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GENERALISSIMO JIANG ON NATIONAL IDENTITY

Among the ideas originally from the West, nationalism proved particularly potent. In the early twentieth century, Chinese intellectuals and political leaders thought that ideas of national identity and destiny then reshaping European politics could help China. Revolutionaries called for the overthrow of the Manchus on the grounds that they were alien. Sun Yatsen (1866–1925) made national self-determination one of his “Three People’s Principles.” China could not be strong until it rid itself of imperialist encroachments and was reconstituted as the nation of the Chinese people.

Nationalist principles as formulated by Sun were a central part of the ideology of the Nationalist Party (Guomindang), led after 1928 by Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek, 1887–1975). During this period the gravest threat to China’s national autonomy came from Japan, which occupied Manchuria in 1931 and started a full-scale invasion in 1937.

Below are two speeches in which Jiang dealt with issues of national identity. They were both delivered to meetings of high-level party committees, the first in January 1939, near the beginning of the war, and the second soon after Japan had surrendered in August 1945. In the first Jiang appeals to anti-imperialist sentiments to arouse determination to defeat Japan. In the second he considers what these principles might mean for a postwar China. If the Japanese should not rule parts of China, was it right for the Chinese to rule lands occupied by Tibetans, Mongols, or other nationalities? When were ethnic groups nationalities?

CHINA CANNOT BE CONQUERED

Comrades, this assembly meets as we enter upon the second stage in our War of Resistance. It is, therefore, an especially significant session which lays heavy responsibilities upon us. As I have repeatedly pointed out, our war may be divided into two periods. During the first period, which ended

with the fall of Canton and Wuhan, we tried to wear down the enemy’s strength and at the same time protect our rear so that solid foundations might be laid for the second period of protracted resistance. . . . We are fighting this war for our own national existence and for freedom to follow the course of national revolution laid down for us in the Three Principles of the People. We are fight-

ing an enemy who would deny us not only our freedom but our very life, an enemy with whom we cannot compromise without bringing utter ruin upon our nation. Only resistance can preserve us from national slavery. Only resistance can save the world from the collapse of international morality and the breakdown of all guarantees of peace. Dr. Sun Yatsen devoted his life to the movement for the salvation of his country and at the same time of the world. All that he planned and achieved our enemy would throw to the winds. . . .

Japan has failed to realize the mighty power of our national resistance, the irresistible growth of our national spirit, and the true significance of our national history. The Japanese blindly hold that China can be tricked and subdued as she was by the Khitans and the Jin at the time of the Song dynasty, by the Mongols of the Yuan dynasty, and by the Manchus of the Qing dynasty. They do not understand the reasons for China's subjection in those times. They do not realize that it was the weakness of a few officials which brought about the submission of the government, a thing that should not be confused with the surrender of a whole nation. Today the Japanese cry, "Build a new order in East Asia," and expect in a short time to rule over all China. They forget that it has taken them more than forty years, a huge army, and vast expenditures to get even a tenuous hold upon our Northeastern Provinces. They refuse to take warning from past experiences, and now foolishly overstretch themselves to conquer the whole of China. Again they will fail.

Japan fails because she does not understand the characteristics of our nation, the force of the Three Principles enunciated by Dr. Sun Yatsen, the temper of our government, the signs of the times, and China's revolutionary military strategy and tactics. When Napoleon was attacking Imperial Russia, the strategy of all-front and prolonged resistance was not known. But even with his remarkable military genius and huge armies Napoleon was not able to avert defeat. How can Japan possibly succeed against republican China with its new and fervent national spirit? United against

a common enemy and under the guidance of the national government, our people have been able to carry out modern revolutionary military tactics, and no armed force can subdue us. . . .

Comrades, after eighteen months as the responsible commander-in-chief of our fighting forces, I have reached the following solemn conclusion. I commend it to your special consideration. You should instruct our people to take lessons from the annals of the Song and Ming dynasties. The fall of these two dynasties was not caused by outside enemies with a superior force, but by a dispirited and cowardly minority in the governing class and the society of the time. Today the morale of our people is excellent; the foundation of our revolution is deep and strong; and the Three Principles of the People give us a charter of liberty in harmony with the spirit of the modern age. If we do not destroy ourselves, no outside force can destroy us. . . . In more than five thousand years our nationality has never been really conquered and has most certainly never been exterminated. Furthermore, the dynastic downfalls were due to the cowardice, ignorance, lack of integrity, and selfishness of a small number of corrupt officials. The happiness and welfare of the common people did not concern them. During those despotic regimes a great gap existed between the government authorities and the common people. There were no ways by which the authorities could mobilize the power of resistance residing in the people. Yet, as a matter of fact, the spirit of the nation as a whole did not suffer from outside oppression and the people steadily opposed aggression. After an interval of two or three hundred years, the aggressors would be driven out and the nation's territory would be recovered.

Our present government, which is republican in form and revolutionary in spirit and which fights for the welfare of the nation and the people, has a far greater chance of expelling the invader. Our government is fully aware of its responsibilities and intends to complete the revolution and carry out the Three Principles of the People. It has no fear of bullying aggressors. Our resistance is a united effort of government and people. Sunzi

says, "A virtuous government has the support of the people; it can command life or death from the people without exciting fear or complaint." Concord between government and people is the first essential to victory.

In our present struggle against Japan we have been able to live up to this high principle. The hearts of our people are absolutely united. Under the guidance of the government even the old and the weak, the women and the children, are conscious of the necessity of defending themselves against the enemy and of obeying implicitly the orders of the high command. Indeed, their spirit is such that they are willing to lay down their lives without a murmur. No one will barter his national birthright for slavery to Japan. The barbarism of the Japanese has everywhere aroused the spirit voiced in our ancient saying, "Prefer death to disgrace." Judging from the history of the past and the national consciousness and strong morale of our people today, China cannot be conquered.

From the geographical point of view, our country possesses natural advantages for defense. Our ancestors, two thousand years ago, took advantage of the mountainous terrain in constructing the Great Wall. From east to west our country extends through more than sixty-five degrees of longitude. From north to south it includes the climates of the frigid, temperate, and torrid zones. In any discussion of military success or failure we have always considered topography and climate of great importance. River, mountains, and deserts abound in our interior and in the west; arctic cold alternates with tropical heat. Invaders in the past have succeeded only in holding a part of our country for a limited time. They have never permanently controlled the whole of our country for a long time. Even in the Yuan and Qing dynasties, when the strongest forces attempted to conquer us, they were able to occupy only certain strategic points and the spirit of resistance among the people was not crushed. Today a nation of only seventy million people thinks it can absorb a nation of six times its population and with a far older history and civilization. What a mad dream! Topography and climate are again combining

against China's invaders. No weapon in the world will be effective against this combination, reinforced by the firm determination and mighty strength of our people. Geographically, our country cannot be conquered.

China is the only nation in the Far East with an independent cultural achievement. This is borne out by history. Chinese civilization has been adopted by other peoples, but no alien civilization has ever succeeded in replacing China's own. China's civilization is imbued with a special spirit. I need not amplify this point. It is only necessary to recall the heroic behavior of our people in face of the enemy to realize the deep roots of our civilization. Japan is now trying with her mongrel civilization, of neither the East nor the West, to destroy our national spirit. But she has met with repeated failures in the occupied areas. If we are united at heart, and if we struggle with determination, the spirit of our people will be further strengthened. This resistance will infuse into our civilization a new splendor and power. Our civilization and our national national spirit can never be conquered or destroyed.

Economically we have the advantage. Modern wars usually arise out of economic conflicts and the outcome is determined by the economic strength and resources of the belligerents. China is essentially an agricultural country. Aggression descended upon us while we were in the period of national reconstruction. At first this seemed a major crisis, yet during the eighteen months of hostilities our financial structure has not been seriously injured, our currency has remained steady, and the livelihood of the people in the rear has been little affected. Owing to the excellent harvests in several provinces last year and the campaign of thrift, there are signs of plenty among our people. This is possible because we are an agricultural nation and strong in endurance, whereas industrial nations suffer more quickly from the consequences of war. . . .

Since the invasion of Manchuria in 1931 we have seen clearly that the only road upon which all mankind can march together is the road of justice and righteousness. A nation that aspires to

become strong and independent cannot allow itself to be checked by temporary hardships and sacrifices. In the course of time it is bound to earn the sympathy and cooperation of other just nations. The international developments of the past seven years have fully borne out our judgment. We claim no prescience; we have only maintained the position held by our revolutionary leader, Dr. Sun Yatsen: to save our country is also to save the world. Our judgment has been guided by this principle.

Dr. Sun often said that after China had recovered her independent national status she would have a large responsibility to the world. In his addresses on nationalism and on other occasions, Dr. Sun frequently declared, "China is the pillar of the Far East and the largest country in Asia; when China is strong, her four neighbors will be safe and on cordial terms with each other, and the surrounding peoples can retain their independence and share peace and happiness." Dr. Sun pointed out also that "China has never attempted by economic weapons to oppress other peoples. China's aspirations for peace were fully evolved even at the time of the Han dynasty." We do not oppress the weak and we do not bow before tyranny. We favor mutual assistance and we seek to strengthen ourselves. Dr. Sun further observed, "China had been strong for several thousand years without affecting the existence of Korea; but Korea was annexed after Japan had been strong for only twenty years. China's traditional policy has been to aid the weak and to support the falling, to live and to let live. Our national revolution is reinforcing our own historic love of justice and peace and is hastening the advent of enduring security and happiness for all mankind. . . ."

Comrades, you must know that before our resistance began our country was regarded by the world as weaker than a third-rate power. Nevertheless, we succeeded in holding Japan, a first-class power, for more than a year and a half without being overcome. We must be ready to encounter more difficulties but we need no longer be frightened by our brutal enemy. Having entered this second period of resistance we believe that

the military operations will daily turn in our favor. The only question is whether we have the strength of will to continue resistance, and whether our unity and determination will increase with every day of the struggle. . . .

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND EQUALITY AMONG PEOPLES

Japan has been defeated and is surrendering. The forces of violent aggression have been completely crushed by the concerted efforts of the United Nations. At the end of the First World War, Dr. Sun Yatsen said that nations working together for the good of all would certainly succeed while individuals or nations working for their own selfish ends would inevitably fail. The truth embodied in Dr. Sun's frank words has been abundantly confirmed by the recent war with its even greater sacrifices.

At this great turning point in history, the national government should make clear to the people of China and of the whole world the main objectives in its policy of realizing national independence and completing the national revolution. . . . The aim of our national revolution is twofold. In our relations with other nations we seek national independence and freedom. Within the nation we seek equality for all ethnic groups. For fifty years we faced the ever-growing menace of Japanese aggression; national armed resistance began when we had no other alternative. Therefore the main emphasis of our national revolutionary movement was upon consolidating the strength of all our ethnic groups. We knew that we must unite in resisting foreign aggression if we were to attain national independence and freedom.

We had three most important goals and the attainment of these constituted our most urgent task. First, we had to regain our sovereign rights in the northeastern provinces and reestablish territorial and administrative integrity there. Second, we had to recover Formosa (Taiwan) and the Pescadores Islands. Third, we had to restore to Korea her independence and freedom. Should Korea not be given freedom, Formosa not be allowed to re-

ern to its mother country, and the territorial and administrative integrity of the Northeastern Provinces not be restored, all talk of national independence and freedom would be useless and the objectives of our armed resistance could not be achieved. These objectives follow the policies handed down to us by Dr. Sun Yatsen. They have been the leading aims in our armed resistance against Japan, which has meant for us the loss of millions of lives. During the war we had to unite all the ethnic groups within the nation and strive together to complete our threefold task. Only if this is done can we expect our country to be independent and make secure the political equality of all ethnic groups.

Japanese imperialism has been defeated and Japan is suing for peace. . . . We may say that the international aspect of our principle of nationalism is approaching completion. Therefore, we must formulate definite policies and take positive action to realize the domestic phase of the same principle, that is, ensure equality for all the ethnic groups within the nation and thus fulfill the entire program of our national revolution. We must also ensure the permanency of the victorious peace which we have won at the sacrifice of countless lives and enormous losses in property.

Upon the basis of Dr. Sun Yatsen's teachings, I shall now state, as a representative of the Guomindang (Nationalist Party), our policy toward carrying out the principle of nationalism and safeguarding world peace and national security. I shall first take up the nationality questions in Outer Mongolia and Tibet. Outer Mongolia and Tibet both have a long history. The ethnic groups in these two areas have always lived by themselves and are totally different from the ethnic groups inhabiting the border provinces which mix freely with other groups. Following the Guomindang reorganization in 1924, Outer Mongolia sent representatives to extend greetings and felicitations to our party. Dr. Sun Yatsen was at that time already treating them as members of a friendly neighboring country and as honored guests. Such facts are recorded in Dr. Sun Yatsen's teachings and are widely known. We have never regarded

the people of Outer Mongolia as colonials or oppressed them as the Beijing government did. Ever since the inauguration of the national government we have maintained friendly relations not only with the Outer Mongolians but also with the Tibetans. Our people should realize that if we ignore the aspirations of these ethnic groups for freedom and restrain their urge for independence and self-government, it will not only be contrary to the spirit of our national revolution but will also tend to increase friction between ethnic groups and jeopardize our entire program of national reconstruction. This in turn will adversely affect world peace and security.

The ethnic group in Outer Mongolia had, in effect, declared its independence from the mother country as early as 1922 when the Beijing government was in existence. That was almost a quarter of a century ago. The world is undergoing rapid changes and this is a propitious time for renewing old friendships. Therefore, we should, in accordance with our revolutionary principles and the Guomindang's consistent policy, recognize, with bold determination and through legal procedure, the independence of Outer Mongolia and establish friendly relations with it. We must seek a satisfactory solution of this question. If we fail, happy relations between China and Mongolia will be impossible and not only our own domestic tranquillity but also the peace of the world will be seriously jeopardized.

I must here point out three fundamental points in the realization of our principle of nationalism. First, the Chinese government and people should resolve with noble, sincere, and firm determination never to imitate the way of Japan toward Korea. We should honestly aid all ethnic groups which have given evidence of their capacity for self-government and have shown a spirit of independence. We should help them achieve national independence through self-determination, freedom, and equality on the Asian continent in the bright light of total victory. For fifty years, the national revolution of the Guomindang, as it overthrew the Manchu government and resisted Japan, has been a movement not only for China's

own freedom and equality, but also for the liberation and independence of Korea. From today, we shall, in this same spirit and together with all Allied nations concerned, fully respect the principle of Korean independence and equality and the position that Korea will soon attain.

Second, if frontier ethnic groups situated in regions outside the provinces have the capacity for self-government and a strong determination to attain independence, and are politically and economically ready for both, our government should, in a friendly spirit, voluntarily help them to realize their freedom and forever treat them as brotherly nations, as equals of China. We should entertain no ill will or prejudices against them because of their choice to leave the mother country. Our frontier ethnic groups should, in a friendly spirit and through legal channels, make known their wishes to the government of their mother country. In this way, they may be able to realize their aspirations. They should not defy the mother country and stir up mutual hatred.

Third, we should accord the large and small ethnic groups inside the provinces legal and political equality, and unhindered economic and religious freedom, so that a warm community spirit and friendly collaboration may develop among all the groups.

As regards the political status of Tibet, the Sixth National Guomindang Congress decided to grant it a very high degree of autonomy, to aid its political advancement, and to improve the living conditions of the Tibetans. I solemnly declare that if the Tibetans should at this time express a wish for self-government, our government would, in conformity with our sincere tradition, accord it a very high degree of autonomy. If in the future they fulfill the economic requirement for independence, the national government will, as in the case of Outer Mongolia, help them to gain that status. But Tibet must give proof that it can consolidate its independent position and protect its continuity so as not to become another Korea.

Finding a solution for the ethnic problems of Outer Mongolia and Tibet is a very great task of our national revolution. It will be a touchstone

of the success of our principle of nationalism. We should be ready to assume responsibility for a solution. I hope that all the Chinese people, in accordance with our revolutionary principles and spirit of national independence, assist the government in finding an answer to these questions. For world peace and security as well as for the solidarity and reconstruction of our own nation, we must deal with the world's national questions in conformity with the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and the Three Principles of the People. . . .

The world war that has just ended was an unprecedented conflict in human history. All the United Nations hope that this horrible war will be the last war. China has fought the longest and suffered the most. Our hope for peace is therefore the most ardent. Any measure that will strengthen our national unity and promote international peace will receive our strongest support.

In collaboration with our allies, we shall strive to bring about friendly relations between all free and independent nations, ensure the continuance of peace and prevent the reemergence of power politics. We should see to it particularly that the peoples of the world do not again suffer from inequality, the want of freedom, scarcity, and fear. If we keep this in mind, we shall see how supremely important it is that the principles of national equality and national independence be everywhere realized. The national government, guided by its own vital principles and its consistent revolutionary policy, will complete the unfinished phase of the principle of nationalism as peace dawns upon the world. This is one of our fondest hopes and I am sure our allies will understand. World peace will thus be guaranteed and our national security be made certain. Let our people with one heart and one mind strive toward this goal. National revival and reconstruction will then become a living reality and the millions of our officers and soldiers and people who gave their lives in eight years of war will rest in peace knowing that they have not sacrificed in vain, and the truth of Dr. Sun's words pronounced after the First World War will be fully verified.

On the Road to Power – Selected Quotations from Mao Zedong

1. Every Communist must grasp the truth, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."
---"Problems of War and Strategy" (November 6, 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 224.

Classes and Revolution

2. Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution. The basic reason why all previous revolutionary struggles in China achieved so little was their failure to unite with real friends in order to attack real enemies. A revolutionary party is the guide of the masses, and no revolution ever succeeds when the revolutionary party leads them astray. To ensure that we will definitely achieve success in our revolution and will not lead the masses astray, we must pay attention to uniting with our real friends in order to attack our real enemies. To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes towards the revolution.

---"Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society" (March 1926), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 13.

3. Our enemies are all those in league with imperialism - the warlords, the bureaucrats, the comprador class, the big Landlord class and the reactionary section of the intelligentsia attached to them. The leading force in our revolution is the industrial proletariat. Our closest friends are the entire semi-proletariat and petty bourgeoisie. As for the vacillating middle bourgeoisie, their right-wing may become our enemy and their left-wing may become our friend - but we must be constantly on our guard and not let them create confusion within our ranks.

---"Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society" (March 1926), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 19.

4. A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another.

---"Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" (March 1927), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 28.*

5. After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit the gravest mistakes.

---"Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" (March 5, 1949), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 364.

6. The imperialists and domestic reactionaries will certainly not take their defeat lying down and they will struggle to the last ditch. After there is peace and order throughout the country, they will still engage in sabotage and create disturbances in various ways and will try every day and every minute to stage a come-back. This is inevitable and beyond all doubt, and under no

circumstances must we relax our vigilance.

---Opening address at the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (September 21. 1949).

War

7. War is the highest form of struggle for resolving contradictions, when they have developed to a certain stage, between classes, nations, states, or political groups, and it has existed ever since the emergence of private property and of classes.

---"Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" (December 1936), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 180.

8. Revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society, and without them it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes and therefore impossible for the people to win political power.

---"On Contradiction" (August 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 344.

9. Revolutionary war is an antitoxin which not only eliminates the enemy's poison but also purges us of our own filth. Every just, revolutionary war is endowed with tremendous power and can transform many things or clear the way for their transformation. The Sino-Japanese war will transform both China and Japan; provided China perseveres in the War of Resistance and in the united front, the old Japan will surely be transformed into a new Japan and the old China into a new China, and people and everything else in both China and Japan will be transformed during and after the war.

---"On Protracted War" (May 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 131.

10. Without armed struggle neither the proletariat, nor the people, nor the Communist Party would have any standing at all in China and it would be impossible for the revolution to triumph. In these years [the eighteen years since the founding of the Party] the development, consolidation and bolshevization of our Party have proceeded in the midst of revolutionary wars; without armed struggle the Communist Party would assuredly not be what it is today. Comrades throughout the Party must never forget this experience for which we have paid in blood.

---"Introducing The Communist" (October 4, 1939), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 292.

11. The Three Main Rules of Discipline are as follows:

- (1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- (2) Do not take a single needle or a piece of thread from the masses.
- (3) Turn in everything captured.

The Eight Points for Attention are as follows:

- (1) Speak politely.
- (2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
- (3) Return everything you borrow.
- (4) Pay for anything you damage.
- (5) Do not hit or swear at people.
- (6) Do not damage crops.

(7) Do not take liberties with women.

(8) Do not ill-treat captives.

---"On the Reissue of the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention - Instruction of the General Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army" (October 10, 1947), Selected Military Writings, 2nd ed., p. 343.

Imperialists

12. We the Chinese nation have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood, the determination to recover our lost territory by our own efforts, and the ability to stand on our own feet in the family of nations.

---"On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism" (December 27, 1935), Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 170.

13. All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.

---"Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong" (August 1946), Selected Works, Vol. IV, p. 100.

14. The imperialists and their running dogs, the Chinese reactionaries, will not resign themselves to defeat in this land of China. They will continue to gang up against the Chinese people in every possible way. For example, they will smuggle their agents into China to sow dissension and make trouble. That is certain; they will never neglect these activities. To take another example, the imperialists will incite the Chinese reactionaries, and even throw in their own forces, to blockade China's ports. They will do this as long as it is possible. Furthermore, if they still hanker after adventures, they will send some of their troops to invade and harass China's frontiers; this, too, is not impossible. All this we must take fully into account.

---"Address to the Preparatory Committee of the New Political Consultative Conference" (June 15, 1949), Selected Works, Vol. IV, p. 407.

Communist Party

15. We must affirm anew the discipline of the Party, namely:

- (1) the individual is subordinate to the organization;
- (2) the minority is subordinate to the majority;
- (3) the lower level is subordinate to the higher level; and
- (4) the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee.

Whoever violates these articles of discipline disrupts Party unity.

---"The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War" (October 1938), Selected Works, Vol. II, pp. 203-04.

16. No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and a knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement.

---"The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War" (October 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 208.

17. Without the efforts of the Chinese Communist Party, without the Chinese Communists as the mainstay of the Chinese people, China can never achieve independence and liberation, or industrialization and the modernization of her agriculture.

---"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 318.*

18. If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs.

---"Revolutionary Forces of the World Unite, Fight Against Imperialist Aggression!" (November 1948), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 284.*

19. A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party - these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy.

---"On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" (June 30, 1949), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 422.

Society

20. A man in China is usually subjected to the domination of three systems of authority [political authority, clan authority and religious authority].... As for women, in addition to being dominated by these three systems of authority, they are also dominated by the men (the authority of the husband). These four authorities - political, clan, religious and masculine - are the embodiment of the whole feudal-patriarchal ideology and system, and are the four thick ropes binding the Chinese people, particularly the peasants. How the peasants have overthrown the political authority of the landlords in the countryside has been described above. The political authority of the landlords is the backbone of all the other systems of authority. With that overturned, the clan authority, the religious authority and the authority of the husband all begin to totter.... As to the authority of the husband, this has always been weaker among the poor peasants because, out of economic necessity, their womenfolk have to do more manual labour than the women of the richer classes and therefore have more say and greater power of decision in family matters. With the increasing bankruptcy of the rural economy in recent years, the basis for men's domination over women has already been undermined. With the rise of the peasant movement, the women in many places have now begun to organize rural women's associations; the opportunity has come for them to lift up their heads, and the authority of the husband is getting shakier every day. In a word, the whole feudal-patriarchal ideology and system is tottering with the growth of the peasants' power.

---"Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" (March 1927), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 44-46.

21. How should we judge whether a youth is a revolutionary? How can we tell? There can only be one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice. If he is willing to do so and actually does so, he is a revolutionary; otherwise he is a nonrevolutionary or a counter-revolutionary. If today he integrates himself with the masses of workers and peasants, then today he is a revolutionary; if tomorrow he ceases to do so or turns round to oppress the common people, then he becomes a nonrevolutionary or a counter-revolutionary.

---"The Orientation of the Youth Movement" (May 4, 1939), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 246.

22. To criticize the people's shortcomings is necessary, . . . but in doing so we must truly take the stand of the people and speak out of whole-hearted eagerness to protect and educate them. To treat comrades like enemies is to go over to the stand of the enemy.

---"Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" (May 1942), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 92.

Learning

23. Reading is learning, but applying is also learning and the more important kind of learning at that. Our chief method is to learn warfare through warfare. A person who has had no opportunity to go to school can also learn warfare - he can learn through fighting in war. A revolutionary war is a mass undertaking; it is often not a matter of first learning and then doing, but of doing and then learning, for doing is itself learning.

---"Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" (December 1936), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 189-90.

24. Complacency is the enemy of study. We cannot really learn anything until we rid ourselves of complacency. Our attitude towards ourselves should be "to be insatiable in learning" and towards others "to be tireless in teaching".

---"The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War" (October 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 210.

Culture and Art

25. In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics. Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause; they are, as Lenin said, cogs and wheels in the whole revolutionary machine.

--- "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" (May 1942), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 86.*

26. Revolutionary culture is a powerful revolutionary weapon for the broad masses of the people. It prepares the ground ideologically before the revolution comes and is an important, indeed essential, fighting front in the general revolutionary front during the revolution.

--- "On New Democracy" (January 1940), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 382.

All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use.

---"Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" (May 1942), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 84.*

27. Our literary and art workers must accomplish this task and shift their stand; they must gradually move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat, through the process of going into their very midst and into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying Marxism and society. Only in this way can we have a literature and art that are truly for the workers, peasants and soldiers, a truly proletarian literature and art.

---"Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" (May 1942), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 78.

28. [Our purpose is] to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind.

-----"Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" (May 1942), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 70.

29. In literary and art criticism there are two criteria, the political and the artistic....

There is the political criterion and there is the artistic criterion; what is the relationship between the two? Politics cannot be equated with art, nor can a general world outlook be equated with a method of artistic creation and criticism. We deny not only that there is an abstract and absolutely unchangeable political criterion, but also that there is an abstract and absolutely unchangeable artistic criterion; each class in every class society has its own political and artistic criteria. But all classes in all class societies invariably put the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second.... What we demand is the unity of politics and art, the unity of content and form, the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form. Works of art which lack artistic quality have no force, however progressive they are politically. Therefore, we oppose both works of art with a wrong political viewpoint and the tendency towards the "poster and slogan style" which is correct in political viewpoint but lacking in artistic power. On questions of literature and art we must carry on a struggle on two fronts.

-----"Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" (May 1942), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 88-90.

30. An army without culture is a dull-witted army, and a dull-witted army cannot defeat the enemy.

---"The United Front in Cultural Work" (October 30, 1944), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 235.