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Mao Zedong, 'On the People’s Democratic Dictatorship: In Commemoration of the Twenty-eighth Anniversary of the Communist Party of China'

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Summary:
Mao Zedong announces that China will “lean to one side” in its foreign policy and that China must “ally with the Soviet Union” and “form an international united front.”

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- English Translation
- Chinese Transcription
The first of July 1949 marks the fact that the Communist Party of China has already lived through twenty-eight years. Like a man, a political party has its childhood, youth, manhood and old age. The Communist Party of China is no longer a child or a lad in his teens but has become an adult. When a man reaches old age, he will die; the same is true of a party. When classes disappear, all instruments of class struggle -- parties and the state machinery -- will lose their function, cease to be necessary, therefore gradually wither away and end their historical mission; and human society will move to a higher stage. We are the opposite of the political parties of the bourgeoisie. They are afraid to speak of the extinction of classes, state power and parties. We, on the contrary, declare openly that we are striving hard to create the very conditions which will bring about their extinction. The leadership of the Communist Party and the state power of the people's dictatorship are such conditions. Anyone who does not recognize this truth is no communist. Young comrades who have not studied Marxism-Leninism and have only recently joined the Party may not yet understand this truth. They must understand it -- only then can they have a correct world outlook. They must understand that the road to the abolition of classes, to the abolition of state power and to the abolition of parties is the road all mankind must take; it is only a question of time and conditions. Communists the world over are wiser than the bourgeoisie, they understand the laws governing the existence and development of things, they understand dialectics and they can see farther. The bourgeoisie does not welcome this truth because it does not want to be overthrown. To be overthrown is painful and is unbearable to contemplate for those overthrown, for example, for the Kuomintang reactionaries whom we are now overthrowing and for Japanese imperialism which we together with other peoples overthrew some time ago. But for the working class, the labouring people and the Communist Party the question is not one of being overthrown, but of working hard to create the conditions in which classes, state power and political parties will die out very naturally and mankind will enter the realm of Great Harmony. We have mentioned in passing the long-range perspective of human progress in order to explain clearly the problems we are about to discuss.

As everyone knows, our Party passed through these twenty-eight years not in peace but amid hardships, for we had to fight enemies, both foreign and domestic, both inside and outside the Party. We thank Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin for giving us a weapon. This weapon is not a machine-gun, but Marxism-Leninism.

In his book “Left-Wing” Communism, an Infantile Disorder written in 1920, Lenin described the quest of the Russians for revolutionary theory. Only after several decades of hardship and suffering did the Russians find Marxism. Many things in China were the same as, or similar to, those in Russia before the October Revolution. There was the same feudal oppression. There was similar economic and cultural backwardness. Both countries were backward, China even more so. In both countries alike, for the sake of national regeneration progressives braved hard and bitter struggles in their quest for revolutionary truth.

From the time of China's defeat in the Opium War of 1840, Chinese progressives went through untold hardships in their quest for truth from the Western countries. Hung Hsiu-chuan [Hong Xiuquan], Kang Yu-wei [Kang Youwei], Yen Fu [Yan Fu] and Sun Yat-sen were representative of those who had looked to the West for truth before the Communist Party of China was born. Chinese who then sought progress would read any book containing the new knowledge from the West. The number of students sent to Japan, Britain, the United States, France and Germany was amazing. At home, the imperial examinations were abolished and modern schools sprang up like bamboo shoots after a spring rain; every effort was made to learn from the West. In my youth, I too engaged in such studies. They represented the culture of Western bourgeois democracy, including the social theories and natural sciences of that period, and they were called "the new learning" in contrast to Chinese feudal culture, which was called "the old learning". For quite a long time, those who had acquired the new learning felt confident that it would save China, and very few of them had any doubts on this score, as the adherents of the old learning had. Only modernization could save China, only learning from foreign countries could modernize China. Among the foreign countries, only the Western capitalist countries were then progressive, as they had successfully built modern bourgeois states. The Japanese had been successful in learning
from the West, and the Chinese also wished to learn from the Japanese. The Chinese in those days regarded Russia as backward, and few wanted to learn from her. That was how the Chinese tried to learn from foreign countries in the period from the 1840s to the beginning of the 20th century.

Imperialist aggression shattered the fond dreams of the Chinese about learning from the West. It was very odd -- why were the teachers always committing aggression against their pupil? The Chinese learned a good deal from the West, but they could not make it work and were never able to realize their ideals. Their repeated struggles, including such a country-wide movement as the Revolution of 1911, all ended in failure. Day by day, conditions in the country got worse, and life was made impossible. Doubts arose, increased and deepened. World War I shook the whole globe. The Russians made the October Revolution and created the world's first socialist state. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the revolutionary energy of the great proletariat and labouring people of Russia, hitherto latent and unseen by foreigners, suddenly erupted like a volcano, and the Chinese and all mankind began to see the Russians in a new light. Then, and only then, did the Chinese enter an entirely new era in their thinking and their life. They found Marxism-Leninism, the universally applicable truth, and the face of China began to change.

It was through the Russians that the Chinese found Marxism. Before the October Revolution, the Chinese were not only ignorant of Lenin and Stalin, they did not even know of Marx and Engels. The salvos of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism. The October Revolution helped progressives in China, as throughout the world, to adopt the proletarian world outlook as the instrument for studying a nation's destiny and considering anew their own problems. Follow the path of the Russians -- that was their conclusion. In 1919, the May 4th Movement took place in China. In 1921, the Communist Party of China was founded. Sun Yat-sen, in the depths of despair, came across the October Revolution and the Communist Party of China. He welcomed the October Revolution, welcomed Russian help to the Chinese and welcomed co-operation of the Communist Party of China. Then Sun Yat-sen died and Chiang Kai-shek [Jiang Jieshi] rose to power. Over a long period of twenty-two years, Chiang Kai-shek dragged China into ever more hopeless straits. In this period, during the anti-fascist Second World War in which the Soviet Union was the main force, three big imperialist powers were knocked out, while two others were weakened. In the whole world only one big imperialist power, the United States of America, remained uninjured. But the United States faced a grave domestic crisis. It wanted to enslave the whole world; it supplied arms to help Chiang Kai-shek slaughter several million Chinese. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese people, after driving out Japanese imperialism, waged the People's War of Liberation for three years and have basically won victory.

Thus Western bourgeois civilization, bourgeois democracy and the plan for a bourgeois republic have all gone bankrupt in the eyes of the Chinese people. Bourgeois democracy has given way to people's democracy under the leadership of the working class and the bourgeois republic to the people's republic. This has made it possible to achieve socialism and communism through the people's republic, to abolish classes and enter a world of Great Harmony. Kang Yu-wei wrote Ta Tung Shu, or the Book of Great Harmony, but he did not and could not find the way to achieve Great Harmony. There are bourgeois republics in foreign lands, but China cannot have a bourgeois republic because she is a country suffering under imperialist oppression. The only way is through a people's republic led by the working class.

All other ways have been tried and failed. Of the people who hankered after those ways, some have fallen, some have awakened and some are changing their ideas. Events are developing so swiftly that many feel the abruptness of the change and the need to learn anew. This state of mind is understandable and we welcome this worthy desire to learn anew.

The vanguard of the Chinese proletariat learned Marxism-Leninism after the October Revolution and founded the Communist Party of China. It entered at once into political struggles and only now, after a tortuous course of twenty-eight years, has it won basic victory. From our twenty-eight years' experience we have drawn a conclusion similar to the one Sun Yat-sen drew in
his testament from his "experience of forty years"; that is, we are deeply convinced that to win victory, "we must arouse the masses of the people and unite in a common struggle with those nations of the world which treat us as equals". Sun Yat-sen had a world outlook different from ours and started from a different class standpoint in studying and tackling problems; yet, in the 1920s he reached a conclusion basically the same as ours on the question of how to struggle against imperialism.

Twenty-four years have passed since Sun Yat-sen's death, and the Chinese revolution, led by the Communist Party of China, has made tremendous advances both in theory and practice and has radically changed the face of China. Up to now the principal and fundamental experience the Chinese people have gained is twofold:

(1) Internally, arouse the masses of the people. That is, unite the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, form a domestic united front under the leadership of the working class, and advance from this to the establishment of a state which is a people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.

(2) Externally, unite in a common struggle with those nations of the world which treat us as equals and unite with the peoples of all countries. That is, ally ourselves with the Soviet Union, with the People's Democracies and with the proletariat and the broad masses of the people in all other countries, and form an international united front.

"You are leaning to one side." Exactly. The forty years' experience of Sun Yat-sen and the twenty-eight years' experience of the Communist Party have taught us to lean to one side, and we are firmly convinced that in order to win victory and consolidate it we must lean to one side. In the light of the experiences accumulated in these forty years and these twenty-eight years, all Chinese without exception must lean either to the side of imperialism or to the side of socialism. Sitting on the fence will not do, nor is there a third road. We oppose the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries who lean to the side of imperialism, and we also oppose the illusions about a third road.

"You are too irritating." We are talking about how to deal with domestic and foreign reactionaries, the imperialists and their running dogs, not about how to deal with anyone else. With regard to such reactionaries, the question of irritating them or not does not arise. Irritated or not irritated, they will remain the same because they are reactionaries. Only if we draw a clear line between reactionaries and revolutionaries, expose the intrigues and plots of the reactionaries, arouse the vigilance and attention of the revolutionary ranks, heighten our will to fight and crush the enemy's arrogance can we isolate the reactionaries, vanquish them or supersede them. We must not show the slightest timidity before a wild beast. We must learn from Wu Sung on the Chingyang Ridge. As Wu Sung saw it, the tiger on Chingyang Ridge was a man-eater, whether irritated or not. Either kill the tiger or be eaten by him -- one or the other.

"We want to do business." Quite right, business will be done. We are against no one except the domestic and foreign reactionaries who hinder us from doing business. Everybody should know that it is none other than the imperialists and their running dogs, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, who hinder us from doing business and also from establishing diplomatic relations with foreign countries. When we have beaten the internal and external reactionaries by uniting all domestic and international forces, we shall be able to do business and establish diplomatic relations with all foreign countries on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty.

"Victory is possible even without international help." This is a mistaken idea. In the epoch in which imperialism exists, it is impossible for a genuine people's revolution to win victory in any country without various forms of help from the international revolutionary forces, and even if victory were won, it could not be consolidated. This was the case with the victory and consolidation of the great October Revolution, as Lenin and Stalin told us long ago. This was also the case with the
overthrow of the three imperialist powers in World War II and the establishment of the People's
Democracies. And this is also the case with the present and the future of People's China. Just
imagine! If the Soviet Union had not existed, if there had been no victory in the anti-fascist Second
World War, if Japanese imperialism had not been defeated, if the People's Democracies had not
come into being, if the oppressed nations of the East were not rising in struggle and if there were
no struggle of the masses of the people against their reactionary rulers in the United States, Britain,
France, Germany, Italy, Japan and other capitalist countries -- if not for all these in combination,
the international reactionary forces bearing down upon us would certainly be many times greater
than now. In such circumstances, could we have won victory? Obviously not. And even with victory,
there could be no consolidation. The Chinese people have had more than enough experience of
this kind. This experience was reflected long ago in Sun Yat-sen's death-bed statement on the
necessity of uniting with the international revolutionary forces.

"We need help from the British and U.S. governments." This, too, is a naive idea in these
times. Would the present rulers of Britain and the United States, who are imperialists, help a
people's state? Why do these countries do business with us and, supposing they might be willing to
lend us money on terms of mutual benefit in the future, why would they do so? Because their
capitalists want to make money and their bankers want to earn interest to extricate themselves
from their own crisis -- it is not a matter of helping the Chinese people. The Communist Parties and
progressive groups in these countries are urging their governments to establish trade and even
diplomatic relations with us. This is goodwill, this is help, this cannot be mentioned in the same
breath with the conduct of the bourgeoisie in the same countries. Throughout his life, Sun Yat-sen
appealed countless times to the capitalist countries for help and got nothing but heartless rebuffs.
Only once in his whole life did Sun Yat-sen receive foreign help, and that was Soviet help. Let
readers refer to Dr. Sun Yat-sen's testament; his earnest advice was not to look for help from the
imperialist countries but to "unite with those nations of the world which treat us as equals". Dr. Sun
had experience; he had suffered, he had been deceived. We should remember his words and not
allow ourselves to be deceived again. Internationally, we belong to the side of the anti-imperialist
front headed by the Soviet Union, and so we can turn only to this side for genuine and friendly help,
not to the side of the imperialist front.

"You are dictatorial." My dear sirs, you are right, that is just what we are. All the experience
the Chinese people have accumulated through several decades teaches us to enforce the people's
democratic dictatorship, that is, to deprive the reactionaries of the right to speak and let the people
alone have that right.

Who are the people? At the present stage in China, they are the working class, the
peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. These classes, led by the
working class and the Communist Party, unite to form their own state and elect their own
government; they enforce their dictatorship over the running dogs of imperialism -- the landlord
class and bureaucrat-bourgeoisie, as well as the representatives of those classes, the Kuomintang
reactionaries and their accomplices -- suppress them, allow them only to behave themselves and
not to be unruly in word or deed. If they speak or act in an unruly way, they will be promptly
stopped and punished. Democracy is practiced within the ranks of the people, who enjoy the rights
of freedom of speech, assembly, association and so on. The right to vote belongs only to the
people, not to the reactionaries. The combination of these two aspects, democracy for the people
and dictatorship over the reactionaries, is the people's democratic dictatorship.

Why must things be done this way? The reason is quite clear to everybody. If things were
not done this way, the revolution would fail, the people would suffer, the country would be
conquered.

"Don't you want to abolish state power?" Yes, we do, but not right now; we cannot do it
yet. Why? Because imperialism still 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. Given this condition, China can develop steadily, under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party, from an agricultural into an industrial country and from a new-democratic into a socialist and communist society, can abolish classes and realize the Great Harmony. The state apparatus, including the army, the police and the courts, is the instrument by which one class oppresses another. It is an instrument for the oppression of antagonistic classes, it is violence and not "benevolence". "You are not benevolent!" Quite so. We definitely do not apply a policy of benevolence to the reactionaries and towards the reactionary activities of the reactionary classes. Our policy of benevolence is applied only within the ranks of the people, not beyond them to the reactionaries or to the reactionary activities of reactionary classes.

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 reactionaries (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.

Here, the method we employ is democratic, the method of persuasion, not of compulsion. When anyone among the people breaks the law, he too should be punished, imprisoned or even sentenced to death; but this is a matter of a few individual cases, and it differs in principle from the dictatorship exercised over the reactionaries as a class.

As for the members of the reactionary classes and individual reactionaries, so long as they do not rebel, sabotage or create trouble after their political power has been overthrown, land and work will be given to them as well in order to allow them to live and remould themselves through labour into new people. If they are not willing to work, the people's state will compel them to work. Propaganda and educational work will be done among them too and will be done, moreover, with as much care and thoroughness as among the captured army officers in the past. This, too, may be called a "policy of benevolence" if you like, but it is imposed by us on the members of the enemy classes and cannot be mentioned in the same breath with the work of self-education which we carry on within the ranks of the revolutionary people.

Such remoulding of members of the reactionary classes can be accomplished only by a state of the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the Communist Party. When it is well done, China's major exploiting classes, the landlord class and the bureaucrat-bourgeoisie (the monopoly capitalist class), will be eliminated for good. There remain the national bourgeoisie; at the present stage, we can already do a good deal of suitable educational work with many of them. When the time comes to realize socialism, that is, to nationalize private enterprise, we shall carry the work of educating and remoulding them a step further. The people have a powerful state apparatus in their hands -- there is no need to fear rebellion by the national bourgeoisie.

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. The steps to socialize agriculture must be co-ordinated with the development of a powerful industry having state enterprise as its backbone. The state of the people's democratic dictatorship must systematically solve the problems of industrialization. Since it is not proposed to discuss economic problems in detail in this article, I shall not go into them further.

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

The so-called democratic system in modern states is usually monopolized by the bourgeoisie and has become simply an instrument for oppressing the common people. On the
other hand, the Kuomintang's Principle of Democracy means a democratic system shared by all the common people and not privately owned by the few.

Apart from the question of who leads whom, the Principle of Democracy stated above corresponds as a general political programme to what we call People's Democracy or New Democracy. A state system which is shared only by the common people and which the bourgeoisie is not allowed to own privately -- add to this the leadership of the working class, and we have the state system of the people's democratic dictatorship.

Chiang Kai-shek betrayed Sun Yat-sen and used the dictatorship of the bureaucrat-bourgeoisie and the landlord class as an instrument for oppressing the common people of China. This counter-revolutionary dictatorship was enforced for twenty-two years and has only now been overthrown by the common people of China under our leadership.

The foreign reactionaries who accuse us of practicing "dictatorship" or "totalitarianism" are the very persons who practice it. They practice the dictatorship or totalitarianism of one class, the bourgeoisie, over the proletariat and the rest of the people. They are the very persons Sun Yat-sen spoke of as the bourgeoisie of modern states who oppress the common people. And it is from these reactionary scoundrels that Chiang Kai-shek learned his counter-revolutionary dictatorship.

Chu Hsi, a philosopher of the Sung Dynasty, wrote many books and made many remarks which are now forgotten, but one remark is still remembered, "Deal with a man as he deals with you." This is just what we do; we deal with the imperialists and their running dogs, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, as they deal with us. That is all there is to it!

Revolutionary dictatorship and counter-revolutionary dictatorship are by nature opposites, but the former was learned from the latter. Such learning is very important. If the revolutionary people do not master this method of ruling over the counter-revolutionary classes, they will not be able to maintain their state power, domestic and foreign reaction will overthrow that power and restore its own rule over China, and disaster will befall the revolutionary people.

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.

The people's democratic dictatorship needs the leadership of the working class. For it is only the working class that is most farsighted, 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. In the epoch of imperialism, in no country can any other class lead any genuine revolution to victory. This is clearly proved by the fact that the many revolutions led by China's petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie all failed.

The national bourgeoisie at the present stage is of great importance. Imperialism, a most ferocious enemy, is still standing alongside us. China's modern industry still forms a very small proportion of the national economy. No reliable statistics are available, but it is estimated, on the basis of certain data, that before the War of Resistance Against Japan the value of output of modern industry constituted only about 10 per cent of the total value of output of the national economy. To counter imperialist oppression and to raise her backward economy to a higher level, China must utilize all the factors of urban and rural capitalism that are beneficial and not harmful to the national economy and the people's livelihood; and we must unite with the national bourgeoisie in common struggle. Our present policy is to regulate capitalism, not to destroy it. But the national bourgeoisie cannot be the leader of the revolution, nor should it have the chief role in state power. The reason it cannot be the leader of the revolution and should not have the chief role in state power is that the social and economic position of the national bourgeoisie determines its weakness;
it lacks foresight and sufficient courage and many of its members are afraid of the masses.

Sun Yat-sen advocated "arousing the masses of the people" or "giving assistance to the peasants and workers". But who is to "arouse" them or "give assistance" to them? Sun Yat-sen had the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie in mind. As a matter of fact, they cannot do so. Why did forty years of revolution under Sun Yat-sen end in failure? Because in the epoch of imperialism the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie cannot lead any genuine revolution to victory.

Our twenty-eight years have been quite different. We have had much valuable experience. A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people, an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party -- these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy. They distinguish us from our predecessors. Relying on them, we have won basic victory. We have travelled a tortuous road. We have struggled against opportunist deviations in our Party, both Right and "Left". Whenever we made serious mistakes on these three matters, the revolution suffered setbacks. 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.

To sum up our experience and concentrate it into one point, it is the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class (through the Communist Party) and based upon the alliance of workers and peasants. This dictatorship must unite as one with the international revolutionary forces. This is our formula, our principal experience, our main programme.

Twenty-eight years of our Party are a long period, in which we have accomplished only one thing -- we have won basic victory in the revolutionary war. This calls for celebration, because it is the people's victory, because it is a victory in a country as large as China. But we still have much work to do; to use the analogy of a journey, our past work is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li. Remnants of the enemy have yet to be wiped out. The serious task of economic construction lies before us. We shall soon put aside some of the things we know well and be compelled to do things we don't know well. This means difficulties. The imperialists reckon that we will not be able to manage our economy, they are standing by and looking on, awaiting our failure.

We must overcome difficulties, we must learn what we do not know. 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. We must not put on bureaucratic airs. If we dig into a subject for several months, for a year or two, for three or five years, we shall eventually master it. At first some of the Soviet Communists also were not very good at handling economic matters and the imperialists awaited their failure too. But the Communist Party of the Soviet Union emerged victorious and, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, it learned not only how to make the revolution but also how to carry on construction. It has built a great and splendid socialist state. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is our best teacher and we must learn from it. The situation both at home and abroad is in our favour, we can rely fully on the weapon of the people's democratic dictatorship, unite the people throughout the country, the reactionaries excepted, and advance steadily to our goal.
一九四九年的七月一日 一日表示，中 共 党 已 走 二十八年了。像 人 一， 有他的幼年、青
年、 年和老年。中 共 党 已 不是小孩子，也不是十几 的年青小伙子，而是一 大人了。人到老年就要死亡，
物 也是，消 了，作 斗 的工具的一切 西，政党和 家机器，因其 失作用，有需要，逐步地衰亡下去，
完 自己的 史使命，而走到更高 的社，我 和 政和相反。他 怕 的消，家 力的消 和党的消，我 公
明，恰是 着使 些 西的消 而 件，而努力 斗。共 党的 和人民政的 家 力，就是 的 件。不承 一真
理，就不是共 主者， 有 克 思列宁 主的 才 党的青年同志，也 不懂得一真理，他 个 懂得一真理，才
有 正确的 宇宙。他 必 懂得，消 而 家 力，消 党，全人都要走 一 道 的，只是 和 件。全球共 主
者比 高明，他 懂得事物的生存和 展的 律，他 懂得 法，他 看得 见。所以不迎 一真理，是因 他 不
愿意被人 推翻。被推翻，例如眼前 民党反 派被我 所推翻，去 去日本帝 主被我 和一 人民所推翻，于被推翻
者，是 疼苦的，不堪 想的。于工人 、人民和共 党，不是什么被推翻的，而是努力工作。件，使
家 力和政党很自然地，消于，使人 到 大同境域，着 深我 在下面所要 的，在 里 便提一下 人 步的
景的。

我党走 二十八年了，大家知道，不是和平地走 的，而在困 的 境中走 的，我 要和 外党 外
的人作。 克思、恩格斯、列宁和斯大林，他 了我 以武器。武器不是机，而是 克思列宁主。

列宁在一九二〇年在《共主》中 的“左派”幼稚病》一中，描 俄 人找革命理的。俄 人曾 在几十
年，困苦，方找到了 克思主。中 有 多事情和十月革命以前的俄 相同，或者近似、封建主 的迫
是相同的。和文化落后，是近似 的。家都落后，中 更落后。先 的人， 了使 家复，不惜 苦 斗，找革命
真理，是相同的。

自 一八四〇年片 失 那 起，先的 中人， 千辛万苦，向西方家 找真理。洪秀全、康有，夏 和
中山，代表了在 中 共 党出世以前向西方 找真理的一派人物。那，求步的中 人，是西方的新道理，什么
也看。向日本、英、美、法、德 派还留 生之多，到了惊人的程度。科，校，好像雨后春，努力
西方。我自己在青年期，的也是些 西，些是西方 民主主的文化，即所 新，包括那 的社 和自然科
，和中 封建主的文化即所 是 立的。了 些新 的人，在很 的期 生了一种信心。些很可以救中，除了
派，新 派自己表示怀疑的很少，要数，只有 新，要 新，只有 外。那 的外 有 只有西方 本主 家是 步的，
了成功地建了 的 代 家。日本人向西方 有成效，中 人也想向日本人。在那的中 人，俄 是落后的，
很少人想 俄。就是十九世 四十代至二十一世纪初中 外 的情形。

帝主的侵略打破了中 外的落后的迷，很奇怪，什么先生老是侵略 生呢？中 外向西方 得极不少，
但是行不通，理想 是不能 。多次 斗，包括辛亥革命那 全 模的， 都失了。人家的 一天一天坏，境迫使
人活不下去。怀疑 生了，增了，展了，第一次世界 大震了全世界。俄人 行了十月革命，立了世界上第
一社 主，去 藏在地下 外人所看不 的 大的俄 无 镇 和 人民的革命精力，在列宁、斯大林 之下，像火山
一突然爆 出了，中 人和全人 俄 人都惊异相看 了，只在 了，中 人思想到生活，才出了一 新
的期。中 人找到了 克思列宁主，放之四海而皆准的普遍真理，中 的面目就起了 化了。

中 人找到了 克思主是，俄人 介的。在十月革命以前，中 人不但不知道列宁、斯大林，也不知道
克思、恩格斯，十月革命一 炮，我 了 克思列宁主。十月革命 助了全世界的也 助了中 的先 分子，用无
的宇宙作 家家主的工具，重新考 自己的，走俄人的路——就是。一九一九年，中 生了五 四，
一九二一年，中 共 党成立。中山在望里，遇到了十月革命和中 共 党。中山 迎十月革命，迎俄 人 中
的助，迎中 共 党同他合作。中山死了，介石起，在二十二年的，介石把中 拖到了 境。在 期中，
以 主力 的反法西斯的第二次世界大，打倒了三帝 主大，帝 主大 在中被削弱了，世界上只剩下一
帝 主大 即美，有 受 失。而美 的 危机是很深重的，它要奴役全世界，它用武器 助 介石 罪了数百万中
人。中 人民在 共 党 之下，在逐日本帝 主之后，行了三年的人民解放，取得了基本的胜利。

就是，西方的 文明，中国的 民主， 共和 的方案，在中 人民的心中，一齐破了。的 民
主主 位 人，的 人民民主， 共和 位 人民共和。就造成了一种可能性： 人民共和 到 社 主 和共主，到
的消 和世界的大同。康有 了《大同》，他 有也不可能找到一 到 大同的路。的 共和，外 有
的，中 不能有，因 中 是受帝 主压迫的 家。唯一的路是 人 的人民共和。

一切 的西都 了，都失了。曾 留的 西的人，有些人倒下去了，有些人 悟 了，有些人正在
筋，事 是 体快，以至使很多人感到突然，感到要重新。人 的种心情是可以理解的，我 迎种善良的
要求重新 的度。

中 无 的先，在十月革命以后了 克思列宁主，建立了中 共 党。接着入政治的，曲折的道
路，走了二十八年，方才取得了基本的胜利。二十八年的，如同中山在其里所“四十年之”一，得到了一一样的，即是：深知欲到胜利，必起民事，及合世界以平等待我之民族，共同斗争。中山和我具有各不相同的宇宙，不同的立出去考察理，但在二十世纪二十年代，在怎和帝主作对的上，却和我到了基本上一致的。

中山死去二十四年了，中革命的理和，在中共党之下，都大大地向前展了，根本上了中的面目。到在止，中国人民已取得的主要的和基本的，就是一件事：（一）在，在起事。就是工人、民族、城市小和民族，在工人之下，成的，一并由此展到建立工人以工盟基的人民民主政的家；（二）在外，合世界上以平等待我民族和各人民，共同斗争。就是合，合各人民民主家，和其它的无和大人民，成的。一。

“你一倒，正是。一倒，是中山的四十年和共党二十八年数我的。深知欲到胜利和固定胜利，必一倒。四十年和二十八年的，中人在倒向帝主一，就是倒向自主一，无例外。是不行的，第三道路是有的。我反倒向帝主一的介石反派，我也反第三道路的幻想。

“你太刺激了。”我的是付外反派即帝主者及其走狗，不是付任何的人。于些人，并不生刺激与否的，刺激也是那，不刺激也是那，因他是反派。划清反派和革命派的界限，揭露反派的，引起革命派部的警和注意，自己的志气，人的威，才能孤立反派，而自己，或取而代之。在野面前，不可以表示好的怯懦。我要景上的武松。在武松看，景上的老虎，刺激它也是那，不刺激它也是那，之是要吃人。或者把老虎打死，或者被老虎吃掉，二者必居其一。

“我要做生意。”完全正确，生意是要做的。我只反妨碍我做生意的反外派，此外并非反任何人。大家知，妨碍我和外做生意以至妨碍我和外建立外交系的，不是人，正是帝主者及其走狗介石反派。一切力量破外反派，我就有生意可做了，我就有可能在平等、互利和互相尊重土主的基之上和一家建立外交系了。

“不要援助也可以胜利。”是的想法。在帝主存在的代，任何家的真正的人民革命，如果革命力量在各种不同方式上的援助，要取得自己的胜利是不可能的。胜利了，要固，也是不可能的。大的十月革命的胜利和固，就是的，列宁和斯大林早已告我了。第二次世界大战打倒帝国主家并建立各人民民主家，也是。人民中和合在，也是的。大家想一想，假如有的存在，假如有反法西斯的第二次世界大战的胜利，假如有打倒日本民主，假如有各人民民主家的出，假如有方各被压迫民族正在起斗，假如如英、法、德、意大利、日本等等民主党及国家民主和治他的反派之的斗，假如有一切的合，那末，堆在我上的反力必定比在不知要大多少倍。在种情形下，我能胜利？然是不能的。胜利了，要固，也不可能。件事，中人民是太多了。中山的那句必合革命力量的，早已反映了一种。

“我需要英美政府的援助。”在，也是幼稚的想法。英美的治者是帝主者，他人民家以援助？我同些家做生意以至假些家在愿意在互利的件之下借我，是因什么呢？是因些家的本家要，行家要利息，借以救解他自己的危机，并不是什么中人民的援助。些家的共党、步党派，在促使它的政府和我做生意以至建立外交系，是善意的，就是援助，和些家的行，不能相提并。中山的一生中，曾无次地向本主家呼吁援助，果一切落空，反而遭到了无情的打，在中山一生中，只得一次的援助，就是的援助。者看一者先生的吧，他在那里叫人，不是叫人把眼光向着帝主家的援助，而是叫人合世界以平等待我之民族。先生有了了，他吃，上。我要得他的，不要再上。我在上是于以首的反帝主一方面的，真正的友谊的援助只能向一方面去找，而不能向帝主一方面去找。

“你裁可的先生，你了，我正是。中人民在几十年中累起的一切，都叫我行人民民主政，或曰人民民主主裁，之是一，就是反派的言，只人民有言。人民是什么？在中，在段，是工人，民族，城市小和民族。些在工人和共党的之下，起，成自己的家，自己的政府，向着帝主的走狗即地主和官僚，以及代表些的民党反派及其凶行裁，行裁，迫些人，只他，不他。如要，立即取，予以制裁。于人民部，行民主制度，人民有言集社等的自由。只人民，不反派。方面，人民部的民主方面和反派的政方面，互相合起，就是人民民主政。

什么理由要做？大家很清楚。不，革命就要失，人民就要遭殃，家就要亡。
你不是要消家力？我要，但是我不在，我在不能要。什么？帝主存在，反派存在，存在。我在的任是强化人民的家机器，主要地是指人民的，人民的警察和人民的法庭，借以固防和保人民利益。以此作件，使中有可能在工人和共党的之下，步地由到工，由新民主主社到社主社和共主社，消和大同。警察、法庭等家机器，是迫的工具。于的，它是迫的工具，它是暴力，并不是什么仁慈的西。你，非仁。正是。我于反派和反的反行，不施仁政。我施仁政于人民部，而不施于人民部的反派和反的反行。

人民的家是保人民的。有了人民的家，人民才有可能在全范和全体模上，用民主的方法，教育自己和改造自己，使自己离反派的影（影在是很大的，便在期存在着，不能很快地消），改造自己社得的坏和坏思想，使自己走入反派指引的路上去，前，向着社主社和共主社前。

我在方面使用的方法，是民主的即服的方法，而不是强迫的方法。人民犯了法，也要受，也要坐班房，要有死刑，但若是干的情形，和于反作一的政，有原的。

于反反派的人，在他政被推翻以后，只要他不造反，不破坏，不，在土地，工作，他活下去，他，在中改造自己，成新人。他如果不愿意，在人民的家就要强迫他。也他做宣教育工作，而且是很用心，很充分，像我俘官已的那，也可以是“施仁政”吧，但我是于原是的人所强迫地施行的，和我于革命人民部的教育工作，不能相提并。

种于反反派的工作，只有共的人民民主政的家才能做到。工作做好了，中的主要的削——地主和官僚即，就最后地消了。剥下一民族，在段可以向他中的多人行多适的教育工作。等到行社主即行私企有化的候，再一步他行教育和改造的工作。人民手里有强大的家机器，不怕民族造反。

重的足教育民。民的足分散的，根据的，需要很的和心的工作，才能做到社化。有社化，就有全部的固的社主。社化的步，必和有企主体的强大的工的展相适。人民民主政的家，必有步地解家工化的。本文不打算多，里不。

一九二四年，中山自的有共党人的加的民党第一次全代表大，通了一著名的宣言。宣言上：“近世各所民制度，往往所有，促成迫平民之工具。若民党之民主，一般平民所共有，非少数人所得而私也。”除了以，作一般的政治，里所的民主，是和我所的人民民主者或新民主主义者相合的。只一般平民所共有，不所私有的家制度，如果加上工人，就是人民民主政的家制度了。

介石背叛中山，拿了官僚和地主的政作迫中平民的工具。反革命政，行了二十二年，到在才我的中平民主所推翻。

我行“裁”或“极主”的外反派，就是行裁或极主的人。他行了无和其他人民的一的裁制度，一的极主。中山所迫平民的近世各的，正是指的工人。介石的反革命裁，就是些反家伙的。

宋朝的哲家朱熹，了多，了多，大家都忘了，但有一句有忘：“即以其人之道，治其人之身。”我就是做的，即以帝主及其走狗介石反派之道，治帝主及其走狗介石反派之身。如此而已，有他哉！

革命的政和反革命的政，性是相反的，而前者是后者。很要，革命的人民如果不一待反革命的治方法，他就不能持政，他的政就被外反派所推翻，外反派就在中复辟，革命的人民就遭殃。

人民民主政的基是工人、民和城市小的盟，而主要是工人和民主的盟，因占了中人口的百分之八十到九十。推翻帝主和民党反派，主要是的力量。由新民主主到社主，主要依靠的盟。

人民民主政需要工人、民和民族的。因只有工人、最有，大公无私，最富于革命的底气。整，革命史明，有工人、民，革命就要失，有了工人的，革命就胜利了。在帝主代，任何家的革命的，都不能任何真正的革命到胜利。中在小和民族曾多次革命，都失了，就是明。
民族在段上，有其很大的重要性。我有帝主站在旁，人是很大。中共代工在整民上的比重很小。在有可靠的目字，根据某些材料，在抗日以前，代工只占全民的百分之十左右。为了帝主的迫，使我们的地位提高一步，中必利用一切于民生有利而不是有害的城本因素。民族，共同斗争。我在方是制本主，而不是消本主。但是民族，不能充革命的者，也不在政中占主要的地位。民族之所以不能充革命者和所以不在政中占主要地位，是因民族的社地位定了他的弱性，他缺乏，缺乏足的勇气，并且有不少人害怕民。

中山主“起民”，或“扶助工”。去“起”和“扶助”呢？中山的意思是小和民族，但在事上是不到的。中山的四十年革命是失了，是什么原因呢？在帝主，小和民族不可能任何真正的革命到胜利，原因就在此。

我的十八年，就大不相同。我有多的，一有律的，有马克思列宁主义的理武的，采取自我批评的方法的，系人群的党，一有党的。一有党的各革命各革命派的一。三件是我胜人的主要武器。都是我于前人的。依靠三件，使我取得了基本的胜利。我走了曲折的道路，我曾和党的一机主向作斗，右的和“左”的。凡在三件事上犯了重的，革命就受挫折。和挫折教了我，使我比地明起了，我的事情就得好一些。任何政党，任何人的，是免的，我要求犯少一点，犯了要求改正，改正得越迅速，越底，越好。

我的，集中到一点，就是工人（共党）的以工盟基的民主政。政必和革命力量一致，就是我的公式，就是我的主要，就是我的主要。

党的二十八年是一期，我做了一件事，就是我取得了革命的基本胜利。是懂得的，因是人民的胜利，因是在中一大的胜利。但是我事情很多，比如走路，去的工作只不像是万里征走完了第一步。其余的事待我。重的建在我面前。我熟的西有些快要起，我不熟的西正在强迫我去做。就是困。帝主者算定我不好，他站在一旁看，等待我失。

我必克服困，我必自己不懂的西。我必向一切行的人（不管什么人）工作。拜他做老，恭敬敬地，老老地。不懂就是不懂，不要懂。不要官僚架子。去，几月，一年年，三年五年，可以的。共党人也有一些人不要大，帝主也曾等待他的失。但是共党是胜利了，在列宁和斯大林之下，他不但革命，也建。他已建立起一大的光的社主家。共党就是我的最好的先生，我必向他。和的形都我有利，我完全可以依靠人民民主政武器，全除了反对派以外的一切人，步地走到目的地。