary of the founding of the Red Army of the Soviet Union, we feel a great force standing in front of the Chinese nation and the Chinese people. This great force extends its friendly hand, willing to back us up in our anti-Japanese national liberation war. This great force is the Red Army of the Soviet Union. The Red Army of the Soviet Union has gone through 21 years of training. Its army, air force, and navy have become an unconquerable force. Under the brilliant leadership of Comrade Stalin and Marshal Voroshilov, the Red Army, due to its being the army of the workers and peasants, its impregnable technical equipment, profound military training and correct political work, not only became a bulwark for the defense of the socialist Soviet Union a long time ago, but is also a central force for the defense of world peace as well as a model for all the armed forces of the world which are willing to oppose fascist aggression. In connection with the latter point, I presume that every commanding officer and combat member of the Soviet Red Army and every Soviet citizen knows the nature of the war the Chinese nation and the Chinese people are fighting, under what difficult circumstances is this war being fought, how bright the future of this war is, and what intimate relationship this war has with the Soviet Union and the entire world. On the China side, not only the 8th Route Army but also all the anti-Japanese soldiers know that the Soviet Red Army is China's good friend, and that the Soviet Union is helping China in the **war of** resistance in the most realistic way. The combat experience and lessons of the Soviet Red Army are especially valuable for the Chinese armed forces and Chinese soldiers to adopt. Such experiences and lessons enable us to understand that in order to defeat Japanese imperialism, the Chinese armed forces should be correctly oriented politically. They should also be equipped with modern technical equipment, modern military training, and political work geared to national revolution. The Chinese armed forces have many strong points. During the 19-month war of resistance, these strong points have gradually caused some alarm to the enemy, and won world-wide acclaim. The Chinese armed forces should groom themselves during the protracted war of resistance against Japan until they become a powerful armed force in the world-wide anti-fascist war for expelling the Japanese from China, liberating China as a nation, and

supporting the anti-fascist war of the world. Due to historical reasons, the Chinese armed forces still have some defects. Among the important defects are their inadequate political quality, insufficient modern technology, insufficient modern military training, and especially insufficient political work and lack of a correct orientation. In all these we should emulate the Soviet Red Army. Everybody knows that our two great nations—China and the Soviet Union—have in the past 10 years established a close relationship built on their resistance to imperialist aggression. During 1924-1927, the Soviet Union and its Red Army helped China's Northern Expedition. Now they have joined hands with us in the struggle against Japanese fascist aggression. As this war against Japan is confronted with new difficulties, the friendly relations between China and the Soviet Union should be further enhanced, and the spiritual link between the Chinese armed forces and the Soviet Red Army should become more intimate. As both China and the Soviet Union are confronted with an arch-enemy, it is high, time for the two great nations and two great armies to struggle together. No matter how the fascist nations step up their aggression against China, prepare to attack the Soviet Union, endanger the lives of the Spanish people, or attempt to stir up another devastating war among the major powers of the world, the future can be predicted. The final victory will never belong to the aggressors. Instead, the Chinese, Soviet, and Spanish people and all the victims of aggression will win final victory. On the occasion of the 21st anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Red Army, I, in my capacity as a Chinese and a member of the Chinese armed forces, respectfully extend my anti-fascist friendly felicitations to the Soviet people and the Soviet Red Army.

<sup>0</sup> "The Masses," (Chungking), Vol 2, Nos 17-18 combined issue, 22 March 1939

## POLITICAL ORIENTATION FOR NATIONAL GENERAL SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION 1

May 1939

### A Talk at the Yen-an National General Spiritual Mobilization and May 1 Labor Day Rally

[Text] Comrades,

Today, a big rally is being held by all circles in Yen-an for implementing the National General Spiritual Mobilization. At the same time, today is also the May 1 Labor Day. That we hold such a great commemorative rally has a great significance.

Today is May 1. Wherever possible, all proletarians and working people in the world are holding demonstrations. Comrades, to whom do they demonstrate? To the Fascists! To the aggressors! Today all the oppressed peoples and nations in the world are holding demonstrations and rallies at various places against fascists and against aggressors!

Today, in China, all of the working class and working people, wherever they can, are holding "May 1" rallies against Japanese imperialist aggressors. At the same time, in response to the call of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, all the people, workers, farmers, merchants, students, soldiers, party workers, government workers, and people of all political parties and factions throughout the country begin their National General Spiritual Mobilization. They pledge to oppose Chinese traitors, support the war of resistance against Japan, concentrate their effort, and concentrate their will. What for? Defeat Japanese imperialism. (Applause from the audience), save China from her crisis, and transform her into a new China (Applause followed by shouting from the audience: "Down with Japanese Imperialism!" "Build a New China!"...,) This is the meaning of today's rally. This is also the first point I wish to talk about.

Second, why should we have National General Spiritual Mobilization? Why does Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek initiate National General Spiritual Mobilization?

Our enemy, in order to attain its objective and carry out its plan, wants to annihilate China. The Japanese fascist militarists are mobilizing all the forces in Japan to continue their fascist war of aggression and to continue this war of bandits for slaughtering the Chinese people. China's black sheep Wang Ching-wei, his disciples and grand disciples are giving help to Japanese imperialism, and conducting activities inimical to the war of resistance. They are engaged in "topple Chiang and oppose Communists" activities. In Hong Kong and Shanghai, they are organizing what they call an "Anti-Communist National Salvation League" with Wang Ching-wei as their chieftan. They will also establish a puppet government to surrender to Japanese imperialism. As the Japanese and the Chinese traitors are so ruthless, we must proceed with the National General Spiritual Mobilization throughout the country, call upon the 450 million Chinese people to be united, boost their morale to fight the war to the end, oppose the Chinese traitors, oppose Wang Ching-wei, oppose the Trotskyites, oppose all the devilish groups and parties, support Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, support the National Government, support Kuomintang's cooperation with the Communist Party, carry the war to the end, mobilize all the forces, and win the final victory. To what extent shall we fight? We shall fight all the way to the **Yalu** River! (Applause) We shall recover all the lost territory! (Applause) We shall never stop until our goals are reached. Therefore, as soon as Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek launched the National General Spiritual Mobilization, the Chinese Communist Party responds to his call, and supports this movement. It is for this purpose that all the people from the party, political circles, military circles, civilians, government workers and students of Yenan are holding this rally here today to pledge our support to the National General Spiritual Mobilization. We must defeat our enemy and build a new China! (Applause followed by slogan shouting: All people of China unite! Support Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek! Carry out National General Spiritual Mobilization! Support Long-Term Kuomintang-Communist Party Cooperation! Support the Kuomintang! Support the Chinese Communist Party! Down With Traitor Wang Ching-wei! Down With the Trotskyites! Down With Japanese Imperialism! Long Live Chinese National Liberation!)

Third, talking about "country" and "nation," our country is the country of the workers, farmers, soldiers, students, merchants, and all patriotic people. It is not the country of the Japanese bandits, Chinese traitors, Wang Ching-wei and his cohorts, or the Trotskyites. Our country should exclude Wang Ching-wei and other traitors. If those who ignore righteousness and prepare to be traitors and those who spiritually capitulate to the traitors and wish to follow Wang Ching-wei, they should also be excluded. Our nation has been an independent self-respecting nation for several thousand years, and a ^ nation which cannot tolerate domination by Japanese imperialism. In our country and nation, we can only permit the existence of an anti-Japanese government, and can never permit any traitor's government. We must defend our motherland; we must thoroughly liberate the Chinese nation. The Japanese imperialism is encroaching upon our nation's independence, and jeopardizing our national existence. We must defeat it. We must also defeat all the traitors and thieves who sell out their country and sell out their national interest. This is the principle of the "supremacy of the country



[ Preliminary. Prepared for the Maoist Internationalist Movement's Web site, located at <http://www.etext.org/Politics/MIM/> ]

and supremacy of the nation." (Slogan shouting from the audience: Defend the Motherland, Shed Our Last Drop of Blood for the Defense of Our Motherland! Long Live the Chinese National Liberation! Down With the Traitors and Thieves Who Sell Out Our Country!)

Fourth, for the defense of our motherland and for attaining the objective of national liberation, we must win this war of resistance. The Chinese Communist Party has always advocated: "Resistance against Japan has priority over all; everything is subordinate to the war of resistance against Japan; mobilize all the forces to strive for the final victory." What does this mean? It means "military affairs first, victory first." To win the battle is our only objective. All that enables us to win a battle, and all that is favorable to the war of resistance should be done and supported. All that hampers our winning a battle, and all that is harmful to the war of resistance should not be done and opposed. We oppose all activities of the Wang Ching-wei faction, Trotskyites, trouble makers, stubborn elements and instigators. We want to knock down all those who sabotage the war of resistance. (Applause followed by slogan shouting from the audience: Resistance Against Japan Has Top Priority! Everything Is Subordinate to the War of Resistance Against Japan! Mobilize All Forces! Strive for the Final Victory! Military Affairs First! Victory First! Oppose Compromise or Surrender! Oppose Chinese Traitors and Thieves Who Sell Out the Country!)

Fifth, in order to attain the purpose of winning the final victory, fighting to the banks of the Yalu River, and recovering the lost territory, we have to unify and consolidate the thinking, will and strength of all the people of the country, and we must carry out, consolidate, and broaden the Anti-Japanese National United Front. This is what Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek calls "concentration of will and concentration of force." All people's will should be focused on one point—the final victory. Can people's will be focused on something else? Should we come to a peaceful compromise with Japan? Never. We must strive for the final victory. We must attain this goal. All of our strength must be concentrated on the anti-Japanese front. Should our strength be concentrated somewhere else? Never. Wang Ching-wei wants us to concentrate all our strength behind the traitors' front and the capitulation front. Can he achieve that? Never. Some trouble-makers and "friction experts" wish to disperse instead of concentrate our strength. Is it right? Entirely wrong. Therefore, all the will of the people should be concentrated on final victory, and all the strength should be concentrated to one place—the Anti-Japanese National United Front. This should never be violated. Those who violate this principle must be opposed, knocked down and beaten up as traitors. (Slogan shouting from the audience: Concentrate all the will on Final Victory! Concentrate All Strength on the Anti-Japanese Front!)

Sixth, in order to strive for the final victory, and consolidate and enlarge the Anti-Japanese National United Front, we must transform the spirit of all the people in the country, and get rid of all the bad and wrong things. Selfishness, cowardice, corruption, decadence...are these things good? (Audience: "No.") All these things should be removed. This is the reason why we have always promoted the hard working and struggling working style.

Traditionally, our nation has a hard working and struggling working style. We should make it manifest. We must drastically change the selfish, coward, corrupt, and decadent style prevailing among many people. The Communist Party has traditionally advocated for a firm and correct political orientation. During this war of resistance> we should correct all the erroneous thinking unfavorable to the war of resistance. First of all, we should correct all the Wang Ching-wei faction, Trotskyite, and traitorous thinking and all the anti-national thinking. We should also correct all thinking unfavorable to the war of resistance. For instance, some people say: "Marxism is not a good friend of the Three People's Principles." Is this right? No, entirely wrong. Dr. Sun Yat-sen clearly said: "Marxism is a good friend of the Three People's Principles." In violation of Dr. Sun's instructions, these people are now saying that these two political ideals are not good friends. This is a thinking in violation of the united front and a thinking in contradiction to the thinking of more than 90 percent of the working people of the country. It is an anti-national thinking. All these erroneous thinking should be corrected and eliminated so that we can have a firm and correct political orientation. This firm and correct political orientation cannot be divorced from the hard working and struggling working style. Without a firm and correct political orientation, we cannot induce a hard working and struggling working style. Without a hard working and struggling working style, we cannot carry out a firm and correct political orientation. (Applause and slogan shouting from the audience: Oppose Selfishness! Oppose Cowardice! Oppose Corruption and Decadence! Oppose Erroneous Thinking! Insist on and Affirm a Correct Political Orientation! Strictly Carry Out a Hard Working and Struggling Working Style!)

Seventh, finally, let us talk about our general policy now, the general policy for the war of resistance; that is, the Three People's Principles. The Three People's Principles is the political foundation of the Anti-Japanese National United Front. It must be carried out in full during the course of the war of resistance and national reconstruction. The Principle of Nationalism is for defeating the Japanese imperialism. The Principle of People's Rights is for the freedom of the people. The Principle of People's Livelihood is for people to have clothes to wear, rice to eat, and work to do. All these are very good and necessary. We must resolutely carry these principles out. From today on, all the people of the country should really carry out the Three People's Principles! They should not talk only; they should act! There are many people who say that they believe the Three People's Principles. From what I can see, they don't, because if one believes the Three People's Principles he will fight the Japanese to the end. But these people are preparing to surrender. Wang Ching-wei is one of those who have surrendered. True believers of the Three People's Principles do not oppress ordinary people, but they are unwilling to give people their democratic rights. True believers of the Three People's Principles take care of people's clothing, shelter and food problems, but they are unwilling to improve people's livelihood. Can these people be called believers of the Three People's Principles? (Audience: "No!") Only those who want to fight to the end, fight to the Yalu River, recover all the lost territory, refuse to surrender, never rebel against their own country can be called real believers of the Principle of

Nationalism, and loyal followers of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Principle of Nationalism. Only those who give people their democratic rights, their freedom of speech, press, assembly and association without oppressing the people, and carry out Dr. Sun Yat-sen's will for "awakening the masses" can be called true believers of the Principle of People's Rights and loyal believers of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Principle of People's Rights. Only those who make an effort to relieve the majority of the people of their suffering, such as to implement Dr. Sun Yat-sen's policy of "land to the tillers," and carry out production movement so that everybody has clothes to wear, rice to eat, and work to do can be called real believers of the Principle of People's Livelihood and loyal followers of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Principle of People's Livelihood. Comrades! All of us should be faithful believers of the Three People's Principles and good students of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. We should never be pseudo-disciples, or bad students. We should not give lip service to the Three People's Principles, and we should really implement all these three principles. What shall we call those who only talk about the Three People's Principles and do nothing? I would call them pseudo-Three People's Principles believers. We call upon all the people in the country to carry out the Three People's Principles. Let everybody be real believers of the Three People's Principles. I hope all the people in the country would carry out the Principle of Nationalism which calls for defeating Japanese imperialism, and Chinese national salvation; carry out the Principle of People's Rights which calls for helping the people, awakening the people, and giving them democratic rights; and carry out the Principle of People's Livelihood, which calls for clothes for everybody to wear, rice for everybody to eat and work for everybody to do. What the country wants to carry out is this kind of the Three People's Principles, the real Three People's Principles. We should struggle to the end for the implementation of the real Three People's Principles. (Applause and slogan shouting: Carry Out the Three People's Principles throughout the Country! Oppose Those Hypocrites Who Give Lip Service to The Three People's Principles!)

These are the reasons we hold our rally today. It is also for these reasons that the All-China People's General Spiritual Mobilization is launched. In short, we must thoroughly carry out the Three People's Principles, really carry out the Three People's Principles! Mobilize all our forces to win the final victory, fight to the banks of the Yalu River, recover our lost territory! We must drive Japanese imperialism out of China! We must establish a brand new China! (Enthusiastic and prolonged applause from the audience)

<sup>0</sup> "The Masses," (Chungking), Vol 3<sub>s</sub> No 36, 22 June 1939 \* "Guide to the Anti-Japanese National United Front," (7), Liberation Press, July 1940

## THE PEOPLE OF CHINA AND GREAT BRITAIN ARE ON THE SAME FRONT 1

June 1939

[Text] As the Chinese people's unwavering war of resistance against Japan is coming to the end of its second year, the British Aid to China Committee holds "China Week" in various places in England to demonstrate its support to our war effort. On behalf of Comrade Chu Teh, the officers and men of the 8th Route Army, and the wounded soldiers in field hospitals and hospitals in the rear, I wish to say how excited and how encouraged we feel by this kind of sympathy and concern. We respectfully thank and enthusiastically salute the British people who stand with us together on the international anti-aggression front.

China's 2-year war of resistance has shown the power of democratic forces. These 2 years of war have pointed out that even an industrially backward country which has suffered all kinds of oppression and humiliation in her national life can resist the most barbarous and brutal fascist attack with full confidence of victory. It also proves that China's war of resistance cannot be separated from the world-wide anti-fascist force. In fact, our attack against the aggressors has put our country in the foremost position in the main anti-fascist front of the international struggle for the defense of democracy and civilization in the world.

As soon as the war started, we saw the British people help our war effort with material support, donate medical supplies, send ambulance units to China, and express their sympathy on many occasions. All these serve to explain that although Great Britain is geographically far away from China, the British people are not indifferent to China's war of resistance. However, because of our position in the anti-aggression struggle in the entire world, we have the right to demand more assistance than before.

First, we demand that you strictly watch the attitude of your government, and force your government to take resolute action in ending British shipment of military supplies to Japan. Several weeks ago, the British embassy and consulate in Chungking were damaged during an indiscriminate Japanese air raid on China's wartime capital. To this humiliation the British government

responded with the weakest diplomatic gesture—a protest on a piece of paper. It is this kind of attitude that encourages Japan to wipe out British interest wherever she can. The most effective way for the British people to restrain the bandits in the Far East and at the same time help China is to put pressure on their government for immediate censure against Japan.

During the last 2 years, Japan's accomplices, Fascist Germany and Italy, collaborated in destroying world peace, tearing up international treaties, and starting a bloody and cruel war. Their activities have become a direct threat to the security of Great Britain. Here is another reason for the British people to compel their government to support China's war of resistance, and for the British people themselves to take steps complementary to China's contribution to the anti-aggression front. To oppose fascism does not call for our engagement in any particular war. The threat is universal. Therefore, we must fight it on a worldwide basis.

For example, the Japanese have recently stepped up their anti-British propaganda in their occupied areas. Therefore, for their own defense, it is necessary for the British people to help China, help that country which is at war with the enemy in the Far East.

In view of the above, may we suggest that you adopt concrete and effective measures to strengthen British policy so as to bring your action consistent with the desire of the British government and British people to frustrate the Japanese aggressors.

For our national independence and freedom and for the peace and freedom of mankind, we have resolutely struggled for 2 years. During these 2 years, the Japanese militarists utilized those shameless Wang Ching-wei-like defeatists in an attempt to sabotage our Anti-Japanese National United Front and, thereby, to sabotage our war of resistance.

However, our friends can feel reassured. During the last 2 years, the unity among the Chinese people has matured, and our determination to win the final victory has greatly strengthened. The Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang are more determined than ever to carry out their joint resolution—support Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as their leader in the war of resistance. In the past, the Wang Ching-wei-like defeatists could still hide themselves in unoccupied areas in an attempt to instigate surrender. Now, they cannot cover up their true intentions any longer. They have been exposed and chased away.

Geographically, England and China are far apart, but the common desire of the two peoples to defeat Fascist aggressors has brought them together. Let us join hands to defeat the common enemy of mankind.

Let the peoples of China and Great Britain be united!

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