

December, 1959

Mao Zedong, Outline for a Speech on the International Situation

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Summary:

Draft of a speech by Mao Zedong, criticizing Khrushchev for his revisionism and for fearing Chinese Communism. Lists the occasions on which the Soviet Union has failed to support China, and extols the concept of continuous revolution.

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- English Translation
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[Mao Zedong]

An Outline for a Speech on the International Situation

December 1959

The scope of the discussion is to be expressed by myself. What is the enemy's tactics?

(1) [Waving] the flag of peace, building lots of missiles, establishing lots of [military] bases, preparing to use war to eliminate socialism. This is the first.

(2) [Waving] the flag of peace, [through] cultural intercourse and personnel exchange, prepare to use corrosion [*fushi*] to eliminate socialism. This is the second.

Self-preservation and elimination of enemies is the fundamental concept [we should follow].

[The enemy's strategy]: Sometimes conciliating, sometimes strained; Conciliating here, straining there; Conciliating in Europe, tense in Asia; Striving the opportunists, isolating the Marxism- Leninists.

Has revisionism already been systemized and will it determinedly continue? Maybe it's that way, but maybe it can still be changed.

Maybe it is long term (for example, more than 10 years)

Maybe it is short term, for example, 1-4 years.

The basic interests of China and the Soviet Union have determined that after all these two great powers should unite. Where they don't unite, it is only a temporary phenomenon, only one finger in ten.

One finger's worth of historical events.

In 1945, they did not permit [us to make] revolution, but afterwards they consented. From 1949 until 1951, they doubted that [ours was] a real revolution and begin by being unwilling to conclude a mutual-aid alliance treaty, but changed their mind. In the last ten years, they have helped us build many factories.

In 1953, Gao [Gang], Rao [Shushi], Peng [Dehuai] and Huang [Kecheng] started a subversive movement with Moscow's support.

In 1954, they liquidated the Luda [Port Arthur – Dalnii port complex] military base and four joint companies.

In 1956, they had the anti-Stalin affair and the doctrine of peaceful transition appeared. We have two articles on this.

In 1957, the Chinese Anti-Right Rectification [campaign] brought out internal contradictions in the people; The Moscow Declaration issued in the fall [caused] us to criticize the [Soviet] friends.

In 1958, China formulated the general line for the period of socialist construction, started the Great Leap and the People's Communes. [During] the Sino-Soviet talks in Beijing in August, [discussion of] the joint fleet and 70% investment to build a radio station [took place], but we resisted these attacks. The Jinmen Shelling Incident really frightened our friends.

In 1959, [there occurred] the Tibetan affair, the Sino-Indian border affair, the November

exchange of documents between the two parties. At the October Beijing talks [with Khrushchev], [we] resisted the friends' fallacies.

In the same year, the remainder of the Gao-Rao group carried out a subversive movement with the friends' support.

Also in 1959, since March, our friends have been organizing a big anti-Chinese chorus together with the imperialists and reactionary nationalists, and the Tito revisionists.

In the long term, China will, on the one hand, be isolated, but on the other, gain the support of many Communist parties, many countries, and many peoples. In these difficult conditions, China will become a very strong country in 8 years.

In another 8 years, China will complete the first-phase construction of the industrial system, first-phase construction of cutting-edge industry, first-phase preparation of a technology contingent [personnel], will complete preparation of a theoretical (contingent); will greatly raise political consciousness in the party and among the people. (Either all three cannot be completed or they can be completed.)

Careful, careful; [We should] respect facts and refer to rationality.

Study the Soviet Union's merits and support all the Soviet Union's correct positions. There are two good things about the reactionaries' anti-Chinese [activities]: one is that they have revealed the reactionaries, reducing their prestige among the people; the second is that they have stimulated the consciousness of the majority of the peoples in the world, who can then see that reactionary imperialism, nationalism, and revisionism are enemies, swindlers, and contraband, whereas the Chinese flag is bright red.

The whole world is very bright. The darker the clouds, the greater the light.

Marxism and Leninism will get the greatest development in China. There is no doubt of this.

Khrushchev and his group are very naïve. He does not understand Marxism- Leninism and is easily fooled by imperialism.

He does not understand China, to an extreme extent. He doesn't research [China] and believes a whole bunch of incorrect information. He gives irresponsible talks. If he doesn't correct [his mistakes], in a few years he'll be completely bankrupt (after 8 years).

He panics over China. The panic has reached its extreme.

He has two main fears: imperialism and Chinese Communism.

He fears that Eastern European or other Communist parties will believe us and not them. His world view is pragmatism. This is an extreme kind of subjective idealism. He lacks a workable agenda and will follow gain wherever it goes.

The Soviet people are good as is the [Soviet] party. There is something not good about the style of the party and people, a somewhat metaphysical style, a kind of capitalist- liberalism inherited from history. Lenin died early and didn't have time to reform it.

Liberalism and big-power chauvinism will turn to their opposite one day, and will turn out to be something good. Nothing in the world will not fail to turn to its opposite. Our country will also turn to its opposite, and then the opposite will turn to its opposite. It thus returns to the positive.

Continuous revolution.

In the competition for building communism, unbalanced development is a rule, which exists without yielding to people's subjective will. The notion of "comparing the time of each other's watch" is an anti-Marxist and anti- Leninist one. The introduction of the notion demonstrates how scared they [the Soviet leaders] are.

[...]

关于国际形势的讲话提纲

(一九五九年十二月)

讨论的范围,以本人口气出之。

敌人的策略是什么?

(1)和平旗子,大造导弹,大搞基地,准备用战争方法消灭社会主义。这是第一手。

(2)和平旗子,文化往来,人员往来,准备用腐蚀、演变方法消灭社会主义。这是第二手。

保存自己,消灭敌人:是基本原则。

有时和解,有时紧张;这里和解,那里紧张;欧洲和解,亚洲紧张;争取机会主义,孤立马列主义。

修正主义是否已经成了系统,是否就是这样坚决干下去?

可能是这样;可能还可以改变。

可能要坚持一个长时期(例如十年以上);

可能只坚持一个短时期,例如一、二、三、四年。

中苏根本利益,决定这两个大国总是要团结的。某些不团结,只是暂时的现象,仍然是九个指头与一个指头的关系。

一个指头的历史事件:

1945年,不许革命,但后来又赞成了。

1949—1951年，怀疑是否真革命，开始不愿订互助同盟条约，后来也改变了。十年来帮助我们建设了许多工厂。

1953年，高饶彭黄在莫斯科的支持下，进行一次颠覆活动。〔1〕

1954年，取消了旅大军事基地和四个合营公司。

1956年，反斯大林事件，和平过渡论出现，我们有两篇文章〔2〕。

1957年，中国整风反右，提出了人民内部矛盾问题；秋季的莫斯科宣〔言〕，我们批判了朋友。

1958年，中国制定社会主义建设时期的总路线，出现了大跃进，人民公社。中苏北京八月会谈，共同舰队和70%投资建立电台事件，我们抵制了这个进攻。金门打炮事件，吓坏了我们的朋友。

1959年，西藏事件，中印边界事件，九月两党交换文件，十月北京会谈，抵制了朋友的谬论。

同年，高饶余孽又在朋友支持下进行了一次颠覆活动。〔1〕

同年，1959，在三月至今，我们朋友与帝国主义、反动民族主义和铁托修正主义组织一次反华大合唱。

中国将在长时期内，一方面被孤立，一方面得到世界许多共产党、许多国家、许多人民的拥护。在这种困难局面下，中国将在八年内相当强大起来。

八年内，中国完成工业体系的初步建设，完成尖端工业的初步建设；完成技术队伍的初步建立，完成理论〔队伍〕的

初步建立，完成党与人民政治觉悟的大提高。（或者三者都完不成，或者能完成。）

谨慎小心，摆事实，说道理。

学习苏联优点，拥护苏联一切正确主张。

反动派大反华，有两件好处：一是暴露了反动派的面目，在人民面前丧失威信；二是激起世界大多数人民觉醒起来，他们会看到反动的帝国主义、民族主义、修正主义是敌人，是骗子，是黑货，而中国的大旗则是鲜红的。

全世界极为光明。乌云越厚，光明越多。

马克思主义、列宁主义大发展在中国，这是毫无疑问的。

赫鲁晓夫们很幼稚。他不懂马列主义，易受帝国主义的骗。

他不懂中国达于极点，又不研究，相信一大堆不正确的情报，信口开河。他如果不改正，几年后他将完全破产（八年之后）。

他对中国极为恐慌，恐慌之至。

他有两大怕：一怕帝国主义，二怕中国的共产主义。

他怕东欧各党和世界各共产党不相信他们而相信我们。

他的宇宙观是实用主义，这是一种极端的主观唯心主义。他缺乏章法，只要有利，随遇而变。

苏联人民是好的，党是好的。党与人民中若干不好的作风，若干形而上学作风，若干资产阶级自由主义，是历史遗传下来的。列宁早死，没有来得及改造。

这些自由主义，还有大国主义，总有一天走向反面，变得好起来。世界上一切事物没有不走向反面的。我国也将走向反面，然后又走向反面之反面，即正面。

不断革命。

共产主义竞赛，不平衡是客观规律，不依人的意思〈志〉而存在。对表论〔3〕是反马列主义的。提出对表论，表示了他们的极大恐慌。

根据毛泽东手稿刊印。

注 释

〔1〕 彭，指彭德怀。黄，指黄克诚。一九五九年八月十六日中共八届八中全会通过的《关于以彭德怀同志为首的反党集团的错误的决议》认为，“以彭德怀同志为首的反党集团在庐山会议期间和庐山会议以前的活动，是有目的、有准备、有计划、有组织的活动。这一活动是高饶反党联盟事件的继续和发展”。一九七八年十二月中共十一届三中全会审查和纠正了过去加到彭德怀同志头上的“里通外国”等罪名。一九八〇年六月十九日中国人民解放军总政治部《关于黄克诚同志的复查结论》指出：“根本不存在黄克诚参加高、饶反党联盟的问题。”一九八一年六月二十七日中共十一届六中全会通过的《关于建国以来党的若干历史问题的决议》指出：“八届八中全会关于所谓‘彭德怀、黄克诚、张闻天、周小舟反党集团’的决议是完全错误的。”

〔2〕 指《人民日报》一九五六年四月五日发表的《关于无产阶级专政的历史经验》和同年十二月二十九日发表的《再论无产阶级专政的历史经验》两篇编辑部文章。

〔3〕 苏共中央第一书记赫鲁晓夫一九五九年十二月一日

在匈牙利社会主义工人党第七次代表大会上的讲话中说：“我们在明智地利用社会主义制度的伟大优越性、全力加强世界社会主义阵营的同时，应当始终如一地、创造性地运用列宁关于建设社会主义和共产主义的学说，成为列宁主义的能手，不落后也不抢先，形象地说，就是‘互相对对表’。如果这个或者那个国家的领导人开始骄傲自大起来，这就会合乎敌人的利益。在这种情况下，社会主义国家本身，领导本身就会帮助敌人来反对社会主义，反对共产主义。而这样做是不能容许的。”