PART II:
Guide to the works of Mao Zedong

INTRODUCTION

This edition of the Readers’ Guide includes a new section on the writings of Mao Zedong, because of his major contributions to Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

Mao Zedong played a key role in guiding the Chinese revolution to victories, first against the "three mountains" of imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism in 1949, and then in socialist revolution and construction.

During the first stage of the Chinese revolution, from the 1920s to 1949, he developed the theory of the new democratic revolution, showing how, under the leadership of the proletariat and its communist party, the democratic revolution would lead directly on to the socialist one.

After the liberation of China in 1949, he led the party and people in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, entrenching the democratic rights of the people and building up a powerful economic base in order to meet the people’s material needs.

He showed that under socialism classes continue to exist, as do the contradictions and struggle among them. He developed the theory of continuing the revolution under socialism to criticize the revisionists within the party who wanted to restore capitalism, and showed the way in the historic struggle to go forward to communism.

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, Mao Zedong was the leading figure in the international struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism against the attacks of modern revisionism, led by Khrushchev and Brezhnev in the Soviet Union.

He showed how the modern revisionists had usurped party and state power in the Soviet Union, restoring capitalism in that once socialist country, and transforming it into a social-imperialist power, "socialist" in words, imperialist in deeds.

He defended the life and work of J.V. Stalin against the denunciations of the modern revisionists, pointing out that Stalin’s contributions were principal, and his shortcomings and mistakes secondary.

In China, Mao Zedong led the masses in the Cultural Revolution to make sure that what had happened in the Soviet Union did not occur in China, and in the course of that mass movement, the revisionist lines of Liu Shaoqui, Lin Biao and the Gang of Four were identified and eliminated.

Worldwide, through his revolutionary example and writings, Mao Zedong helped revitalize the international communist movement. His ideas served as a guide for Marxist-Leninists in many countries to combat modern revisionism and re-establish Communist Parties to lead the revolution. He helped instill a world-wide enthusiasm for socialism and communism.

Because of his principled defense of Marxism-Leninism and his many key contributions to it, as well as his major role in both the Chinese and world revolutions, we refer today to the proletarian theory of revolution as Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The writings of Mao Zedong are most readily available in the Selected Works of Mao Zedong, of which five volumes covering the period 1926 to 1957 are now available. The editors of the present Readers’ Guide have divided the principal writings contained in these five volumes by theme as follows:
1. Questions of Philosophy
2. Theory of the Communist Party
3. On Work Style
4. On New Democratic Revolution
5. On Socialist Revolution and Construction
6. Struggle against Modern Revisionism
7. On Class Analysis
8. On the United Front
9. On Economic Work
10. On Military Affairs, Strategy and Tactics
11. On Cultural Work and Intellectuals
12. On the International Situation
13. On Youth, Oppressed Nationalities and Women

The topic headings were chosen to reflect the main preoccupations in the writings of Mao Zedong. Nevertheless, they are by no means exhaustive or the only way to organize the texts.

As well, only a small portion of the writings of Mao Zedong could be referred to, and readers are encouraged to look through the indexes to the five volume Selected Works for other titles that interest them.

Each text mentioned in the annex is followed by the year in which it was written and the volume and pages in the Selected Works where it can be found. In some cases, reference is made to a part of a text only. In a few cases, reference is made to an article available only in the one volume Selected Writings of Mao Zedong, or in pamphlet form. The texts referred to under each topic heading are arranged in historical order.

We hope that this annex will encourage readers to study and deepen their knowledge of Mao Zedong Thought, a component part of Marxism-Leninism and an inestimable aid to revolution today.

EDITOR'S NOTE:
The following abbreviations are used in Part II of the Readers’ Guide when referring to articles by Mao Zedong:

SW Refers to the 5 volume Selected Works of Mao Zedong, published by Foreign Language Press: Beijing

SRW Refers to the one volume Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Zedong, published by Foreign language Press: Beijing

FLP Refers to an article available only as a separate pamphlet published by Foreign Languages Press: Beijing

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I. PHILOSOPHY OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

In all his writings Mao Zedong stressed the fundamental distinction between the proletarian philosophy of dialectical materialism, which puts the accent on starting off from the facts and analyzing the changes in things, and bourgeois philosophy based on metaphysics and idealism, which starts off from abstract ideas and denies change.

In his philosophic writings, he further elucidated the Marxist theory of knowledge, showing the dialectical materialist relation between perceptual and rational knowledge. He explained that theory is the guide to practice and that practice is the criterion of truth.

Mao Zedong developed the theory of contradictions as well, showing that contradictions are inherent in all things and phenomena, distinguishing between the principal and secondary contradictions, and antagonistic and non-antagonistic ones. He applied this conception not only to the analysis of capitalism and imperialism, but to the analysis of socialist revolution and construction as well, identifying the main types of contradictions that the party in power must solve.

On Practice (1939), SW v.1, pp. 295-310
On Contradiction (1939), SW v.1, pp. 311-347
The Bankruptcy of the Idealist Conception of History (1949), SW v.4, pp. 451-458
Speech at the Second Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (1956), esp. sections 1, 2 and 3, SW v.5, pp. 384-936, 408-414, 416-417
On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People (1957), esp. sections 1, 8, 10, SW v.5, pp. 338-342
Where do Correct Ideas Come From? (1962), SRW, pp. 502-504
Talk at an Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (1962), FLP, esp. sec. 4, pp. 15-22

2. THEORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Mao Zedong made an important contribution to the Leninist theory of the vanguard proletarian party. He stressed the class nature and leading role of the communist party, criticizing all those who would belittle or secondarize it. He showed how party building, along with the united front and armed struggle, was the key to the success of the revolution. He analyzed the two-line struggles that had occurred in the party and showed that the proletarian line develops in the struggle against the bourgeois line.

On organizational questions, Mao Zedong stressed the importance of democratic centralism as the basic organizational principle of the communist party, showing the dialectical relationship that must exist between democracy and centralism in order to ensure a healthy internal life and strict unity of action. In several of the articles mentioned in this section, Mao Zedong sets forth the main rules for the functioning of party committees and explains what is meant by communist methods of leadership.

The Tasks of the Chinese Communist Party during the Period of Resistance to Japan (1937), esp. section 3, SW v.1, pp. 273-275
The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the Present War (1938), SW v.2, pp. 195-212
3. WORK STYLE

Mao Zedong stressed the communist work style consisting of integrating theory and practice, practising the mass line and practising criticism and self-criticism. He opposed all forms of subjectivism that deviated from this work style, showing how they lead to opportunism in practice.

In many of the short articles referred to in this section, he indicates that communists should always maintain a proletarian attitude in their work, including enthusiasm and modesty, the spirit of serving the people, a commitment to a life of hard struggle and plain living. He held that communists must put the interests of the people above their personal interests and continually struggle against bourgeois ideas in their own thinking.

On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party (1929), SW v.1, pp. 105-115
Combat Liberalism (1937), SW v.2, pp. 31-33
In Memory of Norman Bethune (1939), SW v.2, pp. 337-339
Reform our Study (1941), SW v.3, pp 17-27
Rectify the Party’s Style of Work (1942), SW v.3, pp. 35-51
Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing (1942), SW v.3, pp. 53-68
Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership (1943), SW v.3, pp. 117-122

4. ON NEW DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

A major contribution of Mao Zedong to Marxist theory was his analysis of the national liberation struggles of the oppressed nations against imperialism and feudalism. He showed that this struggle was
in essence a democratic revolution of a new type, led by the proletariat, and not the bourgeoisie. Its aim is to expropriate the feudal landlords, eliminate the control of the economy by bureaucratic or comprador capitalists, and free the country of domination by foreign imperialism.

Lenin and Stalin had already concluded that in the imperialist epoch national liberation struggles were an integral part of the world proletarian revolution, since both the oppressed peoples of the world and the working class of the developed capitalist countries fought the same enemy — the monopoly bourgeoisie. Mao Zedong further showed that under the leadership of the proletariat and its communist party national liberation struggles can lead to the next stage, that of socialist revolution. This enabled China to go on to socialist revolution and construction after nation-wide liberation in 1949 without passing through the capitalist stage of development, as the opportunists and revisionists had proposed.

A striking feature of the new democratic revolution in China was the existence of liberated zones, or "red bases", where local power was held by the communist party and democratic forces, even though the central and provincial governments were controlled by the reactionaries. Mao Zedong explained how the particular social and historical conditions of China permitted this, highlighted the importance of such liberated zones, and put forward specific policies for the party to use in governing these areas.

**Why Is It that Red Political Power Can Exist in China** (1928), SW v.1, esp. section 2, pp. 64-67

**The Struggle in the Chingkang Mountains** (1928), SW v.1, pp. 73-104

**A Single Spark can Start a Prairie Fire** (1930), SW v.1, pp. 117-128

**The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party** (1939), esp. sections 5-7, SW v.2, pp. 326-331

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**5. ON SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND CONSTRUCTION**

Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Zedong* contains his writings dealing with the first decade of socialist revolution and construction in China. He clearly indicated that the principal contradiction in new China would be that between the proletariat, now in power, and the bourgeoisie. He criticized right opportunists that called for the "consolidation of the new democratic order," negated socialist transformation and aimed at capitalist restoration.

Mao Zedong distinguished carefully between contradictions among the people and antagonistic contradictions with the enemy, proposing the method of persuasion and debate to solve the former, and the method of dictatorship and force to solve the latter. Throughout these writings Mao Zedong showed that classes, class contradictions and class struggle continue under socialism, laying the basis for his theory of continuing the revolution under socialism, a key contribution to Marxist theory and the practice of socialist revolution.

In many of these writings Mao Zedong explains the link between the political question of continuing the revolution and the economic question of socialist construction. He defined "ten great relationships" for socialist construction in China, such as the relationship between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, or that between the state, the collective and the individual.
6. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM

As early as 1956, upon his return from the 20th Congress of the Soviet Party, Mao Zedong began the criticism of revisionism within communist parties in power, especially that of the Soviet Union. While recognizing Stalin’s weaknesses and mistakes, he judged his overall theoretical and practical contribution as positive, and refused to accept Khrushchev’s blanket condemnation of Stalin. Mao Zedong identified this attack against Stalin as a smoke-screen for an all-out attack against Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

Mao Zedong criticized the revisionist theories of the “state of the whole people” and the “party of the whole people”, stressing the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state under socialism as the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the communist party as the vanguard of the working class. Mao Zedong held that within the communist party and the socialist state it is necessary to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois ideology and revisionist lines to prevent the seizure of power by pro-capitalist forces.

Telegram to Comrade William Z. Foster (1945), SW. v.3, pp. 287-288
Speech at the Second Session of the Eighth Central Committee (1956), SW. v.5, esp. section 3, pp. 339-342
Talks at Conference of Party Committee Secretaries (1957), Talk of Jan. 18, esp. section 1, SW. v.5, pp. 350-359
Speech at the Chinese Communist Party’s National Conference on Propaganda Work (1957), esp. points 7 and 8, SW v.5, pp. 432-435
Be Activists in Promoting the Revolution (1957), esp. points 6 and 7, SW v.5, pp. 492-497
Talk at an Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (1962), FLP, esp. sections 5,6, pp. 27-35
7. CLASS ANALYSIS

These articles deal with the importance of analyzing classes in order to identify the enemies and the friends of the revolution. Mao Zedong studied the economic situation and political stand of the various classes and strata in China in order to arrive at this analysis. He examined the Chinese proletariat, stressing its leading role despite its numerical weakness; the peasantry, stressing its differentiation into poor, middle and rich peasant; and the national bourgeoisie, identifying its dual nature as an exploiter of the people and as a victim of imperialist oppression. All this enabled him to situate the various classes, fractions of class and social strata in terms of the strategy for revolution in China.

Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society (1926), SW v.1, pp. 13-19
Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan (1927), SW v.1, esp. section 1, pp. 23-34
Oppose Book Worship (1930) in SRW, pp. 40-52

How to Differentiate the Classes in the Rural Areas (1933), SW v.1, pp. 137-139
The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party (1939), SW v.2, pp. 319-326
Have Firm Faith in the Majority of the People (1957), SW v.5, pp. 498-513

8. UNITED FRONT

Mao Zedong showed that it is necessary to unite all those who can be united against the main enemy, in order to isolate it, struggle against it and overthrow it. In the united front, Mao Zedong held that the communist party must maintain its autonomy and independence and play the leading role. He held that the slogan “everthing for the united front” was an opportunist slogan that would lead to capitulation before the other, non-communist forces in the united front. In the articles below, Mao Zedong explains the different tactics to be used with respect to the different forces in the united front, and the overall strategy of the party in such work.

On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism (1935), SW v.1, esp. sections 1 and 2, pp. 153-165
The Question of Independence and Initiative Within the United Front (1938), SW, v.2, pp. 213-217

Current Problems of Tactics in the Anti-Japanese United Front (1940), SW v.2, pp. 421-430

9. ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

Mao Zedong stressed at all times the importance of doing economic work. This applied both to the situation before the final victory of the revolution, when the Communist Party played a leading role in the liberated zones, and after nation-wide victory in 1949, when the party was called on to lead the whole country. He showed that the improvement of the material well-being of the masses must be a constant concern of communists, and held that all cadre and units of the party must learn to do economic work.

Pay Attention to Economic Work (1933), SW v.1, pp 129-131
Be Concerned with the Well-being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work (1934), SW v.1, pp. 147-151

Economic and Financial Problems in the Anti-Japanese War (1942), SW v.3, pp. 111-116
We Must Learn to Do Economic Work! (1945), SW v.3, pp. 189-195
10. MILITARY AFFAIRS, STRATEGY AND TACTICS

Mao Zedong made major contributions to the Marxist-Leninist theory of war and armed struggle, and to the related question of military strategy and tactics.

His key idea was that revolution in China, a poor, mainly peasant country, required a protracted people's war based on guerilla tactics. His theory of people's war also called for winning over the countryside first, surrounding the cities, and then capturing them as well.

In his military writings, he elucidated such questions as the relationship between guerilla war and regular war, offensive and defensive, the role of military leadership, and many others. He showed that in strategic terms it is necessary to despise the enemy because in the long run the people will win. But tactically, it is necessary to take the enemy seriously because of his superior strength.

Mao Zedong showed how underestimating or overestimating the enemy was a serious mistake leading to left or right opportunism. He formulated his famous thesis that “all reactionaries are paper tigers” to concretize this dual nature of the enemy — paper tigers because they will eventually lose, and real tigers that are currently repressing the people.

Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War (1936), SW v.1, pp. 179-254
Problems of Strategy in the Guerilla War Against Japan (1938), SW v.2, pp. 79-112
On Protracted War (1938), SW v.2, pp. 113-194
Problems of War and Strategy (1938), SW v.2, pp. 219-236

Concentrate a Superior Force to Destroy the Enemy Forces One by One (1946), SW v.4, pp. 103-107
Talk with American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong (1946), SW v.4, pp. 97-101
All Reactionaries are Paper Tigers (1957), SW v.5, pp. 517-518

11. CULTURAL WORK AND INTELLECTUALS

Mao Zedong stressed the importance of having more intellectuals involved in the people's struggle and rallying the best of them to the party. He showed how their scientific and cultural knowledge was a great contribution to the revolution and party, but that it is also necessary to struggle against their bourgeois ideology and remold them in order that they better serve the proletariat.

He analyzed culture as the ideological reflection of the political and economic structure of a society, and showed that cultural revolution is an essential part of the overall revolutionary movement. He discussed such questions as the relationship between form and content in art, the role of literature, and held that under socialism, culture must be both national in form and socialist in content.

Recruit Large Numbers of Intellectuals (1939), SW v.2, pp. 301-303
The May 4th Movement (1939), SW v.2, pp. 237-239
On New Democracy (1940), esp. sections 11-15, SW v.2, pp. 369-382
Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art, (1942), SW v.3, pp. 69-97

The United Front in Cultural Work (1944), SW v.3, pp. 185-187
On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People (1957), esp. section 5, SW v.5, pp. 494-496
Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's Conference on Propaganda Work (1957), esp. points 2-4, SW v.5, pp. 422-430
12. ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Mao Zedong wrote a number of articles providing an analysis of the international situation in order to identify the main enemies of the peoples of the world and call for a united front against them. He also warned of the danger of world war because of the struggle for hegemony between the main imperialist powers. Mao Zedong showed that world war leads to revolution, and that imperialism would be eventually defeated worldwide. He always stressed the duty of socialist China to support the anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonist struggles of the people of the world.

In the last article referred to in this section, Mao Zedong makes an important distinction between the political forces in the international situation of the mid 1950s—the biggest imperialist power, the USA, the second-rate imperialist powers such as Britain and France, and the oppressed nations of the Third World.

Interview with a New China Daily Correspondent on the New International Situation (1939), SW v. 2, pp. 263-268

On the International United Front Against Fascism (1941), SW v.3, pp. 29

Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation (1946), SW v.4, pp 87-89

Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong (1946), SW v.4, pp. 97-101

Revolutionary Forces of the World Unite, Fight Against Imperialist Aggression (1948), SW v.4, pp. 283-286

13. YOUTH, OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES AND WOMEN

Mao Zedong recognized the importance of struggling against all forms of oppression, especially the specific forms that take the oppression of youth, national minorities and women. He showed the necessity of mobilizing these oppressed groups of the people, and the importance of adopting specific measures that correspond to the needs of each.

Report of an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan (1927), esp. sections 8, 7, SW v.1, pp. 44-47

The Orientation of the Youth Movement (1939), SW v.2, pp. 241-243

On Coalition Government (1945), esp. sections, 4, 9, SW v.3, p. 255

Criticize Han Chauvinism (1953), SW v.5, pp 87-88

The Youth League in its Work Must Take the Characteristics of Youth into Consideration (1953), SW v.5, pp. 95-100

On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People (1957), esp. part 6, SW v.5, p. 406