

# 毛主席语录

QUOTATIONS FROM  
CHAIRMAN  
MAO TSE-TUNG



全世界无产者，联合起来！

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES,  
UNITE!

# 毛主席语录

QUOTATIONS FROM  
CHAIRMAN  
MAO TSE-TUNG

(汉英对照)



东方红出版社



讀毛主席著作

如听毛主席的话

照毛主席的指示

如志

林声

毛泽东博览网站编辑制作  
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## 再 版 前 言

毛泽东同志是当代最伟大的马克思列宁主义者。毛泽东同志天才地、创造性地、全面地继承、捍卫和发展了马克思列宁主义，把马克思列宁主义提高到一个崭新的阶段。

毛泽东思想是在帝国主义走向全面崩溃，社会主义走向全世界胜利的时代的马克思列宁主义。毛泽东思想是反对帝国主义的强大的思想武器，是反对修正主义和教条主义的强大的思想武器。毛泽东思想是全党、全军和全国一切工作的指导方针。

因此，永远高举毛泽东思想伟大红



## FOREWORD TO THE SECOND EDITION

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. He has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively and has brought it to a higher and completely new stage.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory. It is a powerful ideological weapon for opposing imperialism and for opposing revisionism and dogmatism. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guiding principle for all the work of the Party, the army and the country.

Therefore, the most fundamental task in our Party's political and ideological work is at all times to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, to arm the minds of the people throughout the country with it

旗，用毛泽东思想武装全国人民的头脑，坚持在一切工作中用毛泽东思想挂帅，是我党政治思想工作最根本的任务。广大工农兵群众、广大革命干部和广大知识分子，都必须把毛泽东思想真正学到手，做到人人读毛主席的书，听毛主席的话，照毛主席的指示办事，做毛主席的好战士。

学习毛主席著作，要带着问题学，活学活用，学用结合，急用先学，立竿见影，在“用”字上狠下功夫。为了把毛泽东思想真正学到手，要反复学习毛主席的许多基本观点，有些警句最好要背熟，反复学习，反复运用。在报纸上，要经常结合实际，刊登毛主席的语录，供大家学习和运用。几年来广大群众活学活用毛主席著作的经验，证明带着问题选学毛主席的语录，

and to persist in using it to and soldiers and the broad ranks of the revolutionary cadres and the intellectuals should really master Mao Tse-tung's thought; they should all study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions and be his good fighters.

In studying the works of Chairman Mao, one should have specific problems in mind, study and apply his works in a creative way, combine study with application, first study what must be urgently applied so as to get quick results, and strive hard to apply what one is studying. In order really to master Mao Tse-tung's thought, it is essential to study many of Chairman Mao's basic concepts over and over again, and it is best to memorize important statements and study and apply them repeatedly. The newspapers should regularly carry quotations from Chairman Mao relevant to current issues for readers to study and apply. The experience of the broad masses in their creative study

是一种学习毛泽东思想的好方法，容易收到立竿见影的效果。

为了帮助广大群众更好地学习毛泽东思想，我们选编了这本《毛主席语录》。各单位在组织学习的时候，应当结合形势、任务、群众的思想情况和工作情况，选学有关的内容。

现在我们伟大的祖国，正在出现一个工农兵掌握马克思列宁主义、毛泽东思想的新时代。毛泽东思想为广大群众所掌握，就会变成无穷无尽的力量，变成威力无比的精神原子弹。《毛主席语录》的大量出版，对广大群众掌握毛泽东思想，推动我国人民思想革命化，是一个极为重要的措施。希望每个同志认真地、刻苦地学习，在全国范围内，掀起活学活用

and application of Chairman Mao's works in the last few years has proved that to study selected quotations from Chairman Mao with specific problems in mind is a good way to learn Mao Tse-tung's thought, a method conducive to quick results.

We have compiled Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung in order to help the broad masses learn Mao Tse-tung's thought more effectively. In organizing their study, units should select passages that are relevant to the situation, their tasks, the current thinking of their personnel, and the state of their work.

In our great motherland, a new era is emerging in which the workers, peasants and soldiers are grasping Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. Once Mao Tse-tung's thought is grasped by the broad masses, it becomes an inexhaustible source of strength and a spiritual atom bomb of infinite power. The large-scale publication of Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung

毛主席著作的新高潮，在毛泽东思想的伟大红旗下，为把我国建设成为一个具有现代农业，现代工业，现代科学文化和现代国防的伟大社会主义国家而奋斗！

林彪

一九六六年十二月十六日

is a vital measure for enabling the broad masses to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought and for promoting the revolutionization of our people's thinking. It is our hope that all comrades will learn earnestly and diligently, bring about a new nation-wide high tide in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and, under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, strive to build our country into a great socialist state with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern science and culture and modern national defence!

**Lin Piao**

December 26, 1966

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Unless otherwise stated, the Page number given for the source of a quotation refers to the first English edition of the book or pamphlet cited as Published by the Foreign Languages Press, Peking.

In cases where a word or phrase linked to the preceding text has been omitted in the opening sentence of the quotation, an asterisk is placed after the source. This is also done in a number of places where the English rendering has been reworded to make up for omission of context or to improve the translation.

*Translator*

# 毛主席语录

QUOTATIONS FROM  
CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

# 一、共产党

领导我们事业的核心力量是中国共产党。

指导我们思想的理论基础是马克思列宁主义。

中华人民共和国第一届全国人民代表大会第一次会议开幕词（一九五四年九月十五日），一九五四年九月十六日《人民日报》

既要革命，就要有一个革命党。没有一个革命的党，没有一个按照马克思列宁主义的革命理论和革命风格建立起来的革命党，就不可能领导工人阶级和广大人民群众战胜帝国主义及其走狗。

《全世界革命力量团结起来，反对帝国主义的侵略》（一九四八年十一月），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一三六零页

毛泽东博览  
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# 1. THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party.

The theoretical basis guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism.

Opening address at the First Session of the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China (September 15, 1954)

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.\*

毛泽东博览  
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没有中国共产党的努力，没有中国共产党人做中国人民的中流砥柱，中国的独立和解放是不可能的，中国的工业化和农业近代化也是不可能的。

《论联合政府》（一九四五年四月二十四日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零九八-一零九九页

中国共产党是全中国人民的领导核心。没有这样一个核心，社会主义事业就不能胜利。

在接见出席中国新民主主义青年团第三次全国代表大会的全体代表时的讲话（一九五七年五月二十五日），《新华半月刊》一九五七年第十二号第五七页

一个有纪律的，有马克思列宁主义的理论武装的，采取自我批评方法的，联系人民群众的党。一个由这样的党领导的军队。一个由这样的党领导的各革命阶级各革命派别的统一战线。这三件是我们战胜

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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.\*

The Chinese Communist Party is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. Without this core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious.

"Talk at the general reception for the delegates to the Third National Congress of the New Democratic Youth League of China" (May 25, 1957).

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

敌人的主要武器。

《论人民民主专政》（一九四九年六月三十日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四八四页。

我们应当相信群众，我们应当相信党，这是两条根本的原理。如果怀疑这两条原理，那就什么事情也做不成了。

《关于农业合作化问题》（一九五五年七月三十一日），人民出版社第九页。

以马克思列宁主义的理论思想武装起来的中国共产党，在中国人民中产生了新的工作作风，这主要的就是理论和实践相结合的作风，和人民群众紧密地联系在一起的作风以及自我批评的作风。

《论联合政府》（一九四五年四月二十四日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零九四—一零九五页。

指导一个伟大的革命运动的政党，如果没有革命理论，没有历史知识，没有对

weapons with which we have defeated the enemy.

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

We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles. If we doubt these principles, we shall accomplish nothing.

"*On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation*" (July 31, 1955), 3rd ed., p. 7.\*

Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory and ideology, the Communist Party of China has brought a new style of work to the Chinese people, a style of work which essentially entails integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practising self-criticism.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 314.\*

No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and

于实际运动的深刻的了解，要取得胜利是不可能的。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》

（一九三八年十月），《毛泽东选集》

第二卷第五二一页。

我们过去说过，整风运动是一个“普遍的马克思主义的教育运动”。整风就是全党通过批评和自我批评来学习马克思主义。在整风中间，我们一定可以更多地学到一些马克思主义。

《在中国共产党全国宣传工作会议上的讲话》（一九五七年三月十二日），人民出版社版第一一页。

要使几亿人口的中国人生活得好，要把我们这个经济落后、文化落后的国家，建设成为富裕的、强盛的、具有高度文化的国家，这是一个很艰巨的任务。我们所

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.

As we used to say, the rectification movement is "a widespread movement of Marxist education". Rectification means the whole Party studying Marxism through criticism and self-criticism. We can certainly learn more about Marxism in the course of the rectification movement.

*Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work* (March 12, 1957), 1st pocket ed., p. 14.

It is an arduous task to ensure a better life for the several hundred million people of China and to build our economically and culturally backward country into a prosperous and powerful one with a high level of culture. And it is precisely in order to be able to shoulder this task more competently and work better together with all non-Party people who are actuated by

以要整风，现在要整风，将来还要整风，要不断地把我们身上的错误东西整掉，就是为了使我们能够更好地担负起这项任务，更好地同党外的一切立志改革的志士仁人共同工作。

《在中国共产党全国宣传工作会议上的讲话》（一九五七年三月十二日），人民出版社版第一二页。

政策是革命政党一切实际行动的出发点，并且表现于行动的过程和归宿。一个革命政党的任何行动都是实行政策。不是实行正确的政策，就是实行错误的政策；不是自觉地，就是盲目地实行某种政策。所谓经验，就是实行政策的过程和归宿。政策必须在人民实践中，也就是经验中，才能证明其正确与否，才能确定其正确和错误的程度。但是，人们的实践，特别是革命政党和革命群众的实践，没有不

high ideals and determined to institute reforms that we must conduct rectification movements both now and in the future, and constantly rid ourselves of whatever is wrong.

*Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.\*

Policy is the starting-point of all the practical actions of a revolutionary party and manifests itself in the process and the end-result of that party's actions. A revolutionary party is carrying out a policy whenever it takes any action. If it is not carrying out a correct policy, it is carrying out a wrong policy; if it is not carrying out a given policy consciously, it is doing so blindly. What we call experience is the process and the end-result of carrying out a policy. Only through the practice of the people, that is, through experience, can we verify whether a policy is correct or wrong and determine to what extent it is correct or wrong. But people's practice, especially the practice of a revolutionary party and the revolutionary masses, cannot but be bound

同这种或那种政策相联系的。因此，在每一行动之前，必须向党员和群众讲明我们按情况规定的政策。否则，党员和群众就会脱离我们政策的领导而盲目行动，执行错误的政策。

《关于工商业政策》（一九四八年二月二十七日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一二八四页。

我党规定了中国革命的总路线和总政策，又规定了各项具体的工作路线和各项具体的政策。但是，许多同志往往记住了我党的具体的个别的工作路线和政策，忘记了我党的总路线和总政策。而如果真正忘记了我党的总路线和总政策，我们就将是一个盲目的不完全的不清醒的革命者，在我们执行具体工作路线和具体政策的时候，就会迷失方向，就会左右摇摆，

up with one policy or another. Therefore, before any action is taken, we must explain the policy, which we have formulated in the light of the given circumstances, to Party members and to the masses. Otherwise, Party members and the masses will depart from the guidance of our policy, act blindly and carry out a wrong policy.

"On the Policy Concerning Industry and Commerce" (February 27, 1948),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. IV. pp. 204-05.\*

Our Party has laid down the general line and general policy of the Chinese revolution as well as various specific lines for work and specific policies. However, while many comrades remember our Party's specific lines for work and specific policies, they often forget its general line and general policy. If we actually forget the Party's general line and general policy, then we shall be blind, half-baked, muddle-headed revolutionaries, and when we carry out a specific line for work and a specific policy,

就会贻误我们的工作。

《在晋绥干部会议上的讲话》（一九四八年四月一日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一三三四页。

政策和策略是党的生命，各级领导同志务必充分注意，万万不可粗心大意。

《关于情况的通报》（一九四八年三月二十日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一二九六页。

we shall lose our bearings and vacillate now to the left and now to the right, and the work will suffer.

"Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area" (April 1, 1948), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 238.\*

Policy and tactics are the life of the Party; leading comrades at all levels must give them full attention and must never on any account be negligent.

"A Circular on the Situation" (March 20, 1948), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 220.

## 二、阶级和阶级斗争

阶级斗争，一些阶级胜利了，一些阶级消灭了。这就是历史，这就是几千年的文明史。拿这个观点解释历史的就叫做历史的唯物主义，站在这个观点的反面的是历史的唯心主义。

《丢掉幻想，准备斗争》（一九四九年八月十四日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四九一页

在阶级社会中，每一个人都在一定的阶级地位中生活，各种思想无不打上阶级的烙印。

《实践论》（一九三七年七月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第二七二页

社会的变化，主要地是由于社会内部矛盾的发展，  
即生产力和生产关系的矛盾。

毛泽东博览  
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## II. CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE

Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years. To interpret history from this viewpoint is historical materialism; standing in opposition to this viewpoint is historical idealism.

"Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle" (August 14, 1949), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 428.

In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class.

"On Practice" (July 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 296.

Changes in society are due chiefly to the development of the internal contradictions in society, that is, the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of

盾，阶级之间的矛盾，新旧之间的矛盾，由于这些矛盾的发展，推动了社会的前进，推动了新旧社会的代谢。

《矛盾论》（一九三七年八月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第二九零页

地主阶级对于农民的残酷的经济剥削和政治压迫，迫使农民多次地举行起义，以反抗地主阶级的统治。……在中国封建社会里，只有这种农民的阶级斗争、农民的起义和农民的战争，才是历史发展的真正动力。

《中国革命和中国共产党》（一九三九年十二月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第六一九页

民族斗争，说到底，是一个阶级斗争问题。在美国压迫黑人的，只是白色人种

production, the contradiction between classes and the contradiction between the old and the new; it is the development of these contradictions that pushes society forward and gives the impetus for the supersession of the old society by the new.

"On Contradiction" (August 1937),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. I, P. 314.

The ruthless economic exploitation and political oppression of the peasants by the landlord class forced them into numerous uprisings against its rule.... It was the class struggles of the peasants, the peasant uprisings and peasant wars that constituted the real motive force of historical development in Chinese feudal society.

"The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party" (December 1939),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 308.\*

In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle. Among the whites in the United States it is only the reactionary ruling circles who oppress the black people.

中的反动统治集团。他们绝不能代表白色人种中占绝大多数的工人、农民、革命的知识分子和其他开明人士。

《支持美国黑人反对美帝国主义种族歧视的正义斗争的声明》（一九六三年八月八日），《全世界人民团结起来打败美国侵略者及其一切走狗》人民出版社版第四页

人民靠我们去组织。中国的反动分子，靠我们组织起人民去反他打倒。凡是反动的东西，你不打，他就不倒。这也和扫地一样，扫帚不到，灰尘照例不会自己跑掉。

《抗日战争胜利后的时局和我们 的方针》（一九四五年八月十三日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一一三一页

They can in no way represent the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals and other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the white people.

"Statement Supporting the American Negroes in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism" (August 8, 1963), *People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Lackeys*, 2nd ed., pp. 3-4.\*

It is up to us to organize the people. As for the reactionaries in China, it is up to us to organize the people to overthrow them. Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself.

"The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan" (August 13, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p.19.

敌人是不会自行消灭的。无论是中国的反动派，或是美国帝国主义在中国的侵略势力，都不会自行退出历史舞台。

《将革命进行到底》（一九四八年十二月三十日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一三七九页

革命不是请客吃饭，不是做文章，不是绘画绣花，不能那样雅致，那样从容不迫，文质彬彬，那样温良恭俭让。革命是暴动，是一个阶级推翻一个阶级的暴烈的行动。

《湖南农民运动考察报告》（一九二七年三月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第一八页

蒋介石对于人民是寸权必夺，寸利必得。我们呢？我们的方针是针锋相对，寸土必争。我们是按照蒋介石的办法办事。蒋介石总是要强迫人民接受战争，他左手拿着刀，右手也拿着刀。我们就按照他的

The enemy will not perish of himself. Neither the Chinese reactionaries nor the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism in China will step down from the stage of history of their own accord.

"Carry the Revolution Through to the End" (December 30, 1948), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 301

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.\*

Chiang Kai-shek always tries to wrest every ounce of power and every ounce of gain from the people. And we? Our policy is to give him tit for tat and to fight for every inch of land. We act after his fashion. He always tries to impose war on the people, one sword in his left hand and another in his

办法，也拿起刀来。……现在蒋介石已经在磨刀了，因此，我们也要磨刀。

《抗日战争胜利后的时局和我们的方针》（一九四五年八月十三日），

《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一一二六

——一一二七页

谁是我们的敌人？谁是我们的朋友？这个问题是革命的首要问题。中国过去一切革命斗争成效甚少，其基本原因就是因为在不能团结真正的朋友，以攻击真正的敌人。革命党是群众的向导，在革命中未有革命党领错了路而革命不失败的。我们的革命要有不领错路和一定成功的把握，不可不注意团结我们的真正的朋友，以攻击我们的真正的敌人。我们要分辨真正的敌友，不可不将中国社会各阶级的经济地位及其对于革命的态度，作一个大概

right. We take up swords, too, following his example... As Chiang Kai-shek is now sharpening his swords, we must sharpen ours too.

"The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan" (August 13, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, pp. 14-15.

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

的分析。

《中国社会各阶级的分析》（一九二六年三月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第三页

一切勾结帝国主义的军阀、官僚、买办阶级、大地主阶级以及附属于他们的一部分反动知识界，是我们的敌人。工业无产阶级是我们革命的领导力量。一切半无产阶级、小资产阶级，是我们最接近的朋友。那动摇不定的中产阶级，其右翼可能是我们的敌人，其左翼可能是我们的朋友——但我们要时常提防他们，不要让他们扰乱了我们的阵线。

《中国社会各阶级的分析》（一九二六年三月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第八一—第九页

什么人站在革命人民方面，他就是革命派，什么人站在帝国主义封建主义官僚资本主义方面，他就是反革命派。什么人只是口头上站在革命人民方面而在行动

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.

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.

*Ibid.*, p. 19.\*

Whoever sides with the revolutionary people is a revolutionary. Whoever sides with imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism is a counter-revolutionary. Whoever sides with the

上则另是一样，他就是一个人头革命派，如果不但在口头上而且在行动上也站在革命人民方面，他就是一个完全的革命派。

在中国人民政治协商会议第一届全国委员会第二次会议上的闭幕词（一九五零年六月二十三日），一九五零年六月二十四日《人民日报》

我认为，对我们来说，一个人，一个党，一个军队，或者一个学校，如若不被敌人反对，那就不好了那一定是同敌人同流合污了。如若被敌人反对，那就好了，那就证明我们同敌人划清界线了。如若敌人起劲地反对我们，把我们说得一塌糊涂，一无是处，那就更好了，那就证明我们不但同敌人划清了界线，而且证明我们的工作是很有成绩的了。

《被敌人反对是好事而不是坏事》（一九三九年五月二十六日），人民出版社

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revolutionary. Whoever sides with the revolutionary people in words only but acts otherwise is a revolutionary in speech. Whoever sides with the revolutionary people in deed as well as in word is a revolutionary in the full sense.

"Closing speech at the Second Session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" (June 23, 1950).

I hold that it is bad as far as we are concerned if a person, a political party, an army or a school is not attacked by the enemy, for in that case it would definitely mean that we have sunk to the level of the enemy. It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work..

*"To Be Attacked by the Enemy Is Not a Bad Thing but a Good Thing"* (May 26, 1939), 1st pocket ed., p. 2.\*

凡是敌人反对的，我们就要拥护；凡是敌人拥护的，我们就要反对。

《和中央社、扫荡报、新民报三记者的谈话》（一九三九年九月十六日），

《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五八零页

我们是站在无产阶级的和人民大众的立场。对于共产党员来说，也就是要站在党的立场，站在党性和党的政策的立场。

《在延安文艺座谈会上的讲话（一九四二年五月），〈毛泽东选集〉第三卷第八五零页

在拿枪的敌人被消灭以后，不拿枪的敌人依然存在，他们必然地要和我们作拚死的斗争，我们决不可以轻视这些敌人。如果我们现在不是这样地提出问题 and 认识问题，我们就要犯极大的错误。

《在中国共产党第七届中央委员会第二次全体会议上的报告》（一九四九年三月五日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一

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We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports.

"Interview with Three Correspondents from the Central News Agency, the Sao Tang Pao and the Hsin Min Pao" (September 16, 1939), Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 272.

Our stand is that of the proletariat and of the masses. For members of the Communist Party, this means keeping to the stand of the Party, keeping to Party spirit and Party policy.

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

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.

帝国主义者和国内反动派决不甘心于他们的失败，他们还要作最后的挣扎。在全国平定以后，他们也还会以各种方式从事破坏和捣乱，他们将每日每时企图在中国复辟。这是必然的，毫无疑义的，我们务必不要松懈自己的警惕性。

在中国人民政治协商会议第一届全体会议上的开幕词（一九四九年九月二十一日），一九四九年九月二十二日《人民日报》

在我国，虽然社会主义改造，在所有制方面说来，已经基本完成，革命时期的大规模的急风暴雨式的群众阶级斗争已经基本结束，但是，被推翻的地主买办阶级的残余还是存在，资产阶级还是存在，小资产阶级刚刚在改造。阶级斗争并没有结束。无产阶级和资产阶级之间的阶级斗

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).

In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership, and although the large-scale and turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of the previous revolutionary periods have in the main come to an end, there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. The class struggle is by no

阶级和资产阶级之间在意识形态方面的阶级斗争，还是长时期的，曲折的，有时甚至是很激烈的。无产阶级要按照自己的世界观改造世界，资产阶级也要按照自己的世界观改造世界。在这一方面，社会主义和资本主义之间谁胜谁负的问题还没有真正解决。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出版社版第二六——二七页

我国社会主义和资本主义之间在意识形态方面的谁胜谁负的斗争，还需要一个相当长的时间才能解决。这是因为资产阶级和从旧社会来的知识分子的影响还要在我国长期存在，作为阶级的意识形态，还要在我国长期存在。如果对于这种

means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological held between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled.

*"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"* (February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., pp. 51-52

It will take a fairly long period of time to decide the issue in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country. The reason is that the influence of the bourgeoisie and of the intellectuals who come from the old society will remain in our country for a long time to come, and so will their class ideology. If this is not sufficiently

形势认识不足，或者根本不认识，那就要犯绝大的错误，就会忽视必要的思想斗争。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出版社  
社版第二七页

在我国，资产阶级和小资产阶级的思想，反马克思主义的思想，还会长期存在。社会主义制度在我国已经基本建立。我们已经在生产资料所有制的改造方面，取得了基本胜利，但是在政治战线和思想战线方面，我们还没有完全取得胜利。无产阶级和资产阶级之间在意识形态方面的谁胜谁负问题，还没有真正解决。我们同资产阶级和小资产阶级的思想还要进行长期的斗争。不了解这种情况，放弃思想斗争，那就是错误的。凡是错误的思想，凡是毒草，凡是牛鬼蛇神，都应该进行批判，决不能让它们自由泛滥。但是，这种批判，

understood, or is not understood at all, the gravest mistakes will be made and the necessity of waging the struggle in the ideological field will be ignored.

*Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

In our country bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, anti-Marxist ideology, will continue to exist for a long time. Basically, the socialist system has been established in our country. We have won the basic victory in transforming the ownership of the means of production, but we have not yet won complete victory on the political and ideological fronts. In the ideological field, the question of who will win in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has not been really settled yet. We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. It is wrong not to understand this and to give up ideological struggle. All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be

应该是充分说理的，有分析的，有说服力的，而不应该是粗暴的、官僚主义的，或者是形而上学的、教条主义的。

《在中国共产党全国宣传工作会议上的讲话》（一九五七年三月十二日），人民出版社版第一九一一二零页

教条主义和修正主义都是违反马克思主义的。马克思主义一定要向前发展，要随着实践的发展而发展，不能停滞不前。停止了，老是那么一套，它就没有生命了。但是，马克思主义的基本原则又是不能违背的，违背了就要犯错误。用形而上学的观点来看待马克思主义，把它看成僵死的东西，这是教条主义。否定马克思主义的基本原则，否定马克思主义的普遍真理，这就是修正主义。修正主义是一种资产阶级思想。修正主义者抹杀社会主义和资本主义的区别，抹杀无产阶级专政和

allowed to spread unchecked. However, the criticism should be fully reasoned, analytical and convincing, and not rough, bureaucratic, metaphysical or dogmatic.

*"Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work"* (March 12, 1957), 1st pocket ed., pp. 26-27.\*

Both dogmatism and revisionism run counter to Marxism. Marxism must certainly advance; it must develop along with the development of practice and cannot stand still. It would become lifeless if it remained stagnant and stereotyped. However, the basic principles of Marxism must never be violated, or otherwise mistakes will be made. It is dogmatism to approach Marxism from a metaphysical point of view and to regard it as something rigid. It is revisionism to negate the basic principles of Marxism and to negate its universal truth. Revisionism is one form of bourgeois ideology. The revisionists deny the differences between socialism and capitalism, between the

资产阶级专政的区别。他们所主张的，在实际上并不是社会主义路线，而是资本主义路线。在现在的情况下，修正主义的比教条主义更有害的东西。我们现在思想战线上的一个重要任务，就是要开展对于修正主义的批判。

《在中国共产党全国宣传工作会议上的讲话》（一九五七年三月十二日），人民出版社版第二零一—二十一页

修正主义，或者右倾机会主义，是一种资产阶级思潮，它比教条主义有更大的危险性。修正主义者，右倾机会主义者，口头上也挂着马克思主义，他们也在那里攻击“教条主义”。但是他们所攻击的正是马克思主义的最根本的东西。他们反对或者歪曲唯物论和辩证法，反对或者企图削弱人民民主专政和共产党的领导，反对或者企图削弱社会主义改造和社会主义

dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What they advocate is in fact not the socialist line but the capitalist line. In present circumstances, revisionism is more pernicious than dogmatism. One of our current important tasks on the ideological front is to unfold criticism of revisionism.

*Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

Revisionism, or Right opportunism, is a bourgeois trend of thought that is even more dangerous than dogmatism. The revisionists, the Right opportunists, pay lipservice to Marxism; they too attack "dogmatism". But what they are really attacking is the quintessence of Marxism. They oppose or distort materialism and dialectics, oppose or try to weaken the people's democratic dictatorship and the leading role of the Communist Party, and oppose or try to weaken socialist transformation and socialist construction. After the basic victory of the

建设。在我国社会主义革命取得基本胜利以后，社会上还有一部分人梦想恢复资本主义制度，他们要从各个方面向工人阶级进行斗争，包括思想方面的斗争。而在这个斗争中，修正主义者就是他们最好的助手。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出版社  
第二九——三零页

socialist revolution in our country, there are still a number of people who vainly hope to restore the capitalist system and fight the working class on every front, including the ideological one. And their right-hand men in this struggle are the revisionists.

*"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"* (February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., pp. 56-57.

### 三、社会主义和共产主义

共产主义是无产阶级的整个思想体系，同时又是一种新的社会制度。这种思想体系和社会制度，是区别于任何别的思想体系和任何别的社会制度的，是自有人类历史以来，最完全最进步最革命最合理的。封建主义的思想体系和社会制度，是进了历史博物馆的东西了。资本主义的思想体系和社会制度，已有一部分进了博物馆（在苏联）；其余部分，也已“日薄西山，气息奄奄，人命危浅，朝不虑夕”，快进博物馆了。惟独共产主义的思想体系和社会制度，正以排山倒海之势，雷霆万钧之力，磅礴于全世界，而葆其美妙之青春。

《新民主主义论》（一九四零年一月），  
《毛泽东选集》第二卷第六七九页

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### 3. SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

Communism is at once a complete system of proletarian ideology and a new social system. It is different from any other ideological and social system, and is the most complete, progressive, revolutionary and rational system in human history. The ideological and social system of feudalism has a place only in the museum of history. The ideological and social system of capitalism has also become a museum piece in one part of the world (in the Soviet Union), while in other countries it resembles "a dying person who is sinking fast, like the sun setting beyond the western hills", and will soon be relegated to the museum. The communist ideological and social system alone is full of youth and vitality, sweeping the world with the momentum of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt.

"On New Democracy" (January 1940),

*Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 360-61.\*



社会主义制度终究要代替资本主义制度，这是一个不以人们自己的意志为转移的客观规律。不管反动派怎样企图阻止历史车轮的前进，革命或迟或早总会发生，并且将必然取得胜利。

《在苏联最高苏维埃庆祝伟大的十月社会主义革命四十周年会议上的讲话》  
(一九五七年十一月六日)，人民出版社版第五页

我们共产党人从来不隐瞒自己的政治主张。我们的将来纲领或最高纲领，是要将中国推进到社会主义社会和共产主义社会去的，这是确定的和毫无疑义的。我们的党的名称和我们的马克思主义的宇宙观，明确地指明了这个将来的、无限光明的、无限美妙的最高理想。

《论联合政府》(一九四五年四月二十四日)，《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零五九页

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The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph.

"Speech at the Meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution" (November 6, 1957).

We Communists never conceal our political views. Definitely and beyond all doubt, our future or maximum programme is to carry China forward to socialism and communism. Both the name of our Party and our Marxist world outlook unequivocally point to this supreme ideal of the future, a future of incomparable brightness and splendour.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 282.\*

中国共产党领导的整个中国革命运动，是包括民主主义革命和社会主义革命两个阶段在内的全部革命运动；这是两个性质不同的革命过程，只有完成了前一个革命过程才有可能去完成一个革命过程。民主主义革命是社会主义革命的必要准备，社会主义革命是民主主义革命的必然趋势。而一切共产主义者的最后目的，则是在于力争社会主义社会和共产主义社会的最后的完成。

《中国革命和中国共产党》（一九三九年十二月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第六四六页

社会主义革命的目的是为了解放生产力。农业和手工业由个体所有制变为社会主义的集体所有制，私营工商业由资本主义所有制变为社会主义所有制，必然使生产力大大地获得解放。这样就为大大地

Taken as a whole, the Chinese revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party embraces the two stages, i.e., the democratic and the socialist revolutions, which are two essentially different revolutionary processes, and the second process can be carried through only after the first has been completed. The democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the democratic revolution. The ultimate aim for which all communists strive is to bring about a socialist and communist society.

《"The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party" (December 1939), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 330-31.\*

Socialist revolution aims at liberating the productive forces. The change-over from individual to socialist, collective ownership in agriculture and handicrafts and from capitalist to socialist ownership in private industry and commerce is bound to bring about a tremendous liberation of the productive forces. Thus the social conditions

发展工业和农业的生产创造了社会条件。

在最高国务会议上的讲话（一九五六年一月二十五日），一九五六年一月二十六日《人民日报》

我们现在不但正在进行关于社会制度方面的由私有制到公有制的革命，而且正在进行技术方面的由手工业生产到大规模现代化机器生产的革命，而这两种革命是结合在一起的。在农业方面，在我国的条件下（资本主义国家内是使农业资本主义化），则必须先有合作化，然后才能使用大机器。由此可见，我们对于工业和农业、社会主义的工业化和社会主义的农业改造这样两件事，决不可以分割起来和互相孤立起来去看，决不可以只强调一方面，减弱另一方面。

《关于农业合作化问题》（一九五五年七月三十一日），人民出版社版第二三一—二四页

are being created for a tremendous expansion of industrial and agricultural production.

"Speech at the Supreme State Conference" (January 25, 1956).

We are now carrying out a revolution not only in the social system, the change from private to public ownership, but also in technology, the change from handicraft to large-scale modern machine production, and the two revolutions are interconnected. In agriculture, with conditions as they are in our country co-operation must precede the use of big machinery (in capitalist countries agriculture develops in a capitalist way). Therefore we must on no account regard industry and agriculture, socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture as two separate and isolated things, and on no account must we emphasize the one and play down the other.

*"On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation"* (July 51, 1955), 3rd ed., pp. 19-20.

新的社会制度还刚刚建立，还需要有一个巩固的时间。不能认为新制度一旦建立起来就完全巩固了，那是不可能的。需要逐步地巩固。要使它最后巩固起来，必须实现国家的社会主义工业化，坚持经济战线上的社会主义革命，还必须在政治战线和思想战线上，进行经常的、艰苦的社会主义革命斗争和社会主义教育。除了这些以外，还要有各种国际条件的配合。

《在中国共产党全国宣传工作会议上的讲话》（一九五七年三月十二日），人民出版社版第二页

在我国，巩固社会主义制度的斗争，社会主义和资本主义谁战胜谁的斗争，还要经过一个很长的历史时期。但是，我们大家都应该看到，这个社会主义的新制度是一定会巩固起来的。我们一定会建设一

The new social system has only just been established and requires time for its consolidation. It must not be assumed that the new system can be completely consolidated the moment it is established, for that is impossible. It has to be consolidated step by step. To achieve its ultimate consolidation, it is necessary not only to bring about the socialist industrialization of the country and persevere in the socialist revolution on the economic front, but to carry on constant and arduous socialist revolutionary struggles and socialist education on the political and ideological fronts. Moreover, various contributory international factors are required.

*"Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work" (March 12, 1957), 1st pocket ed., p. 2.\**

In China the struggle to consolidate the socialist system, the struggle to decide whether socialism or capitalism will prevail,

个具有现代工业、现代农业和现代科学文化的社会主义国家。

《在中国共产党全国宣传工作会议上的讲话》（一九五七年三月十二日），人民出版社版第二页

对于我们的国家抱着敌对情绪的知识分子，是极少数。这种人不喜欢我们这个无产阶级专政的国家，他们留恋旧社会。一遇机会，他们就会兴风作浪，想要推翻共产党，恢复旧中国。这是是无产阶级和资产阶级两条路线、社会主义和资本主义两条路线中间，顽固地要走后一条路线的人。这后一条路线，在实际上是不能实现的，所以他们实际上是准备投降帝国主义、封建主义和官僚资本主义的人。这种人在政治界、工商界、文化教育界、科学技术界、宗教界里都有，这是一些极端

will still take a long historical period. But we should all realize that the new system of socialism will unquestionably be consolidated. We can assuredly build a socialist state with modern industry, modern agriculture, and modern science and culture.

*Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

The number of intellectuals who are hostile to our state is very small. They do not like our state, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat, and yearn for the old society. Whenever there is an opportunity they will stir up trouble and attempt to overthrow the Communist Party and restore the old China. As between the proletarian and the bourgeois roads, as between the socialist and the capitalist roads, these people stubbornly choose to follow the latter. In fact this road is impossible, and in fact, therefore, they are ready to capitulate to imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Such people are to be found in political circles and in industrial and commercial, cultural and educational, scientific and technological and

反动的人。

《在中国共产党全国宣传工作会议上的讲话》（一九五七年三月十二日），人民出版社版第三页

严重的问题是教育农民。农民的经济是分散的，根据苏联的经验，需要很长的时间和细心的工作，才能做到农业社会化。没有农业社会化，就没有全部的巩固的社会主义。

《论人民民主专政》（一九四九年六月三十日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四八二页

我们必须相信：（1）广大农民是愿意在党的领导下逐步地走上社会主义道路的；（2）党是能够领导农民走上社会主义道路的。这两点是事物的本质和主流。

《关于农业合作化问题》（一九五五年七月三十一日），人民出版社版第二一页

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religious circles, and they are extremely reactionary.

*Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

The serious problem is the education of the peasantry. The peasant economy is scattered, and the socialization of agriculture, judging by the Soviet Union's experience, will require a long time and painstaking work. Without socialization of agriculture, there can be no complete, consolidated socialism.

On the People's Democratic Dictatorship  
(June 30, 1949), Selected Works, Vol.  
IV, p. 419.

We must have faith, first, that the peasant masses are ready to advance step by step along the road of socialism under the leadership of the Party, and second, that the Party is capable of leading the peasants along this road. These two points are the essence of the matter, the main current.

*"On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation"* (July 31, 1955), 3rd ed.,

p. 18.\*

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合作社的领导机关必须建立现有贫农和新下中农在领导机关中的优势，而以老下中农和新老两部分上中农作为辅助力量，才能按照党的政策实现贫农和中农的团结，巩固合作社，发展生产，正确地完成整个农村的社会主义改造。没有这个条件，中农和贫农就不能团结，合作社就不能巩固，生产就不能发展，整个农村的社会主义改造就不能实现。

《长沙县高山乡武塘农业生产合作社是行政机关从中农占优势转变为贫农占优势的》一文的按语（一九五五年），《中国农村的社会主义高潮》中册第八五七页

中农是必须团结，不团结中农是错误的。但是工人阶级和共产党，在农村中，

The leading bodies in co-operatives must establish the dominant position of the poor peasants and the new lower middle peasants in these bodies, with the old lower middle peasants and the upper middle peasants - whether old or new - as the supplementary force. Only thus can unity between the poor and middle peasants be attained, the co-operatives be consolidated, production be expanded and the socialist transformation of the entire countryside be correctly accomplished in accordance with the Party's policy. Otherwise, unity between the middle and poor peasants cannot be attained, the co-operatives cannot be consolidated, production cannot be expanded, and the socialist transformation of the entire countryside cannot be achieved.

Introductory note to "How Control of the Wutang Co-operative Shifted from the Middle to the Poor Peasants" (1955), *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Chinese ed., Vol. II.

It is essential to unite with the middle peasants, and it is wrong not to do so. But on whom must the working class and the

依靠什么人去团结中农，实现整个农村的社会主义改造呢？当然只有贫农。在过去向地主作斗争、实行土地改革的时候是这样，在现在向富农和其他资本主义因素作斗争实行农业的社会主义改造的时候，也是这样。在两个革命时期，中农在开始阶段都是动摇的。等到看清了大势，革命将要胜利的时候，中农才会参加到革命方面来。贫农必须向中农做工作，把中农团结到自己方面来，使革命一天一天地扩大，直到取得最后的胜利。

《福安县发生“中农社”和“贫农社”的教训》一文的按语（一九五五年），  
《中国农村的社会主义高潮》中册第七零一页

Communist Party rely in the countryside in order to unite with the middle peasants and realize the socialist transformation of the entire countryside? Surely on none other than the poor peasants. That was the case when the struggle against the landlords was being waged and the land reform was being carried out, and that is the case today when the struggle against the rich peasants and other capitalist elements is being waged to achieve the socialist transformation of agriculture. In both these revolutionary periods, the middle peasants wavered in the initial stages. It is only after they clearly see the general trend of events and the approaching triumph of the revolution that the middle peasants will come in on the side of the revolution. The poor peasants must work on the middle peasants and win them over, so that the revolution will broaden from day to day until final victory.

Introductory note to "The Lesson of the 'Middle-Peasant Cooperative' and the 'Poor-Peasant Co-operative' in Fuan County" (1955), *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Chinese ed.,

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富裕农民中的资本主义倾向是严重的。只要我们在合作化运动中，乃至以后一个很长的时期内，稍微放松了对于农民的政治工作，资本主义倾向就会泛滥起来。

《必须对资本主义倾向作坚决的斗争》  
一文按语（一九五五年），《中国农村  
的社会主义高潮》上册第三五三页

农业合作化运动，从一开始，就是一种严重的思想和政治的斗争。每一个合作社，不经过这样的一场斗争，就不能创立。一个崭新的社会制度要从旧制度的基础上建立起来，它就必须清除这个基地。反映旧制度的旧思想的残余，总是长期地留在人们的头脑里，不愿意轻易地退走的。合作社建立以后，还必须经过许多的

There is a serious tendency towards capitalism among the well-to-do peasants. This tendency will become rampant if we in the slightest way neglect political work among the peasants during the co-operative movement and for a very long period after.

Introductory note to "A Resolute Struggle Must Be Waged Against the Tendency Towards Capitalism" (1955), *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Chinese ed., Vol. I.

The agricultural co-operative movement has been a severe ideological and political struggle from the very beginning. No cooperative can be established without going through such a struggle. Before a brand-new social system can be built on the site of the old, the site must be swept clean. Invariably, remnants of old ideas reflecting the old system remain in people's minds for a long time, and they do not easily give way. After a co-operative is established, it must go through many more struggles before it

斗争，才能使自己巩固起来。巩固了以后，只要一松劲，又可能垮台。

《严重的教训》一文的按语（一九五五年），《中国农村的社会主义高潮》上册第一二三五页

在最近几年中间，农村中的资本主义自发势力一天一天地在发展，新富农已经到处出现，许多富裕中农力求把自己变为富农。许多贫农，则因为生产资料不足，仍然处于贫困地位，有些人欠了债，有些人出卖土地，或者出租土地。这种情况如果让它发展下去，农村中向两极分化的现象必然一天一天地严重起来。失去土地的农民和继续处于贫困地位的农民将要埋怨我们，他们将说我们见死不救，不去帮助他们解决困难。向资本主义方向发展的那些富裕中农也将对我们不满，因为我们如果不想走资本主义的道路的话，就永远

can be consolidated. Even then, the moment it relaxes its efforts it may collapse.

Introductory note to "A Serious Lesson" (1955), *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Chinese ed., Vol. I.

The spontaneous forces of capitalism have been steadily growing in the countryside in recent years, with new rich peasants springing up everywhere and many well-to-do middle peasants striving to become rich peasants. On the other hand, many poor peasants are still living in poverty for lack of sufficient means of production, with some in debt and others selling or renting out their land. If this tendency goes unchecked, the polarization in the countryside will inevitably be aggravated day by day. Those peasants who lose their land and those who remain in poverty will complain that we are doing nothing to save them from ruin or to help them overcome their difficulties. Nor will the well-to-do middle peasants who are heading in the capitalist direction be pleased

不能满足这些农民的要求。在这种情况下，工人和农民的同盟能够继续巩固下去吗？显然是不能够的。这个问题，只有在新的基础之上才能获得解决。这就是在逐步地实现社会主义工业化和逐步地实现对于手工业、对于资本主义工商业的社会主义改造的同时，逐步地实现对于整个农业的社会主义的改造，即实行合作化，在农村中消灭富农经济制度和个体经济制度，使全体农村人民共同富裕起来。我们认为只有这样，工人和农民的联盟才能获得巩固。

《关于农业合作化问题》（一九五五年七月三十一日），人民出版社版第三一一—一三二页

……统筹兼顾，是指对于六亿人口的统筹兼顾。我们作计划、办事、想问题，

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with us, for we shall never be able to satisfy their demands unless we intend to take the capitalist road. Can the worker-peasant alliance continue to stand firm in these circumstances ? Obviously not. There is no solution to this problem except on a new basis. And that means to bring about, step by step, the socialist transformation of the whole of agriculture simultaneously with the gradual realization of socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce; in other words, it means to carry out co-operation and eliminate the rich-peasant economy and the individual economy in the countryside so that all the rural people will become increasingly well off together. We maintain that this is the only way to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance.

"On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation" (July 31, 1955), 3rd ed., pp. 26-27.\*

By over-all planning we mean planning which takes into consideration the interests

都要从我国有六亿人口这一点出发，千万不要忘记这一点。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出版社版第二四页

除了党的领导之外，六亿人口是一个决定的因素。人多议论多，热气高，干劲大。从来也没有看见人民群众像现在这样精神振奋，斗志昂扬，意气风发。

《介绍一个合作社》(一九五作年四月十五日)，人民出版社版第一页

除了别的特点之外，中国六亿人口的显著特点是一穷二白。这些看起来是坏事，其实是好事。穷则思变，要干，要革

of the 600 million people of our country. In drawing up plans, handling affairs or thinking over problems, we must proceed from the fact that China has a population of 600 million people, and we must never forget this fact.

*"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"* (February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed. p. 47.

In addition to the leadership of the Party, a decisive factor is our population of 600 million. More people mean a greater ferment of ideas, more enthusiasm and more energy. Never before have the masses of the people been so inspired, so militant and so daring as at present.

"Introducing a Co-operative" (April 15, 1958).

Apart from their other characteristics, the outstanding thing about China's 600 million people is that they are "poor and blank". This may seem a bad thing, but in reality it is a good thing. Poverty gives rise to the desire for change, the desire for action and the desire for revolution. On a blank sheet of paper free from any mark, the freshest and

命。一张白纸，没有负担，好写最新最美的文字，好画最新最美的画图。

《介绍一个合作社》（一九五〇年四月十五日），人民出版社版第一——二页

中国革命在全国胜利，并且解决了土地问题以后，中国还存在着两种基本的矛盾。第一种是国内的，即工人阶级和资产阶级的矛盾。第二种是国外的，即中国和帝国主义国家的矛盾。因为这样，工人阶级领导的人民共和国的国家政权，在人民民主革命胜利以后，不是可以削弱，而是必须强化。

《在中国共产党第七届中央委员会第二次全体会议上的报告》（一九四九年三月五日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四三四页

“你们不是要消灭国家权力吗？”我们要，但是我们现在还不要，我们现在还

most beautiful characters can be written, the freshest and most beautiful pictures can be painted.

Ibid.

After the country-wide victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the land problem, two basic contradictions will still exist in China. The first is internal, that is, the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The second is external, that is, the contradiction between China and the imperialist countries. Consequently, after the victory of the people's democratic revolution, the state power of the people's republic under the leadership of the working class must not be weakened but must be strengthened.

"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. 369.

"Don't you want to abolish state power?"  
Yes, we do, but not right now; we cannot do it yet. Why? Because imperialism still

不能要。为什么？帝国主义还存在，国内反动派还存在，国内阶级还存在。我们现在的任务是要强化人民的国家机器，这主要地是指人民的军队、人民的警察和人民的法庭，借以巩固国防和保护人民利益。

《论人民民主专政》（一九四九年六月三十日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四八零页

我们的国家是工人阶级领导的以工农联盟为基础的人民民主专政的国家。这个专政是干什么的呢？专政的第一个作用，就是压迫国家内部的反动阶级、反动派和反抗社会主义革命的剥削者，压迫那些对于社会主义建设的破坏者，就是为了解决国内敌我之间的矛盾。例如逮捕某些反革命分子并且将他们判罪，在一个时期内不给地主阶级分子和官僚资产阶级分

exists, because domestic reaction still exists, because classes still exist in our country. Our present task is to strengthen the people's state apparatus - mainly the people's army, the people's police and the people's courts - in order to consolidate national defence and protect the people's interests.

"On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" (June 30, 1949), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 418.

Our state is a people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. What is this dictatorship for? Its first function is to suppress the reactionary classes and elements and those exploiters in our country who resist the socialist revolution, to suppress those who try to wreck our socialist construction, or in other words, to resolve the internal contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. For instance, to arrest, try and sentence certain counterrevolutionaries, and to deprive landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists of their right to vote and their freedom of speech for

子以选举权，不给他们发表言论的自由权利，都是属于专政的范围。为了维护社会秩序和广大人民的利益，对于那些盗窃犯、诈骗犯、杀人放火犯、流氓集团和各种严重破坏社会秩序的坏分子，也必须实行专政。专政还有第二个作用，就是防御国家外部敌人的颠覆活动和可能的侵略。在这种情况下出现的时候，专政就担负着对外解决敌我之间的矛盾的任务。专政的目的是为了保卫全体人民进行和平劳动，将我国建设成为一个具有现代工业、现代农业和现代科学文化的社会主义国家。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出  
版社版第三——第四页

人民民主专政需要工人阶级的领导。

a specified period of time - all this comes within the scope of our dictatorship. To maintain public order and safeguard the interests of the people, it is likewise necessary to exercise dictatorship over embezzlers, swindlers, arsonists, murderers, criminal gangs and other scoundrels who seriously disrupt public order. The second function of this dictatorship is to protect our country from subversion and possible aggression by external enemies. In that event, it is the task of this dictatorship to resolve the external contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. The aim of this dictatorship is to protect all our people so that they can devote themselves to peaceful labour and build China into a socialist country with a modern industry, agriculture, science and culture.

*"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"* (February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., pp. 6-7.

The people's democratic dictatorship needs the leadership of the working class. For it is only the working class that is most

因为只有工人阶级最有远见，大公无私，最富于革命的彻底性。整个革命历史证明，没有工人阶级的领导，革命就要失败，有了工人阶级的领导，革命就胜利了。

《论人民民主专政》(一九四九年六月三十日)，《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四八三页

人民民主专政的基础是工人阶级、农民阶级和城市小资产阶级的联盟，而主要是工人和农民的联盟，因为这两个阶级占了中国人口的百分之八十到九十。推翻帝国主义和国民党反动派，主要是这两个阶级的力量。由新民主主义到社会主义，主要依靠这两个阶级的联盟。

《论人民民主专政》(一九四九年六月三十日)，《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四八三页

阶级斗争、生产斗争和科学实验，是

far-sighted, most selfless and most thoroughly revolutionary. The entire history of revolution proves that without the leadership of the working class revolution fails and that with the leadership of the working class revolution triumphs.

"On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" (June 30, 1949), Selected Works, Vol. IV, p. 421.

The people's democratic dictatorship is based on the alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie, and mainly on the alliance of the workers and the peasants, because these two classes comprise 80 to 90 per cent of China's population. These two classes are the main force in overthrowing imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. The transition from New Democracy to socialism also depends mainly upon their alliance.

Ibid.

Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great

建设社会主义强大国家的三项伟大革命运动，是使共产党人免除官僚主义、避免修正主义和教条主义，永远立于不败之地的确实保证，是使无产阶级能够和广大劳动群众联合起来，实行民主专政的可靠保证。不然的话，让地、富、反、坏、牛鬼蛇神一齐跑了出来，而我们的干部则不闻不问，有许多人甚至敌我不分，互相勾结，被敌人腐蚀侵袭，分化瓦解，拉出去，打进来，许多工人、农民和知识分子也被敌人软硬兼施，照此办理，那就不要很多时间，少则几年、十几年，多则几十年，就不可避免地要出现全国性的反革命复辟，

revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These movements are a sure guarantee that Communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and will for ever remain invincible. They are a reliable guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad working masses and realize a democratic dictatorship. If, in the absence of these movements, the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and monsters were all allowed to crawl out, while our cadres were to shut their eyes to all this and in many cases fail even to differentiate between the enemy and ourselves but were to collaborate with the enemy and were corrupted, divided and demoralized by him, if our cadres were thus pulled out or the enemy were able to sneak in, and if many of our workers, peasants, and intellectuals were left defenceless against both the soft and the hard tactics of the enemy, then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or

马列主义的党就一定会变成修正主义的党，变成法西斯党，整个中国就要改变颜色了。

《浙江省七个关于干部参加劳动的好材料》的批语（一九六三年五月九日），  
《关于赫鲁晓夫的假共产主义及其在世界历史上的教训》一文的引语，一九六四年七月十四日《人民日报》

人民民主专政有两个方法。对敌人说来说是用专政的方法，就是说在必要的时期内，不让他们参与政治活动，强迫他们服从人民政府的法律，强迫他们从事劳动并在劳动中改造他们成为新人。对人民说来说则与此相反，不是用强迫的方法，而是用民主的方法，就是说必须让他们参与政治

several decades at most, before a counterrevolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the hole of China would change its colour.

Note on "The Seven Well-Written Documents of Chekiang Province Concerning Cadres' Participation in Physical Labour" (May 9, 1963), quoted in *On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World*, pp. 71-72.\*

The people's democratic dictatorship uses two methods. Towards the enemy, it uses the method of dictatorship, that is, for as long a period of time as is necessary it does not let them take part in political activities and compels them to obey the law of the People's Government and to engage in labour and, through labour, transform themselves into new men. Towards the people, on the contrary, it uses the method not of compulsion but of democracy, that is,

活动，不是强迫他们做这样做那样，而是用民主的方法向他们进行教育和说服的工作。

在中国人民政治协商会议第一届全国委员会第二次会议上的闭幕词（一九五零年六月二十三日），一九五零年六月二十四日《人民日报》

为了在更加巩固的基础上迅速发展中国的社会主义事业，中国人民正在共产党的领导之下进行一个生气勃勃的整风运动。这就是在城市和农村中对于社会主义和资本主义两条道路、国家的根本制度和重大政策、党政工作人员的工作作风、人民的生活福利等项问题，用摆事实讲道理的方法，有领导地自由地展开全民性的大辩论，用以正确地解决在人民内部实际

it must necessarily let them take part in political activities and does not compel them to do this or that, but uses the method of democracy in educating and persuading them.

"Closing speech at the Second Session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" (June 23, 1950).

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Chinese people are carrying out a vigorous rectification movement in order to bring about the rapid development of socialism in China on a firmer basis. It is a movement for carrying out a nation-wide debate which is both guided and free, a debate in the city and the countryside on such questions as the socialist road versus the capitalist road, the basic system of the state and its major policies, the working style of Party and government functionaries, and the question of the welfare of the people, a debate which is conducted by setting forth facts and reasoning things out, so as

存在而为当前所必需解决的各项矛盾问题。这是一个社会主义的人民自我教育、自我改造的运动。

《在苏联最高苏维埃庆祝伟大的十月社会主义革命四十周年会议上的讲话》  
(一九五七年十一月六日),人民出版社版第八页

为了进行伟大的建设工作,在我们的面前,摆着极为繁重的任务。虽然我们有一千多万党员,但是在全国人口中仍然只占极少数。在我们的各个国家机关和各项社会事业中,大量的工作要依靠党外的人员来做。如果我们不善于依靠人民群众,不善于同党外的人员合作,那就无法把工作做好。在我们继续加强全党的团结的时候,我们还必须继续加强各民族、各民主阶级、各民主党派、各人民团体的团结,

correctly to resolve those actual contradictions among the people which demand immediate solution. This is a socialist movement for the self-education and selfremoulding of the people.

"Speech at the Meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution"  
(November 6, 1957)

Most arduous tasks lie ahead of us in the great work of construction. Although there are over 10 million members in our Party, they still constitute a very small minority of the country's population. In government departments and public organizations and enterprises much work has to be done by non-Party people. It is impossible to get this work well done unless we are good at relying on the masses and co-operating with non-Party people. While continuing to strengthen the unity of the whole Party, we must also continue to strengthen the unity of all our nationalities, democratic classes,

继续巩固和扩大我们的人民民主统一战线，必须认真地纠正在任何工作环节上的任何一种妨害党同人民团结的不良现象。

《中国共产党第八次全国代表大会开幕词》（一九五六年九月十五日），《中国共产党第八次全国代表大会文献》人民出版社版第八页

democratic parties and people's organizations, and to consolidate and expand the people's democratic united front, and we must conscientiously get rid of every unhealthy manifestation in any link in our work that is detrimental to the unity between the Party and the people.

"Opening Address at the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China" (September 15, 1956).

## 四、正确处理人民内部矛盾

在我们的面前有两类社会矛盾，这就是敌我之间的矛盾和人民内部的矛盾。这是性质完全不同的两类矛盾。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日), 人民出版社版第一页

为了正确地认识敌我之间和人民内部这两类不同的矛盾，应该首先弄清楚什么是人民，什么是敌人。……在现阶段，在建设社会主义的时期，一切赞成、拥护和参加社会主义建设事业的阶级、阶层和

## 4. THE CORRECT HANDLING OF CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE

We are confronted by two types of social contradictions - those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves. The two are totally different in their nature..

*"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"* (February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed.. p. 2.

To understand these two different types of contradictions correctly, we must first be clear on what is meant by "the people" and what is meant by "the enemy". ... At the present stage, the period of building socialism, the classes, strata and social groups which favour, support and work for

社会集团，都属于人民的范围；一切反抗社会主义革命和敌视、破坏社会主义建设的社会势力和社会集团，都是人民的敌人。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出版社版第一——二页

在我国现在的条件下，所谓人民内部的矛盾，包括工人阶级内部的矛盾，农民阶级内部的矛盾，知识分子内部的矛盾，工农两个阶级之间的矛盾，工人、农民同知识分子之间的矛盾，工人阶级和其他劳动人民同民族资产阶级之间的矛盾，民族资产阶级内部的矛盾，等等。我们的人民政府是真正代表人民利益的政府，是为人民服务的政府，但是它同人民群众之间也有一定的矛盾。这种矛盾包括国家利益、

the cause of socialist construction all come within the category of the people, while the social forces and groups which resist the socialist revolution and are hostile to or sabotage socialist construction are all enemies of the people.

Ibid., pp. 2-3.

In the conditions prevailing in China today, the contradictions among the people comprise the contradictions within the working class, the contradictions within the peasantry, the contradictions within the intelligentsia, the contradictions between the working class and the peasantry, the contradictions between the workers and peasants on the one hand and the intellectuals on the other, the contradictions between the working class and other sections of the working people on the one hand and the national bourgeoisie on the other, the contradictions within the national bourgeoisie, and so on. Our People's Government is one that genuinely represents the people's interests, it is a government that serves the people. Nevertheless, there are

集体利益同个人利益之间的矛盾，民主同集中的矛盾，领导同被领导之间的矛盾，国家机关某些工作人员的官僚主义作风同群众之间的矛盾。这种矛盾也是人民内部的一个矛盾。一般说来，人民内部的矛盾，是在人民利益根本一致的基础上的矛盾。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出版社版第二页

敌我之间的矛盾是对抗性的矛盾。人民内部的矛盾，在劳动人民之间说来，是非对抗性的；在被剥削阶级和剥削阶级之间说来，除了对抗性的一面以外，还有非对抗性的一面。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出版社版第二页

在我国人民的政治生活中，应当怎样来判断我们的言论和行动的是非呢？我

still certain contradictions between the government and the people. These include contradictions among the interests of the state, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual; between democracy and centralism; between the leadership and the led; and the contradiction arising from the bureaucratic style of work of certain government workers in their relations with the masses. All these are also contradictions among the people. Generally speaking, the people's basic identity of interests underlies the contradictions among the people.

*Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

The contradictions between ourselves and the enemy are antagonistic contradictions. Within the ranks of the people, the contradictions among the working people are non-antagonistic, while those between the exploited and the exploiting classes have a non-antagonistic aspect in addition to an antagonistic aspect.

*Ibid.*, p. 3.

In the political life of our people, how should right be distinguished from wrong in

们以为，根据我国的宪法的原则，根据我国最大多数人民的意志和我国各党派历次宣布的共同的政 治主张，这种标准可以大致规定如下：（一）有利于团结全国各族人民，而不是分裂人民；（二）有利于社会主义改造和社会主义建设，而不是不利于社会主义改造和社会主义建设；（三）有利于巩固人民民主专政，而不是破坏或者削弱这个专政；（四）有利于巩固民主集中制，而不是破坏或者削弱这个制度；（五）有利于巩固共产党的领导，而不是摆脱或者削弱这种领导；（六）有利于社会主义的国际团结和全世界爱好和平人民的国际团结，而不是有损于这些团结。这六条标准中，最重要的是社会主义道路

one's words and actions? On the basis of the principles of our Constitution, the will of the overwhelming majority of our people and the common political positions which have been proclaimed on various occasions by our political parties and groups, we consider that, broadly speaking, the criteria should be as follows:

(1) Words and actions should help to unite, and not divide, the people of our various nationalities.

(2) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to socialist transformation and socialist construction.

(3) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, the people's democratic dictatorship.

(4) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, democratic centralism.

(5) They should help to strengthen, and not discard or weaken, the leadership of the Communist Party.

(6) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to international socialist unity and

和党的领导两条。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日), 人民出  
版社版第三零页

肃清反革命分子的问题是敌我矛盾的斗争问题。在人民内部, 有些人对于肃反问题的看法, 也有一些不同。有两种人的意见, 和我们的意见不相同。有右倾思想的人不分敌我, 认敌为我。广大群众认为是敌人的人, 他们却认为是朋友。有“左”倾思想的人则把敌我矛盾扩大化, 以至把某些人民内部的矛盾也看做敌我矛盾, 把某些本来不是反革命的人也看作反革命。这两种看法都是错误的, 都不能正确地处理肃反问题, 也不能正确地估计

the unity of the peace-loving people of the world. Of these six criteria, the most important are the socialist path and the leadership of the Party.

*Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

The question of suppressing counter-revolutionaries is one of a struggle between ourselves and the enemy, a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. Among the people, there are some who see this question in a somewhat different light. Two kinds of persons hold views different from ours. Those with a Rightist way of thinking make no distinction between ourselves and the enemy and take the enemy for our own people. They regard as friends the very persons whom the broad masses regard as enemies. Those with a "Left" way of thinking magnify contradictions between ourselves and the enemy to such an extent that they take certain contradictions among the people for contradictions with the enemy and regard as counter-revolutionary persons who are actually not counter-revolutionaries. Both these views are wrong. Neither can

我们的肃反工作。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日), 人民出  
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不同质的矛盾，只有用不同质的方法才能解决。例如，无产阶级和资产阶级的矛盾，用社会主义革命的方法去解决；人民大众和封建制度的矛盾，用民主革命的方法去解决；殖民地和帝国主义的矛盾，用民族革命战争的方法去解决；在社会主义社会中工人阶级和农民阶级的矛盾，用农业集体化和农业机械化的方法去解决；共产党内部的矛盾，用批评和自我批评的方法去解决；社会和自然的矛盾，用发展生产力的方法去解决。……用不同的方法去解决不同的矛盾，这是马克思列宁主义

lead to the correct handling of the question of suppressing counter-revolutionaries or to a correct assessment of this work.

*Ibid.*, p. 25.

Qualitatively different contradictions can only be resolved by qualitatively different methods. For instance, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is resolved by the method of socialist revolution; the contradiction between the great masses of the people and the feudal system is resolved by the method of democratic revolution; the contradiction between the colonies and imperialism is resolved by the method of national revolutionary war; the contradiction between the working class and the peasant class in socialist society is resolved by the method of collectivization and mechanization in agriculture; contradiction within the Communist Party is resolved by the method of criticism and self-criticism; the contradiction between society and nature is resolved by the method of developing the

者必须严格地遵守的一个原则。

《矛盾论》（一九三七年八月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第二九九页

敌我之间和人民内部这两类矛盾的性质不同，解决的方法也不同，简单地说起来，前者是分清敌我的问题，后者是分清是非的问题。当然，敌我问题也是一种是非问题。比如我们同帝国主义、封建主义、官僚资本主义这些内外反动派，究竟谁是谁非，也是是非问题，但是这是和人民内部问题性质不同的另一类是非问题。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的总是》  
（一九五七年二月二十七日），人民出版社版第三页

毛泽东博览  
www.mzdbl.cn

productive forces. ... The principle of using different methods to resolve different contradictions is one which Marxist-Leninists must strictly observe.

"On Contradiction" (August 1937),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 321-22.

Since they are different in nature, the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and the contradictions among the people must be resolved by different methods. To put it briefly, the former are a matter of drawing a clear distinction between ourselves and the enemy, and the latter a matter of drawing a clear distinction between right and wrong. It is, of course, true that the distinction between ourselves and the enemy is also a matter of right and wrong. For example, the question of who is in the right, we or the domestic and foreign reactionaries, the imperialists, the feudalists and bureaucrat-capitalists, is also a matter of right and wrong, but it is in a different category from questions of right and wrong among the people.

*"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"* (February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., pp. 5-6.

凡属于思想性质的问题，凡属于人民内部的争论问题，只能用民主的方法去解决，只能用讨论的方法、批评的方法、说服教育的方法去解决，而不能用强制的、压服的方法去解决。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出版社版第六页

人民为了有效地进行生产、进行学习 and 有序地过生活，要求自己的政府、生产的领导者、文化教育机关的领导者发布各种适当的带强制性的行政命令。没有这种行政命令，社会秩序就无法维持，这是人们的常识所了解的。这同用说服教育的方法去解决人民内部的矛盾，是相辅相成的两个方面。为着维持社会秩序的目的而发布的行政命令，也要伴之以说服教育，单靠行政命令，在许多情况下就行不通。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出

版社版第六页  
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The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression.

*Ibid.* p11

To be able to carry on their production and studies effectively and to arrange their lives properly, the people want their government and those in charge of production and of cultural and educational organizations to issue appropriate orders of an obligatory nature. It is common sense that the maintenance of public order would be impossible without such administrative regulations. Administrative orders and the method of persuasion and education complement each other in resolving contradictions among the people. Even administrative regulations for the maintenance of public order must be accompanied by persuasion and education, for in many cases regulations alone will not work.

*Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

资产阶级、小资产阶级，他们的思想意识是一定要反映出来的。一定要在政治问题和思想问题上，用各种办法顽强地表现他们自己。要他们不反映不表现，是不可能的。我们不应当用压制的办法不让他们表现，而应当让他们表现，同时在他们表现的时候，和他们辩论，进行适当的批评。毫无疑问，我们应当批评各种各样的错误思想。不加批评，看着错误思想到处泛滥，任凭它们去占领市场，当然不行。有错误就得批判，有毒草就得进行斗争。但是这种批评不应当是教条主义的，不应当用形而上学方法，应当力求用辩证方法。要有科学的分析，要有充分的说服力。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出版社版第二九页

Inevitably, the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie will give expression to their own ideologies. Inevitably, they will stubbornly express themselves on political and ideological questions by every possible means. You cannot expect them to do otherwise. We should not use the method of suppression and prevent them from expressing themselves, but should allow them to do so and at the same time argue with them and direct appropriate criticism at them. We must undoubtedly criticize wrong ideas of every description. It certainly would not be right to refrain from criticism, look on while wrong ideas spread unchecked and allow them to monopolize the field. Mistakes must be criticized and poisonous weeds fought wherever they crop up. However, such criticism should not be dogmatic, and the metaphysical method should not be used, but efforts should be made to apply the dialectical method. What is needed is scientific analysis and convincing argument.

*Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

对于人民的缺点是需要批评的，……但必须是真正站在人民的立场上，用保护人民、教育人民的满腔热情来说话。如果把同志当作敌人来对待，就是使自己站在敌人的立场上去了。

《在延安文艺座谈会上的讲话》（一九四二年五月），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八七四页

矛盾和斗争是普遍的、绝对的，但是解决矛盾的方法，即斗争的形式，则因矛盾的性质不同而不相同。有些矛盾具有公开的对抗性，有些矛盾则不是这样。根据事物的具体发展，有些矛盾是由原来还非对抗性的，而发展成为对抗性的；也有些矛盾则由原来是对抗性的，而发展成为非对抗性的。

《矛盾论》（一九三七年八月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第三二二页

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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.

Contradiction and struggle are universal and absolute, but the methods of resolving contradictions, that is, the forms of struggle, differ according to the differences in the nature of the contradictions. Some contradictions are characterized by open antagonism, others are not. In accordance with the concrete development of things, some contradictions which were originally non-antagonistic develop into antagonistic ones, while others which were originally antagonistic develop into non-antagonistic ones.

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

在一般情况下，人民内部的矛盾不是对抗性的。但是如果处理得不适当，或者失去警觉，麻痹大意，也可能发生对抗。这种情况，在社会主义国家通常只是局部的暂时的现象。这是因为社会主义国家消灭了人剥削人的制度，人民的利益在根本上是一致的。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出版社版第八页

在我们国家里，工人阶级同民族资产阶级的矛盾属于人民内部的矛盾。工人阶级和民族资产阶级的阶级斗争一般地属于人民内部的阶级斗争，这是因为我国的民族资产阶级有两面性。在资产阶级民主革命时期，它有革命性的一面，又有妥协

In ordinary circumstances, contradictions

among the people are not antagonistic. But if they are not handled properly, or if we relax our vigilance and lower our guard, antagonism may arise. In a socialist country, a development of this kind is usually only a localized and temporary phenomenon. The reason is that the system of exploitation of man by man has been abolished and the interests of the people are basically the same.

*"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"* (February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., p. 14.

In our country, the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie belongs to the category of contradictions among the people. By and large, the class struggle between the two is a class struggle within the ranks of the people, because the Chinese national bourgeoisie has a dual character. In the period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, it had both a revolutionary and a conciliationist side to its character. In the period of the socialist

性的一面。在社会主义革命时期，它有剥削工人阶级取得利润的一面，又有拥护宪法、愿意接受社会主义改造的一面。民族资产阶级和帝国主义、地主阶级、官僚资产阶级不同。工人阶级和民族资产阶级之间存在着剥削和被剥削的矛盾，这本来是对抗性的矛盾。但是在我国的具体条件下，这两个阶级的对抗性的矛盾如果处理得当，可以转变为非对抗性的矛盾，可以用和平的方法解决这个矛盾。如果我们处理不当，不是对民族资产阶级采取团结、批评、教育的政策，或者民族资产阶级不接受我们的这个政策，那末工人阶级同民族资产阶级之间的矛盾就会变成敌我之间的矛盾。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》

（一九五七年二月二十七日），人民出

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revolution, exploitation of the working class for profit constitutes one side of the character of the national bourgeoisie, while its support of the Constitution and its willingness to accept socialist transformation constitute the other. The national bourgeoisie differs from the imperialists, the landlords and the bureaucrat-capitalists. The contradiction between the national bourgeoisie and the working class is one between the exploiter and the exploited, and is by nature antagonistic. But in the concrete conditions of China, this antagonistic class contradiction can, if properly handled, be transformed into a non-antagonistic one and be resolved by peaceful methods. However, it will change into a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy if we do not handle it properly and do not follow the policy of uniting with, criticizing and educating the national bourgeoisie, or if the national bourgeoisie does not accept this policy of ours.

*Ibid.*, p. 4-5.

社会主义国家内部的反动派同帝国主义者互相勾结，利用人民内部的矛盾，挑拨离间，兴风作浪，企图实现他们的阴谋。匈牙利事件的这种教训，值得大家注意。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出版社版第八页

It [the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary in 1956] was a case of reactionaries inside a socialist country, in league with the imperialists, attempting to achieve their conspiratorial aims by taking advantage of contradictions among the people to foment dissension and stir up disorder. This lesson of the Hungarian events merits attention.

*Ibid.*, p. 15.

## 五、战争与和平

战争——从有私有财产和有阶级以来就开始了的、用以解决阶级和阶级、民族和民族、国家和国家、政治集团和政治集团之间、在一定发展阶段上的矛盾的一种最高的斗争形式。

《中国革命战争的战略问题》(一九三六年十二月),《毛泽东选集》第一卷第一六四页

“战争是政治的继续”，在这点上说，战争就是政治、战争本身就是政治性质的行动，从古以来没有不带政治性的战争。……

但是战争有其特殊性，在这点上说，战争不即等于一般的政治。“战争是政治的特殊手段的继续”。政治发展到一定的阶段，再也不能照旧前进，于是爆发了战

## 5. WAR AND PEACE

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.

"War is the continuation of politics." In this sense war is politics and war itself is a political action; since ancient times there has never been a war that did not have a political character. ...

But war has its own particular characteristics and in this sense it cannot be equated beyond which it cannot proceed by the usual means, war breaks out to sweep the obstacles from the way. ... When the obstacle is continuation of politics by other. ... means." When politics develops to a certain stage

争，用以扫除政治道路上的障碍。……障碍既除，政治的目的达到，战争结束。障碍没有扫除得干净，战争仍须继续进行，以求贯彻。……因此可以说，政治是不流血的战争，战争是流血的政治。

《论持久战》（一九三八年五月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第四六八——四六九页

历史上的战争分为两类，一类是正义的，一类是非正义的。一切进步的战争都是正义的，一切阻碍进步的战争都是非正义的。我们共产党人反对一切阻碍进步的非正义的战争，但是不反对进步的正义的战争。对于后一类战争，我们共产党人不但反对，而且积极地参加。前一类战争，例如第一次世界大战，双方都是为着帝国主义利益而战，所以全世界的共产党人坚决地反对那一次战争。反对的方法，在战

with politics in general. "War is the removed and our political aim attained the war will stop. But if the obstacle is not completely swept away, the war will have to continue till the aim is fully accomplished. ... It can therefore be said that politics is war without bloodshed while war is politics with bloodshed.

"On Protracted War" (May 1938),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 152-53 \*

History shows that wars are divided into two kinds, just and unjust. All wars that are progressive are just, and all wars that impede progress are unjust. We Communists oppose all unjust wars that impede progress, but we do not oppose progressive, just wars. Not only do we Communists not oppose just wars, we actively participate in them. As for unjust wars, World War I is an instance in which both sides fought for imperialist interests; therefore the Communists of the whole world firmly opposed that war. The way to oppose a war of this kind is to do

争未爆发前，极力阻止其爆发；既爆发后，只要有可能，就用战争反对战争，用正义战争反对非正义战争。

《论持久战》（一九三八年五月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第四六五——四六六页

在阶级社会中，革命和革命战争是不可避免的，舍此不能完成社会发展的飞跃，不能推翻反动的统治阶级，而使人民获得政权。

《矛盾论》（一九三七年八月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第三二二页

革命战争是一种抗毒素，它不但将排除敌人的毒焰，也将清洗自己的污浊。凡属正义的革命的战争，其力量是很大的，它能改造很多事物，或为改造事物开辟道路。中日战争将改造中日两国；只要中国坚持抗战和坚持统一战线，就一定能把旧

everything possible to prevent it before it breaks out and, once it breaks out, to oppose war with war, to oppose unjust war with just war, whenever possible.

*Ibid.*, p. 150.

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.\*

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

日本化为新日本，把旧中国化为新中国，中日两国的人和物都将在这次战争中和战争后获得改造。

《论持久战》（一九三八年五月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第四四七页

每个共产党员都应懂得这个真理：“枪杆子里面出政权”。

《战争和战略问题》（一九三八年十一月六日），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五三五页

革命的中心任务和最高形式是武装夺取政权，战争解决问题。这个马克思列宁主义的革命原则是普遍地对的，不论在中国在外国，一概都是对的。

《战争和战略问题》（一九三八年十一月六日），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五二九页

在中国，离开了武装斗争，就没有无产阶级的地位，就没有人民的地位，就没有共产党的地位，就没有革命的胜利。十

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.\*

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.

The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.

*Ibid.*, p. 219.

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

八年来，我们党的发展、巩固和布尔塞维克化，是在革命战争中进行的，没有武装斗争，就不会有今天的共产党。这个拿血换来的经验，全党同志都不要忘记。

《“共产党人”发刊词》（一九三九年十月四日），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第六零零——六零一页

从马克思主义关于国家学说的观点看来，军队是国家政权的主要成分。谁想夺取国家政权，并想保持它，谁就应有强大的军队。有人笑我们是“战争万能论”，对，我们是革命战争万能论者，这不是坏的，是好的，是马克思主义的。俄国共产党的枪杆子造了一个社会主义。我们要造一个民主共和国。帝国主义时代的阶级斗争的经验告诉我们：工人阶级和劳动群众，只有用枪杆子的力量才能战胜武装的

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.\*

According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army. Some people ridicule us as advocates of the "omnipotence of war". Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad, it is Marxist. The guns of the Russian Communist Party created socialism. We shall create a democratic republic. Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and

资产阶级和地主；在这个意义上，我们可以说，整个世界只有用枪杆子才可能改造。

《战争和战略问题》(一九三八年十一月六日)，《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五三五页

我们是战争消灭论者，我们是不要战争的；但是只能经过战争去消灭战争，不要枪杆子必须拿起枪杆子。

《战争和战略问题》(一九三八年十一月六日)，《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五三五页

战争——这个人类互相残杀的怪物，人类社会的发展终久要把它消灭的，而且就在不远的将来会要把它消灭的。但是消灭它的方法只有一个，就是用战争反对战争，用革命战争反对反革命战争，用民族革命战争反对民族反革命战争，用阶级革命战争反对阶级反革命战争。……人类社会进步到消灭了阶级，消灭了国家，到了

the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed.

"Problems of War and Strategy"  
(November 6, 1938), *Selected Works*,  
Vol. II, p. 225.

We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun.

*Ibid.*

War, this monster of mutual slaughter among men, will be finally eliminated by the progress of human society, and in the not too distant future too. But there is only one way to eliminate it and that is to oppose war with war, to oppose counterrevolutionary war with revolutionary war, to oppose national counter-revolutionary war with national revolutionary war, and to oppose counter-revolutionary class war with revolutionary class war... When human society advances to the point where

那时，什么战争也没有了，反革命战争没有了，革命战争也没有了，非正义战争没有了，正义战争也没有了，这就是人类的永久和平的时代。我们研究革命战争的规律，出发于我们要求消灭一切战争的志愿，这是区别我们共产党人和一切剥削阶级的界线。

《中国革命战争的战略问题》（一九三六年十二月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第一六七——一六八页

我国和各社会主义国家都需要和平，世界各国的人民也都需要和平。渴望战争，不要和平的，仅仅是少数帝国主义国家中的某些依靠侵略发财的垄断资本集团。

《中国共产党第八次全国代表大会开幕词》（一九五六年九月十五日），《中国共产党第八次全国代表大会文献》第八页

为了争取世界的持久和平，我们必须进一步地发展社会主义阵营中各个兄

Classes and states are eliminated, there will be no more wars, counter-revolutionary or revolutionary, unjust or just; that will be the era of perpetual peace for mankind. Our study of the laws of revolutionary war springs from the desire to eliminate all wars; herein lies the distinction between us Communists and all the exploiting classes.

"Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" (December 1936), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 182-83.

Our country and all the other socialist countries want peace; so do the peoples of all the countries of the world. The only ones who crave war and do not want peace are certain monopoly capitalist groups in a handful of imperialist countries which depend on aggression for their profits.

"Opening Address at the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China" (September 15, 1956).

To achieve a lasting world peace, we must further develop our friendship and co-

弟国家的友好合作，并且同一切爱好和平的国家加强团结。我们必须争取同一切愿意和我们和平相处的国家，在互相尊重领土主权和平等互利的基础上，建立正常的外交关系。亚洲、非洲和拉丁美洲各国的民族独立解放运动，以及世界上一切国家的和平运动和正义斗争，我们都必须给以积极的支持。

《中国共产党第八次全国代表大会开幕词》（一九五六年九月十五日），《中国共产党第八次全国代表大会文献》第八页

至于帝国主义国家，我们也要团结那里的人民，并且争取同那些国家和平共处，做些生意，制止可能发生的战争，但是决不可以对他们怀抱一些不切实际的想法。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》（一九五七年二月二十七日），人民出

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operation with the fraternal countries in the socialist camp and strengthen our solidarity with all peace-loving countries. We must endeavour to establish normal diplomatic relations, on the basis of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty and of equality and mutual benefit, with all countries willing to live together with us in peace. We must give active support to the national independence and liberation movement in countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as to the peace movement and to just struggles in all the countries of the world.

*Ibid.*

As for the imperialist countries, we should unite with their peoples and strive to coexist peacefully with those countries, do business with them and prevent any possible war, but under no circumstances should we harbour any unrealistic notions about them.

*"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"* (February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., p. 75.

我们希望和平。但是如果帝国主义硬要打仗，我们也只好横下一条心，打了仗再建设。每天怕战争，战争来了你有什么办法呢？我先是说东风压倒西风，战争打不起来，现在再就如果发生了战争的情况，作了这些补充的说明，这样两种可能性都估计到了。

在各国共产党和工人党莫斯科会议上的讲话（一九五七年十一月十八日），一九六三年九月一日《人民日报》《中国政府发言人声明》中的引语

现在世界各国的人们都在谈论着会不会打第三次世界大战。对于这个问题，我们也要有精神准备，也要有分析。我们是坚持和平反对战争的。但是，如果帝国

We desire peace. However, if imperialism insists on fighting a war, we will have no alternative but to take the firm resolution to fight to the finish before going ahead with our construction. If you are afraid of war day in day out, what will you do if war eventually comes? First I said that the East Wind is prevailing over the West Wind and war will not break out, and now I have added these explanations about the situation in case war should break out. Both possibilities have thus been taken into account.

Parties" (November 18, 1957), quoted in "Statement by the Spokesman of the Chinese Government" (September 1, 1963).\*

People all over the world are now discussing whether or not a third world war will break out. On this question, too, we must be mentally prepared and do some analysis. We stand firmly for peace and against war. But if the imperialists insist on unleashing another war, we should not be

主义一定要发动战争，我们也不要害怕。我们对待这个问题的态度，同对待一切“乱子”的态度一样，第一条，反对；第二条，不怕。第一次世界大战以后，出了一个苏联，两亿人口。第二次世界大战以后，出了一个社会主义阵营，一共九亿人口。如果帝国主义者一定要发动第三次世界大战，可以断定，其结果必定又要有多少亿人口转到社会主义方面，帝国主义剩下的地盘就不多了，也有可能整个帝国主义制度全部崩溃。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出版社版第三五页

捣乱，失败，再捣乱，再失败，直至灭亡——这就是帝国主义和世界上一切

afraid of it. Our attitude on this question is the same as our attitude towards any disturbance: first, we are against it; second, we are not afraid of it. The First World War was followed by the birth of the Soviet Union with a population of 200 million. The Second World War was followed by the emergence of the socialist camp with a combined population of 900 million. If the imperialists insist on launching a third world war, it is certain that several hundred million more will turn to socialism, and then there will not be much room left on earth for the imperialists; it is also likely that the whole structure of imperialism will utterly collapse.

*"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"* (February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., pp. 67-68.

Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again... till their doom- that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the

反动派对待人民事业的逻辑，他们决不会违背这个逻辑的。这是一条马克思主义的定律。我们说“帝国主义是很凶恶的”，就是说它的本性是不能改变的，帝国主义分子决不肯放下屠刀，他们也决不能成佛，直至他们的灭亡。

斗争，失败，再斗争，再失败，再斗争，直至胜利——这就是人民的逻辑，他们也是决不会违背这个逻辑的。这是马克思主义的又一条定律。俄国人民的革命曾经是依照了这条定律，中国人民的革命也是依照这条定律。

《丢掉幻想，准备斗争》（一九四九年八月十四日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四九零——一四九一页

我们决不可因为胜利，而放松对于帝国主义分子及其走狗们的疯狂的报复阴谋的警惕性，谁要是放松这一项警惕性，谁就将在政治上解除武装，而使自己处于

world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law. When we say "imperialism is ferocious", we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom.

Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again... till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law. The Russian people's revolution followed this law, and so has the Chinese people's revolution.

"Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle" (August 14, 1949), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 428.

Just because we have won victory, we must never relax our vigilance against the frenzied plots for revenge by the imperialists and their running dogs. Whoever relaxes vigilance will disarm himself politically and

被动的地位。

《在新政治协商会议筹备会上的讲话》  
(一九四九年六月十五日),《毛泽东  
选集》第四卷第一四六九页

帝国主义者及其走狗中国反动派对于他们在中国这块土地上的失败,是不会甘心的。他们还会要互相勾结在一起,用各种可能的方法,反对中国人民。例如,派遣他们的走狗钻进中国内部来进行分化和捣乱工作。这是必然的,他们决不会忘记这一项工作。例如,唆使中国反动派甚至加上他们自己的力量,封锁中国的海港。只要还有可能,他们就会这样做,再则,假如他们还想冒险的话,派出一部分兵力侵扰中国的边境,也不是不可能的。所有这些,我们都必须充分地估计到。

《在新政治协商会议筹备会上的讲话》  
(一九四九年六月十五日),《毛泽东  
选集》第四卷第一四六九页

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land himself in a passive position.

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

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.

*Ibid.\**



世界是在进步的，前途是光明的，这个历史的总趋势任何人也改变不了。我们应当把世界进步的情况和光明的前途，常常向人民宣传，使人民建立起胜利的信心。

《关于重庆谈判》（一九四五年十月十七日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一一六二页

人民解放军的全体指挥员、战斗员，绝对不可以稍微松懈自己的战斗意志，任何松懈战斗意志的思想和轻敌的思想，都是错误的。

《在中国共产党第七届中央委员会第二次全体会议上的报告》（一九四九年三月五日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四二五页

The world is progressing, the future is bright and no one can change this general trend of history. We should carry on constant propaganda among the people on the facts of world progress and the bright future ahead so that they will build their confidence in victory.

"On the Chungking Negotiations"  
(October 17, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 59.

The commanders and fighters of the entire Chinese People's Liberation Army absolutely must not relax in the least their will to fight; any thinking that relaxes the will to fight and belittles the enemy is wrong.

"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. 361.

## 六、帝国主义和一切反动派都 是纸老虎

一切反动派都是纸老虎。看起来，反动派的样子是可怕的，但是实际上并没有什么了不起的力量。从长远的观点看问题，真正强大的力量不是属于反动派，而是属于人民。

《和美国记者安娜·路易斯·斯特朗的谈话》(一九四六年八月),《毛泽东选集》  
第四卷第一一九三页

同世界上一切事物无不具有两重性(即对立统一规律)一样,帝国主义和一切反动派也有两重性,它们是真老虎又是

## 6. IMPERIALISM AND ALL REACTIONARIES ARE PAPER TIGERS

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.

Just as there is not a single thing in the world without a dual nature (this is the law of the unity of opposites), so imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual nature - they are real tigers and paper tigers at the same time. In past history, before they won state power and for some time afterwards, the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord

纸老虎。历史上奴隶主阶级、封建地主阶级和资产阶级，在它们取得统治权力以前和取得统治权力以后的一段时间内，它们是生气勃勃的，是革命者，是先进者，是真老虎。在随后的一段时间，由于它们的对立面，奴隶阶级、农民阶级和无产阶级，逐步壮大，并同它们进行斗争，越来越厉害，它们就逐步向反面转化，化为反动派，化为落后的人们，化为纸老虎，终究被或者将被人民所推翻。反动的、落后的、腐朽的阶级，在面临人民的决死斗争的时候，也还有这样的两重性。一面，真老虎，吃人，成百万人成千万人地吃。人民斗争事业处在艰难困苦的时代，出现许多弯弯曲曲的道路。中国人民为了消灭帝国主义、封建主义和官僚资本主义在中国的统

class and the bourgeoisie were vigorous, revolutionary and progressive; they were real tigers. But with the lapse of time, because their opposites - the slave class, the peasant class and the proletariat - grew in strength step by step, struggled against them more and more fiercely, these ruling classes changed step by step into the reverse, changed into reactionaries, changed into backward people, changed into paper tigers. And eventually they were overthrown, or will be overthrown, by the people. The reactionary, backward, decaying classes retained this dual nature even in their last life-and-death struggles against the people. On the one hand, they were real tigers; they devoured people, devoured people by the millions and tens of millions. The cause of the people's struggle went through a period of difficulties and hardships, and along the path there were many twists and turns. To destroy the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in China took the Chinese people more than a hundred years and cost them tens of millions of lives

治，花了一百多年时间，死了大概几千万人之多，才取得一九四九年的胜利。你看，这不是活老虎，铁老虎，真老虎吗？但是，它们终究转化成了纸老虎，死老虎，豆腐老虎。这是历史的事实。人们难道没有看见听见过这些吗？真是成千成万！成千成万！所以，从本质上看，从长期上看，从战略上看，必须如实地把帝国主义和一切反动派，都看成纸老虎。从这点上，建立我们的战略思想。另一方面，它们又是活的铁的真的老虎，它们会吃人的。从这点上，建立我们的策略思想和战术思想。

在中共中央政治局武昌会议上的讲话  
(一九五八年十二月一日)，《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一一九零页《和美国记者安那·路易斯·斯特朗的谈话》一文  
的题解

before the victory in 1949. Look! Were these not living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers? But in the end they changed into paper tigers, dead tigers, bean-curd tigers. These are historical facts. Have people not seen or heard about these facts? There have indeed been thousands and tens of thousands of them ! Thousands and tens of thousands ! Hence, imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are - paper tigers. On this we should build our strategic thinking. On the other hand, they are also living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers which can devour people. On this we should build our tactical thinking.

"Speech at the Wuchang Meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" (December 1, 1958), quoted in the explanatory note to "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong", *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, pp. 98-99.\*

我说一切所有号称强大的反动派统统不过是纸老虎。原因是他们脱离人民。你看，希特勒是不是纸老虎？希特勒不是被打倒了吗？我也谈到沙皇是纸老虎，中国皇帝是纸老虎，日本帝国主义是纸老虎，你看，都倒了。美帝国主义没有倒，还有原子弹，我看也是要倒的，也是纸老虎。

在各国共产党和工人党莫斯科会议上的讲话（一九五七年十一月十八日），《毛泽东同志论帝国主义和一切反动派都是纸老虎》人民出版社版第二四页

“搬起石头打自己的脚”，这是中国人形容某些蠢人的行为的一名俗话。各国反动派也就是这样的一批蠢人。他们对于革命人民所作的种种迫害，归根结底，只能促进人民的更广泛更剧烈的革命。难道沙皇和蒋介石对于革命人民的种种迫害，

I have said that all the reputedly powerful reactionaries are merely paper tigers. The reason is that they are divorced from the people. Look! Was not Hitler a paper tiger? Was Hitler not overthrown? I also said that the tsar of Russia, the emperor of China and Japanese imperialism were all paper tigers. As we know, they were all overthrown. U.S. imperialism has not yet been overthrown and it has the atom bomb. I believe it also will be overthrown. It, too, is a paper tiger.

"Speech at the Moscow Meeting of  
Communist and Workers' Parties"  
(November 18, 1957).

"Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet" is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind. In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale. Did not the persecution of the revolutionary people by the tsar of Russia and by Chiang Kai-shek

不就是对于伟大的俄国革命和伟大的中国革命起了这样的促进作用吗？

《在苏联最高苏维埃庆祝伟大的十月社会主义革命四十周年会议上的讲话》  
(一九五七年十一月六日), 人民出版社版第五页

美帝国主义九年来侵占了我们领土台湾, 不久以前又派遣它的武装部队侵占了黎巴嫩。美国在全世界许多国家建立了几百个军事基地。中国领土台湾、黎巴嫩以及所有美国在外国的军事基地, 都是套在美帝国主义脖子上的绞索。不是别人而是美国人自己制造这种绞索, 并把它套在自己的脖子上, 而把绞索的另一端交给了中国人民、阿拉伯各国人民和全世界一切爱和平反侵略的人民。美国侵略者在这些地方停留得越久, 套在它的头上的绞索就

perform this function in the great Russian and Chinese revolutions?

"Speech at the Meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution"  
(November 6, 1957).

U.S. imperialism invaded China's territory of Taiwan and has occupied it for the past nine years. A short while ago it sent its armed forces to invade and occupy Lebanon. The United States has set up hundreds of military bases in many countries all over the world. China's territory of Taiwan, Lebanon and all military bases of the United States on foreign soil are so many nooses round the neck of U.S. imperialism. The nooses have been fashioned by the Americans themselves and by nobody else, and it is they themselves who have put these nooses round their own necks, handing the ends of the ropes to the Chinese people, the peoples of the Arab countries and all the peoples of the world who love peace and oppose aggression. The longer the U.S. aggressors

将越紧。

在最高国务会议上的讲话（一九五八年九月八日），一九五八年九月九日《人民日报》

帝国主义者寿命不会很长了，因为他们尽做坏事，专门扶植各国反人民的反动派，霸占大量的殖民地、半殖民地和军事基地，以原子战争威胁和平。这样，他们就迫使全世界百分之九十以上的人正在或者将要对他们群起而攻之。但是帝国主义者目前还是在活着，他们依然在向亚洲、非洲、拉丁美洲横行霸道。他们在西方世界也依然在压迫他们本国的人民群众。这种局面必需改变。结束帝国主义主要是美帝国主义的侵略和压迫，是全世界人民的任务。

对新华社记者的谈话（一九五八年九月二十九日），《毛泽东同志论帝国主义和一切反动派都是纸老虎》人民出版社版第三一页

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remain in those places, the tighter the nooses round their necks will become.

"Speech at the Supreme State Conference" (September 8, 1958).

Imperialism will not last long because it always does evil things. It persists in grooming and supporting reactionaries in all countries who are against the people, it has forcibly seized many colonies and semi-colonies and many military bases, and it threatens the peace with atomic war. Thus, forced by imperialism to do so, more than 90 per cent of the people of the world are rising or will rise up in struggle against it. Yet imperialism is still alive, still running amuck in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the West imperialism is still oppressing the people at home. This situation must change. It is the task of the people of the whole world to put an end to the aggression and oppression perpetrated by imperialism, and chiefly by U.S. imperialism.

"Interview with a Hsinhua News Agency correspondent" (September 29, 1958).

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美帝国主义到处横行霸道，把它自己放在同全世界人民为敌的地位，使它自己越来越陷于孤立。美帝国主义手里的原子弹、氢弹，是吓不倒一切不愿意做奴隶的人们的。全世界人民反对美国侵略者的怒潮是不可阻挡的。全世界人民对美帝国主义及其走狗的斗争一定会取得更加伟大的胜利。

《支持巴拿马人民反美爱国正义斗争的谈话》（一九六四年一月十二日），《全世界人民团结起来打败美国侵略者及其一切走狗》人民出版社版第九——一零页

美国垄断资本集团如果坚持推行它的侵略政策和战争政策，势必有一天要被全世界人民处以绞刑。其他美国帮凶也将是这样。

在最高国务会议上的讲话（一九五八年九月八日），一九五八年九月九日《人民日报》

毛泽东博览  
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Riding roughshod everywhere, U.S. imperialism has made itself the enemy of the people of the world and has increasingly isolated itself. Those who refuse to be enslaved will never be cowed by the atom bombs and hydrogen bombs in the hands of the U.S. imperialists. The raging tide of the people of the world against the U.S. aggressors is irresistible. Their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys will assuredly win still greater victories.

"Statement Supporting the Panamanian People's Just Patriotic Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism" (January 12, 1964), *People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Lackeys*, 2nd ed., pp. 9-10.

If the U.S. monopoly capitalist groups persist in pushing their policies of aggression and war, the day is bound to come when they will be hanged by the people of the whole world. The same fate awaits the accomplices of the United States.

"Speech at the Supreme State Conference" (September 8, 1958).

为了同敌人作斗争，我们在一个长时间内形成了一个概念，就是说，在战略上我们要藐视一切敌人，在战术上我们要重视一切敌人。也就是说在整体上我们一定要藐视它，在一个一个的具体问题上我们一定要重视它。如果不是在整体上藐视敌人，我们就要犯机会主义的错误。马克思、恩格斯只有两个人，那时他们就说全世界资本主义要被打倒。但是在具体问题上，在一个一个敌人的问题上，如果我们不重视它，我们就要犯冒险主义的错误。打仗只能一仗一仗地打，敌人只能一部分一部分地消灭。工厂只能一个一个地盖，农民犁地只能一块一块的犁，就是吃饭也是如此。我们在战略上藐视吃饭：这顿饭我们能够吃下去。但是具体地吃，却是一口口

Over a long period we have developed this concept for the struggle against the enemy: strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously. This also means that we must despise the enemy with respect to the whole, but that we must take him seriously with respect to each and every concrete question. If we do not despise the enemy with respect to the whole, we shall be committing the error of opportunism. Marx and Engels were only two individuals, and yet in those early days they already declared that capitalism would be overthrown throughout the world. But in dealing with concrete problems and particular enemies we shall be committing the error of adventurism unless we take them seriously. In war, battles can only be fought one by one and the enemy forces can only be destroyed one by one. Factories can only be built one by one. The peasants can only plough the land plot by plot. The same is even true of eating a meal. Strategically, we take the eating of a meal lightly - we know

地吃的，你不可能把一桌酒席一口吞下去。这叫做各个解决，军事书上叫做各个击破。

在各国共产党和工人党莫斯科会议上的讲话(一九五七年十一月十八日),《毛泽东同志论帝国主义和一切反动派都是纸老虎》人民出版社版第二五页

我认为现在国际形势到了一个新的转折点。世界上现在有两股风：东风，西风。中国有句成语：“不是东风压倒西风，就是西风压倒东风。”我认为目前形势的特点是东风压倒西风，也就是说，社会主义的力量对于帝国主义的力量占了压倒的优势。

在各国共产党和工人党莫斯科会议上的讲话(一九五七年十一月十八日),《毛泽东同志论帝国主义和一切反动派都是纸老虎》人民出版社版第二六页

we can finish it. But actually we eat it mouthful by mouthful. It is impossible to swallow an entire banquet in one gulp. This is known as a piecemeal solution. In military parlance, it is called wiping out the enemy forces one by one.

"Speech at the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties"  
(November 18, 1957).

It is my opinion that the international situation has now reached a new turning point. There are two winds in the world today, the East Wind and the West Wind. There is a Chinese saying, "Either the East Wind prevails over the West Wind or the West Wind prevails over the East Wind." I believe it is characteristic of the situation today that the East Wind is prevailing over the West Wind. That is to say, the forces of socialism have become overwhelmingly superior to the forces of imperialism.

*Ibid.*

## 七、敢于斗争，敢于胜利

全世界人民团结起来，打败美国侵略者及其一切走狗！全世界人民要有勇气，敢于战斗，不怕困难，前赴后继，那末，全世界就一定是人民的。一切魔鬼通通都会被消灭。

《支持刚果（利）人民反对美国侵略的声明》（一九六四年十一月二十八日），  
《全世界人民团结起来打败美国侵略者及其一切走狗》人民出版社版第一四页

中国共产党依据马克思列宁主义的科学，清醒地估计了国际和国内的形势，知道一切内外反动派的进攻，不但是必须

## 7. DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN

People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed.

"Statement Supporting the People of the Congo (L.) Against U.S. Aggression" (November 28, 1964), *People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Lackeys*, 2nd ed., p. 14.

The Communist Party of China, having made a clear-headed appraisal of the international and domestic situation on the basis of the science of Marxism-Leninism, recognized that all attacks by the reactionaries at home and abroad had to be defeated and could be defeated. When dark

打败的，而且是能够打败的。当着天空中出现乌云的时候，我们就指出：这不过是暂时的现象，黑暗即将过去，曙光即在前头。

《目前形势和我们的任务》（一九四七年十二月二十五日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一二四五——一二四六页

在人类历史上，凡属将要灭亡的反动势力，总是要向革命势力进行最后挣扎的，而有些革命的人们也往往在一个期间内被这种外强中干的现象所迷惑，看不出敌人快要消灭，自己快要胜利的实质。

《第二次世界大战的转折点》（一九四二年十月十二日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八八五页

如果他们要打，就把他们彻底消灭。事情就是这样，他来进攻，我们把他消灭了，他就舒服了。消灭一点，舒服一点；

clouds appeared in the sky, we pointed out that they were only temporary, that the darkness would soon pass and the sun break through.

"The Present Situation and Our Tasks"  
(December 25, 1947), *Selected Military Writings*, 2nd ed., p. 347.

Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory.

"The Turning Point in World War II"  
(October 12, 1942), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 103.

If they [the Kuomintang] fight, we will wipe them out completely. This is the way things are: if they attack and we wipe them out, they will have that satisfaction; wipe

消灭得多，舒服得多；彻底消灭，彻底舒服。中国的问题是复杂的，我们的脑子也要复杂一点。人家打来了，我们就打，打是为了争取和平。

《关于重庆谈判》（一九四五年十月十七日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一一五八页

有来犯者，只要好打，我党必定站在自卫立场上坚决彻底干净全部消灭之（不要轻易打，打则必胜），绝对不要被反动派的其势汹汹所吓倒。

《中共中央关于同国民党进行和平谈判的通知》（一九四五年八月二十六日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一一五三页

就我们自己的愿望说，我们连一天也不愿意打。但是如果形势迫使我们不得不

out some, some satisfaction; wipe out more, more satisfaction; wipe out the whole lot, complete satisfaction. China's problems are complicated, and our brains must also be a little complicated. If they start fighting, we fight back, fight to win peace.

"On the Chungking Negotiations"  
(October 17, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 56.

If anyone attacks us and if the conditions are favourable for battle, we will certainly act in self-defence to wipe him out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely (we do not strike rashly, but when we do strike, we must win). We must never be cowed by the bluster of reactionaries.

"On Peace Negotiations with the Kuomintang - Circular of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" (August 26, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 49\*

As far as our own desire is concerned, we don't want to fight even for a single day. But

打的话，我们是能够一直打到底的。

《和美国记者安那·路易斯·斯特朗的谈话》(一九四六年八月),《毛泽东选集》  
第四卷第一一八九——一一九零页

我们是要和平的，但是，只要美帝国主义一天不放弃它那种横蛮无理的要求和扩大侵略的阴谋，中国人民的决心就是只有同朝鲜人民一起，一直战斗下去。这不是因为我们好战，我们愿意立即停战，剩下的问题待将来去解决。但美帝国主义不愿意这样做，那么好罢，就打下去，美帝国主义愿意打多少年，我们也就准备跟他打多少年，一直打到美帝国主义愿意罢手的时候为止，一直打到中朝人民完全胜利的时候为止。

在中国人民政治协商会议第一届全国委员会第四次會議上的讲话（一九五三年二月七日），一九五三年二月八日

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if circumstances force us to fight, we can fight to the finish.

"Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong" (August 1946), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 97.

We are for peace. But so long as U.S. imperialism refuses to give up its arrogant and unreasonable demands and its scheme to extend aggression, the only course for the Chinese people is to remain determined to go on fighting side by side with the Korean people. Not that we are warlike. We are willing to stop the war at once and leave the remaining questions for later settlement. But U.S. imperialism is not willing to do so. All right then, let the fighting go on. However many years U.S. imperialism wants to fight, we are ready to fight right up to the moment when it is willing to stop, right up to the moment of complete victory for the Chinese and Korean peoples.

"Speech at the Fourth Session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" (February 7, 1953).

我们应当在自己内部肃清一切软弱无能的思想。一切过高地估计敌人力量和过低地估计人民力量的观点，都是错误的。

《目前形势和我们的任务》(一九四七年十二月二十五日)，《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一二五九页

被压迫人民和被压迫民族，决不能把自己的解放寄托在帝国主义及其走狗的“明智”上面，而只有通过加强团结、坚持斗争，才能取得胜利。

《反对美国——吴庭艳集团侵略和屠杀越南南方人民的声明》(一九六三年八月二十九日)，《全世界人民团结起来打败美国侵略者及其一切走狗》人民出版社版第六页

全国性的内战不论哪一天爆发，我们都要准备好。早一点，明天早上就打吧，我们也在准备着。这是第一条。现在的国

We should rid our ranks of all impotent thinking. All views that overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people are wrong.

"The Present Situation and Our Tasks"  
(December 25, 1947), *Selected Works*,  
Vol. IV, p. 173.

The oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the "sensibleness" of imperialism and its lackeys. They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in their struggle.

"Statement Opposing Aggression  
Against Southern Vietnam and  
Slaughter of Its People by the U.S.-Ngo  
Dinh Diem Clique" (August 29, 1963),  
*People of the World, Unite and Defeat  
the U.S. Aggressors and All Their  
Lackeys*, 2nd ed., p. 6.

No matter when this country-wide civil war breaks out, we must be well prepared. If it comes early, say, tomorrow morning, we should also be prepared. That is point one.

际国内形势，有可能把内战暂时限制在局部范围，内战可能暂是若干地方性的战争。这是第二条。第一条我们准备着，第二条是早已如此。总而言之，我们要有准备。有了准备，就能恰当地应付各种复杂的局面。

《抗日战争胜利后的时局和我们的方针》（一九四五年八月十三日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一——三页

In the present international and domestic situation it is possible that for a time the civil war may be kept restricted in scale and localized. That is point two. Point one is what we should prepare for, point two is what has existed for a long time. In short, we must be prepared. Being prepared, we shall be able to deal properly with all kinds of complicated situations.

"The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan" (August 13, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 22.

## 八、人民战争

革命战争是群众的战争，只有动员群众才能进行战争，只有依靠群众才能进行战争。

《关心群众生活，注意工作方法》（一九三四年一月二十七日），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第一三一页

真正的铜墙铁壁是什么？是群众，是千百万真心实意地拥护革命的群众。这是真正的铜墙铁壁，什么力量也打不破的，完全打不破的。反革命打不破我们，我们却要打破反革命。在革命政府的周围团结起千百万群众来，发展我们的革命战争，我们就能消灭一切反革命，我们就能夺取全中国。

《关心群众生活，注意工作方法》（一九三四年一月二十七日），《毛泽东选集》

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## VIII. PEOPLE'S WAR

The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them.

"Be Concerned with the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work" (January 27, 1934), *Selected Works*, Vol. I. p. 147.\*

What is a true bastion of iron? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution. That is the real iron bastion which it is impossible, and absolutely impossible, for any force on earth to smash. The counter-revolution cannot smash us; on the contrary, we shall smash it. Rallying millions upon millions of people round the revolutionary government and expanding our revolutionary war, we shall wipe out all counter-revolution and take over the whole of China.

*Ibid.*, p. 150.\*

战争的伟力之最深厚的根源，存在于民众之中。日本敢于欺负我们，主要的原因在于中国民众的无组织状态。克服了这一缺点，就把日本侵略者置于我们数万万站起来了的人民之前，使它像一匹野牛冲入火阵，我们一声唤也要把它吓一大跳，这匹野牛就非烧死不可。

《论持久战》（一九三八年五月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五零一页

帝国主义者如此欺负我们，这是需要认真对付的。我们不但要有强大的正规军，我们还要大办民兵师。这样，在帝国主义侵略我国的时候，就会使他们寸步难行。

对新华社记者的谈话（一九五八年九月二十九日），一九五八年十月一日《人

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The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people. It is mainly because of the unorganized state of the Chinese masses that Japan dares to bully us. When this defect is remedied, then the Japanese aggressor, like a mad bull crashing into a ring of flames, will be surrounded by hundreds of millions of our people standing upright, the mere sound of their voices will strike terror into him, and he will be burned to death.

"On Protracted War" (May 1938),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 186.

The imperialists are bullying us in such a way that we will have to deal with them seriously. Not only must we have a powerful regular army, we must also organize contingents of the people's militia on a big scale. This will make it difficult for the imperialists to move a single inch in our country in the event of invasion.

"Interview with a Hsinhua News Agency Correspondent" (September 29, 1958).

人民的游击战争，从整个革命战争的观点看来，和主力红军是互为左右手，只有主力红军而无人民的游击战争，就像一个独臂将军。根据地的人民条件，具体地说来，特别是对于作战说来，就是有武装起来了的人民。敌人视为畏途，主要地也在这一点。

《中国革命战争的战略问题》（一九三六年十二月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第二二一页

战争胜负，主要地决定于作战双方的军事、政治、经济、自然诸条件，这是没有问题的。然而不仅仅如此，还决定于作战双方主观指导的能力。军事家不能超过物质条件许可的范围外企图战争的胜利，

Considering the revolutionary war as a whole, the operations of the people's guerrillas and those of the main forces of the Red Army complement each other like a man's right arm and left arm, and if we had only the main forces of the Red Army without the people's guerrillas, we would be like a warrior with only one arm. In concrete terms, and especially with regard to military operations, when we talk of the people in the base area as a factor, we mean that we have an armed people. That is the main reason why the enemy is afraid to approach our base area.

"Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" (December 1936),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 238.

Unquestionably, victory or defeat in war is determined mainly by the military, political, economic and natural conditions on both sides. But not by these alone. It is also determined by each side's subjective ability in directing the war. In his endeavour

然而军事家可以而且必须在物质条件许可的范围内争取战争的胜利。军事家活动的舞台建筑在客观物质条件的上面，然而军事家凭着这个舞台，却可以导演出许多有声有色威武雄壮的活剧来。

《中国革命战争的战略问题》（一九三六年十二月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第一七五页

战争的目的不是别的，就是“保存自己，消灭敌人”（消灭敌人，就是解除敌人的武装，也就是所谓“剥夺敌人的抵抗力”，不是要完全消灭其肉体）。古代战争，用矛用盾：矛是进攻的，为了消灭敌人；盾是防御的，为了保存自己。直到今天的武器，还是这二者的继续。轰炸机、机关枪、远射程炮、毒气，是矛的发展；防空

to win a war, a military strategist cannot overstep the limitations imposed by the material conditions; within these limitations, however, he can and must strive for victory. The stage of action for a military strategist is built upon objective material conditions, but on that stage he can direct the performance of many a drama, full of sound and colour, power and grandeur.

*Ibid.*, pp. 190-91.\*

The object of war is specifically "to preserve oneself and destroy the enemy" (to destroy the enemy means to disarm him or "deprive him of the power to resist", and does not mean to destroy every member of his forces physically). In ancient warfare, the spear and the shield were used, the spear to attack and destroy the enemy, and the shield to defend and preserve oneself. To the present day, all weapons are still an extension of the spear and the shield. The bomber, the machine-gun, the longrange gun and poison gas are developments of the helmet, the concrete fortification and the gas

掩蔽部、钢盔、水泥工事、防毒面具，是盾的发展。坦克，是矛盾二者结合为一的新式武器。进攻，是消灭敌人的主要手段，但防御也是不能废的。进攻，是直接为了消灭敌人的，同时也是为了保存自己，因为如不消灭敌人，则自己将被消灭。防御，是直接为了保存自己的，但同时也是辅助进攻或准备转入进攻的一种手段。退却，属于防御一类，是防御的继续；而追击，则是进攻的继续。应该指出：战争目的中，消灭敌人是主要的，保存自己是第二位的，因为只有大量地消灭敌人，才能有效地保存自己。因此，作为消灭敌人之主要手段的进攻是主要的，而作为消灭敌人之辅助手段和作为保存自己之一种手段的防御，是第二位的。战争实际中，虽有许多时候以防御为主，而在其余时候以进攻

spear, while the air-raid shelter, the steel mask are developments of the shield. The tank is a new weapon combining the functions of both spear and shield. Attack is the chief means of destroying the enemy, but defence cannot be dispensed with. In attack the immediate object is to destroy the enemy, but at the same time it is self-preservation, because if the enemy is not destroyed, you will be destroyed. In defence the immediate object is to preserve yourself, but at the same time defence is a means of supplementing attack or preparing to go over to the attack. Retreat is in the category of defence and is a continuation of defence, while pursuit is a continuation of attack. It should be pointed out that destruction of the enemy is the primary object of war and self-preservation the secondary, because only by destroying the enemy in large numbers can one effectively preserve oneself. Therefore attack, the chief means of destroying the enemy, is primary, while defence, a supplementary means of destroying the enemy and a means of self-preservation, is secondary. In actual warfare the chief role is played by defence much of the time and by attack for the rest

为主，然而通战争的全体来看，进攻仍然是主要的。

《论持久战》（一九三八年五月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第四七一——四七二页

一切军事行动的指导原则，都根据于一个基本的原则，就是：尽可能地保存自己的力量，消灭敌人的力量。……何以解释战争中提倡勇敢牺牲呢？每一战争都须支付代价，有时是极大的代价，岂非和“保存自己”相矛盾？其实一点也不矛盾，正确点说，是相反相成的。因为这种牺牲，不但是为了消灭敌人的必要，也是为了保存自己的必要——一部分的暂时的“不保存”（牺牲或支付），是为了全体的永久的保存所必需的。在这个基本的原则上，发生了指导整个军事行动的一系列的

of the time, but if war is taken as a whole, attack remains primary.

"On Protracted War" (May 1938).  
*Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 156.

All the guiding principles of military operations grow out of the one basic principle: to strive to the utmost to preserve one's own strength and destroy that of the enemy. ... How then do we justify the encouragement of heroic sacrifice in war? Every war exacts a price, sometimes an extremely high one. Is this not in contradiction with "preserving oneself"? In fact, there is no contradiction at all; to put it more exactly, sacrifice and self-preservation are both opposite and complementary to each other. For such sacrifice is essential not only for destroying the enemy but also for preserving oneself - partial and temporary "non-preservation" (sacrifice, or paying the price) is necessary for the sake of general and permanent preservation. From this basic principle stems the series of principles from the principles of shooting (taking cover preserve oneself, and making full use of

所谓原则，从射击原则（荫蔽身体，发扬火力，前者为了保存自己，后者为了消灭敌人）起，到战略原则止，都贯彻这个基本原则的精神。一切技术的、战术的、战役的、战略的原则，都是执行这个基本原则时的条件。保存自己消灭敌人的原则，是一切军事原则的根据。

《抗日游击战争的战略问题》（一九三八年五月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第三九七——三九八页

我们的军事原则是：（1）先打分散和孤立之敌，后打集中和强大之敌。（2）先取小城市、中等城市和广大乡村，后取大城市。（3）以歼灭敌人有生力量为主要目标，不以保守或夺取城市和地方为主要目标。保守或夺取城市和地方，是歼灭敌人

guiding military operations, all of which - to fire-power to destroy the enemy) to the principles of strategy - are permeated with the spirit of this basic principle. All technical principles and all principles concerning tactics, campaigns and strategy represent applications of this basic principle. The principle of preserving oneself and destroying the enemy is the basis of all military principles.

"Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan" (May 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.\*

Our principles of operation are:

(1) Attack dispersed, isolated enemy forces first; attack concentrated, strong enemy forces later.

(2) Take small and medium cities and extensive rural areas first; take big cities later.

(3) Make wiping out the enemy's effective strength our main objective; do not make holding or seizing a city or place our main

有生力量的结果，往往需要反复多次才能最后地保守或夺取之。(4) 每战集中绝对优势兵力(两倍、三倍、四倍、有时甚至是五倍或六倍于敌之兵力)，四面包围敌人，力求全歼，不使漏网。在特殊情况下则采用给敌以歼灭性打击的方法，即集中全力打敌正面及其一翼或两翼，求达歼灭其一部、击溃其另一部的目的，以便我军能够迅速转移兵力歼击他部敌军。力求避免打那种得不偿失的、或得失相当的消耗战。这样，在全体上，我们是劣势(就数量来说)，但在每一个局部上，在每一个

objective. Holding or seizing a city or place is the outcome of wiping out the enemy's effective strength, and often a city or place can be held or seized for good only after it has changed hands a number of times.

(4) In every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force (two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly and do not let any escape from the net. In special circumstances, use the method of dealing the enemy crushing blows, that is, concentrate all our strength to make a frontal attack and an attack on one or both of his flanks, with the aim of wiping out one part and routing another so that our army can swiftly move its troops to smash other enemy forces. Strive to avoid battles of attrition in which we lose more than we gain or only break even. In this way, although inferior as a whole (in terms of numbers), we shall be absolutely superior in every part and every specific campaign, and

具体战役上，我们是绝对的优势，这就保证了战役的胜利。随着时间的推移，我们就将在全体上转变为优势，直到歼灭一切敌人。（5）不打无准备之仗，不打无把握之仗，每战都应力求有准备，力求在敌我条件对比下有胜利的把握。（6）发扬勇敢战斗、不怕牺牲、不怕疲劳和连续作战（即在短期内不休息地接连打几仗）的作风。（7）力求在运动中歼灭敌人。同时，注重阵地攻击战术，夺取敌人的据点和城市。（8）在攻城问题上，一切敌人守备薄弱的据点和城市，坚决夺取之。一切敌人有中等程度的守备、而环境又许可加以夺

this ensures victory in the campaign. As time goes on, we shall become superior as a whole and eventually wipe out all the enemy.

(5) Fight no battle unprepared, fight no battle you are not sure of winning; make every effort to be well prepared for each battle, make every effort to ensure victory in the given set of conditions as between the enemy and ourselves.

(6) Give full play to our style of fighting - courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting (that is, fighting successive battles in a short time without rest).

(7) Strive to wipe out the enemy when he is on the move. At the same time, pay attention to the tactics of positional attack and capture enemy fortified points and cities.

(8) With regard to attacking cities, resolutely seize all enemy fortified points and cities which are weakly defended. At opportune moments, seize all enemy fortified points

取的据点和城市，相机夺取之。一切敌人守备强固的据点和城市，则等候条件成熟时然后夺取之。（9）以俘获敌人的全部武器和大部人员，补充自己。我军人力物力的来源，主要在前线。（10）善于利用两个战役之间的间隙，休息和整训部队。休整的时间，一般地不要过长，尽可能不使敌人获得喘息的时间。以上这些，就是人民解放军打败蒋介石的主要的方法。这些方法，是人民解放军在和国内外敌人长期作战的锻炼中产生出来，并完全适合我们目前的情况的。……我们的战略战术是建立在人民战争这个基础上的，任何反人民

and cities defended with moderate strength, provided circumstances permit. As for all strongly defended enemy fortified points and cities, wait till conditions are ripe and then take them.

(9) Replenish our strength with all the arms and most of the personnel captured from the enemy. Our army's main sources of manpower and materiel are at the front.

(10) Make good use of the intervals between campaigns to rest, train and consolidate our troops. Periods of rest, training and consolidation should not in general be very long, and the enemy should so far as possible be permitted no breathing space.

These are the main methods the People's Liberation Army has employed in defeating Chiang Kai-shek. They are the result of the tempering of the People's Liberation Army in long years of fighting against domestic and foreign enemies and are completely suited to our present situation... our strategy and tactics are based on a people's war;

的军队都不能利用我们的战略战术。

《目前形势和我们的任务》（一九四七年十二月二十五日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一二四七——一二四八页

优势而无准备，不是真正的优势，也没有主动。懂得这一点，劣势而有准备之军，常可对敌举行不意的攻势，把优势者打败。

《论持久战》（一九三八年五月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第四八一页

army opposed to the people can use our strategy and tactics.

"The Present Situation and Our Tasks"  
(December 25, 1947), *Selected Military Writings*, 2nd ed., pp. 349-50.\*

Without preparedness superiority is not real superiority and there can be no initiative either. Having grasped this point, a force which is inferior but prepared can often defeat a superior enemy by surprise attack.

"On Protracted War" (May 1938),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 165-66..

## 九、人民军队

没有一个人民的军队，便没有人民的一切。

《论联合政府》（一九四五年四月二十四日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零七四页

这个军队之所以有力量，是因为所有参加这个军队的人，都具有自觉的纪律；他们不是为着少数人的或狭隘集团的私利，而是为着广大人民群众的利益，为着全民族的利益，而结合，而战斗的。紧紧地和中国人民站在一起，全心全意地为中国人民服务，就是这个军队的唯一的宗旨。

《论联合政府》（一九四五年四月二十日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零三九页

中国红军是一个执行革命的政治任务的武装集团。特别是现在，红军决不是单纯地打仗的，它除了打仗消灭敌人军事

## 9. THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

Without a people's army the people have nothing.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, pp. 296-97.

This army is powerful because all its members have a conscious discipline; they have come together and they fight not for the private interests of a few individuals or a narrow clique, but for the interests of the broad masses and of the whole nation. The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them whole-heartedly.

*Ibid.*, p. 264.\*

The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses,

力量之外，还要负担宣传群众、组织群众、武装群众、帮助群众建立革命政权以至于建立共产党的组织等项重大的任务。红军的打仗，不是单纯地为了打仗而打仗，而是为了宣传群众、组织群众、武装群众，并帮助群众建设革命政权才去打仗的，离了对群众的宣传、组织、武装和建设革命政权等项目标，就是失去了打仗的意义，也就是失去了红军存在的意义。

《关于纠正党内的错误思想》（一九二九年十二月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第八八页

人民解放军永远是一个战斗队。就是在全国胜利以后，在国内没有消灭阶级和世界上存在着帝国主义制度的历史时期内，我们的军队还是一个战斗队。对于这一点不能有任何的误解和动摇。

《在中国共产党第七届中央委员会第二次全体会议上的报告》（一九四九年三月五日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一

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arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations. The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence.

"On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" (December 1929), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 106.\*

The People's Liberation Army is always a fighting force. Even after country-wide victory, our army will remain a fighting force during the historical period in which classes have not been abolished in our country and the imperialist system still exists in the world. On this point there should be no misunderstanding or wavering.

"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.

362.

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我们有打仗的军队，又有劳动的军队。打仗的军队，我们有八路军新四军；这支军队也要当两支用，一方面打仗，一方面生产。我们有了这两支军队，我们的军队有了这两套本领，再加上做群众工作一项本领，那末，我们就可以克服困难，把日本帝国主义打垮。

《组织起来》（一九四三年十一月二十九日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第九三一页

我们的国防将获得巩固，不允许任何帝国主义者再来侵略我们的国土。在英勇的经过了考验的人民解放军的基础上，我们的人民武装力量必须保存和发展起来。我们将不但有一个强大的陆军，而且有一个强大的空军和一个强大的海军。

在中国人民政治协商会议第一届全体会议上的开幕词（一九四九年九月二十一日），一九四九年九月二十二日《人民日报》

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We have an army for fighting as well as an army for labour. For fighting we have the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies but even they do a dual job, warfare and production. With these two kinds of armies, and with a fighting army skilled in these two tasks and in mass work, we can overcome our difficulties and defeat Japanese imperialism.

"Get Organized!" (November 29, ),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 153.

Our national defence will be consolidated and no imperialist will be allowed to invade our territory again. Our people's armed forces must be maintained and developed with the brave and steeled People's Liberation Army as their foundation. We will have not only a powerful army but also a powerful air force and a powerful navy.

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

我们的原则是党指挥枪，而决不容许枪指挥党。

《战争和战略问题》(一九三八年十一月六日)，《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五三五页

我全军将士必须时刻牢记，我们是伟大的人民解放军，是伟大的中国共产党领导的队伍。只要我们时刻遵守党的指示，我们就一定胜利。

《中国人民解放军宣言》(一九四七年十月)，《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一二三九页

Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party.

"Problems of War and Strategy"  
(November 6, 1938), *Selected Works*,  
Vol. II, p. 224.

All our officers and fighters must always bear in mind that we are the great People's Liberation Army, we are the troops led by the great Communist Party of China. Provided we constantly observe the directives of the Party, we are sure to win.

"Manifesto of the Chinese People's  
Liberation Army" (October 1947),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 152.

## 十、党委领导

党委制是保证集体领导、防止个人包办的党的重要制度。近查有些（当然不是一切）领导机关，个人包办和个人解决重要问题的习气甚为浓厚。重要问题的解决，不是由党委会议做决定，而是由个人做决定，党委委员等于虚设。委员间意见分歧的事亦无由解决，并且听任这些分歧长期地不加解决。党委委员间所保持的只是形式上的一致，而不是实质上的一致。

## 10. LEADERSHIP OF PARTY COMMITTEES

The Party committee system is an important Party institution for ensuring collective leadership and preventing any individual from monopolizing the conduct of affairs. It has recently been found that in some (of course not all) leading bodies it is the habitual practice for one individual to monopolize the conduct of affairs and decide important problems. Solutions to important problems are decided not by Party committee meetings but by one individual, and membership in the Party committee has become nominal. Differences of opinion among committee members cannot be resolved and are left unresolved for a long time. Members of the Party committee maintain only formal, not real, unity among themselves. This situation must be changed. From now on, a sound system of Party committee meetings must be instituted in all leading bodies, from the regional bureaus of

此种情形必须加以改变。今后从中央局至地委，从前委至旅委以及军区（军分会或领导小组）、政府党组、民众团体党组、通讯社和报社党组，都必须建立健全的党委会议制度，一切重要问题（当然不是无关重要的小问题或者已经会议讨论解决只待执行的问题）均须交委员会讨论，由到会委员充分发表意见，做出明确决定，然后分别执行。……委员会又须分别为常委会和全体会两种，不可混在一起。此外，还须注意，集体领导和个人负责，二者不可偏废。军队在作战时和情况需要时，首

the Central Committee to the prefectural Party committees; from the Party committees of the fronts to the Party committees of brigades and military areas (sub-commissions of the Revolutionary Military Commission or leading groups); and the leading Party members' groups in government bodies, people's organizations the news agency and the newspaper offices. All important problems (of course, not the unimportant, trivial problems, or problems whose solutions have already been decided after discussion at meetings and need only be carried out) must be submitted to the committee for discussion, and the committee members present should express their views fully and reach definite decisions which should then be carried out by the members concerned. ... Party committee meetings must be divided into two categories, standing committee meetings and plenary sessions, and the two should not be confused. Furthermore, we must take care that neither collective leadership nor personal responsibility is overemphasized to the

长有临机处置之权。

《关于健全党委制》(一九四八年九月二十日),《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一三四三——一三四四页

党委书记要善于当“班长”。党的委员会有一二十个人,像军队的一个班,书记好比是“班长”。要把这个班带好,的确不容易。目前各中央局、分局都领导很大的地区,担负很繁重的任务。领导工作不仅要决定方针政策,还要制定正确的工作方法。有了正确的方针政策,如果在工作方法上疏忽了,还是要发生问题。党委要完成自己的领导任务,就必须依靠党委

neglect of the other. In the army, the person in command has the right to make emergency decisions during battle and when circumstances require.

"On Strengthening the Party Committee System" (September 20, 1948),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. IV, pp. 267-68.\*

The secretary of a Party committee must be good at being a "squad leader". A Party committee has ten to twenty members; it is like a squad in the army, and the secretary is like the "squad leader". It is indeed not easy to lead this squad well. Each regional bureau or sub-regional bureau of the Central Committee now leads a vast area and shoulders very heavy responsibilities. To lead means not only to decide general and specific policies but also to devise correct methods of work. Even with correct general and specific policies, troubles may still arise if methods of work are neglected. To fulfill its task of exercising leadership, a Party committee must rely on its "squad members" and enable them to play their

这“一班人”，充分发挥他们的作用。书记要当好“班长”，就应该很好地学习和研究。书记、副书记如果不注意向自己的“一班人”作宣传工作和组织工作，不善于研究怎样把会议开好，就很难把这“一班人”指挥好。如果这“一班人”动作不整齐，就休想带领千百万人去作战，去建设。当然，书记和委员之间的关系是少数服从多数，这同班长和战士之间的关系是不一样的。这里不过是一个比方。

《党委会的工作方法》（一九四九年三月十三日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四四一页

要把问题摆到桌面上来。不仅“班长”

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parts to the full. To be a good "squad leader", the secretary should study hard and investigate thoroughly. A secretary or deputy secretary will find it difficult to direct his "squad" well if he does not take care to do propaganda and organizational work among his own "squad members", is not good at handling his relations with committee members or does not study how to run meetings successfully. If the "squad members" do not march in step, they can never expect to lead tens of millions of people in fighting and construction. Of course, the relation between the secretary and the committee members is one in which the minority must obey the majority, so it is different from the relation between a squad leader and his men. Here we speak only by way of analogy.

"Methods of Work of Party Committees" (March 13, 1949),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 377.\*

Place problems on the table. This should be done not only by the "squad leader" but

要把问题摆到桌面上来。不仅“班长”要这样做，委员也要这样做。不要在背后议论。有了问题就开会，摆到桌面上来讨论，规定它几条，问题就解决了。有问题而不摆到桌面上来，就会长期不得解决，甚至一拖几年。“班长”和委员还要能互相谅解。书记和委员，中央和各中央局，各中央局和区党委之间的谅解、支援和友谊，比什么都重要。

《党委会的工作方法》(一九四九年三月十三日)，《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四四一——一四四二页

“互通情报”。就是说，党委各委员之间要把彼此知道的情况互相通知、互相交流。这对于取得共同的语言是很重要的。有些人不是这样做，而是像老子说的

by the committee members too. Do not talk behind people's backs. Whenever problems arise, call a meeting, place the problems on the table for discussion, take some decisions and the problems will be solved. If problems exist and are not placed on the table, they will remain unsolved for a long time and even drag on for years. The "squad leader" and the committee members should show understanding in their relations with each other. Nothing is more important than mutual understanding, support and friendship between the secretary and the committee members, between the Central Committee and its regional bureaus and between the regional bureaus and the area Party committees.

*Ibid.*, pp. 377-78.

"Exchange information." This means that members of a Party committee should keep each other informed and exchange views on matters that have come to their attention. This is of great importance in achieving a common language. Some fail to do so and, like the people described by Lao Tzu, "do

“鸡犬之声相闻，老死不相往来”，结果彼此之间就缺乏共同的语言。

《党委会的工作方法》(一九四九年三月十三日)，《毛泽东选集》第四卷第四四二页

不懂得和不了解的东西要问下级，不要轻易表示赞成或反对。……我们切不可强不知以为知，要“不耻下问”，要善于倾听下面干部的意见。先做学生，然后再做先生；先向下面干部请教，然后再下命令。……下面干部的话，有正确的，也有不正确的，听了以后要加以分析。对正确的意见，必须听，并且照它做。……对下面来的错误意见也要听，根本不听是不对的；不过听了而不照它做，并且要给以批评。

《党委会的工作方法》(一九四九年三月十三日)，《毛泽东选集》第一四四二——一四四三页

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not visit each other all their lives, though the crowing of their cocks and the barking of their dogs are within hearing of each other". The result is that they lack a common language.

*Ibid.*, p. 378.

Ask your subordinates about matters you don't understand or don't know, and do not lightly express your approval or disapproval.... We should never pretend to know what we don't know, we should "not feel ashamed to ask and learn from people below" and we should listen carefully to the views of the cadres at the lower levels. Be a pupil before you become a teacher; learn from the cadres at the lower levels before you issue orders.... What the cadres at the lower levels say may or may not be correct, after hearing it, we must analyse it. We must heed the correct views and act upon them.... Listen also to the mistaken views from below, it is wrong not to listen to them at all. Such views, however, are not to be acted upon but to be criticized.

学会“弹钢琴”。弹钢琴要十个指头都动作，不能有的动，有的不动。但是，十个指头同时都按下去，那也不成调子。要产生好的音乐，十个指头的动作要有节奏，要互相配合。党委要抓紧中心工作，又要围绕中心工作而同时开展其他方面的工作。我们现在管的方面很多，各地、各军、各部门的工作，都要照顾到，不能只注意一部分问题而把别的丢掉。凡是有问题的地方都要点一下，这个方法我们一定要学会。钢琴有人弹得好，有人弹得不好，这两种人弹出来的调子差别很大。党委的同志必须学好“弹钢琴”。

《党委会的工作方法》（一九四九年三月十三日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四四三页

要“抓紧”。就是说，党委对主要工

Learn to "play the piano". In playing the piano all ten fingers are in motion; it won't do to move some fingers only and not others. But if all ten fingers press down at once, there is no melody. To produce good music, the ten fingers should move rhythmically and in co-ordination. A Party committee should keep a firm grasp on its central task and at the same time, around the central task, it should unfold the work in other fields. At present, we have to take care of many fields; we must look after the work in all the areas, armed units and departments, and not give all our attention to a few problems, to the exclusion of others. Wherever there is a problem, we must put our finger on it, and this is a method we must master. Some play the piano well and some badly, and there is a great difference in the melodies they produce. Members of Party committees must learn to "play the piano" well.

*Ibid.*, p. 379.

"Grasp firmly." That is to say, the Party committee must not merely "grasp", but

作不但一定要“抓”，而且一定要“抓紧”。什么东西只有抓得很紧，毫不放松，才能抓住。抓而不紧，等于不抓。伸着巴掌，当然什么也抓不住。就是把手握起来，但是不握紧，样子像抓，还是抓不住东西。我们有些同志，也抓主要工作，但是抓而不紧，所以工作还是不能做好。不抓不行，抓而不紧也不行。

《党委会的工作方法》(一九四九年三月十三日)，《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四四三页

胸中有“数”。这是说，对情况和问题一定要注意到它们的数量方面，要有基本的数量的分析。任何质量都表现为一定的数量，没有数量也就没有质量。我们有许多同志至今不懂得注意事物的数量方面，不懂得注意基本的统计、主要的百分比，不懂得注意决定事物质量的数量界

must "grasp firmly", its main tasks. One can get a grip on something only when it is grasped firmly, without the slightest slackening. Not to grasp firmly is not to grasp at all. Naturally, one cannot get a grip on something with an open hand. When the hand is clenched as if grasping something but is not clenched tightly, there is still no grip. Some of our comrades do grasp the main tasks, but their grasp is not firm and so they cannot make a success of their work. It will not do to have no grasp at all, nor will it do if the grasp is not firm.

*Ibid.*

"Have a head for figures." That is to say, we must attend to the quantitative aspect of a situation or problem and make a basic quantitative analysis. Every quality manifests itself in a certain quantity, and without quantity there can be no quality. To this day many of our comrades still do not understand that they must attend to the quantitative aspect of things - the basic statistics, the main percentages and the quantitative limits that determine the

限，一切都是胸中无“数”，结果就不能不犯错误。

《党委会的工作方法》(一九四九年三月十三日)，《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四四三页

“安民告示”。开会要事先通知，像出安民告示一样，让大家要知道讨论什么问题，解决什么问题，并且早作准备。有些地方开干部会，事前不准备好报告和决议草案，等开会的人到了才临时凑合，好像“兵马已到，粮草未备”，这是不好的。如果没有准备，就不要急于开会。

《党委会的工作方法》(一九四九年三月十三日)，《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四四四页

“精兵简政”。讲话、演说、写文章和写决议案，都应当简明扼要。会议也不

qualities of things. They have no "figures" in their heads and as a result cannot help making mistakes.

*Ibid.*, pp. 379-80.

"Notice to Reassure the Public." Notice of meetings should be given beforehand; this is like issuing a "Notice to Reassure the Public", so that everybody will know what is going to be discussed and what problems are to be solved and can make timely preparations. In some places, meetings of cadres are called without first preparing reports and draft resolutions, and only when people have arrived for the meeting are makeshifts improvised; this is just like the saying, "Troops and horses have arrived, but food and fodder are not ready", and that is no good. Don't call a meeting in a hurry if the preparations are not completed.

*Ibid.*, p. 380.

"Fewer and better troops and simpler administration." Talks, speeches, articles and resolutions should all be concise and to the

要开得太长。

《党委会的工作方法》(一九四九年三月十三日),《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四四四页

注意团结那些和自己意见不同的同志一道工作。不论在地方上或部队里,都应该注意这一条。对党外人士也是一样。我们都是从五湖四海汇集拢来的,我们不仅要善于团结和自己意见相同的同志,而且要善于团结和自己意见不同的同志一道工作。

《党委会的工作方法》(一九四九年三月十三日),《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四四四页

力戒骄傲。这对领导者是一个原则问题,也是保持团结的一个重要条件。就是没有犯过大错误,而且工作有了很大成绩的人,也不要骄傲。

《党委会的工作方法》(一九四九年三月十三日),《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四四四页

划清两种界限。首先,是革命还是反革命? 是延安还是西安? 有些人不懂得

point. Meetings also should not go on too long.

*Ibid*

Pay attention to uniting and working with comrades who differ with you. This should be borne in mind both in the localities and in the army. It also applies to relations with people outside the Party. We have come together from every corner of the country and should be good at uniting in our work not only with comrades who hold the same views as we but also with those who hold different views.

*Ibid.*

Guard against arrogance. For anyone in a leading position, this is a matter of principle and an important condition for maintaining unity. Even those who have made no serious mistakes and have achieved very great success in their work should not be arrogant.

*Ibid.*

Draw two lines of distinction. First, between revolution and counter-revolution, between Yen'an and Si'an.<sup>[1]</sup> Some do not

要划清这种界限。例如，他们反对官僚主义，就把延安说得好似“一无是处”，而没有把延安的官僚主义同西安的官僚主义比较一下，区别一下。这就从根本上犯了错误。其次，在革命的队伍中，要划清正确和错误、成绩和缺点的界限，还要弄清它们中间什么是主要的，什么是次要的。例如，成绩究竟是三分还是七分？说少了不行，说多了也不行。一个人的工作，究竟是三分成绩七分错误，还是七分成绩三分错误，必须有个根本的估计。如果是七分成绩，那末就应该对他的工作基本上加以肯定。把成绩为主说成错误为主，那

understand that they must draw this line of distinction. For example, when they combat bureaucracy, they speak of Yen'an as though "nothing is right" there and fail to make a comparison and distinguish between the bureaucracy in Yen'an and the bureaucracy in Si'an. This is fundamentally wrong. Secondly, within the revolutionary ranks, it is necessary to make a clear distinction between right and wrong, between achievements and shortcomings and to make clear which of the two is primary and which secondary. For instance, do the achievements amount to 30 per cent or to 70 per cent of the whole? It will not do either to understate or to overstate. We must have a fundamental evaluation of a person's work and establish whether his achievements amount to 30 per cent and his mistakes to 70 per cent, or vice versa. If his achievements amount to 70 per cent of the whole, then his work should in the main be approved. It would be entirely wrong to describe work in which the achievements are primary as work in which the mistakes are primary. In our

就完全错了。我们看问题一定不要忘记划清这两种界限：革命和反革命的界限，成绩和缺点的界限。记着这两条界限，事情就好办，否则就会把问题的性质弄混淆了。自然，要把界限划好，必须经过细致的研究和分析。我们对于每一个人和每一件事，都应该采取分析研究的态度。

《党委会的工作方法》（一九四九年三月十三日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四四四——一四四五页

在组织上，厉行集中指导下的民主生活。其路线是：

1 党的领导机关要有正确的指导路线，遇事要拿出办法，以建立领导的中枢。

2 上级机关要明了下级机关的情况和群众生活的情况，成为正确指导的客观

approach to problems we must not forget to draw these two lines of distinction, between revolution and counter-revolution and between achievements and shortcomings. We shall be able to handle things well if we bear these two distinctions in mind; otherwise we shall confuse the nature of the problems. To draw these distinctions well, careful study and analysis are of course necessary. Our attitude towards every person and every matter should be one of analysis and study.

*Ibid.*, p. 381.

In the sphere of organization, ensure democracy under centralized guidance. It should be done on the following lines:

(1) The leading bodies of the Party must give a correct line of guidance and find solutions when problems arise, in order to establish themselves as centres of leadership.

(2) The higher bodies must be familiar with the situation in the lower bodies and with the life of

基础。

3 党的各级机关解决问题，不要太随便。一成决议，就须坚决执行。

4 上级机关的决议，凡属重要一点的，必须迅速地传达到下级机关和党员群众中去。……

5 党的下级机关和党员群众对于上级机关的指示，要经过详尽的讨论，以求彻底地了解指示的意义，并决定对它的执行方法。

《关于纠正党内的错误思想》（一九二九年十二月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第九一页

objective basis for correct guidance.

(3) No Party organization at any level should make casual decisions in solving problems. Once a decision is reached, it must be firmly carried out.

(4) All decisions of any importance made by the Party's higher bodies must be promptly transmitted to the lower bodies and the Party rank and file....

(5) The lower bodies of the Party and the Party rank and file must discuss the higher bodies' directives in detail in order to understand their meaning thoroughly and decide on the methods of carrying them out.

"On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" (December 1929), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 109.\*

## 十一、群众路线

人民、只有人民，才是创造世界历史的动力。

《论联合政府》（一九四五年四月二十四日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零三—一页

群众才是真正的英雄，而我们自己则往往是幼稚可笑的，不了解这一点，就不能得到起码的知识。

《“农村调查”的序言和跋》（一九四一年三月、四月），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第七九零页

人民群众有无限的创造力。他们可以组织起来，向一切可以发挥自己力量的地方和部门进军，向生产的深度和广度进

## 11. THE MASS LINE

The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 257.\*

childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge.

"Preface and Postscript to Rural Surveys" (March and April 1941), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 12.\*

The masses have boundless creative power. They can organize themselves and concentrate on places and branches of work where they can give full play to their energy; they can concentrate on production in breadth and depth and create more and more

军，替自己创造日益增多的福利事业。

《多余劳动力找到了出路》一文的按语  
(一九五五年)，《中国农村的社会主义高潮》中册第五七八页

目前农民运动的兴起是一个极大的问题。很短的时间内，将有几万万农民从中国中部、南部和北部各省起来，其势如暴风骤雨，迅猛异常，无论什么大的力量都将压抑不住。他们将冲决一切束缚他们的罗网，朝着解放的路上迅跑。一切帝国主义、军阀、贪官污吏、土豪劣绅，都将被他们葬入坟墓。一切革命的党派、革命的同志，都将在他们面前受他们的检验而决定取舍。站在他们的前头领导他们呢？还是站在他们的后头指手画脚地批评他们呢？还是站在他们的对面反对他们呢？每个中国人对于这三项都有选择的

undertakings for their own well-being.

Introductory note to "Surplus Labour Has Found a Way Out" (1955), *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Chinese ed., Vol. II.

The present upsurge of the peasant movement is a colossal event. In a very short time, in China's central, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves. Every revolutionary party and every revolutionary comrade will be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they decide. There are three alternatives. To march at their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and oppose them?

自由，不过时局将强迫你迅速地选择罢了。

《湖南农民运动考察报告》(一九二七年三月)，《毛泽东选集》第一卷第一三——一四页

目前农村中合作化的社会改革的高潮，有些地方已经到来，全国也即将到来。这是五亿多农村人口的大规模的社会主义的革命运动，带有极其伟大的世界意义。我们应当积极地热情地有计划地去领导这个运动，而不是用各种办法去拉它向后退。运动中免不了要出些偏差，这是可以理解的，也是不难纠正的。干部中和农民中存在的缺点或错误，只要我们积极地去帮助他们，就会克服或纠正。

《关于农业合作化问题》(一九五五年七月三十日)，人民出版社 版第一——第二页

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Every Chinese is free to choose, but events will force you to make the choice quickly.

"Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" (March 1927), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 23-24.\*

The high tide of social transformation in the countryside, the high tide of co-operation, has already reached some places and will soon sweep over the whole country. It is a vast socialist revolutionary movement involving a rural population of more than 500 million, and it has extremely great and world-wide significance. We should give this movement active, enthusiastic and systematic leadership, and not drag it back by one means or another. Some errors are unavoidable in the process; this is understandable, and they will not be hard to correct. Shortcomings or mistakes found among the cadres and the peasants can be remedied or overcome provided we give them positive help.

*"On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation"* (July 31, 1955), 3rd ed., p. 1.\*

群众中蕴藏了一种极大的社会主义的积极性。那些在革命时期还只会按照常规走路的人们，对于这种积极性一概看不见。他们是瞎子，在他们面前出现的只是一片黑暗。他们有时简直要闹到颠倒是非、混淆黑白的程度。这种人难道我们遇见得还少吗？这些只会循着常规走路的人们，老是对于人民的积极性估计过低。一种新事物出现，他们总是不赞成，首先反对一气。随后就是认输，做一点自我批评。第二种新事物出现，他们又按照这两种态度循环一遍。以后各种新事物出现，都按照这个格式处理。这种人老是被动的，在紧要的关头老是止步不前，老是需要别人在他的背上击一猛掌，才肯向前跨进一步。

《这个乡两年就合作化了》一文的按语  
(一九五五年)，《中国农村的社会主义

高潮》中册第五八七——五八八页

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The masses have a potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism. Those who can only follow the old routine in a revolutionary period are utterly incapable of seeing this enthusiasm. They are blind and all is dark ahead of them. At times they go so far as to confound right and wrong and turn things upside down. Haven't we come across enough persons of this type? Those who simply follow the old routine invariably underestimate the people's enthusiasm. Let something new appear and they always disapprove and rush to oppose it. Afterwards, they have to admit defeat and do a little self-criticism. But the next time something new appears, they go through the same process all over again. This is their pattern of behaviour in regard to anything and everything new. Such people are always passive, always fail to move forward at the critical moment, and always have to be given a shove in the back before they move a step.

《Introductory note to "This Township Went Co-operative in Two Years" (1955), *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Chinese ed., Vol.

II.

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我党二十几年来，天天做群众工作，近十几年来，天天讲群众路线。我们历来主张革命要依靠人民群众，大家动手，反对只依靠少数人发号施令。但是在有些同志的工作中间，群众路线仍然不能贯彻，他们还是只靠少数人冷冷清清地做工作。其原因之一，就是他们做一件事情，总不愿意向被领导的人讲清楚，不懂得发挥被领导者的积极性和创造力。他们主观上也要大家动手动脚去做，但是不让大家知道要做的是怎么一回事，应当怎样做法，这样，大家怎么能动起来，事情怎么能够办好？要解决这个问题，根本上当然要从思想上进行群众路线的教育，同时也要教给

For over twenty years our Party has carried on mass work every day, and for the past dozen years it has talked about the mass line every day. We have always maintained that the revolution must rely on the masses of the people, on everybody's taking a hand, and have opposed relying merely on a few persons issuing orders. The mass line, however, is still not being thoroughly carried out in the work of some comrades; they still rely solely on a handful of people working in solitude. One reason is that, whatever they do, they are always reluctant to explain it to the people they lead and that they do not understand why or how to give play to the initiative and creative energy of those they lead. Subjectively, they too want everyone to take a hand in the work, but they do not let other people know what is to be done or how to do it. That being the case, how can everyone be expected to get moving and how can anything be done well? To solve this problem the basic thing is, of course, to carry out ideological education on the mass line, but at the same time we must

同志们许多具体办法。

《对晋绥日报编辑人员的谈话》(一九四八年四月二日),《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一三一七——一三一八页

二十四年的经验告诉我们,凡属正确的任务、政策和工作作风,都是和当时当地的群众要求相适合,都是联系群众的;凡属错误的任务、政策和工作作风,都是和当时当地的群众要求不相适合,都是脱离群众的。教条主义、经验主义、命令主义、尾巴主义、宗派主义、官僚主义、骄傲自大的工作态度等项弊病之所以一定不好,一定要不得,如果什么人有了这类弊病一定要改正,就是因为它们脱离群众。

《论联合政府》(一九四五年四月二十四日),《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零九六页

要联系群众,就要按照群众的需要和

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teach these comrades many concrete methods of work.

"A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the Shansi-Suiyuan Daily" (April 2, 1948),  
Selected Works, Vol. IV, pp. 241-42.\*

Twenty-four years of experience tell us that the right task, policy and style of work invariably conform with the demands of the masses at a given time and place and invariably strengthen our ties with the masses, and the wrong task, policy and style of work invariably disagree with the demands of the masses at a given time and place and invariably alienate us from the masses. The reason why such evils as dogmatism, empiricism, commandism, tailism, sectarianism, bureaucracy and an arrogant attitude in work are definitely harmful and intolerable, and why anyone suffering from these maladies must overcome them, is that they alienate us from the masses.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 315.

To link oneself with the masses, one must act in accordance with the needs and wishes

自愿。一切为群众的工作都要从群众的需要出发，而不是从任何良好的个人愿望出发。有许多时候，群众在客观上虽然有了某种改革的需要，但在他们的主观上还没有这种觉悟，群众还没有决心，还不愿实行改革，我们就要耐心地等待；直到经过我们的工作，群众的多数有了觉悟，有了决心，自愿实行改革，才去实行这种改革，否则就会脱离群众。凡是需要群众参加的工作，如果没有群众的自觉和自愿，就会流于徒有形式而失败。……这里是两条原则：一条是群众的实际上的需要，而不是我们脑子里头幻想出来的需要；一条是群众的自愿，由群众自己下决心，而不是由我们代替群众下决心。

《文化工作中的统一战线》（一九四四年十月三十日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零一零——一零一一页

of the masses. All work done for the masses must start from their needs and not from the desire of any individual, however well-intentioned. It often happens that objectively the masses need a certain change, but subjectively they are not yet conscious of the need, not yet willing or determined to make the change. In such cases, we should wait patiently. We should not make the change until, through our work, most of the masses have become conscious of the need and are willing and determined to carry it out. Otherwise we shall isolate ourselves from the masses. Unless they are conscious and willing, any kind of work that requires their participation will turn out to be a mere formality and will fail. ... There are two principles here: one is the actual needs of the masses rather than what we fancy they need, and the other is the wishes of the masses, who must make up their own minds instead of our making up their minds for them.

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

III, pp. 236-37\*  
  
[www.mzdbl.cn](http://www.mzdbl.cn)

我们的代表大会应该号召全党提起警觉，注意每一个工作环节上的每一个同志，不要让他脱离群众。教育每一个同志热爱人民群众，细心地倾听群众的呼声；每到一地，就和那里的群众打成一片，不是高踞于群众之上，而是深入于群众之中；根据群众的觉悟程度，去启发和提高群众的觉悟，在群众出于内心自愿的原则之下，帮助群众逐步地组织起来，逐步地展开为当时当地内外环境所许可的一切必要的斗争。

《论联合政府》（一九四五年四月二十四日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零九六页

当着群众还不觉悟的时候，我们要进攻，那是冒险主义。群众不愿干的事，我们硬要领导他们去干，其结果必然失败。当着群众要求前进的时候，我们不前进，

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Our congress should call upon the whole Party to be vigilant and to see that no comrade at any post is divorced from the masses. It should teach every comrade to love the people and listen attentively to the voice of the masses; to identify himself with the masses wherever he goes and, instead of standing above them, to immerse himself among them; and, according to their present level, to awaken them or raise their political consciousness and help them gradually to organize themselves voluntarily and to set going all essential struggles permitted by the internal and external circumstances of the given time and place.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, pp. 315-16.

If we tried to go on the offensive when the masses are not yet awakened, that would be adventurism. If we insisted on leading the masses to do anything against their will, we would certainly fail. If we did not advance when the masses demand advance, that

那是右倾机会主义。

《对晋绥日报编辑人员的谈话》(一九四八年四月二日)，《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一三一九页

在一切工作中，命令主义是错误的，因为它超过群众的觉悟程度，违反了群众的自愿原则，害了急性病。我们的同志不要以为自己了解了的东西，广大群众也和自己一样都了解了。群众是否已经了解并且是否愿意行动起来，要到群众中去考察才会知道。如果我们这样做，就可以避免命令主义。在一切工作中，尾巴主义也是错误的，因为它落后于群众的觉悟程度，违反了领导群众前进一步的原则，害了慢性病。我们的同志不要以为自己还不了解的东西，群众也一概不了解。许多时候，广大群众跑到我们的前头去了，迫切地需

would be Right opportunism.

"A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the Shansi-Suiyuan Daily" (April 2, 1948), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 243.

Commandism is wrong in any type of work, because in overstepping the level of political consciousness of the masses and violating the principle of voluntary mass action it reflects the disease of impetuosity. Our comrades must not assume that everything they themselves understand is understood by the masses. Whether the masses understand it and are ready to take action can be discovered only by going into their midst and making investigations. If we do so, we can avoid commandism. Tailism in any type of work is also wrong, because in falling below the level of political consciousness of the masses and violating the principle of leading the masses forward it reflects the disease of dilatoriness. Our comrades must not assume that the masses have no understanding of what they themselves do not yet understand. It often

要前进一步了，我们的同志不能做广大群众的领导者，却反映了一部分落后分子的意见，并且将这种落后分子的意见误认为广大群众的意见，做了落后分子的尾巴。

《论联合政府》（一九四五年四月二十四日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零九六一——零九七页

从群众中集中起来又到群众中坚持下去，以形成正确的领导意见，这是基本的领导方法。

《关于领导方法的若干问题》（一九四三年六月一日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第九零二页

在我党的一切实际工作中，凡属正确的领导，必须是从群众中来，到群众中去。这就是说，将群众的意见（分散的无系统的意见）集中起来（经过研究，化为集中

happens that the masses outstrip us and are eager to advance a step and that nevertheless our comrades fail to act as leaders of the masses and tail behind certain backward elements, reflecting their views and, moreover, mistaking them for those of the broad masses.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 316.\*

Take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them, then go to the masses, persevere in the ideas and carry them through, so as to form correct ideas of leadership - such is the basic method of leadership.

"Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership" (June 1, 1943), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 120.

In all the practical work of our Party, all correct leadership is necessarily "from the masses, to the masses". This means: take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrate them (through study turn them into concentrated

的系统的意见), 又到群众中去作宣传解释, 化为群众的意见, 使群众坚持下去, 见之于行动, 并在群众行动中考验这些意见是否正确。然后再从群众中集中起来, 再到群众中坚持下去。如此无限循环, 一次比一次的更正确、更生动、更丰富。这就是马克思主义的认识论。

《关于领导方法的若干问题》(一九四三年六月一日), 《毛泽东选集》第三卷第九零一页

我们应该走到群众中间去, 向群众学习, 把他们的经验综合起来, 成为更好的有条理的道理和办法, 然后再告诉群众(宣传), 并号召群众实行起来, 解决群众的问题, 使群众得到解放和幸福。

《组织起来》(一九四三年十一月二十九日), 《毛泽东选集》第三卷第九三六页

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and systematic ideas), then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action. Then once again concentrate ideas from the masses and once again go to the masses so that the ideas are persevered in and carried through. And so on, over and over again in an endless spiral, with the ideas becoming more correct, more vital and richer each time. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge.

*Ibid.*, p. 119.

We should go to the masses and learn from them, synthesize their experience into better, articulated principles and methods, then do propaganda among the masses, and call upon them to put these principles and methods into practice so as to solve their problems and help them achieve liberation and happiness.。

"Get Organized!" (November 29, 1943),

*Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 158.



在我们一些地方的领导机关中，有的人认为，党的政策只要领导人知道就行，不需要让群众知道。这是我们的有些工作不能做好的基本原因之一。

《对晋绥日报编辑人员的谈话》（一九四八年四月二日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一三一七页

在任何群众运动中，群众积极拥护的有多少，反对的有多少，处于中间状态的有多少，这些都必须有个基本的调查，基本的分析，不可无根据地、主观地决定问题。

《党委会的工作方法》（一九四九年三月十三日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四四四页

任何有群众的地方，大致都有比较积极的、中间状态的和比较落后的三部分人。故领导者必须善于团结少数积极分子

There are people in our leading organs in some places who think that it is enough for the leaders alone to know the Party's policies and that there is no need to let the masses know them. This is one of the basic reasons why some of our work cannot be done well.

"A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the Shansi-Suiyuan Daily" (April 2, 1948), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 241

In all mass movements we must make a basic investigation and analysis of the number of active supporters, opponents and neutrals and must not decide problems subjectively and without basis.

"Methods of Work of Party Committees" (March 13, 1949), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 380.

The masses in any given place are generally composed of three parts, the relatively active, the intermediate and the relatively backward. The leaders must therefore be skilled in uniting the small number of active elements around the leadership and must rely on them to raise the

作为领导的骨干，并凭借这批骨干去提高中间分子，争取落后分子。

《关于领导方法的若干问题》（一九四三年六月一日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第九零零页

善于把党的政策变为群众的行动，善于使我们的每一个运动，每一个斗争，不但领导干部懂得，而且广大的群众都能懂得，都能掌握，这是一项马克思列宁主义的领导艺术。我们的工作犯不犯错误，其界限也在这里。

《对晋绥日报编辑人员的谈话》（一九四八年四月二日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一三一八——一三一九页

只有领导骨干的积极性，而无广大群众的积极性相结合，便将成为少数人的空忙。但如果只有广大群众的积极性，而无

level of the intermediate elements and to win over the backward elements.

"Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership" (June 1, 1943), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 118.

To be good at translating the Party's policy into action of the masses, to be good at getting not only the leading cadres but also the broad masses to understand and master every movement and every struggle we launch - this is an art of Marxist-Leninist leadership. It is also the dividing line that determines whether or not we make mistakes in our work.

"A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the Shansi-Suiyuan Daily" (April 2, 1948), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, pp 242-43.

However active the leading group may be, its activity will amount to fruitless effort by a handful of people unless combined with the activity of the masses. On the other hand, if the masses alone are active without a strong leading group to organize their

有力的领导骨干去恰当地组织群众的积极性，则群众积极性既不可能持久，也不可能走向正确的方向和提到高级的程度。

《关于领导方法的若干问题》(一九四三年六月一日)，《毛泽东选集》第三卷第九零零零页

群众生产，群众利益，群众经验，群众情绪，这些都是领导干部们应时刻注意的。

为中直军直生产展览会题词，一九四三年十一月二十四日延安《解放日报》

我们应该深刻地注意群众生活的问题，从土地、劳动问题，到柴米油盐问题。……一切这些群众生活上的问题，都

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activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level.

"Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership" (June 1, 1943), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 118.

Production by the masses, the interests of the masses, the experiences and feelings of the masses - to these the leading cadres should pay constant attention.

Inscription for a production exhibition sponsored by organizations directly under the Central Committee of the Party and the General Headquarters of the Eighth Route Army, *Liberation Daily* of Yen'an, November 24, 1943.

We should pay close attention to the well-being of the masses, from the problems of land and labour to those of fuel, rice, cooking oil and salt.... All such problems concerning the well-being of the masses should be placed on our agenda. We should discuss them, adopt and carry out decisions

应该把它提到自己的议事日程上。应该讨论，应该决定，应该实行，应该检查。要使广大群众认识我们是代表他们的利益的，是和他们呼吸相通的。要使他们从这些事情出发，了解我们提出来的更高的任务，革命战争的任务、拥护革命，把革命推到全国去，接受我们的政治号召，为革命的胜利斗争到底。

《关心群众生活，注意工作方法》（一九三四年一月二十七日），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第一三三页

and check up on the results. We should help the masses to realize that we represent their interests, that our lives are intimately bound up with theirs. We should help them to proceed from these things to an understanding of the higher tasks which we have put forward, the tasks of the revolutionary war, so that they will support the revolution and spread it throughout the country, respond to our political appeals and fight to the end for victory in the revolution.

"Be Concerned with the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work" (January 27, 1934), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 149.\*

## 十二、政治工作

那时（指一九二四——一九二七年第一次国内革命战争时期——编者）军队设立了党代表和政治部，这种制度是中国历史上没有的，靠了这种制度使军队一新其面目。一九二七年以后的红军以至今日的八路军，是继承了这种制度而加以发展的。

《和英国记者贝特兰的谈话》（一九五七年十月二十五日），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第三七零页

在人民战争的基础上，在军队和人民团结一致、指挥员和战斗员团结一致以及瓦解敌军等项原则的基础上，人民解放军建立了自己的强有力的革命的政治工作，这是我们战胜敌人的重大因素。

《目前形势和我们的任务》（一九四七年十二月二十五日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一二四八页

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## 12. POLITICAL WORK

The system of Party representatives and of political departments, adopted for the first time in China, entirely changed the complexion of these armed forces.<sup>[2]</sup> The Red Army, which was founded in 1927, and the Eighth Route Army of today have inherited this system and developed it.

"Interview with the British Journalist James Bertram" (October 25, 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 54.

The People's Liberation Army has developed its vigorous revolutionary political work, which is an important factor in winning victory over the enemy, on the basis of a people's war and of the principles of unity between army and people, of unity between commanders and fighters and of disintegrating the enemy troops.

"The Present Situation and Our Tasks" (December 25, 1947), *Selected Military Writings*, 2nd ed., p. 350.

这个军队形成了为人民战争所必需的一系列的政治工作，其任务是为团结我军，团结友军，团结人民，瓦解敌军和保证战斗胜利而斗争。

《论联合政府》（一九四五年四月二十四日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零四零页

政治工作是一切经济工作的生命线。在社会经济制度发生根本变革的时期，尤其是这样。

《严重的教训》一文的按语（一九五五年），《中国农村的社会主义高潮》上册第一二三五页

红军所以艰难奋战而不溃散，“支部建在连上”是一个重要原因。

《井冈山的斗争》（一九二八年十一月二十五日），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第六八页

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This army has built up a system of political work which is essential for the people's war and is aimed at promoting unity in its own ranks, unity with the friendly armies and unity with the people, and at disintegrating the enemy forces and ensuring victory in battle.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 265.\*

Political work is the life-blood of all economic work. This is particularly true at a time when the social and economic system is undergoing fundamental change.

Introductory note to "A Serious Lesson" (1955), *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Chinese ed., Vol. I.

"The Party branch is organized on a company basis"; this is an important reason why the Red Army has been able to carry on such arduous fighting without falling apart.

"The Struggle in the Ching Kang Mountains" (November 25, 1928), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 84.

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八路军的政治工作的基本原则有三个，即：第一、官兵一致的原则，这就是在军队中肃清封建主义，废除打骂制度，建立自觉纪律，实行同甘共苦的生活，因此全军是团结一致的。第二、军民一致的原则，这就是秋毫无犯的民众纪律，宣传、组织和武装民众，减轻民众的经济负担，打击危害军民的汉奸卖国贼，因此军民团结一致，到处得到人民的欢迎。第三、瓦解敌军和宽待俘虏的原则。我们的胜利不但是依靠我军的作战，而且依靠敌军的瓦解。

《和英国记者贝特兰的谈话》（一九三七年十月二十五日），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第三六九页

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The political work of the Eighth Route Army is guided by three basic principles. First, the principle of unity between officers and men, which means eradicating feudal practices in the army, prohibiting beating and abuse, building up a conscious discipline, and sharing weal and woe - as a result of which the entire army is closely united. Second, the principle of unity between the army and the people, which means maintaining a discipline that forbids the slightest violation of the people's interests, conducting propaganda among the masses, organizing and arming them, lightening their economic burdens and suppressing the traitors and collaborators who do harm to the army and the people - as a result of which the army is closely united with the people and welcomed everywhere. Third, the principle of disintegrating the enemy troops and giving lenient treatment to prisoners of war. Our victory depends not only upon our military operations but also upon the disintegration of the enemy troops.

"Interview with the British Journalist James Bertram" (October 25, 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 53.\*

我们的军队必须在军民关系上、军政关系上、军党关系上、官兵关系上、军事工作和政治工作关系上、干部相互关系上，遵守正确的原则，决不可犯军阀主义的毛病。官长必须爱护士兵，不能漠不关心，不能采取肉刑；军队必须爱护人民，不能损害人民利益；军队必须尊重政府，尊重党，不能闹独立性。

《组织起来》（一九四三年十一月二十九日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第九三七页

对敌军、伪军、反共军的俘虏，除为群众所痛恶、非杀不可而又经过上级批准的人以外，应一律采取释放的政策。其中被迫参加、多少带有革命性的分子，应大

Our troops must observe the correct principles that govern relations between the army and the people, between the army and the government, between the army and the Party, between officers and men, and between military work and political work, and relations among the cadres, and must never commit the errors of warlordism. Officers must cherish their men and must not be indifferent to their well-being or resort to corporal punishment; the army must cherish the people and never encroach upon their interests; the army must respect the government and the Party and never "assert independence".

Get Organized!" (November 29, 1943),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. III, pp. 158-59.

Our policy towards prisoners captured from the Japanese, puppet or anti-Communist troops is to set them all free, except for those who have incurred the bitter hatred of the masses and must receive capital punishment and whose death sentence has been approved by the higher authorities. Among the prisoners, those who were coerced into joining the reactionary

批地争取为我军服务，其他则一律释放；如其再来，则再捉再放；不加侮辱，不搜财物，不要自首，一律以诚恳和气的态度对待之。不论他们如何反动，均取这种政策。这对于孤立反动营垒，是非常有效的。

《论政策》（一九四零年十二月二十五日），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第七六四——七六五页

武器是战争的重要因素，但不是决定的因素，决定的因素是人不是物。力量对比不但是军力和经济力的对比，而且是人力和人心的对比。军力和经济力是要人去掌握的。

《论持久战》（一九三八年五月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第四五九页

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forces but who are more or less inclined towards the revolution should be won over in large numbers to work for our army. The rest should be released and, if they fight us and are captured again, should again be set free. We should not insult them, take away their personal effects or try to exact recantations from them, but without exception should treat them sincerely and kindly. This should be our policy, however reactionary they may be. It is a very effective way of isolating the camp of reaction.

"On Policy" (December 25, 1940),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 446-47.\*

Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive. The contest of strength is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also a contest of human power and morale. Military and economic power is necessarily wielded by people.

"On Protracted War" (May 1958),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 143-44.

原子弹是美国反动派用来吓人的一只纸老虎，看样子可怕，实际上并不可怕。当然，原子弹是一种大规模屠杀的武器，但是决定战争胜败的是人民，而不是一两件新式武器。

《和美国记者安娜·路易斯·斯特朗的谈话》（一九四六年八月），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一一九二页

军队的基础在士兵，没有进步的政治精神贯注于军队之中，没有进步的政治工作去执行这种贯注，就不能达到真正的官长和士兵的一致，就不能激发官兵最大限度的抗战热忱，一切技术和战术就不能得着最好的基础去发挥它们应有的效力。

《论持久战》（一九三八年五月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五零零页

单纯军事观点在红军一部分同志中

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The atom bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't. Of course, the atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon.

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

Soldiers are the foundation of an army; unless they are imbued with a progressive political spirit, and unless such a spirit is fostered through progressive political work, it will be impossible to achieve genuine unity between officers and men, impossible to arouse their enthusiasm for the War of Resistance to the full, and impossible to provide an excellent basis for the most effective use of all our technical equipment and tactics.

"On Protracted War" (May 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 185.

\*

The purely military viewpoint is very highly developed among a number of

非常发展。其表现如：

(一) 认为军事政治二者是对立的，不承认军事只是完成政治任务的工具之一。甚至还有说“军事好，政治自然会好，军事不好，政治也不会好”的，则更进一步认为军事领导政治了。

.....

《关于纠正党内的错误思想》(一九二九年十二月)，《毛泽东选集》第一卷第八七——八八页

掌握思想教育，是团结全党进行伟大政治斗争的中心环节。如果这个任务不解决，党的一切政治任务是不能完成的。

《论联合政府》(一九四五年四月二十四日)，《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零九五页

在知识分子和青年学生中间，最近一

itself as follows: comrades in the Red Army. It manifests

1. These comrades regard military affairs and politics as opposed to each other and refuse to recognize that military affairs are only one means of accomplishing political tasks. Some even say, "If you are good militarily, naturally you are good politically; if you are not good militarily, you cannot be any good politically" - this is to go a step further and give military affairs a leading position over politics....

"On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" (December 1929), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 105-06.

Ideological education is the key link to be grasped in uniting the whole Party for great political struggles. Unless this is done, the Party cannot accomplish any of its political tasks.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 315.\*

Recently there has been a falling off in ideological and political work among

个时期，思想政治工作减弱了，出现了一些偏向。在一些人的眼中，好像什么政治，什么祖国的前途，人类的理想，都没有关心的必要。好像马克思主义行时了一阵，现在就不那么行时了。针对着这种情况，现在需要加强思想政治工作。不论是知识分子，还是青年学生，都应该努力学习。除了学习专业之外，在思想上要有所进步，政治上也要有所进步，这就需要学习马克思主义，学习时事政治。没有正确的政治观点，就等于没有灵魂。……思想政治工作，各个部门都要负责任。共产党应该管，青年团应该管，政府主管部门应该管，学校的校长教师更应该管。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》

（一九二八年十一月二十五日），《毛

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students and intellectuals, and some unhealthy tendencies have appeared. Some people seem to think that there is no longer any need to concern oneself with politics or with the future of the motherland and the ideals of mankind. It seems as if Marxism was once all the rage but is currently not so much in fashion. To counter these tendencies, we must strengthen our ideological and political work. Both students and intellectuals should study hard. In addition to the study of their specialized subjects, they must make progress both ideologically and politically, which means that they should study Marxism, current events and politics. Not to have a correct political point of view is like having no sou... All departments and organizations should shoulder their responsibilities in ideological and political work. This applies to the Communist Party, the Youth League, government departments in charge of this work, and especially to heads of educational institutions and teachers.

*"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"*  
(February 27, 1957); 1st pocket ed., pp.

43-44.\*

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经过政治教育，红军士兵都有了阶级觉悟，都有了分配土地、建立政权和武装工农等项常识，都知道是为了自己和工农阶级而作战。因此，他们能在艰苦的斗争中不出怨言。连、营、团都有了士兵会，代表士兵利益，并做政治工作和民众工作。

《井冈山的斗争》（一九二八年十一月二十五日），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第六六页

由于诉苦（诉旧社会和反动派所给予劳动人民之苦）和三查（查阶级、查工作、查斗志）运动的正确进行，大大提高了全军指战员为解放被剥削的劳动大众，为全

After receiving political education, the Red Army soldiers have all become class-conscious and learned the essentials of distributing land, setting up political power, arming the workers and peasants, etc., and they all know they are fighting for themselves, for the working class and the peasantry. Hence they can endure the hardships of the bitter struggle without complaint. Each company, battalion or regiment has its soldiers' committee which represents the interests of the soldiers and carries on political and mass work.

"The Struggle in the Ching kang Mountains" (November 25, 1928),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 81.\*

The correct unfolding of the movement for pouring out grievances (the wrongs done to the labouring people by the old society and by the reactionaries) and the three check-ups (on class origin, performance of duty and will to fight) greatly heightened the political consciousness of commanders and fighters throughout the army in the fight for

国的土地改革，为消灭人民公敌蒋介石匪帮而战的觉悟性；同时就大大加强了全体指战员在共产党领导之下的坚强的团结。在这个基础上，部队的纯洁性提高了，纪律整顿了，群众性的练兵运动开展了，完全有领导地有秩序地在部队中进行的政治、经济、军事三方面的民主发扬了。这样就使部队万众一心，大家想办法，大家出力量，不怕牺牲，克服物质条件的困难，群威群胆，英勇杀敌。这样的军队，将是无敌于天下的。

《评西北大捷兼论解放军的新式整军运动》（一九四八年三月七日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一二九二页

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the emancipation of the exploited working masses, for nationwide land reform and for the destruction of the common enemy of the people, the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang. It also greatly strengthened the firm unity of all commanders and fighters under the leadership of the Communist Party. On this basis, the army achieved greater purity in its ranks, strengthened discipline, unfolded a mass movement for training, and further developed its political, economic and military democracy in a completely well-led and orderly way. Thus the army has become united as one man, with everybody contributing his ideas and his strength, an army fearless of sacrifice and capable of overcoming material difficulties, which displays mass heroism and daring in destroying the enemy. Such an army will be invincible.

"On the Great Victory in the Northwest and on the New Type of Ideological Education Movement in the Liberation Army" (March 7, 1948), *Selected Military Writings*, 2nd ed., pp. 358-59.

差不多一切人民解放军的部队，在最近几个月内，都利用了战争的空隙，实行了大规模的整训。这种整训，是完全有领导地和有秩序地采用民主方法进行的。由此，激发了广大的指挥员和战斗员群众的革命热情，明确地认识了战争的目的，清除了存在于军队中的若干不正确的思想上的倾向和不良现象，教育了干部和战士，极大地提高了战斗力。这种民主的群众性的新式的整军运动，今后必须继续进行。

《在晋绥干部会议上的讲话》（一九四八年四月一日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一三一零——一三一一页

抗大的教育方针是：坚定正确的政治方向，艰苦朴素的工作作风，灵活机动的

In the last few months almost all the People's Liberation Army has made use of the intervals between battles for large-scale training and consolidation. This has been carried out in a fully guided, orderly and democratic way. It has therefore aroused the revolutionary fervour of the great masses of commanders and fighters, enabled them clearly to comprehend the aim of the war, eliminated certain incorrect ideological tendencies and undesirable manifestations in the army, educated the cadres and fighters and greatly enhanced the combat effectiveness of the army. From now on, we must continue to carry on this new type of ideological education movement in the army, a movement which has a democratic and mass character.

"Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area" (April 1, 1948), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 234.

The educational policy of the college [the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College] is to cultivate a firm and correct political orientation, an industrious and simple style

战略战术。这三者是造成一个抗日的革命的军人所不可缺的。抗大的职员、教员、学生，都是根据这三者去进行教育，从事学习的。

《被敌人反对是好事而不是坏事》(一九三九年五月二十六日)，人民出版社版  
第三页

我们民族历来有一种艰苦奋斗的作风，我们要把它发扬起来。……共产党历来提倡坚定正确的政治方向，……这种坚定正确的政治方向，是与艰苦奋斗的工作作风不能脱离的，没有坚定正确的政治方向，就不能激发艰苦奋斗的工作作风；没有艰苦奋斗的工作作风，也就不能执行坚定正确的政治方向。

《在延安庆祝五一国际劳动节大会上的讲话》(一九三九年五月一日)，一九三九年五月十日《新中华报》

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of work, and flexible strategy and tactics. These are the three essentials in the making of an anti-Japanese revolutionary soldier. It is in accordance with these essentials that the staff teach and the students study.

*"To Be Attacked by the Enemy Is Not a Bad Thing but a Good Thing"* (May 26, 1939), 1st pocket ed., p. 3.

Our nation has always had a traditional style of hard struggle, which we should develop... What is more, the Communist Party has always advocated a firm and correct political orientation, ... This orientation is inseparable from a style of hard struggle. Without a firm and correct political orientation, it is impossible to promote a style of hard struggle. Without the style of hard struggle, it is impossible to maintain a firm and correct political orientation.

"Speech at the Yen'an Rally in Celebration of International Labour Day" (May 1, 1939).

革命年代  
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团结、紧张、严肃、活泼。

为“抗大”制定的校训

世界上怕就怕“认真”二字，共产党就最讲“认真”。

在莫斯科会见我国留学生和实习生时的谈话(一九五七年十一月十七日),《毛主席在苏联的言论》人民日报出版社版第一五页

Be united, alert, earnest and lively.

Motto for the Anti-Japanese Military  
and Political College.

What really counts in the world is  
conscientiousness, and the Communist Party  
is most particular about being conscientious.

"Talk at a meeting with Chinese students  
and trainees in Moscow" (November 17,  
1957).

## 十三、官兵关系

我们的军队一向就有两条方针：第一对敌人要狠，要压倒它，要消灭它；第二对自己人、对人民、对同志、对官长、对部下要和，要团结。

在中央招待留守兵团学习代表时的演说  
(一九四四年九月十八日)，一九四四年九月二十三日延安《解放日报》

我们都是来自五湖四海，为了一个共同的革命目标，走到一起来了。……我们的干部要关心每一个战士，一切革命队伍的人都要互相关心，互相爱护，互相帮助。

《为人民服务》(一九四四年九月八日)，  
《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零零三一

——零零四页

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# 13. RELATIONS BETWEEN OFFICERS AND MEN

Our army has always had two policies. First, we must be ruthless to our enemies, we must overpower and annihilate them. Second, we must be kind to our own, to the people, to our comrades and to our superiors and subordinates, and unite with them.

"Speech at the reception given by the Central Committee of the Party for model study delegates from the Rear Army Detachments" (September 18, 1944).

We hail from all corners of the country and have joined together for a common revolutionary objective... Our cadres must show concern for every soldier, and all people in the revolutionary ranks must care for each other, must love and help each other.

"Serve the People" (September 8, 1944),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. III, pp. 227-28.

应在每一部队内部举行拥干爱兵运动，号召干部爱护士兵，同时号召士兵拥护干部，彼此的缺点错误，公开讲明，迅速纠正，这样就能达到很好地团结内部之目的。

《一九四五年的任务》（一九四四年十二月十五日），一九四四年十二月十六日  
延安《解放日报》

很多人对于官兵关系、军民关系弄不好，以为是方法不对，我总告诉他们是根本态度（或根本宗旨）问题，这态度就是尊重士兵和尊重人民。从这态度出发，于是有各种的政策、方法、方式。离了这态度，政策、方法、方式也一定是错的，官兵之间、军民之间的关系便决然弄不好。军队政治工作的三大原则：第一是官兵一

A movement to support the cadres and cherish the soldiers should be launched in every army unit, calling on the cadres to cherish the soldiers and the soldiers to support the cadres. They should speak up about each other's shortcomings and mistakes and quickly correct them. In this way they will be able to achieve a very good internal unity.

"The Tasks for 1945" (December 15, 1944)

Many people think that it is wrong methods that make for strained relations between officers and men and between the army and the people, but I always tell them that it is a question of basic attitude (or basic principle), of having respect for the soldiers and the people. It is from this attitude that the various policies, methods and forms ensue. If we depart from this attitude, then the policies, methods and forms will certainly be wrong, and the relations between officers and men and between the army and the people are bound to be unsatisfactory. Our three major principles

致，第二是军民一致，第三是瓦解敌军。这些原则要实行有效，都须从尊重士兵、尊重人民和尊重已经放下武器的敌军俘虏的人格这种根本态度出发。那些认为不是根本态度问题而是技术问题的人，实在是想错了，应该加以改正才对。

《论持久战》（一九三八年五月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五零一页

共产党人在劳动人民中间进行工作的时候必须采取民主的说服教育的方法，决不允许采取命令主义态度和强制手段。中国共产党忠实地遵守马克思列宁主义的这个原则。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
（一九五七年二月二十七日），人民出版社第八页

毛泽东博览  
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for the army's political work are, first, unity between officers and men; second, unity between the army and the people; and third, the disintegration of the enemy forces. To apply these principles effectively, we must start with this basic attitude of respect for the soldiers and the people, and of respect for the human dignity of prisoners of war once they have laid down their arms. Those who take all this as a technical matter and not one of basic attitude are indeed wrong, and they should correct their view.

"On Protracted War" (May 1938),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 186-87.  
*Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 186-87.

Communists must use the democratic method of persuasion and education when working among the labouring people and must on no account resort to commandism or coercion. The Chinese Communist Party faithfully adheres to this Marxist-Leninist principle.

"On the Correct Handling of  
*Contradictions Among the People*"  
(February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., p.

15.  
毛泽东博览  
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我们的同志一定要懂得，思想改造的工作是长期的、耐心的、细致的工作，不能企图上几次课，开几次会，就把人家在几十年生活中形成的思想意识改变过来。要人家服，只能说服，不能压服。压服的结果总是压而不服。以力服人是不行的。对付敌人可以这样，对付同志，对付朋友，绝不能用这个方法。

《在中国共产党全国宣传工作会议上的讲话》（一九五七年三月十二日），人民出版社版第一七页

要分清敌我，不能站在敌对的立场用对待敌人的态度来对待同志。必须是满腔热情地用保护人民事业和提高人民觉悟的态度来说话，而不能用嘲笑和攻击的态度来说话。

《在中国共产党全国宣传工作会议上的讲话》（一九五七年三月十二日），人民出版社版第一五——一六页

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Our comrades must understand that ideological remoulding involves long-term, patient and painstaking work, and they must not attempt to change people's ideology, which has been shaped over decades of life, by giving a few lectures or by holding a few meetings. Persuasion, not compulsion, is the only way to convince them. Compulsion will never result in convincing them. To try to convince them by force simply won't work. This kind of method is permissible in dealing with the enemy, but absolutely impermissible in dealing with comrades or friends.

*"Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work"* (March 12, 1957), 1st pocket ed., p. 23.

We must make a distinction between the enemy and ourselves, and we must not adopt an antagonistic stand towards comrades and treat them as we would the enemy. In speaking up, one must have an ardent desire to protect the cause of the people and raise their political consciousness, and there must be no ridiculing or attacking in one's approach.

## 十四、军民关系

军队须和民众打成一片，使军队在民众眼睛中看成是自己的军队，这个军队便无敌于天下，……

《论持久战》（一九三八年五月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五零一页

应该使每一个同志懂得，只要我们依靠人民，坚决地相信人民群众的创造力是无穷无尽的，因而信任人民，和人民打成一片，那就任何困难也能克服，任何敌人也不能压倒我们，而只会被我们所压倒。

《论联合政府》（一九四五年四月二十四日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零九七页

我们的同志不论到什么地方，都要和群众的关系搞好，要关心群众，帮助他们解

## 14. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ARMY AND THE PEOPLE

The army must become one with the people so that they see it as their own army. Such an army will be invincible,...

"On Protracted War" (May 1938),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 186.

Every comrade must be helped to understand that as long as we rely on the people, believe firmly in the inexhaustible creative power of the masses and hence trust and identify ourselves with them, we can surmount any difficulty, and no enemy can crush us while we can crush any enemy.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 316.\*

Wherever our comrades go, they must build good relations with the masses, be concerned for them, and help them overcome

决困难。团结广大人民，团结得越多越好。

《关于重庆谈判》(一九四五年十月十七日)，《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一一六一页

在解放区，一方面，军队应实行拥政爱民的工作，另一方面，民主政府应领导人民实行拥军优抗的工作，更大地改善军民关系。

《论联合政府》(一九四五年四月二十四日)，《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零九一页

军队中应当从每个指战员的思想上解决问题，使他们彻底认识拥政爱民的重要性。只要军队方面做好了，地方对军队

their difficulties. We must unite with the masses, the more of the masses we unite with, the better.

"On the Chungking Negotiations"  
(October 17, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 59.

The army in the Liberated Areas must support the government and cherish the people, while the democratic governments must lead the people in the work of supporting the army and giving preferential treatment to the families of soldiers fighting Japan. In this way relations between the army and the people will become still better.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 311.\*

In the army the task of supporting the government and cherishing the people should be handled through the ideological education of every commander and fighter, so that they all thoroughly understand its

的关系必会跟着改善。

《一九四六年解放区工作的方针》(一九四五年十二月十五日),《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一一七三页

在拥政爱民和拥军优抗的运动中,彻底检查军队方面和党政方面各自在一九四三年的缺点错误,而于一九四四年坚决改正之。以后应于每年正月普遍举行一次,再三再四地宣读拥政爱民公约和拥军优抗公约,再三再四地将各根据地曾经发生的军队欺压党政民和党政民关心军队不足的缺点错误,实行公开的群众性的自

importance. As long as the army on its part does this job well, the local government and the people will also improve their relations with the army.

"Policy for Work in the Liberated Areas for 1946" (December 15, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 77.\*

In the course of these campaigns<sup>[3]</sup>, the army on its side and the Party and the government on theirs should thoroughly examine the shortcomings and mistakes of 1943, and should resolutely correct them in 1944. From now on, such campaigns should be launched everywhere in the first month of every lunar year, and in the course of them the pledges to "support the government and cherish the people" and "support the army and give preferential treatment to the families of soldiers fighting Japan" should be read out time and again, and there should be repeated self-criticism before the masses of any high-handed behaviour by the troops in the base areas towards the Party or government personnel or towards civilians,

我批评（各方面只批评自己，不批评对方），而彻底改正之。

《开展根据地的减租、生产和拥政爱民运动》（一九四三年十月一日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第九一六页

or of any lack of concern for the troops shown by the Party or government personnel or the civilians (each side criticizing itself and not the other) in order that these shortcomings and mistakes may be thoroughly corrected.

"Spread the Campaigns to Reduce Rent, Increase Production and 'Support the Government and Cherish the People' in the Base Areas" (October 1, 1943), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 135.\*

## 十五、三大民主

军队应实行一定限度的民主化，主要地是废除封建主义的打骂制度和官兵生活同甘苦。这样一来，官兵一致的目的就达到了，军队就增加了绝大的战斗力，长期的残酷的战争就不患不能支持。

《论持久战》（一九三八年五月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五零零—一五零一页

红军的物质生活如此菲薄，战斗如此频繁，仍能维持不敝，除党的作用外，就是靠实行军队内的民主主义。官长不打士兵，官兵待遇平等，士兵有开会说话的自

## 15. DEMOCRACY IN THE THREE MAIN FIELDS

A proper measure of democracy should be put into effect in the army, chiefly by abolishing the feudal practice of bullying and beating and by having officers and men share weal and woe. Once this is done, unity will be achieved between officers and men, the combat effectiveness of the army will be greatly increased, and there will be no doubt of our ability to sustain the long, cruel war.

"On Protracted War" (May 1938),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 186.

Apart from the role played by the Party, the reason why the Red Army has been able to carry on in spite of such poor material conditions and such frequent engagements is its practice of democracy. The officers do not beat the men; officers and men receive equal treatment; soldiers are free to hold meetings and to speak out; trivial formalities

由，废除烦琐的礼节，经济公开。……中国不但人民需要民主主义，军队也需要民主主义。军队内的民主主义制度，将是破坏封建雇佣军队的一个重要的武器。

《井冈山的斗争》（一九二八年十一月二十五日），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第六七一—六八页

部队内部政治工作方针，是放手发动士兵群众、指挥员和一切工作人员，通过集中领导下的民主运动，达到政治上高度团结、生活上获得改善、军事上提高技术和战术的三大目的。目前在我军部队中热烈进行的三查、三整，就是用政治民主、经济民主的方法，达到前两项目的。

关于经济民主，必须使士兵选出的代

have been done away with; and the accounts are open for all to inspect.... In China the army needs democracy as much as the people do. Democracy in our army is an important weapon for undermining the feudal mercenary army.

"The Struggle in the Ching kang Mountains" (November 25, 1928),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 83.

The policy for political work in our army units is fully to arouse the rank and file, the commanders and all working personnel in order to achieve three major objectives through a democratic movement under centralized leadership, namely, a high degree of political unity, better living conditions, and better military technique and tactics. The Three Check-ups and Three Improvements<sup>[4]</sup> now being enthusiastically carried out in our army units are intended to attain the first two of these objectives through the methods of political and economic democracy.

With regard to economic democracy, the representatives elected by the soldiers must

表有权协助（不是超过）连队首长管理连队的给养和伙食。

关于军事民主，必须在练兵时实行官兵互教，兵兵互教；在作战时，实行在火线上连队开各种大、小会。在连队首长指导下，发动士兵群众讨论如何攻克敌阵，如何完成战斗任务。在连续几天的战斗中，此种会应开几次。此项军事民主，在陕北蟠龙战役和晋察冀石家庄战役中，都实行了，收到了极大效果。证明只有好处，毫无害处。

《军队内部的民主运动》（一九四八年一月三十日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第

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be ensured the right to assist (but not to bypass) the company leadership in managing the company's supplies and mess.

With regard to military democracy, in periods of training there must be mutual instruction as between officers and soldiers and among the soldiers themselves; and in periods of fighting the companies at the front must hold big and small meetings of various kinds. Under the direction of the company leadership, the rank and file should be roused to discuss how to attack and capture enemy positions and how to fulfill other combat tasks. When the fighting lasts several days, several such meetings should be held. This kind of military democracy was practised with great success in the battle of Panlung in northern Shensi and in the battle of Shihchiachuang in the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei area. It has been proved that the practice can only do good and can do no harm whatsoever.

"The Democratic Movement in the Army" (January 30, 1948), *Selected Military Writings*, 2nd ed., p. 353.

处在伟大斗争面前的中国共产党，要求整个党的领导机关，全党的党员和干部，高度地发挥其积极性，才能取得胜利。所谓发挥积极性，必须具体地表现在领导机关、干部和党员的创造能力，负责精神，工作的活跃，敢于和善于提出问题、发表意见、批评缺点，以及对于领导机关和领导干部从爱护观点出发的监督作用。没有这些，所谓积极性就是空的。而这些积极性的发挥，有赖于党内生活的民主化。党内缺乏民主生活，发挥积极性的目的就不能达到。大批能干人材的创造，也只有在民主生活中才有可能。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》（一九三八年十月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五一七页

In the present great struggle, the Chinese Communist Party demands that all its leading bodies and all its members and cadres should give the fullest expression to their initiative, which alone can ensure victory. This initiative must be demonstrated concretely in the ability of the leading bodies, the cadres and the Party rank and file to work creatively, in their readiness to assume responsibility, in the exuberant vigour they show in their work, in their courage and ability to raise questions, voice opinions and criticize defects, and in the comradely supervision that is maintained over the leading bodies and the leading cadres. Otherwise, "initiative" will be an empty thing. But the exercise of such initiative depends on the spread of democracy in Party life. It cannot be brought into play if there is not enough democracy in Party life. Only in an atmosphere of democracy can large numbers of able people be brought forward.

"The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War" (October 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 204.

不论什么人，只要不是敌对分子，不是恶意攻击，允许大家讲话，讲错了也不要紧。各级领导人员，有责任听别人的话。实行两条原则：（一）知无不言，言无不尽；（二）言者无罪，闻者足戒。如果没有“言者无罪”一条，并且是真的，不是假的，就不可能收到“知无不言，言无不尽”的效果。

《一九四五年的任务》（一九四四年十二月十五日），一九四四年十二月十六日  
延安《解放日报》

必须在党内施行有关民主生活的教育，使党员懂得什么是民主生活，什么是民主制和集中制的关系，并如何实行民主集中制。这样才能做到：一方面，确实扩

Anyone should be allowed to speak out, whoever he may be, so long as he is not a hostile element and does not make malicious attacks, and it does not matter if he says something wrong. Leaders at all levels have the duty to listen to others. Two principles must be observed: (1) Say all you know and say it without reserve; (2) Don't blame the speaker but take his words as a warning. Unless the principle of "Don't blame the speaker" is observed genuinely and not falsely, the result will not be "Say all you know and say it without reserve".

"The Tasks for 1945" (December 15, 1944)

Education in democracy must be carried on within the Party so that members can understand the meaning of democratic life, the meaning of the relationship between democracy and centralism, and the way in which democratic centralism should be put into practice. Only in this way can we really

大党内的民主生活；又一方面，不至于走到极端民主化，走到破坏纪律的自由放任主义。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》（一九三八年十月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五一七页

无论在军队或在地方，党内民主都应是着巩固纪律和增强战斗力，而不是削弱这种纪律和战斗力。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》（一九三八年十月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五一七——五一八页

从理论上铲除极端民主化的根苗。首先，要指出极端民主化的危险，在于损伤以至完全破坏党的组织，削弱以至完全毁灭党的战斗力，使党担负不起斗争的责任，由此造成革命的失败。其次，要指出

extend democracy within the Party and at the same time avoid ultra-democracy and the laissez-faire which destroys discipline.

"The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War" (October 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 205.\*

Both in the army and in the local organizations, inner-Party democracy is meant to strengthen discipline and increase combat effectiveness, not to weaken them.

*Ibid.*

In the sphere of theory, destroy the roots of ultra-democracy. First, it should be pointed out that the danger of ultrademocracy lies in the fact that it damages or even completely wrecks the Party organization and weakens or even completely undermines the Party's fighting capacity, rendering the Party incapable of fulfilling its fighting tasks and thereby causing the defeat of the revolution. Next, it

极端民主化的来源，在于小资产阶级的自由散漫性。这种自由散漫性带到党内，就成了政治上的和组织上的极端民主化的思想。这种思想是和无产阶级的斗争任务根本不相容的。

《关于纠正党内的错误思想》（一九二九年十二月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第九一页

should be pointed out that the source of ultra-democracy consists in the petty bourgeoisie's individualistic aversion to discipline. When this characteristic is brought into the Party, it develops into ultra-democratic ideas politically and organizationally. These ideas are utterly incompatible with the fighting tasks of the proletariat.

"On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" (December 1929), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 108.

## 十六、教育和训练

我们的教育方针，应该使受教育者在德育、智育、体育几方面都得到发展，成为有社会主义觉悟的有文化的劳动者。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出版社版第二三页

对于在职干部的教育和干部学校的教育，应确立以研究中国革命实际问题为中心，以马克思列宁主义基本原则为指导的方针，废除静止地孤立地研究马克思列宁主义的方法。

《改造我们的学习》(一九四一年五月)，  
《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八零三页

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## 16. EDUCATION AND THE TRAINING OF TROOPS

Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture.

*"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"*  
(February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., p. 44.\*

As for education for cadres whether at work or in schools for cadres, a policy should be established of focusing such education on the study of the practical problems of the Chinese revolution and using the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism as the guide, and the method of studying Marxism-Leninism statically and in isolation should be discarded.

*"Reform Our Study"* (May 1941),  
*Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 24.*

一个军事学校，最重要的问题，是选择校长教员和规定教育方针。

《中国革命战争的战略问题》(一九三六年十二月)，《毛泽东选集》第一卷第一七零页

一个百人的学校，如果没有一个从教员中、职员中、学生中按照实际形成的(不是勉强凑集的)最积极最正派最机敏的几个人乃至十几个人的领导骨干，这个学校就一定办不好。

《关于领导方法的若干问题》(一九四三年六月一日)，《毛泽东选集》第三卷第九零一页

我全军将士必须提高军事艺术，在必胜的战争中勇猛前进，坚决彻底干净全部

For a military school, the most important question is the selection of a director and instructors and the adoption of an educational policy.

"Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" (December 1936), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 185.\*

A school of a hundred people certainly cannot be run well if it does not have a leading group of several people, or a dozen or more, which is formed in accordance with the actual circumstances (and not thrown together artificially) and is composed of the most active, upright and alert of the teachers, the other staff and the students.

"Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership" (June 1, 1943), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, pp. 118-19.

All officers and fighters of our army must improve their military art, march forward courageously towards certain victory in the

地歼灭一切敌人。

《中国人民解放军宣言》(一九四七年十月),《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一二三九页

目前开始的一年整训计划,军事整训与政治整训应该并重,并使二者互相结合。整训开始时,还应着重政治方面,着重于改善官兵关系,增强内部团结,发动干部与战士群众的高度积极性,军事整训才易于实施与更有效果。

《一九四五年的任务》(一九四四年十二月十五日),一九四四年十二月十六日延安《解放日报》

练兵方法,应开展官教兵、兵教官、

应开展官教兵、兵教官、  
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war and resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely wipe out all enemies.

"Manifesto of the Chinese People's Liberation Army" (October 1947), *Selected Military Writings*, 2nd ed., p. 340.

Equal importance should be attached to the military and political aspects of the one-year consolidation and training programme which has just begun, and the two aspects should be integrated. At the start, stress should be placed on the political aspect, on improving relations between officers and men, enhancing internal unity and arousing a high level of enthusiasm among the masses of cadres and fighters. Only thus will the military consolidation and training proceed smoothly and attain better results.

"The Tasks for 1945" (December 15, 1944)

As for the method of training, we should unfold the mass training movement in which officers teach soldiers, soldiers teach

兵教兵的群众练兵运动。

《一九四六年解放区工作的方针》(一九四五年十二月十五日),《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一一七二页

我们练兵的口号是：“官教兵，兵教官，兵教兵。”战士们有很多打仗的实际经验。当官的要向战士学习，把别人的经验变成自己的，他的本领就大了。

《对晋绥日报编辑人员的谈话》(一九四八年四月二日),《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一三一九页

练兵项目，仍以提高射击、刺杀、投弹项技术程度为主，提高战术程度为辅，特别着重于练习夜战。

《一九四六年解放区工作的方针政策》(一九四五年十二月十五日),《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一一七二页

officers and the soldiers teach each other.

"Policy for Work in the Liberated Areas for 1946" (December 15, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 76.

Our slogan in training troops is, "Officers teach soldiers, soldiers teach officers and soldiers teach each other". The fighters have a lot of practical combat experience. The officers should learn from the fighters, and when they have made other people's experience their own, they will become more capable.

"A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the Shansi-Suiyuan Daily" (April 2, 1948), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 243.

As for the training courses, the main objective should still be to raise the level of technique in marksmanship, bayoneting grenade-throwing and the like and the secondary objective should be to raise the level of tactics, while special emphasis should be laid on night operations.

"Policy for Work in the Liberated Areas for 1946" (December 15, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 76.\*

## 十七、为人民服务

我们应该谦虚，谨慎，戒骄，戒躁，  
全心全意地为人民服务，……

《两个中国之命运》（一九四五年四月二十三日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零二八页

全心全意地为人民服务，一刻也不脱离群众；一切从人民的利益出发，而不是从个人或小集团的利益出发；向人民负责和向党的领导机关负责的一致性；这些就是我们的出发点。

《论联合政府》（一九四五年四月二十四日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零九五——一零九六页

国家机关实行民主集中制，国家机关

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## 17. SERVING THE PEOPLE

We should be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness, and serve the Chinese people heart and soul,...

"China's Two Possible Destinies"  
(April 23, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III p. 253.

Our point of departure is to serve the people whole-heartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, to proceed in all cases from the interests of the people and not from one's self-interest or from the interests of a small group, and to identify our responsibility to the people with our responsibility to the leading organs of the Party.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 315.\*

The organs of state must practise democratic centralism, they must rely on the

必须依靠人民群众，国家机关工作人员必须为人民服务。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出版社版第四页

白求恩同志毫不利己专门利人的精神，表现在他对工作的极端的负责任，对同志对人民的极端的热忱。每个共产党员都要学习他。

… …

我们大家要学习他毫无自私自利之心的精神。从这点出发，就可以变为大有利于人民的人。一个人能力有大小，但只要有这点精神，就是一个高尚的人，一个纯粹的人，一个有道德的人，一个脱离了低级趣味的人，一个有益于人民的人。

《纪念白求恩》(一九三九年十二月二十一日)，《毛泽东选集》第二卷第六五

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masses and their personnel must serve the people.

"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" (February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., p. 8.\*

Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his boundless sense of responsibility in his work and his boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people. Every Communist must learn from him.

... ..

We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit everyone can be very useful to the people. A man's ability may be great or small, but if he has this spirit, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people..

"In Memory of Norman Bethune" (December 21, 1939), *Selected Works*,

Vol. II, pp. 337-38.\*  
  
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我们的共产党和共产党所领导的八路军、新四军，是革命的队伍。我们这个队伍完全是为着解放人民的，是彻底地为人民的利益工作的。

《为人民服务》（一九四四年九月八日），  
《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零零三页

我们一切工作干部，不论职位高低，都是人民的勤务员，我们所做的一切，都是为人民服务，我们有些什么不好的东西舍不得丢掉呢？

《一九四五年的任务》（一九四四年十二月十五日），一九四四年十二月十六日延安《解放日报》

我们的责任，是向人民负责，每句话，每个行动，每项政策，都要适合人民的利益，如果有了错误，定要改正，这就叫向人民负责。

《抗日战争后的时局和我们的方针》（一九四五年八月十三日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一一二八页

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Our Communist Party and the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies led by our Party are battalions of the revolution. These battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people and work entirely in the people's interests.

"Serve the People" (September 8, 1944),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 227.

All our cadres, whatever their rank, are servants of the people, and whatever we do is to serve the people. How then can we be reluctant to discard any of our bad traits?

"The Tasks for 1945" (December 15, 1944).

Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every word, every act and every policy must conform to the people's interests, and if mistakes occur, they must be corrected - that is what being responsible to the people means.

"The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan" (August 13, 1945),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 16.

要奋斗就会有牺牲，死人的事是经常发生的。但是我们想到人民的利益，想到大多数人民的痛苦，我们为人民而死，就是死得其所。不过，我们应当尽量地减少那些不必要的牺牲。

《为人民服务》(一九四四年九月八日)，  
《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零零四页

人总是要死的，但死的意义有不同。中国古时候有个文学家叫做司马迁的说过：“人固有一死，或重于泰山，或轻于鸿毛。”为人民利益而死，就比泰山还重；替法西斯卖力，替剥削人民和压迫人民的人去死，就比鸿毛还轻。

《为人民服务》(一九四四年九月八日)，  
《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零零三页

Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people it is a worthy death. Nevertheless, we should do our best to avoid unnecessary sacrifices.

"Serve the People" (September 8, 1944),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 228.

All men must die, but death can vary in its significance. The ancient Chinese writer Szuma Chien said, "Though death befalls all men alike, it may be weightier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather." To die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather.

*Ibid.*, p. 227.\*

## 十八、爱国主义和国际主义

国际主义者的共产党员，是否可以同时又是一个爱国主义者呢？我们认为不但是可以的，而且是应该的。爱国主义的具体内容，看在什么样的历史条件之下来决定。有日本侵略者和希特勒的“爱国主义”，有我们的爱国主义。对于日本侵略者和希特勒的所谓“爱国主义，共产党员是必须坚决地反对的。日本共产党人和德国共产党人都是他们国家的战争的失败主义者。用一切方法使日本侵略者和希特勒的战争归于失败，就是日本人民和德国人民的利益；失败得越彻底，就越好。……

## 18. PATRIOTISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

Can a Communist, who is an internationalist, at the same time be a patriot? We hold that he not only can be but must be. The specific content of patriotism is determined by historical conditions. There is the "patriotism" of the Japanese aggressors and of Hitler, and there is our patriotism. Communists must resolutely oppose the "patriotism" of the Japanese aggressors and of Hitler. The Communists of Japan and Germany are defeatists with regard to the wars being waged by their countries. To bring about the defeat of the Japanese aggressors and of Hitler by every possible means is in the interests of the Japanese and the German people, and the more complete the defeat the better. ... For the wars launched by the Japanese aggressors and Hitler are harming the people at home as

这是因为日本侵略者和希特勒的战争，不但是损害世界人民的，也是损害其本国人民的。中国的情况则不同，中国是被侵略的国家。因此，中国共产党人必须将爱国主义和国际主义结合起来。我们是国际主义者，我们又是爱国主义者，我们的口号是为保卫祖国反对侵略者而战。对于我们，失败主义是罪恶，争取抗日胜利是责无旁贷的。因为只有为着保卫祖国而战才能打败侵略者，使民族得到解放。只有民族得到解放，才有使无产阶级和劳动人民得到解放的可能。中国胜利了，侵略中国的帝国主义者被打倒了，同时也就是帮助了外国的人民。因此，爱国主义就是国际主义在民族解放战争中的实施。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》（一九三八年十月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五零八——五零九页

well as the people of the world. China's case, however, is different, because she is the victim of aggression. Chinese Communists must therefore combine patriotism with internationalism. We are at once internationalists and patriots, and our slogan is, "Fight to defend the motherland against the aggressors." For us defeatism is a crime and to strive for victory in the War of Resistance is an inescapable duty. For only by fighting in defence of the motherland can we defeat the aggressors and achieve national liberation. And only by achieving national liberation will it be possible for the proletariat and other working people to achieve their own emancipation. The victory of China and the defeat of the invading imperialists will help the people of other countries. Thus in wars of national liberation patriotism is applied internationalism.

"The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War" (October 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 196.\*

一个外国人，毫无利己的动机，把中国人民的解放事业当作他自己的事业，这是什么精神？这是国际主义的精神，这是共产主义的精神，每一个中国共产党员都要学习这种精神。……我们要和一切资本主义国家的无产阶级联合起来，要和日本的、英国的、美国的、德国的、意大利的以及一切资本主义国家的无产阶级联合起来，才能打倒帝国主义，解放我们的民族和人民，解放世界的民族和人民。这就是我们的国际主义，这就是我们用以反对狭隘民族主义和狭隘爱国主义的国际主义。

《纪念白求恩》（一九三九年十二月二十一日），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第六五三页

被压迫人民争取彻底的解放，首先是依靠自己的斗争，其次才是国际的援助。

What kind of spirit is this that makes a foreigner selflessly adopt the cause of the Chinese people's liberation as his own? It is the spirit of internationalism, the spirit of communism, from which every Chinese Communist must learn.... We must unite with the proletariat of all the capitalist countries, with the proletariat of Japan, Britain, the United States, Germany, Italy and all other capitalist countries, before it is possible to overthrow imperialism, to liberate our nation and people, and to liberate the other nations and peoples of the world. This is our internationalism, the internationalism with which we oppose both narrow nationalism and narrow patriotism.

"In Memory of Norman Bethune"  
(December 21, 1939), *Selected Works*,  
Vol. II, p. 337.\*

In the fight for complete liberation the oppressed people rely first of all on their own struggle and then, and only then, on

已经获得革命胜利的人民，应该援助正在争取解放的人民的斗争，这是我们的国际主义的义务。

接见非洲朋友时的谈话《一九六三年八月八日》，一九六三年八月九日《人民日报》

社会主义国家是完全新型的国家，是推翻了剥削阶级而由劳动人民掌握权力的国家。在这些国家间的相互关系中，实现着国际主义和爱国主义相统一的原则。共同的利益和共同的理想把我们紧紧地联结在一起。

《在苏联最高苏维埃庆祝伟大的十月社会主义革命四十周年会议上的讲话》（一九五七年十一月六日），人民出版社版第九——十页

社会主义阵营各国人民要联合起来，亚洲、非洲、拉丁美洲各国人民要联合起来，全世界各大洲的人民要联合起来，所

international assistance. The people who have triumphed in their own revolution should help those still struggling for liberation. This is our internationalist duty.

"Talk with African friends" (August 8, 1963).

The socialist countries are states of an entirely new type in which the exploiting classes have been overthrown and the working people are in power. The principle of integrating internationalism with patriotism is practised in the relations between these countries. We are closely bound by common interests and common ideals.

"Speech at the Meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution" (November 6, 1957).

The people of the countries in the socialist camp should unite, the people of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin the continents should unite, all peace-loving

有爱好和平的国家要联合起来，所有受到美国侵略、控制、干涉和欺负的国家要联合起来，结成最广泛的统一战线，反对美帝国主义的侵略政策和战争政策，保卫世界和平。

《支持巴拿马人民反美爱国正义斗争的谈话》（一九六四年一月十二日），《全世界人民团结起来打败美国侵略者及其一切走狗》人民出版社版第九页

事物总是发展的。一九一一年革命，即辛亥革命，到今年，不过四十五年，中国的面目完全变了。再过四十五年，就是二千零一年，也就是进到二十一世纪的时候，中国的面目更要大变。中国将变为一个强大的社会主义工业国。中国应当这样。因为中国是一个具有九百六十万平方公里土地和六万万人口的国家，中国应当对于人类有较大的贡献。而这种贡献，在

America should unite, the people of all countries should unite, and all countries subjected to U.S. aggression, control, intervention or bullying should unite, and so form the broadest united front to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and to defend world peace.

"Statement Supporting the Panamanian People's Just Patriotic Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism" (January 12, 1964), People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Lackeys, 2nd ed., p. 9.

Things develop ceaselessly. It is only forty-five years since the Revolution of 1911, but the face of China has completely changed. In another forty-five years, that is, in the year 2001, or the beginning of the 21st century, China will have undergone an even greater change. She will have become a powerful socialist industrial country. And that is as it should be. China is a land with an area of 9,600,000 square kilometres and a population of 600 million people, and she

过去一个长时期内，则是太少了。这使我们感到惭愧。

但是要谦虚。不但现在应当这样，四十五年之后也应当这样，永远应当这样。中国人在国际交往方面，应当坚决、彻底、干净、全部地消灭大国主义。

《纪念孙中山先生》（一九五六年十一月），一九五六年十一月十二日《人民日报》

我们决不可有傲慢的大国主义的态度，决不当由于革命的胜利和在建设上有了一些成绩而自高自大。国无论大小，都各有长处和短处。

《中国共产党第八次全国代表大会开幕词》（一九五六年九月十五日），《中国共产党第八次全国代表大会文献》第九页

ought to have made a greater contribution to humanity. Her contribution over a long period has been far too small. For this we are regretful.

But we must be modest - not only now, but forty-five years hence as well. We should always be modest. In our international relations, we Chinese people should get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.

"In Commemoration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen" (November 1956).

We must never adopt an arrogant attitude of great-power chauvinism and become conceited because of the victory of our revolution and certain achievements in our construction. Every nation, big or small, has its strong and weak points.

"Opening Address at the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China" (September 15, 1956).

## 十九、革命英雄主义

这个军队具有一往无前的精神，它要压倒一切敌人，而决不被敌人所屈服。不论在任何艰难困苦的情况下，只要还有一个人，这个人就要继续战斗下去。

《论联合政府》（一九四五年四月二十四日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零三九页

发扬勇敢战斗、不怕牺牲、不怕疲劳和连续作战（即在短期内不休息地接连打几仗）的作风。

《目前形势和我们的任务》（一九四七年十二月二十五日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一二四七页

成千成万的先烈，为着人民的利益，在我们的前头英勇地牺牲了，让我们高举

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## 19. REVOLUTIONARY HEROISM

This army has an indomitable spirit and is determined to vanquish all enemies and never to yield. No matter what the difficulties and hardships, so long as a single man remains, he will fight on.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 264.\*

Give full play to our style of fighting - courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting (that is, fighting successive battles in a short time without rest).

"The Present Situation and Our Tasks" (December 25, 1947), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 161.

Thousands upon thousands of martyrs have heroically laid down their lives for the people; let us hold their banner high and

起他们的旗帜，踏着他们的血迹前进吧！

《论联合政府》（一九四五年四月二十四日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零九九页

下定决心，不怕牺牲，排除万难，去争取胜利。

《愚公移山》（一九四五年六月十一日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一一零一页

... ..正当北伐战争向前发展的紧要关头，这个代表中国人民解放事业的国共两党和各界人民的民族统一战线及其一切革命政策，就被国民党当局的叛卖性的反人民的“清党”政策和屠杀政策所破坏了。... ..从此以后，内战代替了团结，独裁代替了民主，黑暗的中国代替了光明的中国。但是中国共产党和中国人民并没有被吓倒，被征服，被杀绝。他们从地下爬

march ahead along the path crimson with  
their blood!

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

Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and  
surmount every difficulty to win victory.

"The Foolish Old Man Who Removed  
the Mountains" (June 11, 1945),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 321.\*

At a critical moment in the progress of the Northern Expedition, ... the treacherous and reactionary policies of "party purge" and massacre adopted by the Kuomintang authorities wrecked this national united front - the united front of the Kuomintang, the Communist Party and all sections of the people, which embodied the Chinese people's cause of liberation - and all its revolutionary policies.... Thereupon unity was replaced by civil war, democracy by dictatorship, and a China full of brightness people were neither cowed nor conquered nor exterminated. They picked themselves

起来，揩干净身上的血迹，掩埋好同伴的尸首，他们又继续战斗了。他们高举起革命的大旗，举行了武装的抵抗，在中国的广大区域内，组织了人民的政府，实行了土地制度的改革，创造了人民的军队——中国红军，保存了和发展了中国人民的革命力量。

《论联合政府》（一九四五年四月二十四日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零三六页

你们有许多的长处，有很大的功劳，但是你们切记不可以骄傲，你们被大家尊敬，是应当的，但是也容易因此引起骄傲。如果你们骄傲起来，不虚心，不再努力，不尊重人家，不尊重干部，不尊重群众，

by a China covered in darkness. But the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese up, wiped off the blood, buried their fallen comrades and went into battle again. Holding high the great standard of revolution, they rose in armed resistance and over a vast territory in China they set up people's governments, carried out land reform, built up a people's army - the Chinese Red Army - and preserved and expanded the revolutionary forces of the Chinese people.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 261.\*

You have many good qualities and have rendered great service, but you must always remember not to become conceited. You are respected by all, and quite rightly, but this easily leads to conceit. If you become conceited, if you are not modest and cease to exert yourselves, and if you do not respect others, do not respect the cadres and the masses, then you will cease to be heroes and

你们就会当不成英雄和模范了。过去已有一些这样的人，希望你们不要学他们。

《必须学会做经济工作》（一九四五年一月十日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零一—三页

你们在消灭敌人的斗争中，在恢复和发展工农业生产的斗争中，克服了很多的艰难困苦，表现了极大的勇敢、智慧和积极性。你们是全中华民族的模范人物，是推动各方面人民事业胜利前进的骨干，是人民政府的可靠支柱和人民政府联系广大群众的桥梁。

代表中共中央在全国战斗英雄和劳动模范代表会议上的祝词（一九五零年九月二十五日），一九五零年九月二十六日《人民日报》

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models. There have been such people in the past, and I hope you will not follow their example.

"We Must Learn to Do Economic Work"  
(January 10, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III,  
p. 239.

In the fight to wipe out the enemy and to restore and increase industrial and agricultural production, you have overcome many difficulties and hardships and demonstrated immense courage, wisdom and initiative. You are models for the whole Chinese nation, the backbone of the victorious advance of the people's cause in all spheres, pillars of support to the People's Government and bridges linking the People's Government with the great masses.

"Message of greetings on behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to the Meeting of Representatives of National Combat Heroes and Model Workers"  
(September 25, 1950).

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我们中华民族有同自己的敌人血战到底的气概。有在自力更生的基础上光复旧物的决心，有自立于世界民族之林的能力。

《论反对日本帝国主义的策略》(一九三五年十二月二十七日)，《毛泽东选集》第一卷第一五六页

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.\*

## 二十、勤俭建国

要使全体干部和全体人民经常想到我国是一个社会主义的大国，但又是一个经济落后的穷国，这是一个很大的矛盾。要使我国富强起来，需要几十年艰苦奋斗的时间，其中包括执行厉行节约、反对浪费这样一个勤俭建国的方针。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出版社版第三六页

勤俭办工厂，勤俭办商店，勤俭办一切国营事业和合作事业，勤俭办一切其他事业，什么事情都应当执行勤俭的原则。

## 20. BUILDING OUR COUNTRY THROUGH DILIGENCE AND FRUGALITY

We must see to it that all our cadres and all our people constantly bear in mind that ours is a big socialist country but an economically backward and poor one, and that this is a very great contradiction. To make China rich and strong needs several decades of intense effort, which will include, among other things, the effort to practise strict economy and combat waste, i.e., the policy of building up our country through diligence and frugality.

*"On the Correct Handling of  
Contradictions Among the People"*  
(February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., p.  
71.

Diligence and frugality should be practised in running factories and shops and all state-owned, co-operative and other

这就是节约的原则，节约是社会主义经济的基本原则之一。中国是一个大国，但是现在还很穷，要使中国富起来，需要几十年时间，几十年以后也需要执行勤俭的原则，但是特别要提倡勤俭，特别要注意节约的，是在目前这几十年内，是在目前这几个五年计划的时期内。

《勤俭办社》一文的按语（一九五五年），  
《中国农村的社会主义高潮》上册第  
一六页

任何地方必须十分爱惜人力物力，决不可只顾一时，滥用浪费。任何地方必须从开始工作的那一年起，就计算到将来的很多年，计算到长期坚持战争，计算到反攻，计算到赶走敌人之后的建设。一面决

enterprises. The principle of diligence and frugality should be observed in everything. This principle of economy is one of the basic principles of socialist economics. China is a big country, but she is still very poor. It will take several decades to make China prosperous. Even then we will still have to observe the principle of diligence and frugality. But it is in the coming few decades, during the present series of five-year plans, that we must particularly advocate diligence and frugality, that we must pay special attention to economy.

Introductory note to "Running a Co-operative Diligently and Frugally" (1955), *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Chinese ed., Vol. I.

Wherever we happen to be, we must treasure our manpower and material resources, and must not take a short view and indulge in wastefulness and extravagance. Wherever we are, from the very first year of our work we must bear in mind the many years to come, the protracted war that must be maintained, the counter-offensive, and the work of reconstruction after the enemy's expulsion. On the one hand, never be wasteful or

不滥用浪费，一面努力发展生产。过去有些地方缺少长期打算，既未注意节省人力物力，又未注意发展生产，吃了大亏。得了这个教训，现在必须引起注意。

《必须学会做经济工作》(一九四五年一月十日)，《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零一九页

为了迅速地恢复和发展农业生产和市镇上的工业生产，在消灭封建制度的斗争中，必须注意尽一切努力最大限度地保存一切可用的生产资料和生活资料，采取办法坚决地反对任何人对于生产资料和生活资料的破坏和浪费，反对大吃大喝，注意节约。

《在晋绥干部会议上的讲话》(一九四八年四月一日)，《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一三一四页

extravagant; on the other, actively expand production. Previously, in some places people suffered a great deal because they did not take the long view and neglected economy in manpower and material resources and the expansion of production. The lesson is there and attention must be called to it.

"We Must Learn to Do Economic Work" (January 10, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 244.

In order to speed up this restoration and development [of agricultural production and industrial production in small towns], we must do our utmost, in the course of our struggle for the abolition of the feudal system, to preserve all useful means of production and of livelihood, take resolute measures against anyone's destroying or wasting them, oppose extravagant eating and drinking and pay attention to thrift and economy.

"Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area" (April 1, 1948), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 238.

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财政的支出，应该根据节省的方针。应该使一切政府工作人员明白，贪污和浪费是极大的犯罪。反对贪污和浪费的斗争，过去有了些成绩，以后还应用力。节省每一个铜板为着战争和革命事业，为着我们的经济建设，是我们的会计制度的原则。

《我们的经济政策》（一九三四年一月二十三日），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第一二九页

在我们的许多工作人员中间，现在滋长着一种不愿意和群众同甘苦，喜欢计较个人名利的危险倾向，这是很不好的。我们在增产节约运动中要求精简机关，下放干部，使相当大的一批干部回到生产中去，就是克服这种危险倾向的一个方法。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》（一九五七年二月二十七日），人民出

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Thrift should be the guiding principle in our government expenditure. It should be made clear to all government workers that corruption and waste are very great crimes. Our campaigns against corruption and waste have already achieved some results, but further efforts are required. Our system of accounting must be guided by the principle of saving every copper for the war effort, for the revolutionary cause and for our economic construction.

"Our Economic Policy" (January 23, 1934), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 145.

A dangerous tendency has shown itself of late among many of our personnel - an unwillingness to share the joys and hardships of the masses, a concern for personal fame and gain. This is very bad. One way of overcoming it is to simplify our organizations in the course of our campaign to increase production and practise economy, and to transfer cadres to lower levels so that a considerable number will return to productive work.

"*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*" (February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., p 71.

军队生产自给，不但改善了生活，减轻了人民负担，并因而能够扩大军队，而且立即带来了许多副产物。这些副产物就是：（一）改善官兵关系。官兵一道生产劳动，亲如兄弟了。（二）增强劳动观念。……生产自给以来，劳动观念加强了，二流子的习气被改造了。（三）增强纪律性。在生产中执行劳动纪律，不但不会减弱战斗纪律和军人生活纪律，反而会增强它们。（四）改善军民关系。部队有了家务，侵害老百姓财物的事就少了，或者完

Production by the army for its own support has not only improved the army's living conditions and lightened the burden on the people, thereby making it possible further to expand the army. In addition, it has had many immediate side-effects. They are as follows:

(1) Improved relations between officers and men. Officers and men work together in production and become like brothers.

(2) Better attitude to labour... since the army began to produce for its own support, the attitude to labour has improved and loafer ways have been overcome.

(3) Strengthened discipline. Far from weakening discipline in battle and in army life, labour discipline in production actually strengthens it.

(4) Improved relations between the army and the people. Once an armed force begins to "keep house" for itself, encroachments upon the property of the people seldom or never occur. As the army and the people exchange labour and help each other in

全没有了。在生产中，军民变工互助，更增强他们之间的友好关系。（五）军队埋怨政府的事也会少了，军政关系也好了。

（六）促进人民的大生产运动。军队生产了，机关生产更显得必要，更有劲了；全体人民的普遍增产运动，当然也更显得必要，更有劲了。

《论军队生产自给，兼论整风和生产两大运动的重要性》（一九四五年四月二十七日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零七页

有人说：部队生产，就不能作战和训练了；机关生产，就不能工作了。这种说

production, the friendship between them is strengthened.

(5) Less grumbling in the army about the government and improved relations between the two.

(6) An impetus to the great production campaign of the people. Once the army engages in production, the need for government and other organizations to do likewise becomes more obvious, and they do so more energetically; also, the need for a universal campaign of the whole people to increase production naturally becomes more obvious, and this too is carried on more energetically.

"On Production by the Army for Its Own Support and on the Importance of the Great Movements for Rectification and for Production" (April 27, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, pp. 327-28.\*

Some people say that if the army units go in for production, they will be unable to train or fight and that if the government and

法是不对的。最近几年，我们边区部队从事大量的生产，衣食丰足，同时又进行练兵，又有政治和文化学习，这些都比从前有更大的成绩，军队内部的团结和军民之间的团结，也比从前更好了。在前方，去年一年进行了大规模的生产运动，可是去年一年作战方面有很大的成绩，并且普遍地开始了练兵运动。机关因为生产，工作人员生活改善了，工作更安心、更有效率，边区和前方都是这样。

《必须学会做经济工作》（一九四五年一月十日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零一八页

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other organizations do so, they will be unable to do their own work. This is a false argument. In recent years our army units in the Border Region have undertaken production on a big scale to provide themselves with ample food and clothing and have simultaneously done their training and conducted their political studies and literacy and other courses much more successfully than before, and there is greater unity than ever within the army and between the army and the people. While there was a large-scale production campaign at the front last year, great successes were gained in the fighting and in addition an extensive training campaign was started. And thanks to production, the personnel of the government and other organizations live a better life and work with greater devotion and efficiency; this is the case both in the Border Region and at the front.

"We Must Learn to Do Economic Work"  
(January 10, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol.

III, pp. 243-44.  
  
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## 二十一、自力更生，艰苦奋斗

我们的方针要放在什么基点上？放在自己力量的基点上，叫做自力更生。我们并不孤立，全世界一切反对帝国主义的国家 and 人民都是我们的朋友。但是我们强调自力更生，我们能够依靠自己组织的力量，打败一切中外反动派。

《抗日战争胜利后的时局和我们的方针》（一九四五年八月十三日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一一三二页

我们是主张自力更生的。我们希望有外援，但是我们不能依赖它，我们依靠自己的努力，依靠全体军民的创造力。

《必须学会做经济工作》（一九四五年一月十日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一

## 21. SELF-RELIANCE AND ARDUOUS STRUGGLE

On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through one's own efforts. We are not alone; all the countries and people in the world opposed to imperialism are our friends. Nevertheless, we stress regeneration through our own efforts. Relying on the forces we ourselves organize, we can defeat all Chinese and foreign reactionaries.

"The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan" (August 13, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 20.

We stand for self-reliance. We hope for foreign aid but cannot be dependent on it; we depend on our own efforts, on the creative power of the whole army and the entire people.

"We Must Learn to Do Economic Work" (January 10, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 241.

夺取全国胜利，这只是万里长征走完了第一步。……中国的革命是伟大的，但革命以后的路程更长，工作更伟大，更艰苦。这一点现在就必须向党内讲明白，务必使同志们继续地保持谦虚、谨慎、不骄、不躁的作风，务必使同志们继续地保持艰苦奋斗的作风。

《在中国共产党第七届中央委员会第二次全体会议上的报告》（一九四九年三月五日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四三九——一四四零页

干部中一切不经过自己艰苦奋斗、流血流汗，而依靠意外便利、侥幸取胜的心理，必须扫除干净。

《建立巩固的东北根据地》（一九四五年十月二十八日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一一七九页

我们应当把世界进步的情况和光明

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To win country-wide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li.... The Chinese revolution is great, but the road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous. This must be made clear now in the Party. The comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle.

"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. 374.\*

We must thoroughly clear away all ideas among our cadres of winning easy victories through good luck, without hard and bitter struggle, without sweat and blood.

"Build Stable Base Areas in the Northeast" (December 28, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 84.

We should carry on constant propaganda among the people on the facts of world

的前途，常常向人民宣传，使人民建立起胜利的信心，同时，我们还要告诉人民，告诉同志们，道路是曲折的。在革命的道路上还有许多障碍物，还有许多困难。我们党的七次代表大会设想许多困难，我们宁肯把困难想得更多一些，有些同志不愿意多想困难。但是困难是事实，有多少就得承认多少，不能采取“不承认主义”。我们要承认困难，分析困难，向困难作斗争。世界上没有直路，要准备走曲折的路，不要贪便宜。不能设想，那一天早上，一切反动派会统统自己跪在地下。总之，前途是光明的，道路是曲折的。我们面前困难还多，不可忽视。我们和全体人民团结

progress and the bright future ahead so that they will build their confidence in victory. At the same time, we must tell the people and tell our comrades that there will be twists and turns in our road, There are still many obstacles and difficulties along the road of revolution. The Seventh Congress of our Party assumed that the difficulties would be many, for we preferred to assume there would be more difficulties rather than less. Some comrades do not like to think much about difficulties. But difficulties are facts; we must recognize as many difficulties as there are and should not adopt a "policy of non-recognition". We must recognize difficulties, analyse them and combat them. There are no straight roads in the world; we must be prepared to follow a road which twists and turns and not try to get things on the cheap. It must not be imagined that one fine morning all the reactionaries will go down on their knees of their own accord. In a word, while the prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns. There are still many difficulties ahead which we must not overlook. By uniting with the entire people in a common effort, we can certainly

起来，共同努力，一定能够排除万难，达到胜利的目的。

《关于重庆谈判》（一九四五年十月十七日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一一六二页

谁要是只看见光明一面，不看见困难一面，谁就会不能很好地为实现党的任务而斗争。

《论联合政府》（一九四五年四月二十四日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零九四页

社会的财富是工人、农民和劳动知识分子自己创造的。只要这些人掌握了自己的命运，又有一条马克思列宁主义的路线，不是回避问题，而是用积极的态度去解决问题，任何人间的困难总是可以解决的。

《书记动手，全党办社》一文的按语（一九五五年），《中国农村的社会主义高潮》上册第五一六页

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overcome all difficulties and win victory.

"On the Chungking Negotiations"  
(October 17, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol.  
IV, pp. 59-60.

Anyone who sees only the bright side but not the difficulties cannot fight effectively for the accomplishment of the Party's tasks.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24,  
1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 314.

The wealth of society is created by the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. If they take their destiny into their own hands, follow a Marxist-Leninist line and take an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, there will be no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome.

Introductory note to "*The Party Secretary Takes the Lead and All the Party Members Help Run the Co-operatives*" (1955), *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Chinese ed., Vol. I.

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全党同志都必须充分地估计到，并准备用百折不回的毅力，有计划地克服所有的困难。反动势力面前和我们面前都有困难。但是反动势力的困难是不可能克服的，因为他们是接近于死亡的没有前途的势力。我们的困难是能够克服的，因为我们是新兴的有光明前途的势力。

《迎接中国革命的新高潮》（一九四七年二月一日），毛泽东选集》第四卷第一二一四——一二一五页

我们的同志在困难的时候，要看到成绩，要看到光明，要提高我们的勇气。

《为人民服务》（一九四四年九月八日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零零四页

任何新生事物的成长都是要经过艰难曲折的。在社会主义事业中，要想不经过艰难曲折，不付出极大努力，总是一帆

The comrades throughout the Party must take all this fully into account and be prepared to overcome all difficulties with an indomitable will and in a planned way. The reactionary forces and we both have difficulties. But the difficulties of the reactionary forces are insurmountable because they are forces on the verge of death and have no future. Our difficulties can be overcome because we are new and rising forces and have a bright future.

"Greet the New High Tide of the Chinese Revolution" (February 1, 1947), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 125.

In times of difficulty we must not lose sight of our achievements, must see the bright future and must pluck up our courage.

"Serve the People" (September 8, 1944), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, pp. 227-28.

New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow. It is sheer fantasy to imagine that the cause of socialism is all plain sailing and easy

风顺，容易得到成功，这种想法，只是幻想。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出版社版第一七页

革命斗争中的某些时候，困难条件超过顺利条件，在这种时候，困难是矛盾的主要方面，顺利是其次要方面。然而由于革命党人的努力，能够逐步地克服困难，开展顺利的新局面，困难的局面让位于顺利的局面。

《矛盾论》（一九三七年八月）《毛泽东选集》第一卷第三一三页

什么叫工作，工作就是斗争。那些地方有困难、有问题，需要我们去解决。我

success, without difficulties and setbacks or the exertion of tremendous efforts.

"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" (February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., pp. 32-33.

At certain times in the revolutionary struggle, the difficulties outweigh the favourable conditions and so constitute the principal aspect of the contradiction and the favourable conditions constitute the secondary aspect. But through their efforts the revolutionaries can overcome the difficulties step by step and open up a favourable new situation, thus a difficult situation yields place to a favourable one.

"On Contradiction" (August 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 335.

What is work? Work is struggle. There are difficulties and problems in those places for us to overcome and solve. We go there to difficulties. A good comrade is one who is

们是为着解决困难去工作、去斗争的。越是困难的地方越是要去，这才是好同志。

《关于重庆谈判》（一九四五年十月十七日。），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一一六零页

中国古代有个寓言，叫做“愚公移山”。说的是古代有一位老人，住在华北，名叫北山愚公。他的家门南面有两座大山挡住他家的出路，一座叫做太行山，一座叫做王屋山。愚公下决心率领他的儿子们要用锄头挖去这两座大山。有个老头子名叫智叟的看了发笑，说是你们这样干未免太愚蠢了，你们父子数人要挖掉这样两座大山是完全不可能的。愚公回答说：我死了以后有我的儿子，儿子死了，又有孙子，子子孙孙是没有穷尽的。这两座山虽然很高，却是不会再增高了，挖一点就会少一点。为什么挖不平呢？愚公批驳了智叟的

work and struggle to overcome these more eager to go where the difficulties are greater.

"On the Chungking Negotiations"

(October 17, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol.

IV, p. 58.

There is an ancient Chinese fable called "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains". It tells of an old man who lived in northern China long, long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Man of North Mountain. His house faced south and beyond his doorway stood the two great peaks, Taihang and Wangwu, obstructing the way. With great determination, he led his sons in digging up these mountains hoe in hand. Another greybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively, "How silly of you to do this! It is quite impossible for you few to dig up these two huge mountains." The Foolish Old Man replied, "When I die, my sons will carry on; when they die, there will be my grandsons, and then their sons and grandsons, and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains

错误思想，毫不动摇，每天挖山不止。这件事感动了上帝，他就派了两个神仙下凡，把两座山背走了。现在也有两座压在中国人民头上的大山，一座叫做帝国主义，一座叫做封建主义。中国共产党早就下了决心，要挖掉这两座山。我们一定要坚持下去，一定要不断地工作，我们也会感动上帝的。这个上帝不是别人，就是全中国的人民大众。全国人民大众一齐起来和我们一道挖这两座山，有什么挖不平呢？

《愚公移山》(一九四五年六月十一日)，  
《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一一零二页

cannot grow any higher and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can't we clear them away?" Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view, he went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. God was moved by this, and he sent down two angels, who carried the mountains away on their backs. Today, two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people. One is imperialism, the other is feudalism. The Chinese Communist Party has long made up its mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we, too, will touch God's heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these two mountains be cleared away?

"The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains" (June 11, 1945),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 322.\*

## 二十二、思想方法和工作方法

人类的历史，就是一个不断地从必然王国向自由王国发展的历史。这个历史永远不会完结。在有阶级存在的社会内，阶级斗争不会完结。在无阶级存在的社会内，新与旧、正确与错误之间的斗争永远不会完结。在生产斗争和科学实验范围内，人类总是不断发展的，自然界也总是不断发展的，永远不会停止在一个水平上。因此，人类总得不断地总结经验，有所发现，有所发明，有所创造，有所前进。停止的论点，悲观的论点，无所作为和骄傲自满的论点都是错误的。其所以是错误，因为这些论点，不符合大约一百万年

## 22. METHODS OF THINKING AND METHODS OF WORK

The history of mankind is one of continuous development from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. This process is never-ending. In any society in which classes exist class struggle will never end. In classless society the struggle between the new and the old and between truth and falsehood will never end. In the fields of the struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change, they never remain at the same level. Therefore, man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing. Ideas of stagnation, pessimism, inertia and complacency are all wrong. They are wrong because they agree neither with the historical facts of social development over the past million years, nor with the historical

以来人类社会发展的历史事实，也不符合迄今为止我们所知道的自然界（例如天体史，地球史，生物史，其他各种自然科学史所反映的自然界）的历史事实。

转摘自《周恩来总理在第三届全国人民代表大会第一次会议上的政府工作报告》，一九六四年十二月三十一日《人民日报》

自然科学是人们争取自由的一种武装。人们为着要在社会上得到自由，就要用社会科学来了解社会，改造社会进行社会革命。人们为着要在自然界里得到自由，就要用自然科学来了解自然，克服自然和改造自然，从自然里得到自由。

在边区自然科学研究会成立大会上的讲话（一九四零年二月五日），一九四零年三月十五日《新中华报》

马克思主义的哲学辩证唯物论有两

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facts of nature so far known to us (i.e., nature as revealed in the history of celestial bodies, the earth, life, and other natural phenomena).

Quoted in *"Premier Chou Enlai's Report on the Work of the Government to the First Session of the Third National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China"* (December 21-22, 1964).

Natural science is one of man's weapons in his fight for freedom. For the purpose of attaining freedom in society, man must use social science to understand and change society and carry out social revolution. For the purpose of attaining freedom in the world of nature, man must use natural science to understand, conquer and change nature and thus attain freedom from nature.

*"Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Natural Science Research Society of the Border Region"* (February 5, 1940).

The Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism has two outstanding charac-

个最显著的特点：一个是它的阶级性，公然申明辩证唯物论是为无产阶级服务的；再一个是它的实践性，强调理论对于实践的依赖关系，理论的基础是实践，又反过来为实践服务。

《实践论》（一九三七年七月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第二七三页

马克思主义的哲学认为十分重要的问题，不在于懂得了客观世界的规律性，因而能够解释世界，而在于拿了这种对于客观规律性的认识去能动地改造世界。

《实践论》（一九三七年七月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第二八零——二八一页

人的正确思想是从哪里来的？是从天上掉下来的吗？不是。是自己头脑里固有的吗？不是。人的正确思想，只能从社会实践中来，只能从社会的生产斗争、阶级斗争和科学实验这三项实践中来。

《人的正确思想是从那里来的？》（一九六三年五月），人民出版社版第一页

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teristics. One is its class nature: it openly avows that dialectical materialism is in the service of the proletariat. The other is its practicality: it emphasizes the dependence of theory on practice, emphasizes that theory is based on practice and in turn serves practice.

"On Practice" (July 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 297.

Marxist philosophy holds that the most important problem does not lie in understanding the laws of the objective world and thus being able to explain it, but in applying the knowledge of these laws actively to change the world.

*Ibid.*, p. 304.

Where do correct ideas come from? Do they drop from the skies? No. Are they innate in the mind? No. They come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment.

"Where Do Correct Ideas Come from?"  
(May 1963), 1st pocket ed., p. 1.

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人们的社会存在，决定人们的思想。而代表先进阶级的正确思想，一旦被群众掌握，就会变成改造社会、改造世界的物质力量。

《人的正确思想是从那里来的？》（一九六三年五月），人民出版社版第一页

人们在社会实践中从事各项斗争，有了丰富的经验，有成功的，有失败的。无数客观外界的现象通过人的眼、耳、鼻、舌、身这五个官能反映到自己的头脑中来，开始是感性认识。这种感性认识的材料积累多了，就会产生一个飞跃，变成了理性认识，这就是思想。这是一个认识过程。这是整个认识过程的第一个阶段，即由客观物质到主观精神的阶段，由存在到思想的阶段。这时候的精神、思想（包括理论、政策、计划、办法）是否正确地反

It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world.

*Ibid.*

In their social practice, men engage in various kinds of struggle and gain rich experience, both from their successes and from their failures. Countless phenomena of the objective external world are reflected in a man's brain through his five sense organs - the organs of sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch. At first, knowledge is perceptual. The leap to conceptual knowledge, i e., to ideas, occurs when sufficient perceptual knowledge is accumulated. This is one process in cognition. It is the first stage in the whole process of cognition, the stage leading from objective matter to subjective consciousness, from existence to ideas. Whether or not one's consciousness or ideas (including theories, policies, plans or measures) do correctly reflect the laws of

映了客观外界的规律，还是没有证明的，还不能确定是否正确，然后又有认识过程的第二个阶段，即由精神到物质的阶段，由思想到存在的阶段，这就是把第一个阶段得到的认识放到社会实践中去，看这些理论、政策、计划、办法等等是否能得到预期的成功。一般的说来，成功了的就是正确的，失败了的就是错误的，特别是人类对自然界的斗争是如此。在社会斗争中，代表先进阶级的势力，有时候有些失败，并不是因为思想不正确，而是因为在斗争力量的对比上，先进势力这一方，暂时还不如反动势力那一方，所以暂时失败了，但是以后总有一天会要成功的。人们的认识经过实践的考验，又会产生一个飞跃。这次飞跃，比起前一次飞跃来，意义更加伟大。因为只有这一次飞跃才能证明认识的第一次飞跃，即从客观外界反映

the objective external world is not yet proved at this stage, in which it is not yet possible to ascertain whether they are correct or not. Then comes the second stage in the process of cognition, the stage leading from consciousness back to matter, from ideas back to existence, in which the knowledge gained in the first stage is applied in social practice to ascertain whether the theories, policies, plans or measures meet with the anticipated success. Generally speaking, those that succeed are correct and those that fail are incorrect, and this is especially true of man's struggle with nature. In social struggle, the forces representing the advanced class sometimes suffer defeat not because their ideas are incorrect but because, in the balance of forces engaged in struggle, they are not as powerful for the time being as the forces of reaction; they are therefore temporarily defeated, but they are bound to triumph sooner or later. Man's knowledge makes another leap through the test of practice. This leap is more important than the

过程中得到的思想、理论、计划、办法等等，究竟是正确的还是错误的，此外再无别的检验真理的办法。

《人的正确思想是从那里来的？》（一九六三年五月），人民出版社版第一——二页

一个正确的认识，往往需要经过由物质到精神，由精神到物质，即由实践到认识，由认识到实践这样多次的反复，才能够完成。这就是马克思主义的认识论，就是辩证唯物论的认识论。

《人的正确思想是从那里来的？》（一九六三年五月），人民出版社版第三页

无论何人要认识什么事物，除了同那个事物接触，即生活于（实践于）那个事物的环境中，是没有法子解决的。……你要有知识，你就得参加变革现实的实践。你要知道梨子的滋味，你就得变革梨子，

previous one. For it is this leap alone that can prove the correctness or incorrectness of the first leap in cognition, i.e., of the ideas, theories, policies, plans or measures formulated in the course of reflecting the objective external world. There is no other way of testing truth.

*Ibid.*, pp. 1-3.\*

Often, correct knowledge can be arrived at only after many repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge, the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge.

*Ibid.*, p. 3.\*

Whoever wants to know a thing has no way of doing so except by coming into contact with it, that is, by living (practising) in its environment. ... If you want knowledge, you must take part in the practice of changing reality. If you want to know the taste of a pear, you must change want to know the theory and methods of

亲口吃一吃。……你要知道革命的理论和方法，你就得参加革命。一切真知都是从直接经验发源的。

《实践论》（一九三七年七月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第二七五——二七六页

认识从实践始，经过实践得到了理论的认识，还须再回到实践去。认识的能动作用，不但表现于从感性的认识到理性的认识之能动的飞跃，更重要的还须表现于从理性的认识到革命的实践这一个飞跃。

《实践论》（一九三七年七月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第二八一页

大家明白。不论做什么事，不懂得那件事的情形，它的性质，它和它以外的事情的关联，就不知道那件事的规律，就不知道如何去做，就不能做好那件事。

《中国革命战争的战略问题》（一九三六年十二月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第一六三——一六四页

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the pear by eating it yourself.... If you revolution, you must take part in revolution. All genuine knowledge originates in direct experience.

"On Practice" (July 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 299-300.

Knowledge begins with practice, and theoretical knowledge which is acquired through practice must then return to practice. The active function of knowledge manifests itself not only in the active leap from perceptual to rational knowledge, but - and this is more important - it must manifest itself in the leap from rational knowledge to revolutionary practice.

*Ibid.*, p. 304.\*

It is well known that when you do anything, unless you understand its actual circumstances, its nature and its relations to other things, you will not know the laws governing it, or know how to do it, or be able to do it well.

"Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" (December 1936), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 179.

人们要想得到工作的胜利即得到预想的结果，一定要使自己的思想合于客观外界的规律性，如果不合，就会在实践中失败。人们经过失败之后，也就从失败取得教训，改正自己的思想使之适合于外界的规律性，人们就能变失败为胜利，所谓“失败者成功之母”，“吃一堑长一智”，就是这个道理。

《实践论》（一九三七年七月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第二七三页

我们是马克思主义者，马克思主义叫我们看问题不要从抽象的定义出发，而要从客观存在的事实出发，从分析这些事实中找出方针、政策、办法来。

《在延安文艺座谈会上的讲话》（一九四二年五月），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八五五页

按照实际情况决定工作方针，这是一

If a man wants to succeed in his work, that is, to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world; if they do not correspond, he will fail in his practice. After he fails, he draws his lessons, corrects his ideas to make them correspond to the laws of the external world, and can thus turn failure into success; this is what is meant by "failure is the mother of success" and "a fall into the pit, a gain in your wit" .。

"On Practice" (July 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 296-97.

We are Marxists, and Marxism teaches that in our approach to a problem we should start from objective facts, not from abstract definitions, and that we should derive our guiding principles, policies and measures from an analysis of these facts.

"Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art" (May 1942), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 74.

The most fundamental method of work which all Communists must firmly bear in mind is to determine our working policies according to actual conditions. When we

切共产党员所必须牢牢记住的最基本的工作方法。我们所犯的错误，研究其发生的原因，都是由于我们离开了当时当地的实际情况，主观地决定自己的工作方针。

《在晋绥干部会议上的讲话》（一九四八年四月一日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一三零六页

世界上只有唯心论和形而上学最省力，因为它可以由人们瞎说一气，不要根据客观实际，也不受客观实际检查的。唯物论和辩证法则要用气力，它要根据客观实际，并受客观实际检查，不用气力就会滑到唯心论和形而上学方面去。

《关于胡风反革命集团的材料》按语（一九五五年五月），《关于胡风反革命集团的材料》人民出版社版第七零页

我们看事情必须要看它的实质，而把

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study the causes of the mistakes we have made, we find that they all arose because we departed from the actual situation at a given time and place and were subjective in determining our working policies.

"Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area" (April 1, 1948), Selected Works, Vol. IV, pp. 229-30.\*

Idealism and metaphysics are the easiest things in the world, because people can talk as much nonsense as they like without basing it on objective reality or having it tested against reality. Materialism and dialectics, on the other hand, need effort. They must be based on and tested by objective reality. Unless one makes the effort one is liable to slip into idealism and metaphysics.

Introductory note to "Material on the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique" (May 1955).

When we look at a thing, we must examine its essence and treat its appearance

它的现象只看作入门的向导，一进了门就要抓住它的实质，这才是可靠的科学的分析方法。

《星星之火，可以燎原》（一九三零年一月五日），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第一零三页

事物发展的根本原因，不是在事物的外部而是在事物的内部，在于事物内部的矛盾性。任何事物内部都有这种矛盾性，因此引起了事物的运动和发展。事物内部的这种矛盾性是事物发展的根本原因，一事物和他事物的互相联系和互相影响则是事物发展的第二位的原因。

《矛盾论》（一九三七年八月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第二八九——二九零页

唯物辩证法认为外因是变化的条件，内因是变化的根据，外因通过内因而起作用。鸡蛋因得适当的温度而变化为鸡子，

merely as an usher at the threshold, and once we cross the threshold, we must grasp the essence of the thing; this is the only reliable and scientific method of analysis.

"A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire" (January 5, 1930), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 119.

The fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external but internal; it lies in the contradictoriness within the thing. This internal contradiction exists in every single thing, hence its motion and development. Contradictoriness within a thing is the fundamental cause of its development, while its interrelations and interactions with other things are secondary causes.

"On Contradiction" (August 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 313.

It [materialist dialectics] holds that external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change, and that external causes become operative

但温度不能使石头变为鸡子，因为二者的根据是不同的。

《矛盾论》（一九三七年十二月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第二九一页

马克思主义的哲学认为，对立统一规律是宇宙的根本规律。这个规律，不论在自然界、人类社会和人们的思想中，都是普遍存在的。矛盾着的对立面又统一，又斗争，由此推动事物的运动和变化。矛盾是普遍存在的，不过按事物的性质不同，矛盾的性质也就不同，对于任何一个具体的事物说来，对立的统一是有条件的、暂时的、过渡的，因而是相对的，对立的斗争则是绝对的。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
（一九五七年二月二十七日），人民出版社版第九——一零页

分析的方法就是辩证的方法。所谓分析，就是分析事物的矛盾。不熟悉生活，

through internal causes. In a suitable temperature an egg changes into a chicken, but no temperature can change a stone into a chicken, because each has a different basis.

*Ibid.*, p. 314.

Marxist philosophy holds that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law operates universally, whether in the natural world, in human society, or in man's thinking. Between the opposites in a contradiction there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change. Contradictions exist everywhere, but they differ in accordance with the different nature of different things. In any given phenomenon or thing, the unity of opposites is conditional, temporary and transitory, and hence relative, whereas the struggle of opposites is absolute.

*"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"*  
(February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., p. 18.

The analytical method is dialectical. By analysis, we mean analysing the contradictions in things. And sound analysis is impossible without intimate knowledge

对于所论的矛盾不真正了解，就不可能有中肯的分析。

《在中国共产党全国宣传工作会议上的讲话》（一九五七年三月十二日），人民出版社版第一五页

列宁说，对于具体情况作具体的分析，是“马克思主义的最本质的东西，马克思主义的活的灵魂”。我们许多同志缺乏分析的头脑，对于复杂事物，不愿作反复深入的分析研究，而爱作绝对肯定或绝对否定的简单结论。……今后应该改善这种状况。

《学习和时局》（一九四四年四月十二日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第九四三页

这些同志看问题的方法不对。他们不去看问题的本质方面，主流方面，而是强调那些非本质方面、非主流方面的东西。应当指出：不能忽略非本质方面和非主流

of life and without real understanding of the pertinent contradictions.

*"Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work"* (March 12, 1957), 15t pocket ed., p. 20.

Concrete analysis of concrete conditions, Lenin said, is "the most essential thing in Marxism, the living soul of Marxism". Lacking an analytical approach, many of our comrades do not want to go deeply into complex matters, to analyse and study them over and over again, but like to draw simple conclusions which are either absolutely affirmative or absolutely negative.... From now on we should remedy this state of affairs.

"Our Study and the Current Situation" (April 12, 1944), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 165.

The way these comrades look at problems is wrong. They do not look at the essential or main aspects but emphasize the non-essential or minor ones. It should be pointed out that these non-essential or minor aspects must not be overlooked and must be dealt with one by one. But they should not

方面的问题，必须逐一地将它们解决。但是，不应当将这些看成为本质和主流，以致迷惑了自己的方向。

《关于农业合作化问题》(一九五五年七月三十一日)，《人民出版社版第二一页

世界上的事情是复杂的，是由各方面的因素决定的。看问题要从各方面去看，不能只从单方面看。

《关于重庆谈判》(一九四五年十月十七日)，《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一一五六页

只有那些主观地、片面地和表面地看问题的人，跑到一个地方，不问环境的情况，不看事情的全体（事情的历史和全部现状），也不触到事情的本质（事情的性质及此一事情和其他事情的内部联系），就自以为是地发号施令起来，这样的人是没有不跌交子的。

《实践论》(一九三七年七月)，《毛泽东选集》第一卷第二七八——二七九页

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be taken as the essential or main aspects, or we will lose our bearings.

"On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation" (July 31, 1955), 3rd ed., pp. 17-18.

In this world, things are complicated and are decided by many factors. We should look at problems from different aspects, not from just one.

"On the Chungking Negotiations" (October 17, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 54.

Only those who are subjective, one-sided and superficial in their approach to problems will smugly issue orders or directives the moment they arrive on the scene, without considering the circumstances, without viewing things in their totality (their history and their present state as a whole) and without getting to the essence of things (their nature and the internal relations between one thing and another). Such people are bound to trip and fall.

"On Practice" (July 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 302.

研究问题，忌带主观性、片面性和表面性。所谓主观性，就是不知道客观地看问题，也就是不知道用唯物的观点去看问题。这一点，我在《实践论》一文中已经说过了。所谓片面性，就是不知道全面地看问题。……或者叫做只看见局部，不看见全体，只看见树木，不看见森林。这样，是不能找出解决矛盾的方法的，是不能完成革命任务的，是不能做好所任工作的，是不能正确地发展党内的思想斗争的。孙子论军事说：“知彼知己，百战不殆。”他说的是作战的双方。唐朝人魏征说过：“兼听则明，偏信则暗。”也懂得片面性不对。可是我们的同志看问题，往往带片面性，

In studying a problem, we must shun subjectivity, one-sidedness and superficiality. To be subjective means not to look at problems objectively, that is, not to use the materialist viewpoint in looking at problems. I have discussed this in my essay "On Practice". To be one-sided means not to look at problems all-sidedly.... Or it may be called seeing the part but not the whole, seeing the trees but not the forest. That way it is impossible to find the method for resolving a contradiction, it is impossible to accomplish the tasks of the revolution, to carry out assignments well or to develop inner-Party ideological struggle correctly. When Sun Wu Tzu said in discussing military science, "Know the enemy and know yourself, and you can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat", he was referring to the two sides in a battle. Wei Cheng of the Tang Dynasty also understood the error of one-sidedness when he said, "Listen to both sides and you will be enlightened, heed only one side and you will be benighted." But our comrades often look

这样的人就往往碰钉子。……列宁说：“要真正地认识对象，就必须把握和研究它的一切方面、一切联系和‘媒介’。我们决不会完全地作到这一点，可是要求全面性，将使我们防止错误，防止僵化。”我们应该记得他的话。表面性，是对矛盾总体和矛盾各方的特点都不去看，否认深入事物里面精细地研究矛盾特点的的必要，仅仅站在那里远远地望一望，粗枝大叶地看到一点矛盾的形相，就想动手去解决矛盾（答复问题、解决纠纷、处理工作、指挥战争）。这样的做法，没有不出乱子的。……片面性、表面性也是主观性，因为一切客观事物本来是互相联系的和具

at problems one-sidedly, and so they often run into snags. ... Lenin said: "... in order really to know an object we must embrace, study, all its sides, all connections and "mediations". We shall never achieve this completely, but the demand for all-sidedness is a safeguard against mistakes and rigidity." We should remember his words. To be superficial means to consider neither the characteristics of a contradiction in its totality nor the characteristics of each of its aspects; it means to deny the necessity for probing deeply into a thing and minutely studying the characteristics of its contradiction, but instead merely to look from afar and, after glimpsing the rough outline, immediately to try to resolve the contradiction (to answer a question, settle a dispute, handle work, or direct a military operation). This way of doing things is bound to lead to trouble. ...To be one-sided and superficial is at the same time to be subjective. For all objective things are actually interconnected and are governed by inner laws, but, instead of undertaking the

有内部规律的，人们不去如实地反映这些情况，而只是片面地或表面地去看它们，不认识事物的互相联系，不认识事物的内部规律，所以这种方法是主观主义的。

《矛盾论》（一九三七年八月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第三零零——三零二页

片面性就是思想上的绝对化，就是形而上学地看问题。对于我们的工作的看法，肯定一切或者否定一切，都是片面性的。……肯定一切，就是只看到好的，看不到坏的，只能赞扬，不能批评。说我们的工作似乎一切都好，这不合乎事实。不是一切都好，还有缺点和错误。但是也不是一切都坏，这也不合乎事实。要加以分析。否定一切，就是不加分析地认为事情

task of reflecting things as they really are, some people only look at things one-sidedly or superficially and know neither their interconnections nor their inner laws, and so their method is subjectivist.

"On Contradiction" (August 1937),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 323-24.\*

One-sidedness means thinking in terms of absolutes, that is, a metaphysical approach to problems. In the appraisal of our work, it is one-sided to regard everything either as all positive or as all negative. ... To regard everything as positive is to see only the good and not the bad, and to tolerate only praise and no criticism. To talk as though our work is good in every respect is at variance with the facts. It is not true that everything is good; there are still shortcomings and mistakes. But neither is it true that everything is bad, and that, too, is at variance with the facts. Here analysis is necessary. To negate everything is to think, without having made any analysis, that nothing has been done well and that the

都做得不好，社会主义建设这样一个伟大事业，几亿人口所进行的这个伟大斗争，似乎没有什么好处可说，一团糟。许多具有这种看法的人，虽然和那些对社会主义制度心怀敌意的人还不相同，但是这种看法是很错误的，很有害的，它只会使人丧失信心。不论是用肯定一切的观点或者否定一切的观点来看我们的工作，都是错误的。

《在中国共产党全国宣传工作会议上的讲话》（一九五七年三月十二日），人民出版社版第一三——一四页

马克思主义者看问题，不但要看到部分，而且要看全体。一个虾蟆坐在井里说：“天有一个井大。”这是不对的，因为天不止一个井大。如果它说：“天的某一

great work of socialist construction, the great struggle in which hundreds of millions of people are participating, is a complete mess with nothing in it worth commending. Although there is a difference between the many people who hold such views and those who are hostile to the socialist system, these views are very mistaken and harmful and can only dishearten people. It is wrong to appraise our work either from the viewpoint that everything is positive, or from the viewpoint that everything is negative.

*"Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work" (March 12, 1957), 1st pocket ed., pp. 16-17.\**

In approaching a problem a Marxist should see the whole as well as the parts. A frog in a well says, "The sky is no bigger than the mouth of the well." That is untrue, for the sky is not just the size of the mouth of the well. If it said, "A part of the sky is

部分有一个井大。”这是对的，因为合乎事实。

《论反对日本帝国主义的策略》（一九三五年十二月二十七日），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第一四四页

我们必须学会全面地看问题，不但要看到事物的正面，也要看到它的反面。在一定的条件下，坏的东西可以引出好的结果，好的东西也可以引出坏的结果。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》（一九五七年二月二十七日），人民出版社版第三四页

我们承认总的历史发展中是物质的东西决定精神的东西，是社会的存在决定社会的意识；但是同时又承认而且必须承认精神的东西的反作用，社会意识对于社会存在的反作用，上层建筑对于经济基础的反作用。这不是违反唯物论，正是避免了机械唯物论，坚持了辩证唯物论。

《矛盾论》（一九三七年八月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第三一四页

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the size of the mouth of a well", that would be true, for it tallies with the facts.

"On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism" (December 27, 1935),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 159.

We must learn to look at problems allsidedly, seeing the reverse as well as the obverse side of things. In given conditions, a bad thing can lead to good results and a good thing to bad results.

"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" (February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., pp. 66-67.\*

While we recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also - and indeed must - recognize the reaction of mental on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base. This does not go against materialism; on the contrary, it avoids mechanical materialism and firmly upholds dialectical materialism.

"On Contradiction" (August 1937),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 336.\*

指导战争的人们不能超越客观条件许可的限度期求战争的胜利，然而可以而且必须在客观条件的限度之内，能动地争取战争的胜利。战争指挥员活动的舞台，必须建筑在客观条件的许可之上，然而他们凭借这个舞台，却可以导演出很多有声有色、威武雄壮的戏剧来。

《论持久战》（一九三八年五月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第四六八页

人们的思想必须适应已经变化的情况，当然，任何人不可以无根据地胡思乱想，不可以超越客观情况所许可的条件去计划自己的行动，不要勉强地去做那些实在做不到的事情。但是现在的问题，还是右倾保守思想在许多方面作怪，使许多方面的工作不能适应客观情况的发展。现在的问题是经过努力本来可以做到的事情，

In seeking victory, those who direct a war cannot overstep the limitations imposed by the objective conditions; within these limitations, however, they can and must play a dynamic role in striving for victory. The stage of action for commanders in a war must be built upon objective possibilities, but on that stage they can direct the performance of many a drama, full of sound and colour, power and grandeur.

"On Protracted War" (May 1938),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 152.

People must adapt their thinking to the changed conditions. Of course no one should go off into wild flights of fancy, or make plans of action unwarranted by the objective situation, or stretch for the impossible. The problem today, however, is that Rightist conservative thinking is still causing mischief in many spheres and preventing the work in these spheres from keeping pace with the development of the objective situation. The present problem is that many people consider it impossible to accomplish things which could be

却有很多人认为做不到。

《中国农村的社会主义高潮》的序言(一九五五年十二月二十七日),《中国农村的社会主义高潮》上册第四页

凡事应该用脑筋好好想一想。俗话说:“眉头一皱,计上心来。”就是说多想出智慧。要去掉我们党内浓厚的盲目性,必须提倡思索,学会分析事物的方法,养成分析的习惯。

《学习和时局》(一九四四年四月十二日),《毛泽东选集》第九五二页

任何过程如果有多数矛盾存在的话,其中必定有一种是主要的,起着领导的、决定的作用,其他则处于次要和服从的地位。因此,研究任何过程,如果是存在着两个以上矛盾的复杂过程的话,就要用全力找出它的主要矛盾。捉住了这个主要矛

accomplished if they exerted themselves.

Preface to *"The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside"* (December 27, 1955), Chinese ed., Vol. I.

We should always use our brains and think everything over carefully. A common saying goes, "Knit your brows and you will hit upon a stratagem." In other words much thinking yields wisdom. In order to get rid of the blindness which exists to a serious extent in our Party, we must encourage our comrades to think, to learn the method of analysis and to cultivate the habit of analysis.

"Our Study and the Current Situation" (April 12, 1944), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, pp. 174-75.\*

If in any process there are a number of contradictions, one of them must be the principal contradiction playing the leading and decisive role, while the rest occupy a secondary and subordinate position. Therefore, in studying any complex process in which there are two or more contradictions, we must devote every effort to finding its principal contradiction. Once

盾，一切问题就迎刃而解了。

《矛盾论》（一九三七年八月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第三一零页

矛盾着的两方面中，必有一方面是主要的，他方面是次要的。其主要的方面，即所谓矛盾起主导作用的方面。事物的性质，主要地是由取得支配地位的矛盾的主要方面所规定的。

然而这种情形不是固定的，矛盾的主要和非主要的方面互相转化着，事物的性质也就随着起变化。

《矛盾论》（九三七年八月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第三一零页

我们不但要提出任务，而且要解决完成任务的方法问题。我们的任务是过河，但是没有桥或没有船就不能过。不解决桥

this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved.

"On Contradiction" (August 1937),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 332.\*

Of the two contradictory aspects, one must be principal and the other secondary. The principal aspect is the one playing the leading role in the contradiction. The nature of a thing is determined mainly by the principal aspect of a contradiction, the aspect which has gained the dominant position.

But this situation is not static; the principal and the non-principal aspects of a contradiction transform themselves into each other and the nature of the thing changes accordingly.

Ibid., p. 333.

It is not enough to set tasks, we must also solve the problem of the methods for carrying them out. If our task is to cross a river, we cannot cross it without a bridge or a boat. Unless the bridge or boat problem is solved, it is idle to speak of crossing the

或船的问题，过河就是一句空话。不解决方法问题，任务也只是瞎说一顿。

《关心群众生活，注意工作方法》（一九三四年一月二十七日），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第一三四页

任何工作任务，如果没有一般的普遍的号召，就不能动员广大群众行动起来。但如果只限于一般号召，而领导人员没有具体地直接地从若干组织将所号召的工作深入实施，突破一点，取得经验，然后利用这种经验去指导其他单位，就无法考验自己提出的一般号召是否正确，也无法充实一般号召的内容，就有使一般号召归于落空的危险。

《关于领导方法的若干问题》（一九四三年六月一日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八九九页

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river. Unless the problem of method is solved, talk about the task is useless.

"Be Concerned with the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work" (January 27, 1934), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 150.

In any task, if no general and widespread call is issued, the broad masses cannot be mobilized for action. But if persons in leading positions confine themselves to a general call - if they do not personally, in some of the organizations, go deeply and concretely into the work called for, make a break-through at some single point, gain experience and use this experience for guiding other units - then they will have no way of testing the correctness or of enriching the content of their general call, and there is the danger that nothing may come of it.

"Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership" (June 1, 1943), *Selected*

*Works*, Vol. III, p. 117.

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任何领导人员，凡不从下级个别单位的个别人员、个别事件取得具体经验者，必不能向一切单位作普遍的指导。这一方法必须普遍地提倡，使各级领导干部都能学会使用。

《关于领导方法的若干问题》（一九四三年六月一日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第九零零页

在任何一个地区内，不能同时有许多中心工作，在一定时间内只能有一个中心工作，辅以别的第二位、第三位的工作。因此，一个地区的总负责人，必须考虑到该处的斗争历史和斗争环境，将各项工作摆在适当的地位；而不是自己全无计划，只按上级指示来一件做一件，形成很多的

No one in a leading position is competent to give general guidance to all the units unless he derives concrete experience from particular individuals and events in particular subordinate units. This method must be promoted everywhere so that leading cadres at all levels learn to apply it.

*Ibid.*, p. 118.

In any given place, there cannot be a number of central tasks at the same time. At any one time there can be only one central task, supplemented by other tasks of a second or third order of importance. Consequently, the person with over-all responsibility in the locality must take into account the history and circumstances of the struggle there and put the different tasks in their proper order; he should not act upon each instruction as it comes from the higher organization without any planning of his own, and thereby create a multitude of "central tasks" and a state of confusion and

“中心工作”和凌乱无秩序的状态。上级机关也不要不分轻重缓急地没有中心地同时指定下级机关做很多项工作，以致引起下级在工作步骤上的凌乱，而得不到确定的结果。领导人员依照每一具体地区的历史条件和环境条件，统筹全局，正确地决定每一时期的工作重心和工作秩序，并把这种决定坚持地贯彻下去，务必得到一定的结果，这是一种领导艺术。

《关于领导方法的若干问题》（一九四三年六月一日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第九零三页

必须随时掌握工作进程，交流经验，纠正错误，不要等数月、半年以至一年后，

disorder. Nor should a higher organization simultaneously assign many tasks to a lower organization without indicating their relative importance and urgency or without specifying which is central, for that will lead to confusion in the steps to be taken by the lower organizations in their work and thus no definite results will be achieved. It is part of the art of leadership to take the whole situation into account and plan accordingly in the light of the historical conditions and existing circumstances of each locality, decide correctly on the centre of gravity and the sequence of the work for each period, steadfastly carry through the decision, and make sure that definite results are achieved.

*Ibid.*, p. 121.

It [a regional or sub-regional bureau of the Central Committee of the Party] should constantly have a grip on the progress of the work, exchange experience and correct

才开总结会，算总帐，总的纠正。这样损失太大，而随时纠正，损失较少。

《关于工商业政策》(一九四八年二月二十七日)，《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一二八页

不要等到问题成了堆，闹出了许多乱子，然后才去解决。领导一定要走在运动的前面，不要落在它的后面。

《季节包工》一文的按语(一九五五年)，  
《中国农村的社会主义高潮》下册第一一五九页

我们需要的是热烈而镇定的情绪，紧张而有秩序的工作。

《中国革命战争的战略问题》(一九三六年十二月)，《毛泽东选集》第一卷第一九六——一九七页

mistakes; it should not wait several months, half a year or a year before holding summing-up meetings for a general check-up and a general correction of mistakes. Waiting leads to great loss, while correcting mistakes as soon as they occur reduces loss.

"On the Policy Concerning Industry and Commerce" (February 27, 1948), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 204.

Don't wait until problems pile up and cause a lot of trouble before trying to solve them. Leaders must march ahead of the movement, not lag behind it..

Introductory note to "Contract on a Seasonal Basis" (1955), *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Chinese ed., Vol. III.

What we need is an enthusiastic but calm state of mind and intense but orderly work.

"Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" (December 1936), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 211.

## 二十三、调查研究

一切实际工作者必须向下作调查。对于只懂得理论不懂得实际情况的人，这种调查工作尤有必要，否则他们就不能将理论和实际相联系。“没有调查就没有发言权”，这句话，虽然曾经被人讥为“狭隘经验论”的，我却至今不悔；不但不悔，我仍然坚持没有调查是不可能有的发言权的。有许多人，“下车伊始”，就哇喇哇喇地发议论，提意见，这也批评，那也指责，其实这种人十个有十个要失败。因为这种议论或批评，没有经过周密调查，不过是无知妄说。我们党吃所谓“钦差大臣”的亏，

## 23. INVESTIGATION AND STUDY

Everyone engaged in practical work must investigate conditions at the lower levels. Such investigation is especially necessary for those who know theory but do not know the actual conditions, for otherwise they will not be able to link theory with practice. Although my assertion, "No investigation no right to speak", has been ridiculed as "narrow empiricism", to this day I do not regret having made it; far from regretting it, I still insist that without investigation there cannot possibly be any right to speak. There are many people who "the moment they alight from the official carriage" make a hullabaloo, spout opinions, criticize this and condemn that; but, in fact, ten out of ten of them will meet with failure. For such views or criticisms, which are not based on thorough investigation, are nothing but ignorant twaddle. Countless times our Party

是不可胜数的。而这种“钦差大臣”则是满天飞，几乎到处都有。斯大林的话说得对：“理论若不和革命实践联系起来，就会变成无对象的理论。”当然又是他的话对：“实践若不以革命理论为指南，就会变成盲目的实践。”除了盲目的、无前途的、无远见的实际家，是不能叫做“狭隘经验论”的。

《“农村调查”的序言和跋》（一九四一年三月、四月），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第七九一页

这种态度，就是实事求是的态度。“实事”就是客观存在着的一切事物，“是”就是客观事物的内部联系，即规律性，“求”就是我们去研究。我们要从国内外、省内外、县内外、区内外

suffered at the hands of these "imperial envoys", who rushed here, there and everywhere. Stalin rightly says that "theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice". And he rightly adds that "practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary theory". Nobody should be labelled a "narrow empiricist" except the "practical man" who gropes in the dark and lacks perspective and foresight.

"Preface and Postscript to Rural Surveys" (March and April 1941),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 13.\*

To take such an attitude is to seek truth from facts. "Facts" are all the things that exist objectively, "truth" means their internal relations, that is, the laws governing them, and "to seek" means to study. We should proceed from the actual conditions inside and outside the country, the province, county or district, and derive from them, as our guide to action, laws which are inherent in them and not imaginary, that is, we

从其中引出其固有的而不是臆造的规律性，即找出周围事变的内部联系，作为我们行动的向导。而要这样做，就须不凭主观想像，不凭一时的热情，不凭死的书本，而凭客观存在的事实，详细地占有材料，在马克思列宁主义一般原理的指导下，从这些材料中引出正确的结论。

《改造我们的学习》（一九四一年五月）

《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八零一页

“闭塞眼睛捉麻雀”，“瞎子摸鱼”，粗枝大叶，夸夸其谈，满足于一知半解，这种极坏的作风，这种完全违反马克思列宁主义基本精神的作风，还在我党许多同志中继续存在着。马克思、恩格斯、列宁、斯大林教导我们认真地研究情况，从客观的真实的状况出发，而不是从主观的愿望出发；我们的许多同志却直接违反这一真

should find the internal relations of the events occurring around us. And in order to do that we must rely not on subjective imagination, not on momentary enthusiasm, not on lifeless books, but on facts that exist objectively; we must appropriate the material in detail and, guided by the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, draw correct conclusions from it.

"Reform Our Study" (May 1941),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. III, pp. 22-23.

To behave like "a blindfolded man catching sparrows", or "a blind man groping for fish", to be crude and careless, to indulge in verbiage, to rest content with a smattering of knowledge - such is the extremely bad style of work that still exists among many comrades in our Party, a style utterly opposed to the fundamental spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have taught us that it is necessary to study conditions conscientiously and to proceed from objective reality and not from

理。

《改造我们的学习》(一九四一年五月),  
《毛泽东选集》第三卷第七九七页

你对于那个问题不能解决么？那末，你就去调查那个问题的现状和它的历史吧！你完完全全调查明白了，你对那个问题就有解决的办法了。一切结论产生于调查情况的末尾，而不是在它的先头。只有蠢人，才是他一个人，或者邀集一堆人，不作调查，而只是冥思苦索地“想办法”，“打主意”。须知这是一定不能想出什么好办法，打出什么好主意的。

《反对本本主义》(一九三零年五月),  
人民出版社版第二页

调查就像“十月怀胎”，解决问题就像“一朝分娩”。调查就是解决问题。

《反对本本主义》(一九三零年五月),  
人民出版社版第三页

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subjective wishes; but many of our comrades act in direct violation of this truth.

*Ibid.* p. 18.

You can't solve a problem? Well, get down and investigate the present facts and its past history! When you have investigated the problem thoroughly, you will know how to solve it. Conclusions invariably come after investigation, and not before. Only a blockhead cudgels his brains on his own, or together with a group, to "find a solution" or "evolve an idea" without making any investigation. It must be stressed that this cannot possibly lead to any effective solution or any good idea.

*"Oppose Book Worship"* (May 1930), 1st pocket ed., p. 2.

Investigation may be likened to the long months of pregnancy, and solving a problem to the day of birth. To investigate a problem is, indeed, to solve it.

应用马克思列宁主义的理论和方法，对周围环境作系统的周密的调查和研究。不是单凭热情去工作，而是如同斯大林所说的那样：把革命气概和实际精神结合起来。

《改造我们的学习》（一九四一年五月），  
《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八零一页

要了解情况，唯一的方法是向社会作调查，调查社会各阶级的生动情况。对于担负指导工作的人来说，有计划地抓住几个城市、几个乡村，用马克思主义的基本观点，即阶级分析的方法，作几次周密的调查，乃是了解情况的最基本的方法。

《“农村调查”的序言和跋》（一九四一年三月、四月），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第七八九页

开调查会每次人不必多，三五个七八

[With the Marxist-Leninist attitude,] a person applies the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism to the systematic and thorough investigation and study of the environment. He does not work by enthusiasm alone but, as Stalin says, combines revolutionary sweep with practicalness.

"Reform Our Study" (May 1941),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 22.

The only way to know conditions is to make social investigations, to investigate the conditions of each social class in real life. For those charged with directing work, the basic method for knowing conditions is to concentrate on a few cities and villages according to a plan and, using the fundamental viewpoint of Marxism, i.e., the method of class analysis, make a number of thorough investigations.

"Preface and Postscript to *Rural Surveys*" (March and April 1941),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 11.\*

A fact-finding meeting need not be large; from three to five or seven or eight people

个人即够。必须给予时间，必须有调查纲目，还必须自己口问手写，并同到会人展开讨论。因此，没有满腔的热忱，没有眼睛向下的决心，没有求知的渴望，没有放下臭架子、甘当小学生的精神，是一定不能做，也一定做不好的。

《“农村调查”的序言和跋》（一九四一年三月、四月），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第七九零页

指挥员的正确的部署来源于正确的决心，正确的决心来源于正确的判断，正确的判断来源于周到的和必要的侦察，和对于各种侦察材料的联贯起来的思索。指挥员使用一切可能的和必要的侦察手段，

are enough. Ample time must be allowed and an outline for the investigation must be prepared; furthermore, one must personally ask questions, take notes and have discussions with those at the meeting. Therefore one certainly cannot make an investigation, or do it well, without zeal, a determination to direct one's eyes downward and a thirst for knowledge, and without shedding the ugly mantle of pretentiousness and becoming a willing pupil.

*Ibid.*, p. 12.

A commander's correct dispositions stem from his correct decisions, his correct decisions stem from his correct judgements, and his correct judgements stem from a thorough and necessary reconnaissance and from pondering on and piecing together the data of various kinds gathered through reconnaissance. He applies all possible and necessary methods of reconnaissance, and ponders on the information gathered about false and retaining the true, proceeding from

将侦察得来的敌方情况的各种材料加以去粗取精、去伪存真、由此及彼、由表及里的思索，然后将自己方面的情况加上去，研究双方的对比和相互的关系，因而构成判断，定下决心，作出计划，——这是军事家在作出每一个战略、战役或战斗的计划之前的一个整个的认识情况的过程。

《中国革命战争的战略问题》（一九三六年十二月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第一七三页

the enemy's situation, discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the the one to the other and from the outside to the inside; then, he takes the conditions on his own side into account, and makes a study of both sides and their interrelations, thereby forming his judgements, making up his mind and working out his plans. Such is the complete process of knowing a situation which a military man goes through before he formulates a strategic plan, a campaign plan or a battle plan.

"Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" (December 1936),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. I. p. 188.

## 二十四、纠正错误思想

即使我们的工作得到了极其伟大的成绩，也没有任何值得骄傲自大的理由。虚心使人进步，骄傲使人落后，我们应当永远记住这个真理。

《中国共产党第八次全国代表大会开幕词》（一九五六年九月十五日），《中国共产党第八次全国代表大会文献》第九——一零页

因为胜利，党内的骄傲情绪，以功臣自居的情绪，停顿起来不求进步的情绪，贪图享乐不愿再过艰苦生活的情绪，可能生长。因为胜利，人民感谢我们，资产阶级也会出来捧场。敌人的武力是不能征服我们的，这点已经得到证明了。资产阶级的捧场则可能征服我们队伍中的意志薄

## 24. CORRECTING MISTAKEN IDEAS

Even if we achieve gigantic successes in our work, there is no reason whatsoever to feel conceited and arrogant. Modesty helps one to go forward, whereas conceit makes one lag behind. This is a truth we must always bear in mind.

"Opening Address at the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China" (September 15, 1956).

With victory, certain moods may grow within the Party - arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living. With victory, the people will be grateful to us and the bourgeoisie will come forward to flatter us. It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us by force of arms. However, the flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the

弱者。可能有这样一些共产党人，他们是不曾被拿枪的敌人征服过的，他们在这些敌人面前不愧英雄的称号；但是经不起人们用糖衣裹着的炮弹的攻击，他们在糖弹面前要打败仗。我们必须预防这种情况。

《在中国共产党第七届中央委员会第二次全体会议上的报告》（一九四九年三月五日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四三九页

有许多的东西，只要我们对它们陷入盲目性，缺乏自觉性，就可能成为我们的包袱，成为我们的负担。例如：犯过错误，可以使人觉得自己反正是犯了错误的，从此萎靡不振；未犯错误，也可以使人觉得自己是未犯过错误的，从此骄傲起来。工作无成绩，可以使人悲观丧气；工作有成绩，又可以使人趾高气扬。斗争历史短的，

weak-willed in our ranks. There may be some Communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets. We must guard against such a situation.

"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. 374.

Many things may become baggage, may become encumbrances if we cling to them blindly and uncritically. Let us take some illustrations. Having made mistakes, you may feel that, come what may, you are saddled with them and so become dispirited; if you have not made mistakes, you may feel that you are free from error and so become conceited. Lack of achievement in work may breed pessimism and depression, while achievement may breed pride and arrogance. A comrade with a short record of struggle may shirk responsibility on this account,

可以因其短而不负责任；斗争历史长的，可以因其长而自以为是。工农分子，可以自己的光荣出身傲视知识分子；知识分子，又可以自己有某些知识傲视工农分子。各种业务专长，都可以成为高傲自大轻视旁人的资本。甚至年龄也可以成为骄傲的工具：青年人可以因为自己聪明能干而看不起老年人，老年人又可以因为自己富有经验而看不起青年人。对于诸如此类的东西，如果没有自觉性，那它们就会成为负担或包袱。

《学习和时局》（一九四四年四月十二日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第九五一页

一部分军队工作同志养成了一种骄气，对士兵，对人民，对政府，对党，横蛮不讲理，只责备做地方工作的同志，不

while a veteran may become opinionated because of his long record of struggle. Worker and peasant comrades, because of pride in their class origin, may look down upon intellectuals, while intellectuals, because they have a certain amount of knowledge, may look down upon worker and peasant comrades. Any specialized skill may be capitalized on and so may lead to arrogance and contempt of others. Even one's age may become ground for conceit. The young, because they are bright and capable, may look down upon the old; and the old, because they are rich in experience, may look down upon the young. All such things become encumbrances or baggage if there is no critical awareness.

"Our Study and the Current Situation"  
(April 12, 1944), *Selected Works*, Vol.  
III, p. 173.\*

Some comrades in the army have become arrogant and high-handed in their behaviour towards the soldiers, the people, the government and the Party, always blaming the comrades doing local work but never

责备自己，只看见成绩，不看见缺点，只爱听恭维话，不爱听批评话。……军队必须注意克服这种毛病。

《组织起来》(一九四三年十一月二十九日)，《毛泽东选集》第三卷第九三七页

艰苦的工作就像担子，摆在我们的面前，看我们敢不敢承担。担子有轻有重。有的人拈轻怕重，把重担子推给人家，自己拣轻的挑。这就不是好的态度。有的同志不是这样，享受让给人家，担子拣重的挑，吃苦在别人前头，享受在别人后头。这样的同志就是好同志。这种共产主义者的精神，我们都要学习。

《关于重庆谈判》(一九四五年十月十七日)，《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一一六零页

不少的人对工作不负责任，拈轻怕

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themselves, always seeing their own achievements but never their own shortcomings, and always welcoming flattery but never criticism. ... the army must endeavour to eradicate these faults.

"Get Organized!" (November 29, 1943),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 159.\*

Hard work is like a load placed before us, challenging us to shoulder it. Some loads are light, some heavy. Some people prefer the light to the heavy; they pick the light and shove the heavy on to others. That is not a good attitude. Some comrades are different; they leave ease and comfort to others and take the heavy loads themselves; they are the first to bear hardships the last to enjoy comforts. They are good comrades. We should all learn from their communist spirit.

"On the Chungking Negotiations"  
(October 17, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 58.\*

There are not a few people who are irresponsible in their work, preferring the

重，把重担子推给人家，自己挑轻的。一事当前，先替自己打算，然后再替别人打算。出了一点力就觉得了不起，喜欢自吹，生怕人家不知道。对同志对人民不是满腔热忱，而是冷冷清清，漠不关心，麻木不仁。这种人其实不是共产党员，至少不能算一个纯粹的共产党员。

《纪念白求恩》(一九三九年十二月二十一日)，《毛泽东选集》第二卷第六五三—一六五四页

闹这类独立性的人，常常跟他们的个人第一主义分不开，他们在个人和党的关系问题上，往往是不正确的。他们在口头上虽然也说尊重党，但他们在实际上却把个人放在第一位，把党放在第二位。刘少奇同志曾经说过，有意中人的手特别长，会很替自己打算，至于别人的利益和全党

light to the heavy, shoving the heavy loads on to others and choosing the easy ones for themselves. At every turn they think of themselves before others. When they make some small contribution, they swell with pride and brag about it for fear that others will not know. They feel no warmth towards comrades and the people but are cold, indifferent and apathetic. In fact such people are not Communists, or at least cannot be counted as true Communists.

"In Memory of Norman Bethune"  
(December 21, 1939), *Selected Works*,  
Vol. II, pp. 337-38.\*

Those who assert this kind of "independence" are usually wedded to the doctrine of "me first" and are generally wrong on the question of the relationship between the individual and the Party. Although in words they profess respect for the Party, in practice they put themselves first and the Party second. Comrade Liu Shao-chi once said of certain people that they have unusually long arms and are very clever in looking after their own interests, but pay little heed to the interests of others and of the party as a whole. "What's mine is

利益，那是不大关心的。“我的就是我的，你的还是我的。”（大笑）这种人闹什么东西呢？闹名誉，闹地位，闹出风头。在他们掌管一部分事业的时候，就要闹独立性。为了这些，就要拉拢一些人，排挤一些人，在同志中吹吹拍拍，拉拉扯扯，把资产阶级政党的庸俗作风也搬进共产党里来了。这种人的吃亏在于不老实。我想，我们应该是老老实实地办事；在世界上要办成几件事，没有老实态度是根本不行的。

《整顿党的作风》（一九四二年二月一日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八二三—八二四页

共产党员必须懂得以局部需要服从全局需要这一个道理。如果某项意见在局部的情形看来是可行的，而在全局的情形反之也是一样，在局部的情形看来是不可

mine, and what's yours is mine too.” (*Loud laughter.*) What are these people after? They are after fame and position and want to be in the limelight. Whenever they are put in charge of a branch of work, they assert their "independence". With this aim, they draw some people in, push others out and resort to boasting, flattery and touting among the comrades, thus importing the vulgar style of the bourgeois political parties into the Communist Party. It is their dishonesty that causes them to come to grief. I believe we should do things honestly, for without an honest attitude it is absolutely impossible to accomplish anything in this world.

"Rectify the Party's Style of Work"  
(February 1, 1942), *Selected Works*, Vol.  
III, p. 44.

They [Communists] must grasp the principle of subordinating the needs of the part to the needs of the whole. If a proposal appears feasible for a partial situation but not for the situation as a whole, then the part must give way to the whole. Conversely, if the proposal is not feasible for the part but is feasible in the light of the situation as a

看来是不可行的，就应以局部服从全局。行的，而在全局的情形看来是可行的，也应以局部服从全局。这就是照顾全局的观点。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》(一九三八年十月)，《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五一三——五一四页

享乐主义。个人主义见于享乐方面的，在红军中也有不少的人。他们总是希望队伍开到大城市去。他们要到大城市不是为了去工作，而是为了去享乐。他们最不乐意的是在生活艰难的红色区域里工作。

《关于纠正党内的错误思想》(一九二九年十二月)，《毛泽东选集》第一卷第九六页

必须反对只顾自己不顾别人的本位主义的倾向。谁要是 对别人的困难不管，

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whole, again the part must give way to the whole. This is what is meant by considering the situation as a whole.

"The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War" (October 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 201.

Pleasure-seeking. In the Red Army there are also quite a few people whose individualism finds expression in pleasure-seeking. They always hope that their unit will march into big cities. They want to go there not to work but to enjoy themselves. The last thing they want is to work in the Red areas where life is hard.

"On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" (December 1929), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 113.

We must oppose the tendency towards selfish departmentalism by which the interests of one's own unit are looked after to the exclusion of those of others. Whoever is indifferent to the difficulties of others, refuse s to transfer cadres to other units on

别人要调他所属的干部不给，或以坏的送人，“以邻为壑”，全不为别部、别地、别人想一想，这样的人就叫做本位主义者，这就是完全失掉了共产主义的精神。不顾大局，对别部、别地、别人漠不关心，就是这种本位主义者的特点。对于这样的人，必须加重教育，使他们懂得这就是一种宗派主义的倾向，如果发展下去，是很危险的。

《整顿党的作风》（一九四二年二月一日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八二五——八二六页

自由主义有各种表现。

因为是熟人、同乡、同学、知心朋友、亲爱者、老同事、老部下，明知不对，也不同他们作原则上的争论，任其下去，求

request, or releases only the inferior ones, "using the neighbour's field as an outlet for his overflow", and does not give the slightest consideration to other departments, localities or people - such a person is a selfish departmentalist who has entirely lost the spirit of communism. Lack of consideration for the whole and complete indifference to other departments, localities and people are characteristics of a selfish departmentalist. We must intensify our efforts to educate such persons and to make them understand that selfish departmentalism is a sectarian tendency which will become very dangerous, if allowed to develop.

"Rectify the Party's Style of Work"  
(February 1, 1942), *Selected Works*, Vol.  
III, p. 46.

Liberalism manifests itself in various ways.

To let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship when a person has clearly gone wrong, and refrain from principled argument because he is an old acquaintance, a fellow townsman, a schoolmate, a close

得和平和亲热。或者轻描淡写地说一顿，不作彻底解决，保持一团和气。结果是有害于团体，也有害于个人。这是第一种。

不负责任的背后批评，不是积极地向组织建议。当面不说，背后乱说；开会不说，会后乱说。心目中没有集体生活的原则，只有自由放任。这是第二种。

事不关己，高高挂起；明知不对，少说为佳；明哲保身，但求无过。这是第三种。

命令不服从，个人意见第一。只要组织照顾，不要组织纪律。这是第四种。

不是为了团结，为了进步，为了把事情弄好，向不正确的意见斗争和争论，而是个人攻击，闹意气，泄私愤，图报复。

这是第五种。

friend, a loved one, an old colleague or old subordinate. Or to touch on the matter lightly instead of going into it thoroughly, so as to keep on good terms. The result is that both the organization and the individual are harmed. This is one type of liberalism.

To indulge in irresponsible criticism in private instead of actively putting forward one's suggestions to the organization. To say nothing to people to their faces but to gossip behind their backs, or to say nothing at a meeting but to gossip afterwards. To show no regard at all for the principles of collective life but to follow one's own inclination. This is a second type.

To let things drift if they do not affect one personally; to say as little as possible while knowing perfectly well what is wrong, to be worldly wise and play safe and seek only to avoid blame. This is a third type.

Not to obey orders but to give pride of place to one's own opinions. To demand special consideration from the organization but to reject its discipline. This is a fourth type.

To indulge in personal attacks, pick quarrels, vent personal spite or seek revenge instead of entering into an argument and

听了不正确的议论也不争辩，甚至听了反革命分子的话也不报告，泰然处之，行若无事。这是第六种。

见群众不宣传，不鼓动，不演说，不调查，不询问，不关心其痛痒，漠然置之，忘记了自己是一个共产党员，把一个共产党员混同于一个普通的老百姓。这是第七种。

见损害群众利益的行为不愤恨，不劝告，不制止，不解释，听之任之。这是第八种。

办事不认真，无一定计划，无一定方向，敷衍了事，得过且过，做一天和尚撞一天钟。这是第九种。

struggling against incorrect views for the sake of unity or progress or getting the work done properly. This is a fifth type.

To hear incorrect views without rebutting them and even to hear counter-revolutionary remarks without reporting them, but instead to take them calmly as if nothing had happened. This is a sixth type.

To be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and agitation or speak at meetings or conduct investigations and inquiries among them, and instead to be indifferent to them and show no concern for their well-being, forgetting that one is a Communist and behaving as if one were an ordinary non-Communist. This is a seventh type.

To see someone harming the interests of the masses and yet not feel indignant, or dissuade or stop him or reason with him, but to allow him to continue. This is an eighth type.

To work half-heartedly without a definite plan or direction; to work perfunctorily and muddle along - "So long as one remains a

自以为对革命有功，摆老资格，大事做不来，小事又不做，工作随便，学习松懈。这是第十种。

自己错了，也已经懂得，又不想改正，自己对自己采取自由主义。这是第十一种。

《反对自由主义》（一九三七年九月七日），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第三四七——三四八页

革命的集体组织中的自由主义是十分有害的。它是一种腐蚀剂，使团结涣散，关系松懈，工作消极，意见分歧。它使革命队伍失掉严密的组织和纪律，政策不能贯彻到底，党的组织和党所领导的群众发

monk, one goes on tolling the bell." This is a ninth type.

To regard oneself as having rendered great service to the revolution, to pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignments while being quite unequal to major tasks, to be slipshod in work and slack in study. This is a tenth type.

To be aware of one's own mistakes and yet make no attempt to correct them, taking a liberal attitude towards oneself. This is an eleventh type..

"Combat Liberalism" (September 7, 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 31-32.

Liberalism is extremely harmful in a revolutionary collective. It is a corrosive which eats away unity, undermines cohesion, causes apathy and creates dissension. It robs the revolutionary ranks of compact organization and strict discipline, prevents policies from being carried through and alienates the Party organizations from the masses which

生隔离。这是一种严重的恶劣倾向。

《反对自由主义》（一九三七年九月七日），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第三四八页

自由主义者以抽象的教条看待马克思主义的原则。他们赞成马克思主义，但是不准备实行之，或不准备完全实行之，不准备拿马克思主义代替自己的自由主义。这些人，马克思主义是有的，自由主义也是有的：说的是马克思主义，行的是自由主义；对人是马克思主义，对己是自由主义。两样货色齐备，各有各的用处。这是一部分人的思想方法。

《反对自由主义》（一九三七年九月七日），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第三四九页

人民的国家是保护人民的。有了人民的国家，人民才有可能在全国范围内和全体规模上，用民主的方法，教育自己和改

extremely bad tendency.

*Ibid.*, p. 32.

People who are liberals look upon the principles of Marxism as abstract dogma. They approve of Marxism, but are not prepared to practise it or to practise it in full; they are not prepared to replace their liberalism by Marxism. These people have their Marxism, but they have their liberalism as well - they talk Marxism but practise liberalism; they apply Marxism to others but liberalism to themselves. They keep both kinds of goods in stock and find a use for each. This is how the minds of certain people work.

*Ibid.*, pp. 32-33

The people's state protects the people. Only when the people have such a state can they educate and remould themselves by democratic methods on a country-wide scale, with everyone taking part, and shake off the influence of domestic and foreign reaction-

造自己，使自己脱离内外反动派的影响（这个影响现在还是很大的，并将在长时期内存在着，不能很快地消灭），改造自己从旧社会得来的坏习惯和坏思想，不使自己走入反动派指引的错误路上去，并继续前进，向着社会主义社会和共产主义社会前进。

《论人民民主专政》（一九四九年六月三十日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四八一页

一个人做点好事并不难，难的是一辈子做好事，不做坏事，一贯的有益于广大群众，一贯的有益于青年，一贯的有益于革命，艰苦奋斗几十年如一日，这才是最难最难的呵！

《吴玉章同志六十寿辰祝词》（一九四零年一月十五日），一九四零年一月二十四日《新中华报》

aries (which is still very strong, will survive for a long time and cannot be quickly destroyed), rid themselves of the bad habits and ideas acquired in the old society, not allow themselves to be led astray by the reactionaries, and continue to advance - to advance towards a socialist and communist society.

"On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" (June 30, 1949). *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 418.\*

It is not hard for one to do a bit of good. What is hard is to do good all one's life and never do anything bad, to act consistently in the interests of the broad masses, the young people and the revolution, and to engage in arduous struggle for decades on end. That is the hardest thing of all!

"Message of Greetings on the 60th Birthday of Comrade Wu Yu-chang" (January 15, 1940).

## 二十五、团结

国家的统一，人民的团结，国内各民族的团结，这是我们的事业必定要胜利的基本保证。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出版社版第一页

只有经过共产党的团结，才能达到全阶级和全民族的团结，只有经过全阶级全民族的团结，才能战胜敌人，完成民族和民主革命的任务。

《为争取千百万群众进入抗日民族统一战线而斗争》(一九三七年五月七日)，  
《毛泽东选集》第一卷第二六九页



## 25. UNITY

The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities - these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause.

*"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"*  
(February 27, 1957). 1st pocket ed., pp. 1-2.

It is only through the unity of the Communist Party that the unity of the whole class and the whole nation can be achieved, and it is only through the unity of the whole class and the whole nation that the enemy can be defeated and the national and democratic revolution accomplished.

"Win the Masses in Their Millions for the Anti-Japanese National United Front"  
(May 7, 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p.

我们要把我们党的一切力量在民主集中制的组织和纪律的原则之下，坚强地团结起来。不论什么同志，只要他是愿意服从党纲、党章和党的决议的，我们就要和他团结。

《论联合政府》(一九四五年四月二十四日)，《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零九八页

在一九四二年，我们曾经把解决人民内部矛盾的这种民主的方法，具体化为一个公式，叫做“团结——批评——团结”。讲详细一点，就是从团结的愿望出发，经过批评或者斗争使矛盾得到解决，从而在新的基础上达到新的团结。按照我们的经验，这是解决人民内部矛盾的一个正确的方法。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出

版社版第六——七页

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We shall solidly unite all the forces of our Party on democratic centralist principles of organization and discipline. We shall unite with any comrade if he abides by the Party's Programme, Constitution and decisions.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 317.\*

This democratic method of resolving contradictions among the people was epitomized in 1942 in the formula "unity, criticism, unity". To elaborate, it means starting from the desire for unity, resolving contradictions through criticism or struggle and arriving at a new unity on a new basis. In our experience this is the correct method of resolving contradictions among the people.

*"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"*  
(February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., p. 12.

这个军队有一个很好的内部和外部的团结。在内部——官兵之间，上下级之间，军事工作、政治工作和后勤工作之间；在外部——军民之间，军政之间，我友之间，都是团结一致的。一切妨害团结的现象，都在必须克服之列。

《论联合政府》（一九四五年四月二十四日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零三九页

This [our] army has achieved remarkable unity in its own ranks and with those outside its ranks. Internally, there is unity between officers and men, between the higher and lower ranks, and between military work, political work and rear service work; and externally, there is unity between the army and the people, between the army and government organizations, and between our army and the friendly armies. It is imperative to overcome anything that impairs this unity.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 264.\*

## 二十六、纪律

在人民内部，民主是对集中而言，自由是对纪律而言。这些都是一个统一体的两个矛盾着的侧面，它们是矛盾的，又是统一的，我们不应当片面地强调某一个侧面而否定另一个侧面。在人民内部，不可以没有自由，也不可以没有纪律；不可以没有民主，也不可以没有集中。这种民主和集中的统一，自由和纪律的统一，就是我们的民主集中制。在这个制度下，人民享受着广泛的民主和自由；同时又必须用社会主义的纪律约束自己。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》

（一九五七年二月二十七日），人民出

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## 26. DISCIPLINE

Within the ranks of the people, democracy is correlative with centralism and freedom with discipline. They are the two opposites of a single entity, contradictory as well as united, and we should not one-sidedly emphasize one to the denial of the other. Within the ranks of the people, we cannot do without freedom, nor can we do without discipline; we cannot do without democracy, nor can we do without centralism. This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism. Under this system, the people enjoy extensive democracy and freedom, but at the same time they have to keep within the bounds of socialist discipline.

*"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"*  
(February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., pp.

10-11.

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必须重申党的纪律：（一）个人服从组织；（二）少数服从多数；（三）下级服从上级；（四）全党服从中央。谁破坏了这些纪律，谁就破坏了党的统一。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》（一九三八年十月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五一六页

党的纪律之一是少数服从多数。少数人在自己的意见被否决之后，必须拥护多数人所通过的决议。除必要时得在下一次会议再提出讨论外，不得在行动上有任何反对的表示。

《关于纠正党内的错误思想》（一九二九年十二月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第九二页

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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.\*

One requirement of Party discipline is that the minority should submit to the majority. If the view of the minority has been rejected, it must support the decision passed by the majority. If necessary, it can bring up the matter for reconsideration at the next meeting, but apart from that it must not act against the decision in any way.

"On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" (December 1929), *Selected*

*Works*, Vol. I, p. 110.

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三大纪律如下：

（一）一切行动听指挥；（二）不拿群众一针一线；（三）一切缴获要归公。

八项注意如下：

（一）说话和气；（二）买卖公平；  
（三）借东西要还；（四）损坏东西要赔；  
（五）不打人骂人；（六）不损坏庄稼；（七）  
不调戏妇女；（八）不虐待俘虏。

《中国人民解放军总部关于重行颁布三大纪律八项注意的训令》（一九四七年十月十日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一二四一页

The Three Main Rules of Discipline are as follows:

- (1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- (2) Do not take a single needle 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.

必须提高纪律性，坚决执行命令，执行政策，执行三大纪律八项注意，军民一致，军政一致，官兵一致，全军一致，不允许任何破坏纪律的现象存在。

《中国人民解放军宣言》(一九四七年十月)，《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一二三九页

They [all officers and soldiers of our army] must heighten their sense of discipline and resolutely carry out orders, carry out our policy, carry out the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention - with army and people united, army and government united, officers and soldiers united, and the whole army united - and permit no breach of discipline.

"Manifesto of the Chinese People's Liberation Army" (October 1947), *Selected Military Writings*, 2nd ed., p. 340.

## 二十七、批评和自我批评

共产党是不怕批评的，因为我们是马克思主义者，真理是在我们方面，工农基本群众是在我们方面。

《在中国共产党全国宣传工作会议上的讲话》（一九五七年三月十二日），人民出版社版第一一頁

彻底的唯物主义者是无所畏惧的，我们希望一切同我们共同奋斗的人能够勇敢地负起责任，克服困难，不要怕挫折，不要怕有人议论讥笑，也不要怕向我们共产党人提批评建议。“舍得一身剐，敢把皇帝拉下马”，我们在为社会主义共产主义而斗争的时候，必须有这种大无畏的精神。

《在中国共产党全国宣传工作会议上的讲话》（一九五七年三月十二日），人民出版社版第一二——一三頁

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## 27. CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

The Communist Party does not fear criticism because we are Marxists, the truth is on our side, and the basic masses, the workers and peasants, are on our side.

*"Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work"* (March 12, 1957),  
1st pocket ed., p. 14.

Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless; we hope that all our fellow fighters will courageously shoulder their responsibilities and overcome all difficulties, fearing no setbacks or gibes, nor hesitating to criticize us Communists and give us their suggestions. "He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor" - this is the indomitable spirit needed in our struggle to build socialism and communism.

我们有批评和自我批评这个马克思列宁主义的武器。我们能够去掉不良作风，保持优良作风。

《在中国共产党第七届中央委员会第二次全体会议上的报告》（一九四九年三月五日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四四零页

有无认真的自我批评，也是我们和其他政党互相区别的显著的标志之一。我们曾经说过，房子是应该经常打扫的，不打扫就会积满了灰尘；脸是应该经常洗的，不洗也就会灰尘满面。我们同志的思想，我们党的工作，也会沾染灰尘的，也应该打扫和洗涤。“流水不腐，户枢不蠹”，是说它们在不停的运动中抵抗了微生物或其他生物的侵蚀。对于我们，经常地检讨工作，在检讨中推广民主作风，不惧怕批评和自我批评，实行“知无不言，言无不

We have the Marxist-Leninist weapon of criticism and self-criticism. We can get rid of a bad style and keep the good.

"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. 374.

Conscientious practice of self-criticism is still another hallmark distinguishing our Party from all other political parties. As we say, dust will accumulate if a room is not cleaned regularly, our faces will get dirty if they are not washed regularly. Our comrades' minds and our Party's work may also collect dust, and also need sweeping and washing. The proverb "Running water is never stale and a door-hinge is never worm-eaten" means that constant motion prevents the inroads of germs and other organisms. To check up regularly on our work and in the process develop a democratic style of work, to fear neither criticism nor self-criticism, and to apply such good popular Chinese maxims as "Say

尽”，“言者无罪，闻者足戒”，“有则改之，无则加勉”这些中国人民的有益的格言，正是抵抗各种政治灰尘和政治微生物侵蚀我们同志的思想和我们党的肌体的唯一有效的方法。

《论联合政府》（一九四五年四月二十四日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零九七页

党内不同思想的对立和斗争是经常发生的，这是社会的阶级矛盾和新旧事物的矛盾在党内的反映。党内如果没有矛盾和解决矛盾的思想斗争，党的生命也就停止了。

《矛盾论》（一九三七年八月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第二九四页

我们主张积极的思想斗争，因为它是达到党内和革命团体内的团结使之利于

all you know and say it without reserve", "Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words" and "Correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not" - this is the only effective way to prevent all kinds of political dust and germs from contaminating the minds of our comrades and the body of our Party.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, pp. 316-17.

Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end.

"On Contradiction" (August 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 317.

We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary

战斗的武器。每个共产党员和革命分子，应该拿起这个武器。

但是自由主义取消思想斗争，主张无原则的和平，结果是腐朽庸俗的作风发生，使党和革命团体的某些组织和某些个人在政治上腐化起来。

《反对自由主义》（一九三七年九月七日），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第三四七页

我们反对主观主义、宗派主义、党八股，有两条宗旨是必须注意的：第一是“惩前毖后”，第二是“治病救人”。对以前的错误一定要揭发，不讲情面，要以科学的态度来分析批判过去的坏东西，以便使后来的工作慎重些，做得好些。这就是“惩前毖后”的意思。但是我们揭发错误、批

organizations in the interest of our fight. Every Communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon.

But liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the Party and the revolutionary organizations.

"Combat Liberalism" (September 7, 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 31.

In opposing subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing we must have in mind two purposes: first, "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones", and second, "cure the sickness to save the patient". The mistakes of the past must be exposed without sparing anyone's sensibilities; it is necessary to analyse and criticize what was bad in the past with a scientific attitude so that work in the future will be done more carefully and done better. This is what is meant by "learn from past mistakes to avoid

判缺点的目的，好像医生治病一样，完全是为了救人，而不是为了把人整死。一个人发了阑尾炎，医生把阑尾割了，这个人就救出来了。任何犯错误的人，只要他不讳疾忌医，不固执错误，以至于达到不可救药的地步，而是老老实实，真正愿意医治，愿意改正，我们就要欢迎他，把他的毛病治好，使他变为一个好同志。这个工作决不是痛快一时，乱打一顿，所能奏效的。对待思想上的毛病和政治上的毛病，决不能采用鲁莽的态度，必须采用“治病救人”的态度，才是正确有效的方法。

《整顿党的作风》（一九四二年二月一日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八二九—八三零页

关于党内批评问题，还有一点要说及

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future ones". But our aim in exposing errors and criticizing shortcomings, like that of a doctor curing a sickness, is solely to save the patient and not to doctor him to death. A person with appendicitis is saved when the surgeon removes his appendix. So long as a person who has made mistakes does not hide his sickness for fear of treatment or persist in his mistakes until he is beyond cure, so long as he honestly and sincerely wishes to be cured and to mend his ways, we should welcome him and cure his sickness so that he can become a good comrade. We can never succeed if we just let ourselves go and lash out at him. In treating an ideological or a political malady, one must never be rough and rash but must adopt the approach of "curing the sickness to save the patient", which is the only correct and effective method.

"Rectify the Party's Style of Work"  
(February 1, 1942), *Selected Works*, Vol.  
III, p. 50.\*

Another point that should be mentioned in connection with inner-Party criticism is that

的，就是有些同志的批评不注意大的方面，只注意小的方面。他们不明白批评的主要任务，是指出政治上的错误和组织上的错误。至于个人缺点，如果不是与政治的和组织的错误有联系，则不必多所指摘，使同志们无所措手足。而且这种批评一发展，党内精神完全集注到小的缺点方面，人人变成了谨小慎微的君子，就会忘记党的政治任务，这是很大的危险。

《关于纠正党内的错误思想》（一九二九年十二月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第九四页

党内批评要防止主观武断和把批评庸俗化，说话要有证据，批评要注意政治。

《关于纠正党内的错误思想》（一九二九年十二月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第九五页

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some comrades ignore the major issues and confine their attention to minor points when they make their criticism. They do not understand that the main task of criticism is to point out political and organizational mistakes. As to personal shortcomings, unless they are related to political and organizational mistakes, there is no need to be overcritical or the comrades concerned will be at a loss as to what to do. Moreover, once such criticism develops, there is the great danger that within the Party attention will be concentrated exclusively on minor faults, and everyone will become timid and overcautious and forget the Party's political tasks.

"On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" (December 1929), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 111-12.\*

In inner-Party criticism, guard against subjectivism, arbitrariness and the vulgarization of criticism; statements should be based on facts and criticism should stress the political side.

*Ibid.*, p. 112.\*



党内批评是坚强党的组织、增加党的战斗力的武器。但是红军党内的批评有些不是这样，变成了攻击个人。其结果，不但毁坏了个人，也毁坏了党的组织。这是小资产阶级个人主义的表现。纠正的方法，在于使党员明白批评的目的是增加党的战斗力以达到阶级斗争的胜利，不应当利用批评去做攻击个人的工具。

《关于纠正党内的错误思想》（一九二九年十二月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第九二页

因为我们是为人民服务的，所以，我们如果有缺点，就不怕别人批评指出。不管是什么人，谁向我们指出都行。只要你说得对，我们就改正。你说的办法对人民有好处，我们就照你的办。

《为人民服务》（一九四四年九月八日），  
《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零零三页

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Inner-Party criticism is a weapon for strengthening the Party organization and increasing its fighting capacity. In the Party organization of the Red Army, however, criticism is not always of this character, and sometimes turns into personal attack. As a result, it damages the Party organization as well as individuals. This is a manifestation of petty-bourgeois individualism. The method of correction is to help Party members understand that the purpose of criticism is to increase the Party's fighting capacity in order to achieve victory in the class struggle and that it should not be used as a means of personal attack.

*Ibid.*, p. 110.

If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the people. Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them. If what he proposes will benefit the people, we will act upon it.

"Serve the People" (September 8, 1941),

*Selected Works*, Vol. III, P. 227.



以中国最广大人民的最大利益为出发点的中国共产党人，相信自己的事业是完全合乎正义的，不惜牺牲自己个人的一切，随时准备拿出自己的生命去殉我们的事业，难道还有什么不适合人民需要的思想、观点、意见、办法，舍不得丢掉的吗？难道我们还欢迎任何政治的灰尘、政治的微生物来玷污我们的清洁的面貌和侵蚀我们的健全的肌体吗？无数革命先烈为了人民的利益牺牲了他们的生命，使我们每个活着人想起他们就心里难过，难道我们还有什么个人利益不能牺牲，还有什么错误不能抛弃吗？

《论联合政府》（一九四五年四月二十四日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零九七——一零九八页

我们决不能一见成绩就自满自足起来。我们应该抑制自满，时时批评自己的

As we Chinese Communists, who base all our actions on the highest interests of the broadest masses of the Chinese people and who are fully convinced of the justice of our cause, never balk at any personal sacrifice and are ready at all times to give our lives for the cause, can we be reluctant to discard any idea, viewpoint, opinion or method which is not suited to the needs of the people? Can we be willing to allow political dust and germs to dirty our clean faces or eat into our healthy organisms? Countless revolutionary martyrs have laid down their lives in the interests of the people, and our hearts are filled with pain as we the living think of them - can there be any personal interest, then, that we would not sacrifice or any error that we would not discard?

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 317.\*

We must not become complacent over any success. We should check our complacency and constantly criticize our

缺点，好像我们为了清洁，为了去掉灰尘，天天要洗脸，天天要扫地一样。

《组织起来》(一九四三年十一月二十九日)，《毛泽东选集》第三卷第九三八页

批评要是及时的批评，不要老是爱好事后的批评。

《关于农业合作化问题》(一九五五年七月三十一日)，人民出版社版第二九页

错误和挫折教训了我们，使我们比较地聪明起来了，我们的事情就办得好一些。任何个人，错误总是难免的，我们要求犯得少一点。犯了错误则要求改正，改正得越迅速，越彻底，越好。

《论人民民主专政》(一九四九年六月三十日)，《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四八五页

shortcomings, just as we should wash our faces or sweep the floor every day to remove the dirt and keep them clean.

"Get Organized!" (November 29, 1943),  
Selected Works, Vol. III. p. 160.\*

As for criticism, do it in good time; don't get into the habit of criticizing only after the event.

*"On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation"* (July 31, 1955), 3rd ed.,  
p. 25.

Taught by mistakes and setbacks, we have become wiser and handle our affairs better. It is hard for any political party or person to avoid mistakes, but we should make as few as possible. Once a mistake is made, we should correct it, and the more quickly and thoroughly the better.

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

## 二十八、共产党员

一个共产党员，应该是襟怀坦白，忠实，积极，以革命利益为第一生命，以个人利益服从革命利益；无论何时何地，坚持正确的原则，同一切不正确的思想和行为作不疲倦的斗争，用以巩固党的集体生活，巩固党和群众的联系；关心党和群众比关心个人为重，关心他人比关心自己为重。这样才算得一个共产党员。

《反对自由主义》（一九三七年九月七日），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第三四九页

应该使每个同志明了，共产党人的一切言论行动，必须以合乎最广大人民群众

## 28. COMMUNISTS

A Communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions, so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual, and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist.

"Combat Liberalism" (September 7, 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 33.\*

Every comrade must be brought to understand that the supreme test of the words and deeds of a Communist is whether

的最大利益，为最广大人民群众所拥护为最高标准。

《论联合政府》(一九四五年四月二十四日)，《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零九七页

共产党员无论何时何地都不应以个人利益放在第一位，而应以个人利益服从于民族的和人民群众的利益。因此，自私自利，消极怠工，贪污腐化，风头主义等等，是最可鄙的；而大公无私，积极努力，克己奉公，埋头苦干的精神，才是可尊敬的。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》(一九三八年十月)，《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五一零页

共产党人必须随时准备坚持真理，因为任何真理都是符合于人民利益的；共产党人必须随时准备修正错误，因为任何错

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they conform with the highest interests and enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the people.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 316.\*

At no time and in no circumstances should a Communist place his personal interests first; he should subordinate them to the interests of the nation and of the masses. Hence, selfishness, slacking, corruption, seeking the limelight, and so on, are most contemptible, while selflessness, working with all one's energy, whole-hearted devotion to public duty, and quiet hard work will command respect.

"The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War" (October 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 198.

Communists must be ready at all times to stand up for the truth, because truth is in the interests of the people; Communists must be ready at all times to correct their mistakes, because mistakes are against the interests

误都是不符合于人民利益的。

《论联合政府》(一九四五年四月二十四日),《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零九六页

共产党员对任何事情都要问一个为什么,都要经过自己头脑的周密思考,想一想它是否合乎实际,是否真有道理,绝对不应盲从,绝对不应提倡奴隶主义。

《整顿党的作风》(一九四二年二月一日),《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八二九页

要提倡顾全大局。每一个党员,每一种局部工作,每一项言论或行动,都必须以全党利益为出发点,绝对不许可违反这个原则。

《整顿党的作风》(一九四二年二月一日),《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八二三页

共产党员应是实事求是的模范,又是具有远见卓识的模范。因为只有实事求是

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of the people.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 315.

Communists must always go into the whys and wherefores of anything, use their own heads and carefully think over whether or not it corresponds to reality and is really well founded; on no account should they follow blindly and encourage slavishness.

"Rectify the Party's Style of Work" (February 1, 1942), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, pp. 49-50.

We should encourage comrades to take the interests of the whole into account. Every Party member, every branch of work, every statement and every action must proceed from the interests of the whole Party; it is absolutely impermissible to violate this principle.

*Ibid.*, p. 44.

Communists should set an example in being practical as well as far-sighted. For only by being practical can they fulfill the

是，才能完成确定的任务；只有远见卓识，才能不失前进的方向。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》（一九三八年十月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五一零页

共产党员应该作到最有远见，最富于牺牲精神，最坚定，而又最能虚心体会情况，依靠群众的多数，得到群众的拥护。

《中国共产党在抗日时期的任务》（一九三七年五月三日），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第二五四页

共产党员又应成为学习的模范，他们每天都是民众的教师，但又每天都是民众的学生。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》（一九三八年十月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五一零——五一一页

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appointed tasks, and only far-sightedness can prevent them from losing their bearings in the march forward.

"The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War" (October 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 198.

Communists should be the most farsighted, the most self-sacrificing, the most resolute, and the least prejudiced in sizing up situations, and should rely on the majority of the masses and win their support.

"The Tasks of the Chinese Communist Party in the Period of Resistance to Japan" (May 3, 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 274.\*

Communists should set an example in study; at all times they should be pupils of the masses as well as their teachers.

"The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War" (October 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 198.\*

共产党员在民众运动中，应该是民众的朋友，而不是民众的上司，是诲人不倦的教师，而不是官僚主义的政客。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》(一九三八年十月)，《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五一零页

共产党员决不可脱离群众的多数，置多数人的情况于不顾，而率领少数先进队伍单独冒进；必须注意组织先进分子和广大群众之间的密切联系。这就是照顾多数的观点。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》(一九三八年十月)，《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五一四页

我们共产党人好比种子，人民好比土地。我们到了一个地方，就要同那里的人民结合起来，在人民中间生根、开花。

《关于重庆谈判》(一九四五年十月十七日)，《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一一六一页

我们共产党员，无论在什么问题上，一定要能够同群众相结合。如果我们的党

Every Communist working in the mass movements should be a friend of the masses and not a boss over them, an indefatigable teacher and not a bureaucratic politician.

*Ibid.\**

Communists must never separate themselves from the majority of the people or neglect them by leading only a few progressive contingents in an isolated and rash advance, but must take care to forge close links between the progressive elements and the broad masses. This is what is meant by thinking in terms of the majority.

*Ibid.*, p. 201.\*

We Communists are like seeds and the people are like the soil. Wherever we go, we must unite with the people, take root and blossom among them.

"On the Chungking Negotiations"  
(October 17, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 58.

We Communists must be able to integrate ourselves with the masses in all things. If

员，一生一世坐在房子里不出去，不经风雨，不见世面，这种党员，对于中国人民究竟有什么好处没有呢？一点好处也没有的，我们不需要这样的人做党员。我们共产党员应该经风雨，见世面；这个风雨，就是群众斗争的大风雨，这个世面，就是群众斗争的大世面。

《组织起来》（一九四三年十一月二十九日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第九三六页

共产党员的先锋作用和模范作用是十分重要的。共产党员在八路军和新四军中，应该成为英勇作战的模范，执行命令的模范，遵守纪律的模范，政治工作的模范和内部团结统一的模范。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》（一九三八年十月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五一零页

共产党员决不可自以为是，盛气凌人，以为自己是什么都好，别人是什么都

our Party members spend their whole lives sitting indoors and never go out to face the world and brave the storm, what good will they be to the Chinese people? None at all, and we do not need such people as Party members. We Communists ought to face the world and brave the storm the great world of mass struggle and the mighty storm of mass struggle.

"Get Organized!" (November 29, 1943),  
*Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 158.

The exemplary vanguard role of the Communists is of vital importance. Communists in the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies should set an example in fighting bravely, carrying out orders, observing discipline, doing political work and fostering internal unity and solidarity.

"The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War" (October 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 197.\*

A Communist must never be opinionated or domineering, thinking that he is good in everything while others are good in nothing; he must never shut himself up in his little

不好；决不可把自己关在小房子里，自吹自擂，称王称霸。

《在陕甘宁边区参议会的演说》（一九四一年十一月二十一日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八一一页

共产党员必须倾听党外人士的意见，给别人以说话的机会。别人说得对的，我们应该欢迎，并要跟别人的长处学习；别人说得不对，也应该让别人说完，然后慢慢加以解释。

《在陕甘宁边区参议会的演说》（一九四一年十一月二十一日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八一一页

共产党员对于在工作中犯过错误的人们，除了不可救药者外，不是采取排斥态度，而是采取规劝态度，使之翻然改进，弃旧图新。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》（一九三八年十月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五一零页

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room, or brag and boast and lord it over others.

"Speech at the Assembly of Representatives of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region" (November 21, 1941), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 33.\*

Communists must listen attentively to the views of people outside the Party and let them have their say. If what they say is right, we ought to welcome it, and we should learn from their strong points; if it is wrong, we should let them finish what they are saying and then patiently explain things to them.

*Ibid.*

The attitude of Communists towards any person who has made mistakes in his work should be one of persuasion in order to help him change and start afresh and not one of exclusion, unless he is incorrigible.

"The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War" (October 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 198.

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共产党员对于落后的人们的态度，不是轻视他们，看不起他们，而是亲近他们，团结他们，说服他们，鼓励他们前进。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》（一九三八年十月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五一零页

As for people who are politically backward, Communists should not slight or despise them, but should befriend them, unite with them, convince them and encourage them to go forward.

*Ibid.*

## 二十九、干部

为了保证我们的党和国家不改变颜色，我们不仅需要正确的路线和政策，而且需要培养和造就千百万无产阶级革命事业的接班人。

培养无产阶级革命事业接班人的问题从根本上来说，就是老一代无产阶级革命家所开创的马克思列宁主义的革命事业是不是后继有人的问题，就是将来我们党和国家的领导能不能继续掌握在无产阶级革命家手中的问题，就是我们的子孙后代能不能沿着马克思列宁主义的正确道路继续前进的问题，也就是我们能不能胜利地防止赫鲁晓夫修正主义在中国重演的问题。 总之，这是关系我们党和国

## 29. CADRES

In order to guarantee that our Party and country do not change their colour, we must not only have a correct line and correct policies but must train and bring up millions of successors who will carry on the cause of proletarian revolution.

In the final analysis, the question of training successors for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat is one of whether or not there will be people who can carry on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary cause started by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, whether or not the leadership of our Party and state will remain in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries, whether or not our descendants will continue to march along the correct road laid down by Marxism-Leninism, or, in other words, whether or not we can successfully prevent the emergence of Khrushchov's revisionism in China. In short, it is an

家命运的生死存亡的极其重大的问题。这是无产阶级革命事业的百年大计，千年大计，万年大计。帝国主义的预言家们根据苏联发生的变化，也把“和平演变”的希望，寄托在中国党的第三代或者第四代身上。我们一定要使帝国主义的这种预言彻底破产。我们一定要从上到下地、普遍地、经常不断地注意培养和造就革命事业的接班人。

具备什么条件，才能够充当无产阶级革命事业的接班人呢？

他们必须是真正的马克思列宁主义者，而不是像赫鲁晓夫那样的挂着马克思列宁主义招牌的修正主义者。

他们必须是全心全意为中国和世界的绝大多数人服务的革命者，而不是像赫鲁晓夫那样，在国内为一小撮资产阶级特权阶

extremely important question, a matter of life and death for our Party and our country. It is a question of fundamental importance to the proletarian revolutionary cause for a hundred, a thousand, nay ten thousand years. Basing themselves on the changes in the Soviet Union, the imperialist prophets are pinning their hopes of "peaceful evolution" on the third or fourth generation of the Chinese Party. We must shatter these imperialist prophecies. From our highest organizations down to the grass-roots, we must everywhere give constant attention to the training and upbringing of successors to the revolutionary cause.

What are the requirements for worthy successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat?

They must be genuine Marxist-Leninists and not revisionists like Khrushchov wearing the cloak of Marxism-Leninism.

They must be revolutionaries who wholeheartedly serve the overwhelming majority of the people of China and the whole world, and must not be like

层的利益服务，在国际为帝国主义和反动派的利益服务。

他们必须是能够团结绝大多数人一道工作的无产阶级政治家。不但要团结和自己意见相同的人，而且要善于团结那些和自己意见不同的人，还要善于团结那些反对过自己并且已被实践证明是犯了错误的人。但是要特别警惕像赫鲁晓夫那样的个人野心家和阴谋家，防止这样的坏人篡夺党和国家的各级领导。

他们必须是党的民主集中制的模范执行者，必须学会“从群众中来，到群众中去”的领导方法，必须养成善于听取群众意见的民主作风。而不能像赫鲁晓夫那样，破坏党的民主集中制，专横跋扈，对

Khrushchov who serves both the interests of the handful of members of the privileged bourgeois stratum in his own country and those of foreign imperialism and reaction.

They must be proletarian statesmen capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority. Not only must they unite with those who agree with them, they must also be good at uniting with those who disagree and even with those who formerly opposed them and have since been proved wrong in practice. But they must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level.

They must be models in applying the Party's democratic centralism, must master the method of leadership based on the principle of "from the masses, to the masses", and must cultivate a democratic style and be good at listening to the masses. They must not be despotic like Khrushchov and violate the Party's democratic

同志搞突然袭击，不讲道理，实行个人独裁。

他们必须谦虚谨慎，戒骄戒躁，富于自我批评精神，勇于改正自己工作中的缺点和错误。而绝不能像赫鲁晓夫那样，文过饰非，把一切功劳归于自己，把一切错误归于别人。

无产阶级革命事业的接班人，是在群众斗争中产生的，是在革命大风大浪的锻炼中成长的。应当在长期的群众斗争中，考察和识别干部，挑选和培养接班人。

转摘自《关于赫鲁晓夫的假共产主义及其在世界历史上的教训》，一九六四年七月十四日《人民日报》

我们党的组织要向全国发展，要自觉地造就成万数的干部，要有几百个最好的

centralism, make surprise attacks on comrades or act arbitrarily and dictatorially.

They must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity; they must be imbued with the spirit of selfcriticism and have the courage to correct mistakes and shortcomings in their work. They must never cover up their errors like Khrushchov, and claim all the credit for themselves and shift all the blame on others.

Successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat come forward in mass struggles and are tempered in the great storms of revolution. It is essential to test and judge cadres and choose and train successors in the long course of mass struggle.

Quoted in *"On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World"* (July 14,1964), pp. 72-74.\*

Our Party organizations must be extended all over the country and we must purposefully train tens of thousands of

群众领袖。这些干部和领袖懂得马克思列宁主义，有政治远见，有工作能力，富于牺牲精神，能独立解决问题，在困难中不动摇，忠心耿耿地为民族、为阶级、为党而工作。党依靠着这些人而联系党员和群众，依靠着这些人对于群众的坚强领导而达到打倒敌人之目的。这些人不要自私自利，不要个人英雄主义和风头主义，不要懒惰和消极性，不要自高自大的宗派主义，他们是大公无私的民族的阶级的英雄，这就是共产党员、党的干部、党的领袖应该有的性格和作风。

《为争取千百万群众进入抗日民族统一战线而斗争》（一九三七年五月七日），  
《毛泽东选集》第一卷第二六七——  
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cadres and hundreds of first-rate mass leaders. They must be cadres and leaders versed in Marxism-Leninism, politically far-sighted, competent in work, full of the spirit of selfsacrifice, capable of tackling problems on their own, steadfast in the midst of difficulties and loyal and devoted in serving the nation, the class and the Party. It is on these cadres and leaders that the Party relies for its links with the membership and the masses, and it is by relying on their firm leadership of the masses that the Party can succeed in defeating the enemy. Such cadres and leaders must be free from selfishness, from individualistic heroism, ostentation, sloth, passivity, and arrogant sectarianism, and they must be selfless national and class heroes; such are the qualities and the style of work demanded of the members, cadres and leaders of our Party.

"Win the Masses in Their Millions for the Anti-Japanese National United Front" (May 7, 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 291.\*

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政治路线确定之后，干部就是决定的因素。因此，有计划地培养大批的新干部。就是我们的战斗任务。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》（一九三八年十月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五一四页

共产党的干部政策，应是以能否坚决地执行党的路线，服从党的纪律，和群众有密切的联系，有独立的工作能力，积极肯干，不谋私利为标准，这就是“任人唯贤”的路线。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》（一九三八年十月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五一五页

必须坚持干部参加集体生产劳动的制度。我们党和国家的干部是普通劳动者，而不是骑在人民头上的老爷。干部通过参加集体生产劳动，同劳动人民保持最

Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined. Therefore, it is our fighting task to train large numbers of new cadres in a planned way.

"The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War" (October 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 202.

The criterion the Communist Party should apply in its cadres policy is whether or not a cadre is resolute in carrying out the Party line, keeps to Party discipline, has close ties with the masses, has the ability to find his bearings independently, and is active, hardworking and unselfish. This is what "appointing people on their merit" means.

*Ibid.*

It is necessary to maintain the system of cadre participation in collective productive labour. The cadres of our Party and state are ordinary workers and not overlords sitting on the backs of the people. By taking part in collective productive labour, the cadres

广泛的、经常的、密切的联系。这是社会主义制度下一件带根本性的大事，它有助于克服官僚主义，防止修正主义和教条主义。

转摘自《关于赫鲁晓夫的假共产主义及其在世界历史上的教训》，一九六四年七月十四日《人民日报》

必须善于识别干部。不但要看干部的一时一事，而且要看干部的全部历史和全部工作，这是识别干部的主要方法。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》（一九三八年十月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五一五页

必须善于使用干部。领导者的责任，归结起来，主要地是出主意、用干部两件事。一切计划、决议、命令、指示等等，都属于“出主意”一类。使这一切主意见

maintain extensive, constant and close ties with the working people. This is a major measure of fundamental importance for a socialist system; it helps to overcome bureaucracy and to prevent revisionism and dogmatism.

Quoted in *"On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World"* (July 14, 1964), pp. 68-69.\*

We must know how to judge cadres. We must not confine our judgement to a short period or a single incident in a cadre's life, but should consider his life and work as a whole. This is the principal method of judging cadres.

"The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War" (October 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 202.

We must know how to use cadres well. In the final analysis, leadership involves two main responsibilities: to work out ideas, and to use cadres well. Such things as drawing up plans, making decisions, and giving orders and directives, are all in the category of "working out ideas". To put the ideas into

之实行，必须团结干部，推动他们去做，属于“用干部”一类。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》（一九三八年十月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五一五页

必须善于爱护干部。爱护的办法是：第一，指导他们。这就是让他们放手工作，使他们敢于负责；同时，又适时地给以指示，使他们能在党的政治路线下发挥其创造性。第二，提高他们。这就是给以学习的机会，教育他们，使他们在理论上在工作能力上提高一步。第三，检查他们的工作，帮助他们总结经验，发扬成绩，纠正错误。有委托而无检查，及至犯了严重的错误，方才加以注意，不是爱护干部的办

practice, we must weld the cadres together and encourage them to go into action; this comes into the category of "using the cadres well".

*Ibid.*

We must know how to take good care of cadres. There are several ways of doing so.

First, give them guidance. This means allowing them a free hand in their work so that they have the courage to assume responsibility and, at the same time, giving them timely instructions so that, guided by the Party's political line, they are able to make full use of their initiative.

Second, raise their level. This means educating them by giving them the opportunity to study so that they can enhance their theoretical understanding and their working ability.

Third, check up on their work, and help them sum up their experience, carry forward their achievements and correct their mistakes. To assign work without checking up and to take notice only when serious mistakes are made - that is, not the way to

法。第四，对于犯错误的干部，一般地应采取说服的方法。帮助他们改正错误。只有对犯了严重错误而又不接受指导的人们，才应当采取斗争的方法。在这里，耐心是必要的；轻易地给人们戴上“机会主义”的大帽子，轻易地采用“开展斗争”的方法，是不对的。第五，照顾他们的困难。干部有疾病、生活、家庭等项困难问题者，必须在可能限度内用心给以照顾。这些就是爱护干部的方法。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》（一九三八年十月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五一五——五一六页

凡属真正团结一致、联系群众的领导骨干，必须是从群众斗争中逐渐形成，而不是脱离群众斗争所能形成的。在多数情

take care of cadres.

Fourth, in general, use the method of persuasion with cadres who have made mistakes, and help them correct their mistakes. The method of struggle should be confined to those who make serious mistakes and nevertheless refuse to accept guidance. Here patience is essential. It is wrong lightly to label people "opportunists" or lightly to begin "waging struggles" against them.

Fifth, help them with their difficulties. When cadres are in difficulty as a result of illness, straitened means or domestic or other troubles, we must be sure to give them as much care as possible.

This is how to take good care of cadres.

*Ibid.*, p. 203.

A leading group that is genuinely united and is linked with the masses can gradually be formed only in the process of mass struggle, and not in isolation from it. In the process of a great struggle, the composition of the

形下，一个伟大的斗争过程，其开始阶段、中间阶段和最后阶段的领导骨干，不应该是也不可能是完全同一的；必须不断地提拔在斗争中产生的积极分子，来替换原有骨干中相形见绌的分子，或腐化了的分子。

《关于领导方法的若干问题》（一九四三年六月一日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第九零零页

我们党如果没有广大的新干部同老干部一致合作，我们的事业就会中断。所以一切老干部应该以极大的热忱欢迎新干部，关心新干部。不错，新干部是有缺点的，他们参加革命还不久，还缺乏经验，他们中的有些人还不免带来旧社会不良思想的尾巴，这就是小资产阶级个人主义

leading group in most cases should not and cannot remain entirely unchanged throughout the initial, middle and final stages; the activists who come forward in the course of the struggle must constantly be promoted to replace those original members of the leading group who are inferior by comparison or who have degenerated.

"Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership" (June 1, 1943), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 118.\*

If our Party does not have a great many new cadres working in unity and cooperation with the old cadres, our cause will come to a stop. All old cadres, therefore, should welcome the new ones with the utmost enthusiasm and show them the warmest solicitude. True, new cadres have their shortcomings. They have not been long in the revolution and lack experience, and unavoidably some have brought with them vestiges of the unwholesome ideology of the old society, remnants of the ideology of petty-bourgeois individualism. But such

思想的残余。但是这些缺点是可以从教育中从革命锻炼中逐渐地去掉的。他们的长处，正如斯大林说过的，是对于新鲜事物有锐敏的感觉，因而有高度的热情和积极性，而在这一点上，有些老干部则正是缺乏的。新老干部应该是彼此尊重，互相学习，取长补短，以便团结一致，进行共同的事业，而防止宗派主义的倾向。

《整顿党的作风》（一九四二年二月一日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八二六页

不但要关心党的干部，还要关心非党的干部。党外存在着很多的人材，共产党不能把他们置之度外。去掉孤傲习气，善于和非党干部共事，真心诚意地帮助

shortcomings can be gradually eliminated through education and tempering in the revolution. The strong point of the new cadres, as Stalin has said, is that they are acutely sensitive to what is new and are therefore enthusiastic and active to a high degree - the very qualities which some of the old cadres lack. Cadres, new and old, should respect each other, learn from each other and overcome their own shortcomings by learning from each other's strong points, so as to unite as one in the common cause and guard against sectarian tendencies.

"Rectify the Party's Style of Work"  
(February 1, 1942), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 47.

Our concern should extend to non-Party cadres as well as to Party cadres. There are many capable people outside the Party whom we must not ignore. The duty of every Communist is to rid himself of aloofness and arrogance and to work well with non-Party cadres, give them sincere

他们，用热烈的同志的态度对待他们，把他们的积极性组织到抗日和建国的伟大事业中去，这是每一个共产党员的责任。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》(一九三八年十月)，《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五一五页

help, have a warm, comradely attitude towards them and enlist their initiative in the great cause of resisting Japan and reconstructing the nation.

"The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War" (October 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 202.

## 三十、青年

世界是你们的，也是我们的，但是归根结底是你们的。你们青年人朝气蓬勃，正在兴旺时期，好像早晨八、九点钟的太阳。希望寄托在你们身上。

… …

世界是属于你们的。中国的前途是属于你们的。

在莫斯科会见我国留学生和实习生时的谈话(一九五七年十一月十七日),《毛主席在苏联的言论》人民日报出版社版第一四——一五页

要使全体青年们懂得，我们的国家现在还是一个很穷的国家，并且不可能在短时间内根本改变这种状态，全靠青年和全体人民在几十年时间内，团结奋斗，用自己的双手创造出一个富强的国家。社会主义制度的建立给我们开辟了一条到达理

## 30. YOUTH

The world is yours, as well as ours, but in the last analysis, it is yours. You young people, full of vigour and vitality, are in the bloom of life, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. Our hope is placed on you. ...

The world belongs to you. China's future belongs to you.

*"Talk at a meeting with Chinese students and trainees in Moscow"*  
(November 17, 1957).

We must help all our young people to understand that ours is still a very poor country, that we cannot change this situation radically in a short time, and that only through the united efforts of our younger generation and all our people, working with their own hands, can China be made strong and prosperous within a period of several decades. The establishment of our socialist system has opened the road leading to the

想境界的道路，而理想境界的实现还要靠我们的辛勤劳动。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出版社版第二三页

不少青年人由于缺少政治经验和  
社会生活经验，不善于把旧中国和新中国加以比较，不容易深切了解我国人民曾经怎样经历千辛万苦的斗争才摆脱了帝国主义和国民党反动派的压迫，而建立一个美好的社会主义社会要经过怎样的长时间的艰苦劳动。因此，需要在群众中间经常进行生动的、切实的政治教育，并且应当经常把发生的困难向他们作真实的说明，和他们一起研究如何解决困难的办法。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出版社版第三二——三三页

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ideal society of the future, but to translate this ideal into reality needs hard work.

*"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"*  
(February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., pp. 44-45

Because of their lack of political and social experience, quite a number of young people are unable to see the contrast between the old China and the new, and it is not easy for them thoroughly to comprehend the hardships our people went through in the struggle to free themselves from the oppression of the imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries, or the long period of arduous work needed before a happy socialist society can be established. That is why we must constantly carry on lively and effective political education among the masses and should always tell them the truth about the difficulties that crop up and discuss with them how to surmount these difficulties.

*Ibid.*, p. 63.

青年是整个社会力量中的一部分最积极最有生气的力量。他们最肯学习，最少保守思想，在社会主义时代尤其是这样。希望各地的党组织，协同青年团组织，注意研究如何特别发挥青年人的力量，不要将他们一般看待，抹杀了他们的特点。当然青年人必须向老年人和成年人学习，要尽量争取在老年人和成年人同意之下去做各种有益的活动。

《中山县新平乡第九农业生产合作社的青年突击队》一文的按语（一九五五年），《中国农村的社会主义高潮》下册第九五九页

看一个青年是不是革命的，拿什么做

The young people are the most active and vital force in society. They are the most eager to learn and the least conservative in their thinking. This is especially so in the era of socialism. We hope that the local Party organizations in various places will help and work with the Youth League organizations and go into the question of bringing into full play the energy of our youth in particular. The Party organizations should not treat them in the same way as everybody else and ignore their special characteristics. Of course, the young people should learn from the old and other adults, and should strive as much as possible to engage in all sorts of useful activities with their agreement.

Introductory note to "A Youth Shock Brigade of the No. 9 Agricultural Producers' Co-operative in Hsinping Township, Chungshan County" (1955), *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Chinese ed., Vol. III.

How should we judge whether a youth is a revolutionary? How can we tell? There can

标准呢？拿什么去辨别他呢？只有一个标准，这就是看他愿意不愿意、并且实行不实行和广大的工农群众结合在一块。愿意并且实行和工农结合的，是革命的，否则就是不革命的，或者是反革命的。他今天把自己结合于工农群众，他今天是革命的；但是如果他明天不去结合了，或者反过来压迫老百姓，那就是不革命的，或者是反革命的了。

《青年运动的方向》（一九三九年五月四日），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五五四页

知识分子在其未和群众的革命斗争打成一片，在其未下决心为群众利益服务并与群众相结合的时候，往往带有主观主义和个人主义的倾向，他们的思想往往是空虚的，他们的行动往往是动摇的。因此，中国的广大的革命知识分子虽然有先锋

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.

The intellectuals often tend to be subjective and individualistic, impractical in their thinking and irresolute in action until they have thrown themselves heart and soul into mass revolutionary struggles, or made up their minds to serve the interests of the masses and become one with them. Hence although the mass of revolutionary intellectuals in China can play a vanguard

的和桥梁的作用，但不是所有这些知识分子都能革命到底的。其中一部分，到了革命的紧急关头，就会脱离革命队伍，采取消极态度；其中少数人，就会变成革命的敌人。知识分子的这种缺点，只有在长期的群众斗争中才能克服。

《中国革命和中国共产党》（一九三九年十二月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第六三六页

青年团除了应继续配合党的中心工作以外，还要有适合青年特点的独立工作。新中国要为青年们着想，要关怀青年一代的成长。青年们要学习，要工作，但青年时期是长身体的时期。因此，要充分兼顾青年的工作、学习和娱乐、体育、休息两个方面。

在接见青年团第二次全国代表大会主席团时的指示（一九五三年六月三十日），一九五三年七月三日《人民日报》

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role or serve as a link with the masses, not all of them will remain revolutionaries to the end. Some will drop out of the revolutionary ranks at critical moments and become passive, while a few may even become enemies of the revolution. The intellectuals can overcome their shortcomings only in mass struggles over a long period.

"The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party" (December 1939), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 322.\*

Apart from continuing to act in co-ordination with the Party in its central task, the Youth League should do its own work to suit the special characteristics of youth. New China must care for her youth and show concern for the growth of the younger generation. Young people have to study and work, but they are at the age of physical growth. Therefore, full attention must be paid both to their work and study and to their recreation, sport and rest.

"Talk at the reception for the Presidium of the Second National Congress of the Youth League" (June 30, 1953).

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## 三十一、妇女

中国的男子，普通要受三种有系统的权力（指政权、族权、神权——编者）的支配，……至于女子，除受上述三种权力的支配以外，还受男子的支配（夫权）。这四种权力——政权、族权、神权、夫权，代表了全部封建宗法的思想和制度，是束缚中国人民特别是农民的四条极大的绳索。农民在乡下怎样推翻地主的政权，已如前头所述。地主政权，是一切权力的基干。地主政权既被打翻，族权、神权、夫权便一概跟着动摇起来。……夫权这种东西，自来在贫农中就比较地弱一点。因为

## 31. WOMEN

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

经济上贫农妇女不能不较富有阶级的女子多参加劳动，所以她们取得对于家事的发言权以至决定权的是比较多些。至近年，农村经济益发破产，男子控制女子的基本条件，业已破坏了。最近农民运动一起，许多地方，妇女跟着组织了乡村女界联合会，妇女抬头的机会已到，夫权便一天一天地动摇起来。总而言之，所有一切封建的宗法的思想和制度，都随着农民权力的升涨而动摇。

《湖南农民运动考察报告》(一九二七年三月)，《毛泽东选集》第一卷第三三—三四页

团结起来，参加生产和政治活动，改善妇女的经济地位和政治地位。

为《新中国妇女》杂志的题词，一九四九年七月二十日《新中国妇女》创刊

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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.\*

Unite and take part in production and political activity to improve the economic and political status of women.

Inscription for the magazine "*Women of New China*", printed in its first issue, July 20, 1949.

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要求保护青年、妇女、儿童的利益，救济失学青年，并使青年、妇女组织起来，以平等地位参加有益于抗日战争和社会进步的各项工作，实现婚姻自由，男女平等，使青年和儿童得到有益的学习；……

《论联合政府》（一九四五年四月二十四日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零六五页

有组织地调剂劳动力和推动妇女参加生产，是我们农业生产方面的最基本的任务。

《我们的经济政策》（一九三四年一月二十三日），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第一二六——一二七页

为了建设伟大的社会主义社会，发动广大的妇女群众参加生产活动，具有极大的意义。在生产中，必须实现男女平等，

Protect the interests of the youth, women and children - provide assistance to young students who cannot afford to continue their studies, help the youth and women to organize in order to participate on an equal footing in all work useful to the war effort and to social progress, ensure freedom of marriage and equality as between men and women, and give young people and children a useful education. ...

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 288.\*

[In agricultural production] our fundamental task is to adjust the use of labour power in an organized way and to encourage women to do farm work.

"Our Economic Policy" (January 23, 1934), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 142.\*

In order to build a great socialist society it is of the utmost importance to arouse the broad masses of women to join in productive activity. Men and women must receive equal pay for equal work in

只有在整个社会的社会主义改造过程中才能实现。

《妇女走上了劳动战线》一文的按语(一九五五年),《中国农村的社会主义高潮》上册第三五七页

在合作化以后,许多合作社感到劳动力不足了,有必要发动过去不参加田间劳动的广大的妇女群众参加到劳动战线上去。……中国的妇女是一种伟大的人力资源。必须发掘这种资源,为了建设一个伟大的社会主义国家而奋斗。

《发动妇女投入生产,解决了劳动力不足的困难》一文的按语(一九五五年),《中国农村的社会主义高潮》中册第六七四—六七五页

production. Genuine equality between the sexes can only be realized in the process of the socialist transformation of society as a whole.

Introductory note to "Women Have Gone to the Labour Front" (1955), *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Chinese ed., Vol. I.

With the completion of agricultural cooperation, many co-operatives are finding themselves short of labour. It has become necessary to arouse the great mass of women who did not work in the fields before to take their place on the labour front... China's women are a vast reserve of labour power. This reserve should be tapped in the struggle to build a great socialist country.

Introductory note to "Solving the Labour Shortage by Arousing the Women to Join in Production" (1955), *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Chinese ed., Vol. II.

使全部妇女劳动力，在同工同酬的原则下，一律参加到劳动战线上去，这个要求，应当在尽可能短的时间内，予以实现。

《邢台县民主妇女联合会关于发展农业合作化运动中妇女工作的规划》一文的按语（一九五五年），《中国农村的社会主义高潮》上册第六六页

Enable every woman who can work to take her place on the labour front, under the principle of equal pay for equal work. This should be done as quickly as possible.

Introductory note to "On Widening the Scope of Women's Work in the Agricultural Co-operative Movement" (1955), *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Chinese ed., Vol. I.

## 三十二、文化艺术

在现在世界上，一切文化或文学艺术都是属于一定的阶级，属于一定的政治路线的。为艺术的艺术，超阶级的艺术，和政治并行或互相独立的艺术，实际上是不存在的。无产阶级的文学艺术是无产阶级整个革命事业的一部分，如同列宁所说，是整个革命机器中的“齿轮和螺丝钉”。

《在延安文艺座谈会上的讲话》（一九四二年五月），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八六七页

革命文化，对于人民大众，是革命的有力武器。革命文化，在革命前，是革命的思想准备；在革命中，是革命总战线中的一条必要和重要的战线。

《新民主主义论》（一九四零年一月），  
《毛泽东选集》第二卷第七零一页

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## 32. CULTURE AND ART

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.\*

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.

我们的文学艺术都是为人民大众的，首先是为工农兵的，为工农兵而创作，为工农兵所利用的。

《在延安文艺座谈会上的讲话》（一九四二年五月），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八六五页

我们的文艺工作者一定要完成这个任务，一定要把立足点移过来，一定要在深入工农兵群众、深入实际斗争的过程中，在学习马克思主义和学习社会的过程中，逐渐地移过来，移到工农兵这方面来，移到无产阶级这方面来。只有这样，我们才能有真正为工农兵的文艺，真正无产阶级的文艺。

《在延安文艺座谈会上的讲话》（一九四二年五月），《毛泽东选集》第三卷八五九页

要使文艺很好地成为整个革命机器的一个组成部分，作为团结人民、教育人

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.\*

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.

*Ibid.*, p. 78.

[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

民、打击敌人、消灭敌人的有力的武器，帮助人民同心同德地和敌人作斗争。

《在延安文艺座谈会上的讲话》（一九四二年五月），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八五零页

文艺批评有两个标准，一个是政治标准，一个是艺术标准。……

又是政治标准，又是艺术标准，这两者的关系怎么样呢？政治并不等于艺术，一般的宇宙观也并不等于艺术创作和艺术批评的方法。我们不但否认抽象的绝对不变的政治标准，也否认抽象的绝对不变的艺术标准，各个阶级社会中的各个阶级都有不同的政治标准和不同的艺术标准。但是任何阶级社会中的任何阶级，总是以政治标准放在第一位，以艺术标准放在第二位的。……我们的要求则是政治和艺术的统一，内容和形式的统一，革命的政治

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.

*Ibid.*, p. 70.

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

内容和尽可能完美的艺术形式的统一。缺乏艺术性的艺术品，无论政治上怎样进步，也是没有力量的。因此，我们既反对政治观点错误的艺术品，也反对只有正确的政治观点而没有艺术力量的所谓“标语口号式”的倾向。我们应该进行文艺问题上的两条战线斗争。

《在延安文艺座谈会上的讲话》（一九四二年五月），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八六九——八七一页

百花齐放、百家争鸣的方针，是促进艺术发展和科学进步的方针，是促进我国的社会主义文化繁荣的方针。艺术上不同的形式和风格可以自由发展，科学上不同的学派可以自由争论。利用行政力量，强制推行一种风格，一种学派，禁止另一种风格，另一种学派，我们认为会有害于艺术和科学的发展。艺术和科学中的是非问

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.

*Ibid.*, pp. 88-90.\*

Letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend is the policy for promoting the progress of the arts and the sciences and a flourishing socialist culture in our land. Different forms and styles in art should develop freely and different schools in science should contend freely. We think that it is harmful to the growth of art and science if administrative measures are used to impose one particular style of art or school of thought and to ban another. Questions of right and wrong in the

题，应当通过艺术界科学界的自由讨论去解决，通过艺术和科学的实践去解决，而不应当采取简单的方法去解决。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》  
(一九五七年二月二十七日)，人民出版社版第二五——二六页

没有文化的军队是愚蠢的军队，而愚蠢的军队是不能战胜敌人的。

《文化工作中的统一战线》(一九四四年十月三十日)，《毛泽东选集》第三卷第一零零九页

arts and sciences should be settled through free discussion in artistic and scientific circles and through practical work in these fields. They should not be settled in summary fashion.

*"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"*  
(February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., pp. 49-50.

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.

## 三十三、学习

要把一个落后的农业的中国改变成为一个先进的工业化的中国，我们面前的工作是很艰苦的，我们的经验是很不够的。因此，必须善于学习。

《中国共产党第八次全国代表大会开幕词》（一九五六年九月十五日），《中国共产党第八次全国代表大会文献》第九页

情况是在不断地变化，要使自己的思想适应新的情况，就得学习。即使是对于马克思主义已经了解得比较多的人，无产阶级立场比较坚定的人，也还是要再学习，要接受新事物，要研究新问题。

《在中国共产党全国宣传工作会议上的讲话》（一九五七年三月十二日），人民出版社版第七页

### 33. STUDY

In transforming a backward agricultural China into an advanced industrialized country, we are confronted with arduous tasks and our experience is far from adequate. So we must be good at learning.

"Opening Address at the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China" (September 15, 1956).

Conditions are changing all the time, and to adapt one's thinking to the new conditions, one must study. Even those who have a better grasp of Marxism and are comparatively firm in their proletarian stand have to go on studying, have to absorb what is new and study new problems.

*"Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work"* (March 12, 1957),

1<sup>st</sup> pocket ed., p. 8.\*

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我们能够学会我们原来不懂的东西。我们不但善于破坏一个旧世界，我们还将善于建设一个新世界。

《在中国共产党第七届中央委员会第二次全体会议上的报告》（一九四九年三月五日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四四零页

学习有两种态度。一种是教条主义的态度，不管我国情况，适用的和不适用的，一起搬来。这种态度不好。另一种态度，学习的时候用脑筋想一下，学那些和我国情况相适合的东西，即吸取对我们有益的经验，我们需要的是这样一种态度。

《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》（一九五七年二月二十七日），人民出版社版第三八页

马克思、恩格斯、列宁、斯大林的理论，是“放之四海而皆准”的理论。不应当把他们的理论当作教条看待，而应当看作行动的指南。

不应当只是学习马克思列  
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We can learn what we did not know. We are not only good at destroying the old world, we are also good at building the new.

"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. 374.

Now, there are two different attitudes towards learning from others. One is the dogmatic attitude of transplanting everything, whether or not it is suited to our conditions. This is no good. The other attitude is to use our heads and learn those things which suit our conditions, that is, to absorb whatever experience is useful to us. That is the attitude we should adopt.

*"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"*  
(February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., p. 75.

The theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is universally applicable. We should regard it not as a dogma, but as a guide to action. Studying it is not merely a matter of learning terms and phrases but of learning Marxism-Leninism as the scienc of

宁主义的词句，而应当把它当成革命的科学来学习。不但应当了解马克思、恩格斯、列宁、斯大林他们研究广泛的真实生活和革命经验所得出的关于一般规律的结论，而且应当学习他们观察问题和解决问题的立场和方法。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》（一九三八年十月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五二一页

如果有了正确的理论，只是把它空谈一阵，束之高阁，并不实行，那末，这种理论再好也是没有意义的。

《实践论》（一九三七年七月）《毛泽东选集》第一卷第二八一页

对于马克思主义的理论，要能够精通它、应用它，精通的目的全在于应用。如果你能应用马克思列宁主义的观点，说明一个两个实际问题，那就要受到称赞，就算有了几分成绩。被你说明的东西越多，

revolution. It is not just a matter of understanding the general laws derived by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin from their extensive study of real life and revolutionary experience, but of studying their standpoint and method in examining and solving problems.

"The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War" (October 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 208-09.

If we have a correct theory but merely prate about it, pigeonhole it and do not put it into practice, then that theory, however good, is of no significance.

"On Practice" (July 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 304.

It is necessary to master Marxist theory and apply it, master it for the sole purpose of applying it. If you can apply the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint in elucidating one or two practical problems, you should be commended and credited with some achievement. The more problems you elucidate and the more comprehensively and

越普遍，越深刻，你的成绩就越大。

《整顿党的作风》（一九四二年二月一日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八一七页

马克思列宁主义理论和中国革命实际，怎样互相联系呢？拿一句通俗的话来讲，就是“有的放矢”。“矢”就是箭，“的”就是靶，放箭要对准靶。马克思列宁主义和中国革命的关系，就是箭和靶的关系。有些同志却在那里“无的放矢”，乱放一通，这样的人就容易把革命弄坏。

《整顿党的作风》（一九四二年二月一日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八二一页

有工作经验的人，要向理论方面学习，要认真读书，然后才可以使经验带上条理性、综合性，上升成为理论，然后才可以不把局部经验误认为即是普遍真理，才可不犯经验主义的错误。

《整顿党的作风》（一九四二年二月一日），《毛泽东选集》第三卷第八二零

profoundly you do so, the greater will be your achievement.

"Rectify the Party's Style of Work"  
(February 1, 1942), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 38.

How is Marxist-Leninist theory to be linked with the practice of the Chinese revolution? To use a common expression, it is by "shooting the arrow at the target". As the arrow is to the target, so is Marxism-Leninism to the Chinese revolution. Some comrades, however, are "shooting without a target", shooting at random, and such people are liable to harm the revolution.

*Ibid.*, p. 42.

Those experienced in work must take up the study of theory and must read seriously; only then will they be able to systematize and synthesize their experience and raise it to the level of theory, only then will they not mistake their partial experience for universal truth and not commit empiricist errors.

读书是学习，使用也是学习，而且是最重要的学习。从战争学习战争——这是我们的主要方法。没有进学校机会的人仍然可以学习战争，就是从战争中学习。革命战争是民众的事，常常不是先学好了再干，而是干起来再学习，干就是学习。

《中国革命战争的战略问题》（一九三六年十二月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第一七四页

从“老百姓”到军人之间有一个距离，但不是万里长城，而是可以迅速地消灭的，干革命，干战争，就是消灭这个距离的方法。说学习和使用不容易，是说学得彻底，用得纯熟不容易。说老百姓很快可以变成军人，是说此门并不难入。把二者总合起来，用得着中国一句老话：“世上

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.

There is a gap between the ordinary civilian and the soldier, but it is no Great Wall, and it can be quickly closed, and the way to close it is to take part in revolution, in war. By saying that it is not easy to learn and to apply, we mean that it is hard to learn thoroughly and to apply skillfully. By saying that civilians can very quickly become soldiers, we mean that it is not difficult to cross the threshold. To put the two statements together, we may cite the Chinese adage, "Nothing in the world is

“无难事，只怕有心人。”入门既不难，深造也是办得到的，只要有心，只要善于学习罢了。

《中国革命战争的战略问题》（一九三六年十二月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第一七四——一七五页

我们必须向一切内行的人们（不管什么人）学经济工作。拜他们做老师，恭恭敬敬地学，老老实实地学。不懂就是不懂，不要装懂。

《论人民民主专政》（一九四九年六月三十日），《毛泽东选集》第四卷第一四八五页

知识的问题是一个科学问题，来不得半点的虚伪和骄傲，决定地需要的倒是其反面——诚实和谦逊的态度。

《实践论》（一九三七年七月），《毛泽东选集》第一卷第二七六页

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difficult for one who sets his mind to it." To cross the threshold is not difficult, and mastery, too, is possible provided one sets one's mind to the task and is good at learning.

*Ibid.*, p. 190.

We must learn to do economic work from all who know how, no matter who they are. We must esteem them as teachers, learning from them respectfully and conscientiously. We must not pretend to know when we do not know.

"On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" (June 30, 1949), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 423.

Knowledge is a matter of science, and no dishonesty or conceit whatsoever is permissible. What is required is definitely the reverse - honesty and modesty.。

"*On Practice*" (July 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 300.

学习的敌人是自己的满足，要认真学习一点东西，必须从不自满开始。对自己，“学而不厌”，对人家，“诲人不倦”，我们应取这种态度。

《中国共产党在民族战争中的地位》（一九三八年十月），《毛泽东选集》第二卷第五二三页

有些人读了一些马克思主义的书，自以为有学问了，但是并没有读进去，并没有在头脑里生根，不会应用，阶级感情还是旧的。还有一些人很骄傲，读了几句书，自以为了不起，尾巴翘到天上去了，可是一遇风浪，他们的立场，比起工人和大多数劳动农民来，就显得大不相同。前者动摇，后者坚定，前者暧昧，后者明朗。

《在中国共产党全国宣传工作会议上的讲话》（一九五七年三月十二日），人民出版社版第六页

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.

Some people have read a few Marxist books and think themselves quite learned but what they have read has not penetrated, has not struck root in their minds, so that they do not know how to use it and their class feelings remain as of old. Others are very conceited and having learned some book-phrases, think themselves terrific and are very cocky; but whenever a storm blows up, they take a stand very different from that of the workers and the majority of the peasants. They waver while the latter stand firm, they equivocate while the latter are forthright.

"Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work" (March 12, 1957), 1st pocket ed., pp. 7-8.

克思主义，不但要从书本上学，主要地还要通过阶级斗争、工作实践和接近工农群众，才能真正学到。如果我们的知识分子读了一些马克思主义的书，又在同工农群众的接近中，在自己的工作实践中有所了解，那末，我们大家就有了共同的语言，不仅有爱国主义方面的共同语言、社会主义制度方面的共同语言，而且还可以有共产主义世界观方面的共同语言。如果这样，大家的工作就一定会做得好得多。

《在中国共产党全国宣传工作会议上的讲话》（一九五七年三月十二日），人民出版社版第九——一零页

In order to have a real grasp of Marxism, one must learn it not only from books, but mainly through class struggle, through practical work and close contact with the masses of workers and peasants. When in addition to reading some Marxist books our intellectuals have gained some understanding through close contact with the masses of workers and peasants and through their own practical work, we will all be speaking the same language, not only the common language of patriotism and the common language of the socialist system, but probably even the common language of the communist world outlook. If that happens, all of us will certainly work much better.

Ibid., p. 12.

## NOTES

[1] Yanan was the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China from January 1937 to March 1947; Sian was the centre of the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang in north-western China. Comrade Mao Tse-tung cited the two cities as symbols of revolution and counter-revolution. (p.219)

[2] This refers to the revolutionary armed forces organized jointly by the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang in the years of their cooperation during the First Revolutionary Civil War Period(1924-27).-Tr.(p.257)

[3] Campaigns to "support the government and cherish the people" and to "support the army and give preferential treatment to the families of soldiers fighting Japan".-Tr.(p.295)

[4] The "Three Check-ups" and "Three Improvements" constituted an important movement for Party consolidation and for ideological education in the army which was carried out by our Party in conjunction with the land reform during the People's War of Liberation. In the localities, the "Three Check-ups" meant checking on class origin, ideology and style of work; in the armed units, the check-ups were on class origin, performance of

duty and will to fight. The "Three Improvements" meant organizational consolidation, ideological education and rectification of style of work. -Tr.(p.301)

## 注 释

[1] 1937年1月至1947年3月，延安是中国共产党中央的总部，西安是中国西北地区国民党反动统治的中心，毛泽东同志把这两个城市作为革命和反革命的象征。

[2] 这是指中国共产党和国民党在第一次国内革命战争时期（1924-1927年）合作组织的国民革命军。

[3] “拥护政府、爱护人民”和“拥护军队、优待抗日军人家属”的运动。

[4] “三查”、“三整”是我党结合人民解放战争时期的土地改革，开展的巩固党和军队思想教育的重要运动。在地方，“三查”是查阶级出身、查思想、查作风；在部队，是查阶级出身、查义务、查意志。“三整”是组织巩固、思想教育和作风整顿。

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# 毛主席语录

（汉英对照）

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