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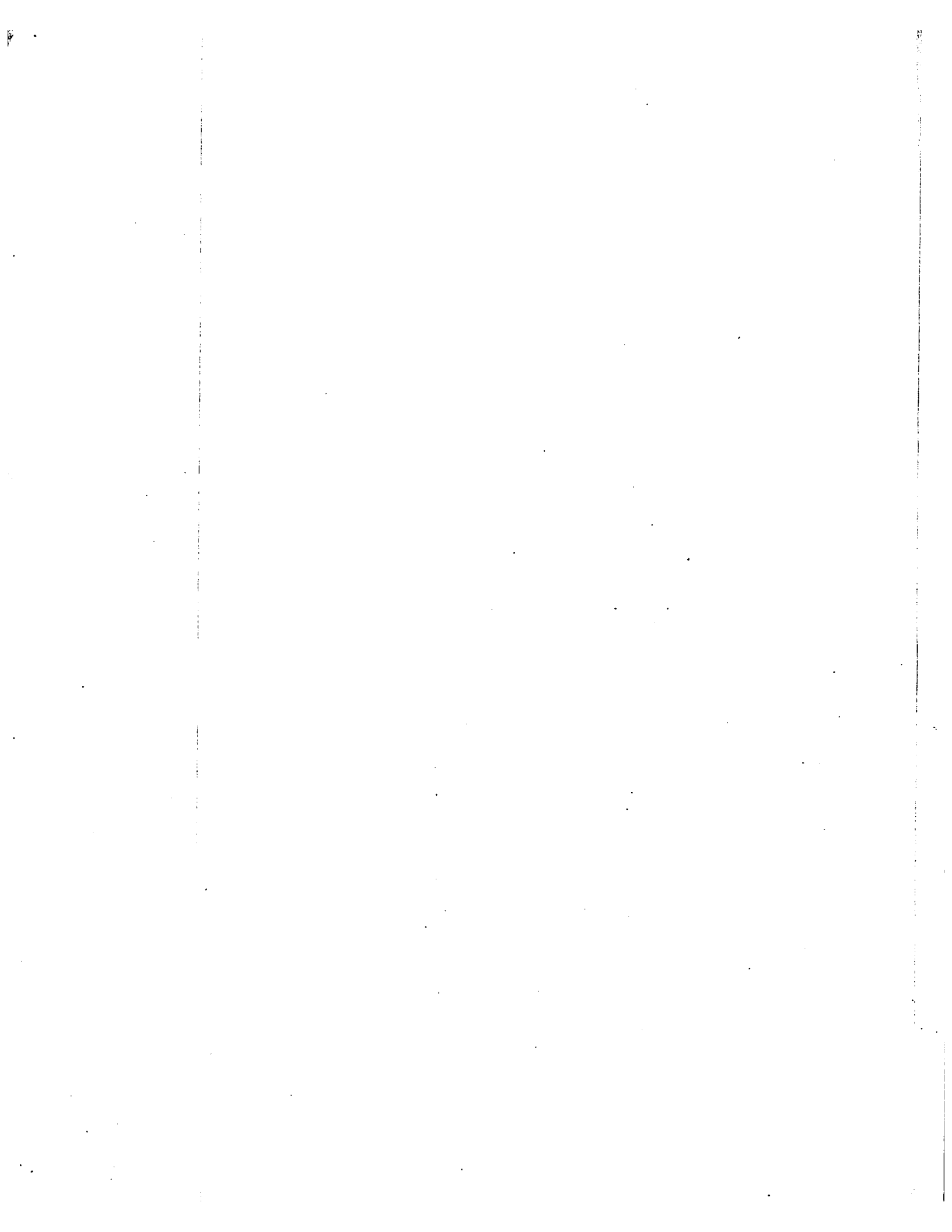
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THESIS No. 23

Maoism

The Political Philosophy of Mao Tse-Tung
The Third Theoretician of Marxism

by
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EXCERPT OF
DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR IN PHILOSOPHY

1957



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Maoism, the Political Philosophy of Mao Tse-Tung, the Third Theoretician of Marxism	1
I. Introduction	5
II. The general theories of Maoism	15
1. Contradiction. Philosophy of Reality or Ontology of Maoism	17
2. Practice or Theory of Knowledge of Maoism	21
3. Philosophy of Science: Study and Methods of Science ...	25
A. Application of dialectics to the realization of a theory. Scientific study and methods of practice	26
B. The part of difficulties and advantages in a method, showing the principal contradiction during the process of change	28
a. Concrete analysis of concrete conditions	28
b. Difficulties and advantages show the existing principal contradiction	29
c. Ideological superstructure acting on the ontological foundation	30
III. Maoist political science: Class-struggle and its application in the process of history and general political theory-practices ...	31
1. The potentialities of class-struggle to direct efficient political action to seize and maintain state-power	32
2. The ontological engineering process based on class-struggle	32
3. The five-theory-practices of Maoism: revolutionary society, revolution, political-economy, culture and the party ...	34
IV. The evaluation of the political philosophy of Mao Tse-Tung	36
1. Maoism is a Marxist philosophy	37
2. How Mao Tse-Tung is a better Marxist than Marx	38
3. The truth of Maoism as a theory-practice	40
A. New-democratic and non-communistic principles used by Mao Tse-Tung	41
B. Special new-democratic realities evolved by Mao in the four periods of Maoism	42
a. The Base-area period of Maoism, 1920-1937 ...	43
b. The new-democratic United-front-period of Maoism, 1937-1949	44
c. The "People's Democratic Dictatorship" period of Maoism, 1949-September 1954	46
d. Collective-leadership, 1954-1957	46

4.	The basic defects of Maoism	46
A.	The basic-tenets of Marxist-world-outlook remain unproved postulates of Marxism	47
B.	Maoism is unable to solve its problems with the human nature: rational, social, order in the Universe and God, life after death	48
a.	The problem of Maoism with the social nature of man	48
b.	The problem of Maoism with the order in the Universe and life after death	49
5.	The survival of Maoism	50
V.	Conclusion	53
1.	Presentation of the conclusions	53
2.	Resumé of the results of the research	55
3.	Recommendations leading to further research	55
VI.	Annotated Bibliography of primary sources	57
1.	The Selected Writings of Mao Tse-Tung	57
2.	Five important studies on Maoism	59
VII.	Chronology of Maoism, 1920-1956	61
1.	The summary of the Chronology of Maoism	61
2.	Chronological data	61
A.	The Premaoist period, 1866-1920	61
B.	The new-democracy period, 1921-1949	61
C.	The socialist period, 1949-1958	64

PART I

Introduction

Canada and the Western World are left almost in complete ignorance, not only concerning the present events and life in China but also with regard to the correct interpretation of past events and of political theory-practices which have influenced the change in China in the years 1920-1958.

It is very difficult for anyone who has never visited China, or has not spent some time in China, to obtain an objective appreciation of the Chinese political scene during the time 1920-1957. During these years, the SUN YAT-SEN inchoated Chinese Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution changed into the Kuomintang-Chinese Communist Party CIVIL-WAR, and finally into the victory of the Chinese International Communist Party of Mao Tse-Tung.

No one doubts that the danger of Communism holds a central place in the thoughts of Canadians and Americans, but to understand, in the light of new developments in the Far-East, the forces and ideas which oppose communists to our way of life, must be one of the necessary occupations of our daily life, if we want to oppose International Communism with efficient weapons on the economic, political and ideological battlefield of modern civilization. Most informed people today admit that at any moment this fight could pass into the stage of World War III between the Western Powers and the Communist Bloc.

The knowledge of the contemporary, revised Marxism-Leninism, Maoism is obtainable studying the political thought and of the realization of the political philosophy of Mao Tse-Tung in China. The analysis of the writings of Mao and of the events in China proves that Mao Tse-Tung did not decompose but made important additions to the theory of

Marxism-Leninism. It is necessary to revise and correct the current Western interpretation of Maoist Communism and the accepted conclusions on the theories and laws of Marxism-Leninism. The newly changed line of International Communism, against Stalin, was made under the influence of the Maoist experience and doctrinal clarification of Marxism-Leninism, by Mao, in the spirit of Marx and Lenin. The problem involved in this dissertation is: Mao Tse-Tung is the third constructive and progressive theoretician of Marxism. The three theoreticians of Marxism being: Marx, Lenin and Mao.

The dissertation states that the difference between the true Marxism-Leninism of Mao and the system of Stalin, consists in the special revolutionary historical conditions of the life of the nations, which conditions can be used by a Marxist-ideology imbued elite-group to seize power and maintain it, and at the opportune time to gradually realize socialism. In China, these special conditions consisted in the existence of base areas (liberated zones), and an armed peasantry (Red regular army and guerilla units, peasants local government) as the central force of the revolution to seize power for the Maoist elite-party, and a new-democratic politics of the United-front, based on the "Three-People's Principles" of Sun Yat-Sen, during the years 1920-1949, with the theory-practice of the "Coalition government" of China eliminating the Kuomintang, etc. . . . Different nations have different revolutionary qualities, which can be used by the Marxist-party to seize power, to build up an armed-force and a state machine, and, with the help of political and armed forces, change the social life of the nation, gradually, towards socialism. The stated "special historical conditions" of a nation are essential parts of Maoism as its special theory-practices. These special conditions of a nation enter the essence of Marxism-Leninism: "to seize and maintain political power to engineer socialist structure in a nation", as a particularity of contradiction inside a nation, show aspects which necessitate "periodical special theory-practices", as in the Chinese Maoist revolution there are "Four Periods":

1. Special practices of the "Base Areas", 1920-1937.
2. New-democratic period, 1937-1949.
3. Democratic-dictatorship, 1949-Sept. 1954.
4. Collective-leadership, Sept. 1954-1958.

The present trends of Maoism, since September 1954, show clearly that the periodical nature of the use of concrete situation inside a nation to seize and maintain power, and to evolve socialism, are the general features of Maoism, and all the practices of New-democratism, started during the Base-Areas and perfected during the New-Democratic Period, serve only as particular, specified to Chinese condition instruments, to seize power for the Communist Party. This conception of Politics by Mao Tse-Tung made necessary the study of how Mao Tse-Tung founded theoretically his practice of seizing and maintaining political power in China. The second chapter of this dissertation evolved this point of view: general theories of Mao, contradiction, practice and the application of efficient methods to realize, in practice, theories (science).

Mao's Marxist statesmanship showed how he used the "Class-struggle" as the ontological principle of Politics to realize in practice a political theory, as a constructive, practical, political engineering-process, effecting in actual conditions of China the seizure of political power and the start of the process of socialism. This aspect of the problem is evolved in chapter three: laws and application of the general political theory-practices of Maoism scrutinizing the realities of revolutionary potentiality of a society, political economy, culture as the expression of Politics and the elite-party. The analysis of the Maoist periods: revolutionary potentialities of the Chinese society, determined by its special, changing, historical, economic, political, cultural and military conditions is necessary, in order to separate the general and special features of these five theory practices:

1. Revolutionary potentiality of a given society.
2. Revolutionary theory-practice of a given society.
3. Political-economy of a given society.
4. Culture as expression of Politics.
5. Theory of the elite-party.

The "General Political Philosophy of Maoism" proposed in this dissertation is applicable anywhere where imperialist colonialist exploitation exists. The revolutionary potentiality of the Maoist Marxism-Leninism in the dissertation is restricted to the "Imperialist Colonialist Exploitation". But this "General Political Philosophy" of Maoism is known only in a special aspect as applied to "Special Chinese Realities". If Maoism is applied to other countries, the Special Realities there must be studied. The General Principle of Maoism in this study is to recognize and evaluate the revolutionary power-value of "Special Conditions" in order to seize and consolidate military, economic and political power. The aim of Maoism is ultimately "Socialism". Subordinate aims to attain this ultimate goal follow the evolution of "Special Conditions" of a nation retaining their ordination towards the construction of Socialism. Motive forces are twofold:

1. The primary motive force is the Communist Party.
2. The secondary motive forces are the Red Army and the Mass-Base, which evolve through the control of the masses, treating the people as supporters, neutrals and reactionaries, using economic analysis of the revolutionary potentiality during the different "Periods" of Maoism.

Thus the Maoist Theory-Practices are conditioned by special realities of the revolutionary power-factors evolved through "Four Periods": Base-area, New-democracy, Democratic-dictatorship and Collective leadership.

The dissertation ends with the events of the year 1956. The documentation of the years 1953-1956 was made possible by the use of the "China News Analysis", weekly Newsletter, Hongkong, designed to serve research-students and diplomats. The dissertation used mostly the writings of Mao Tse-Tung. The original Chinese texts of Mao proved the competence of the English translation of the writings of Mao Tse-Tung. Important historico-ideological remarks are given in the Chinese, English and Hungarian texts of the "Selected Writings of Mao Tse-Tung", prepared by the Commission for the edition of the writings of Mao of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. During the

years 1938-1952, the author was in contact with Chinese events.

To understand the degree of progress of a Chinese political theory-practice is to know its doctrinal references, policies and practices, as expressed in concrete Chinese political procedures and institutions. In evaluating doctrinal references written in the language of the Chinese Communists, the meaning must be specified by the realization of the exact signification of the terminology used by the Chinese Communists. Due to the periodical nature of Maoism, this necessarily obliged the author of this dissertation to specify the meaning of documentation, using his years of contact with Chinese Communists, in addition to specifying Maoist ideology as the expression of policies, as these policies were applied to existing circumstances of certain periods of Chinese Maoism.

The dissertation did not include research regarding the history of the Maoist movement, but it is clear that without historical investigation the proposed documents, events, political realities could not have been integrated into the system of Mao Tse-Tung. The research had its difficulties, because there does not exist any unifying work, which would treat the Philosophy of Mao as a system of Hegelian-Marxist-Leninist Dialectics. Some Chinese publications, mostly pamphlets, editions of the writings of Mao, with commentaries, gave only the "Thought of Mao Tse-Tung", to be assimilated by the different strata of the Chinese people. The unification of the doctrine of Mao Tse-Tung into a philosophy depends upon the success of connecting the theories of Mao with events, objective social and political conditions, which helped or retarded Maoism.

The system of Mao must consider the following aspects. Maoism is a concrete application of Marxism-Leninism to Chinese conditions. This aspect is connected with the problem how Mao detected and used the Chinese conditions to assure the success of the bourgeois-democratic stage of the Chinese communist revolution, and how he maintained the ideological purity of the Chinese Communist Party, during the New-democratic stages of the Chinese revolution.

This aspect is called the "Sinification or Nationalization of Marxism-Leninism". This sinification was replaced by true International Marxism, in a visible way, in 1949, when the second stage of the Chinese Revolution started. The first stage, the New-democratic Revolution, eliminated imperialism and feudalism. The second phase, the Socialist Revolution, is against capitalist exploitation of the nation for private gains.

The dissertation regards the "sinification" of Marxism in China as a temporal feature of Maoism. This position defines clearly the mistakes of Western politicians in the past about Maoism: (1) Mao was a simple agrarian reformer, and (2) because of his "Sinification of Marxism", he will become separated from the USSR. In the knowledge of the Maoist writings, nobody should have had these two mistakes in the past. On July 1, 1949, in his "*On the People's Democratic Dictatorship*", before the USA issued the "White Paper" August 7, 1949, Mao clearly stood beside the USSR and explained what he would do in the future, the socialist phase of the Chinese Revolution included.

Maoism cannot be correctly understood with a dogmatic approach, by supposing that Marxism-Leninism is not a mobile weapon using every means to attain concrete aims, but an unchangeable doctrine. The understanding of the potentialities of Leninism in 1917, and Maoism in 1949, were the causes that the USSR and China arrived at their present strength, endangering the existence of the Western World.

Maoism must be regarded as a political practical engineering process, expressed in a necessary mental adjustment accepting actual success as the criterion of correct thought. Past errors show only the subjective, and not the objective, mirroring of the change to be engineered. Unsuccessful practice showed clearly that better means must be used to obtain success, with a better knowledge of the objective process of change to be engineered. This knowledge guided by practice, is the aim of mental adjustment, the result of efforts to know the process of change in the task concerned. Realization and correction of the known objective change help the mind

not to lag far behind the progress of science. This dialectical principle, expressed in practice, in order to successfully realize the concrete aims, is the base of the Maoist intellectual and ethical standard.

Maoism recognizes objective values, but explains the realities giving to its followers a dialectical-materialist philosophy of life: Weltanschauung. Because Maoism insists on collective coordinated work of the nation, on participation in active transformation of conditions helping the progress of humanity, and because, in fact, collective scientific, economic and political cooperation promotes progress more rapidly, Maoism has become the greatest force in China, and, with Stalinism displaced, the greatest force in the present Communist world.

Totalitarian control of the national life to assure the execution of collective tasks is also an aspect of Maoism which cannot be disregarded. With the totalitarian control of thought, index of books, newspapers, press, education, and recreation, Marxist philosophy became the expression of scientific research on the inter-relation of reality and thought, social-political, theoretical and applied engineering, if a modern expression is used, which gives the exact meaning of what Maoism tries to do.

Maoism, because of its research-based, cautious and society-building nature, as present surveys show, in formerly colonial countries, is the most important ideology and political action-forming force. The Political Philosophy of Mao Tse-Tung at least should interest experts to know the elements, which were sufficient to unite and develop China, and to win the loyalty of the peoples of the colonial countries.

The theoretico-practical nature of Maoism, attaining concrete aims in concrete circumstances, helped its efficiency but current history also helped. The laws of dialectics, as Mao and the Chinese Communists explain, furnished not only the means of research towards socialist transformation of society, but also the detection and realization of revolutionary truths, the weapons of the revolution, freeing China through different stages of the proletarian liberation. That history helped Maoism, was an inherent feature of the

cultural tendencies of contemporary history. Dialectics without advantages and difficulties would have no meaning in Politics. His political action has only one goal, to overcome the difficulties in the task ahead. Because of past achievements, Mao is confident that the Chinese Communist Party will handle the task ahead efficiently. Attentive reading of the Chronology of Maoism shows that Chinese Communism was finished when the Kuomintang, November 10, 1934, occupied Juichin, the capital of the Kiangsi-Soviet-Republic; Mao saved the core of the Party by the 6,000-mile "Long-March". He engineered the Hsian-Incident, December 12-25, 1936, and Chiang Kai-Shek accepted the Communist-Kuomintang United-Front. The Japanese-Chinese War broke out on July 7, 1937. This war occupied the military strength of the Kuomintang and saved the Chinese Communist Party from extinction. The use of the anti-Japanese sentiment of the Chinese people, the military defeats of the Kuomintang made it possible for the Party, using the slogan of resistance, to become a nation-wide political force. On August 14, 1945, the victory of the Western-nations, the surrendering of Japan and the help of the USSR made it possible to rearm the Communist armies with the weapons of the surrendered Japanese Manchurian armies. On October 27, 1947, the Kuomintang outlawed the Third-Parties (Democratic League) which went over to the Maoist side. On December 21, 1948, the American government suspended assistance to the Kuomintang government. On August 7, 1949, the USA Department of State issued its White Paper, declaring that all faults of the fall of Chiang-Kai-Shek and the Kuomintang-Government were caused by the Chinese. On October 1, 1949, Mao founded the Communist Chinese State without any efficient opposition from the USA and Western nations. On November 1949, a permanent "ASIA LIAISON OFFICE" was set up by Mao in Peking. On January 5, 1950, Great-Britain and India recognized Communist China. In October 1950, the Chinese Communist troops entered the Korean war . . .

To accept the Communist Party as the "organization of the proletariat class-conscious urban industrial workers",

would be an obvious mistake in the study of Maoism. Maoism takes the position that the experiences of Lenin, the USSR-revolution, and the history of the Chinese Communist Party, made it possible to know the essential features of a real Marxist Party-elite of correct ideology, morality and organization. The mass-base of indoctrinated members is established by slow indoctrination, and during this time the main task of the Party is to maintain true Marxist spirit inside the Party, centered around a small elite. For tactics and policies in the mass-base, the goal is to first take over the government of the country, to establish the Party in power, to gradually educate that part of the nation which obtains higher living-standard and economic improvements, and to evolve the national economy towards socialized economy, through the stages China actually went through. Ideological change will follow the economic and social realization of socialism.

This short, introductory consideration was necessary in order to keep in mind the following fundamental viewpoints:

1. — The Chinese historical and revolutionary realities should be analysed in their transient natures, as special features used only until they correspond to the dialectical aspects of politico-economic conditions in the process of realizing Marxism in China: "consolidate Communist political power and promote socialism". With the evolution of Chinese society, its social classes, the strength of the Party and Army, these features, with the elimination of the corresponding classes, economic-political realities, ceased to influence Chinese society and politics.

2. — During the analysis of the historical and revolutionary realities in consolidating Maoism in China, we should reflect not only on the transient nature of these realities in accordance with Chinese needs, but should keep in mind the essential, never-modified Marxist principles of Maoism. Mao, in 1956, practically arrived at the elimination of his "Special New-Democratic Theory-Practices". This process is an essential part of the Dialectical Maoist System. The study of these practices remains important, not only to know how these theory-practices can be co-ordinated with special

conditions of other nations to bring into power there the Communist Party, but, independently of this knowledge, to devise convenient and efficient means to counteract Maoism in its progress in Africa and the Far and Middle-East.

3. — Studying the "General Theories of Mao Tse-Tung", the reader realizes in what degree Mao advanced Dialectical Materialism, understanding the nature of reality, the theory of knowledge, science and political theory. When the dissertation proposes the "Philosophical Principles of Mao", it does not construct a Philosophical system, but documents only Maoism, presenting what Mao wrote on the subject. The strangeness of the subject matter; "Chinese Marxist-Leninist Maoism" makes necessary the addition of "Annotated Bibliography" and, to locate historical events, the addition of the "Chronology of Maoism, 1920-1956".

To begin with the exposition of Maoism, what Mao Tse-Tung wrote about the Communist system is a good start.

"Communism is at once the entire Ideological System of the Proletariat and a new social system. Different from any other ideological system or social system, it is the most perfect, the most progressive, the most revolutionary and the most rational system since human history began. The ideological system and social system of feudalism have a place only in the museum of history. The ideological system and the social system of capitalism have also become museum-pieces in one part of the World, in the Soviet-Union, while in other countries they resemble "A Dying Person Who Is Sinking Fast Like the Sun Setting Beyond the Western Hills" and will soon be sent to the museum too. On the other hand, the communist ideological system and social system are sweeping the world with the momentum of a landslide and the power of a thunderbolt, and enjoy perpetual youth... Without the guidance of communism, the democratic revolution in China cannot succeed, let alone the later stage of the revolution... The whole world today depends on communism for its salvation, and China is no exception."¹

¹ "On New Democracy", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung*, Vol. III, p. 130-131. See Mao Tse-Tung, *Selected Works*, Volume One, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1954, 378 p.; Volume Two, 1954, 296 p.; Volume Three, 1954, 260 p.; Volume Four, New York, International Publishers, 1956, 348 p.

The *Selected Works of Mao* of four volumes give exact English translation based on the 3-volume Chinese edition. Explanatory notes are translated from the Chinese edition with some additional notes by the translators. These four volumes give an authentic and complete translation of all the writings of Mao contained in the Chinese *Selected Works*, Hsuan-Chi, Volume I, II and III.

PART II

*The General Theories of Maoism:
Contradiction, Practice and
Philosophy of Science.*

The general theories of Maoism express the fundamental philosophical principles of the "Dialectical Materialist World-Outlook (Weltanschauung) of Marx-Lenin-Mao. The general principles of Maoism express not a system but fundamental assumptions of Dialectical Materialism. The Philosophical argumentation in the treatment of reality and knowledge is contrary to the methods of Metaphysics. That the reality is sufficiently explained by the "law of contradiction" is accepted without proof. Philosophy, in the eyes of the Marxist, is of class-character, is in the service of the ruling classes, having for its end the assurance of the cultural and ideological systematization of knowledge. Arguments proving the existence of the objective principle of contradiction are taken from the "Class-struggle" of the social evolution towards socialism, from mathematics, physics: positive and negative numbers, action and reaction, positive and negative electricity . . . But these proofs, examples, are not accepted as stable, metaphysical realities. Marxism affirms, that at the present time, these theories of the physical and chemical sciences express more correctly the real process in the change of realities, than the current scholastic Metaphysics or other philosophies.

Mao Tse-Tung insists, therefore, not on the proofs of general theories, but, accepting the "Stand of Marxist" based on the Dialectical World-outlook, reflects upon the "Prin-

principle of Unity of Opposites" and the "Change of one thing into another", in his "Essay" titled "On Contradiction".²

The philosophical proof is given in his writing "On Practice".³ The fundamental principle of practico-theoretical criterion of truth accepts the proof, that if a theory can be successfully realized, following the theoretically proposed succession of a preconceive change, that theory is more correct than another one, which is useless in the process of realization.

This dynamic, dialectical theory-practice insists mostly on the "process of knowledge" and how to "successfully fulfill tasks", documenting also on the "relation between knowledge and practice", which is the theory of "science" of Mao.

Proposing the writings of Mao in a systematical manner, this chapter gives the doctrine of Mao exposed in his "On Contradiction" and "On Practice", following the division:

1. — Mao's Philosophy of Reality, called by Mao dialectics or contradiction.

2. — How Maoism knows reality. Usually philosophers call these problems the theory of knowledge. Modern Marxists treat these questions under the heading: "practice", that is how correct knowledge is checked and bettered by the experimental realization of the proposed theory. It insists on the reality changing, dynamic and not static nature, potentiality of human knowledge.

3. — How knowledge and reality must be co-ordinated by scientific study and correct methodology. The aim of co-ordinating process between reality and knowledge is that scientific knowledge must go nearer to the process of actual change in the reality. These problems are centered around the conception of "science", as a theory, effectively solving

² In *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 353. The "Essay" is on p. 298-338, with notes on p. 377-378. This writing, was written 1937 August, as a companion-piece to "On Practice", with special attention given to point of views of reality and science.

³ In *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 282-297, with notes p. 377. It was written, 1937 July, on the relation between knowledge and practice, between knowing and doing. Exposes from the Marxist viewpoint of theory of knowledge subjectivist mistakes in the Party as doctrinairism and empiricism.

proposed tasks. The title of this part is: Philosophy of Science, Study and Method of Sciences. Political science is part of this Maoist coordinating process to realize socialism upon the earth.

1. *Contradiction. Philosophy of reality or ontology of Maoism*

The theory of reality of Mao is based on scientific achievements of industrial, cultural, scientific progress and on the analysis of the Marxist ontological principle of contradiction present as the unity of opposition in every reality. This is a dialectical conception of the ontological reality, and it presupposes a certain intellectual disposition, called by the Marxists: "Stand" of the dialectical world outlook. This stand makes clear the dialectical world outlook, which opposes Metaphysics. The theory of contradiction is explained through the unity of opposites, the principle of identity in the changed reality.

The Stand of Maoism, the stand of the proletariat is a mental attitude of the mind looking through a Marxist telescope to see only facts, principles favouring the Marxist point of view, to promote the interest of the proletariat. This stand is not a detached, unbiased process, but belongs to the proletarian class-struggle, actively trying to promote the interest of the proletariat. To accept Dialectical Materialism is to oppose everything which was used to maintain the old social system until it is destroyed. Right or wrong does not enter into the position of dialectical stand, but only one point of view: the past suffering, oppressions, frustrations of the proletariat during the old social systems. This stand includes the acceptance and the exercise of the Marxist Weltanschauung with all its implications of militant, ruthless, armed revolutionary fight and of an ideal necessarily expressed in three actions:

1. — Realize socialism by every means.
2. — Study and practice the truth which favours the realization of socialism, following the theories, policies, tactics of the Communist Party.

3. — Remain without any deviation in the Party line, a disciplined thought and action.

These actions make necessary that in the study of contradiction we must understand the dialectical world-outlook.

The DIALECTICAL WORLD OUTLOOK is explained by Mao in the following manner. Not two principles God and matter, but one principle the law of contradiction is the basic ontological and logical law of existing things and thought.⁴

In the materialist-dialectical outlook Mao advocates two kinds of causality: (1) the basic cause of development is internal contradiction; (2) the secondary cause is the relationship of a thing with other things, their inter-connection and interaction.

The basis of change is internal cause, the external causes are the conditions of change.⁵

Mao Tse-Tung documented his *theory of contradiction* by scrutinizing the problems of (1) the universality of contradiction; (2) the particularity of contradiction and (3) the principal contradiction and the principal aspect of contradiction.⁶

In thoughts and realities movements of opposites (contradiction) exist. The movement itself is a contradiction when the opposites are united in motion. Dialectics is to discover these opposites in things, express them in thought by detecting the particular motion, which makes possible the unity of opposites in a particular reality. The universality of contradiction means by Mao, that the existence of contradiction is an universal law of Ontology.⁷

The theory of the unity of opposites is expressed in the term "Dialectics". The gradual perfection of things, inorganic, organic and intellectual beings, is determined in their ontological realities by the interdependence of contradictory

⁴ Mao Tse-Tung, *On Contradiction*, in *Selected Works*, Vol. I, (The two world-outlooks, dialectical and metaphysical) p. 298-303; (Metaphysical world-outlook is identified by Mao with Vulgar evolutionism) p. 299-300.

⁵ Opus citatum, p. 301-302.

⁶ Opus citatum, p. 303-304.

⁷ Opus citatum, p. 304; See note 6 and 2 there.

aspects and the struggle between the opposites known as contradictory aspects determining the degree of perfection of a being, and the development of things into more perfect beings. The interdependence of opposites is an ontological contradiction, which constitutes a form of motion. The form of motion based on a particular contradiction is less or more complex depending on the ontological nature of the opposites united in the being.⁸

At a determined time and space only one form of motion is possible. This particular motion is the particular aspect of a contradiction, different from every other existing contradiction, because the caused particular motion is different from every other existing motion, being at a particular time and space, and depending on other, at present not yet known, particularities. The PARTICULARITY OF CONTRADICTION scrutinizes the qualitative difference of motions. The cause of qualitative difference must be its own particular contradiction, the internal quality of a thing showing a determined form of motion.

Because of their common principle, that they move, but at the same time being different movements, and entering into relation with each other, their different quality depends not only on their particular contradiction, but on the relations to other contradictions, which by their different movements change, in a different way, the particular quality of the thing in relation with them. This is the reason that after the universality of contradiction, the particularity and relativity of contradiction is scrutinized.⁹

The clarification of the problems centers around the nature of different motions, and the existence of a principal, ruling quality of a thing, which in the writings of Mao is a principal contradiction inside the thing, known by its principal aspects, ruling quality of the being. The existence of different forms of motion is an accepted law of the universality of contradiction, the common feature of all existing

⁸ Opus citatum, p. 304.

⁹ Opus citatum, p. 307. The particularity of contradiction is described by Mao, Op. cit., p. 307-320; Mao gives the notion of motion, Op. cit., p. 307-308.

realities. The knowledge, how these things are different, is reduced to the problem of how the different forms of motion can be known correctly. The different forms of motion are clearly observed by experimenting with mechanical motion; sound, light, heat, etc. produce different aspects of the underlying realities, that is, qualitatively different sense-perceptions and intellectual concepts in our sense-dependent human knowledge.¹⁰

The particular quality which distinguishes the different forms of motion, and consequently one thing from others, is explained by Mao assuming an ontological, principal contradiction, known to us by its senses-perceived principal aspect of contradiction. Mao accepts the logical assumption of realism, that in this orderly universe there exists a strict subordination of interrelated causes operated internally and among all different things. The principal internal cause, principal contradiction, is the ruling force of the quality-giving motion, showing through the sense-based knowledge as principal aspect. The change in the principal contradiction is due to the fact that the relative positions of the contradictions had undergone a change.¹¹ The principal contradiction as an internal force becomes pronounced and can be detected by an apparent aspect, a principal aspect, in the manner in which it plays the leading role between the complex interrelated realities. In technical terms the principal contradiction changes its "form of motion". When the conditions favour the new principal contradiction, the poles of the old contradiction are clearly in the open.¹²

The principal contradiction must be detected and used in the engineered practice, a logically and efficiently coordinated intellectual activity and theory-practice, to prove the truth of the principal contradiction. The change in the development of things, and how changing things remain the same is the problem discussed in the writings of Mao as the "Unity of Opposites" or the "principle of identity in the changed reality".¹³

¹⁰ Opus citatum, p. 308.

¹¹ Opus citatum, p. 321.

¹² Opus citatum, p. 321-322.

¹³ Summary of Mao on the subject, Opus citatum, p. 337-338.

2. *Practice or theory of knowledge of Maoism*

The Maoist philosophy of Dialectical Materialism (Objectivism) accepts only material things. Its ontological and logical principles do not accept absolute truth in the sense of unchangeable until the end of time, but state all its theories and practices as a "working theory" proved to be true by realizing it in practice; an engineering practical research to prove the truth on the process expressed in a theory by its actual realization.

A basic assumption of Maoism, regarding practice as the criterion of truth, is that the truth of a theory until its actual realization is not practiced, cannot be discussed. When a theory is actually realized, it becomes a truth, a historical fact. But because reality is incessantly in change, this theory, in the light of its realization, must be corrected and adapted to serve as the base-theory of the next step of engineering undertaking of theory-practice.

Mao Tse-Tung expressed the basic theoretico-practical nature of the Dialectical World-Outlook, in its engineering, dynamic nature, in the following summary:

"Truth is the conformity of a theory with the realization of the theory; or truth is to engineer a change of one opposite of a contradiction into its other opposite. The practice or the realization of a theory is the critical verification that the process expressed in the theory works only when the result of a theoretically preconceived process is successfully terminated."¹⁴

Truth considered only statically and logically by the conformity of concepts with their expressed notes, verified in an unknown way in the reality, is not accepted by Mao. Truth must be verified in its "dynamic", changing the reality in a preconceived manner, real conformity with its concepts unified into a theory-practice to engineer this change. If practice works successfully, the truth is contained in the theoretical part of this practice. Checking the incompleteness and errors of a theory by its corresponding practice is the critical verification of truth in the sense that truth is developed to express better the direction and elements of change

¹⁴ Opus citatum, p. 297.

undertaken in practice. This is the meaning that "perceptual knowledge became rational knowledge." The ideology and knowledge of mankind consequently can be bettered, and necessary realities realized on a never ceasing, self-perfecting higher level.

"To discover truth through practice, and through knowledge to verify and develop truth is the theory of knowledge: To start from perceptual knowledge and actively develop it into rational knowledge and then, starting from rational knowledge, actively direct revolutionary practice so as to remould the subjective and objective world. Practice, knowledge, more practice, more knowledge; the cyclical repetition of this pattern to infinity, and with each cycle the elevation of the content of practice and knowledge to a higher level. Such is the whole of the dialectical materialist theory of knowing and doing." ¹⁵

The Maoist theory of knowledge tries to express the truth, in a practical and effective way, of the intelligent human approach promoting culture, industry and the physical, chemical and other sciences. This expression of the truth is based on the effectiveness of human thought to conceive a theory, which can be translated into practice. In this theoretical understanding and practical realization of human thought, philosophy must coordinate the universal principles, which are really based on the inventions of the physical, chemical and social sciences. Sciences, in their objective processes, never produce the "absolute truth", but some "dependent reality". Mao finds in the sum of all processes the "absolute truth" with all its infinitely numerous and developing contradictions, which at present are unknown. Only relative truth is known, corresponding to one pair or other pairs of contradictions. Maoism rejects the philosophical systems which affirm that present knowledge is a more or less approximation of the objective, absolute truth. The Maoist position is based on his conception of the role of concepts of thought. In the approximation of truth, the most important part is given to the instruments of knowledge, concepts which give the essence of things, by judgments and inferences built on perceptions and rational concepts.

¹⁵ Idem.

The rational concepts do not represent the phenomena of things, but give a more or less correct approximation of the essence, totality and internal relations of the contradictions and the real principles of reality. Thus, concepts can be obtained only through knowledge checked by direct or indirect successful practice, and not through comparisons of concepts with their expressed notes in the outside reality.¹⁶

The problem of truth thus must be examined in its self-perfecting nature, that is, in its historical development. The primary source of this development is the most fundamental intellectual activity of man, the productive activity, the material production of an intelligent being. But productive activity is evolved through social cooperation in production. Social practice is therefore the primary source of the knowledge of the development of absolute and relative truth. But Maoism affirms that through human cultural life and social interrelations, man's knowledge is influenced, branded with the status of his particular class.

The reality base, contradictions in knowledge and reality, step by step being better known and expressed in the perfecting human productive activity, permits, the proper methods to develop to a higher standard, and, step by step, to become deep and many-sided. The summation of all sciences, which serve as basis of production, is necessary to promote knowledge in its perfective process. This process of knowledge corresponds to the more and less evolved periods of the intellectual evolution of mankind. Concepts, theories and expressions are more perfect in our age, because sciences approximated more perfectly the dialectical process in things. This dialectical stand is expressed in Maoism in two basic assumptions: (1) Production and politico-cultural life is the source of knowledge, and (2) Evolution of productive activity is the base of the Marxist theory of knowledge.¹⁷

The biggest step of evolution in human knowledge of the world came when the class-struggle, the expression of the dialectical force of politico-cultural life, was recognized

¹⁶ Opus citatum, p. 285.

¹⁷ Opus citatum, p. 282-283.

as the manifestation of "contradiction" in society, and this force of social history helped Marx to construct his theory of dialectics, the science of Marxism.

The correct direction in the perfective process of knowledge is assured by the efficient, and thus objective, nature of practice, which, as the criterion of truth, directs social practice in science, politics, arts and industry. As the expression of dialectics, practice touches immediate reality, and this makes practice the highest knowledge. Mao analysed the criterion of truth in its negative and positive aspects. The **NEGATIVE ASPECT** of practice is to turn failure into success. The **POSITIVE ASPECT** of practice is when, through the realization of theory in practice, the truth is solved and this solution is applied as a theory, which achieves the anticipated result. This failure-success dialectical positive-negative aspects of the practice is the universal truth-criterion.

To fulfill the tasks of a project, through an engineering undertaking, the process of knowledge must follow the process in reality. Perceiving all the necessary relations and data of the task is not enough to start an engineered process of theory-practice. A synthesis is necessary which rearranges the data of knowledge to be able to base the judgment and inferences. The perceptual data must be checked by experiments in order to correspond to reality and give complete experimental data of the studied problem. After enough data concerning a task has been collected, this data must be systematically arranged in conformity with the dialectical nature of the reality. To do this, first the development of the objective process must be considered and it must be shown how this process is synthesized with the data of knowledge. This rational knowledge makes to know essence, because it is the result of thinking in conformity with the dialectical world-outlook and dialectical ontological principles, checking the perceptual data by practice. This scientific reconstruction of the perceptual data truly reflects the objective reality, and safeguards successful practice.¹⁸

¹⁸ Opus citatum, p. 291.

The development of the perceptual knowledge into rational knowledge contains two processes of knowledge: (1) to know a single thing or task (MINOR PROCESS OF KNOWLEDGE), and (2) to know the whole world, all aspects of truth (MAJOR PROCESS OF KNOWLEDGE). The important problem is not to understand the objective world, but to change it in the interest of the proletariat.¹⁹

When knowledge gets to the point that theory becomes connected with practice, the process of knowledge is not completed. The dynamic nature of the criterion of truth makes necessary the realization of the preconceived task. This is done finding out the method to realize preconceived aims. Failure shows the absence of conformity of the concepts with reality and the limitations of the knowledge of the plan. These limitations are eliminated practising the theory and revising the preconceived process employed.²⁰

The realization of preconceived aims in a theory-practice means the fulfilment of certain tasks conceived as a series of coordinated actions to attain a proposed goal. This includes the problems of how to accomplish these tasks, creating or perfecting existing methods and means. Mao explains these problems under the heading "Methods of Work."²¹

The method to select means and ways is accomplished through studying: in Chinese "Hsueh-hsi", in our terminology "Philosophy of Science, Study and Methods of Sciences."

3. *Philosophy of Science. Study and methods of Sciences.*²¹

The co-ordination of theory and its practice is accomplished by "scientific study" using successful methods. This problem is developed by Mao explaining two group of questions: 1. Application of Dialectics to the realization of a theory. Scientific study and methods of practice. 2. The

¹⁹ Process of knowledge, Opus citatum, p. 292.

²⁰ Opus citatum, p. 293.

²¹ Opus citatum, p. 308-320.

part of difficulties and advantages in a method, showing the principal contradiction during the process of change.

In this sense science is the explanation how knowledge and reality must be co-ordinated by scientific study and correct methodology to solve proposed tasks successfully. This conception of science necessitates an analysis of evolution in the relation and connection between knowledge, and in the knowledge-expressed reality, from the point of view of the realization of the preconceived aims.

Science remains science if it satisfies its basic reason for existence: to realize preconceived aims. Objective reality and practice checked knowledge must be co-ordinated. This co-ordination is analysed in the "philosophy of science", through the above-mentioned two groups of problems. The application of dialectics can be effectively practised through the study of co-ordination of the means with the practice-checked knowledge, and of the practice of the methods to be used, from the point of view of effectiveness.

*A. Application of dialectics to the realization of a theory:
Scientific study and methods of practice*

This first group of problems is analysed from the point of view of study and from the point of view of methods.

From the point of view of study the dialectical knowledge must co-ordinate the means with the practice-checked knowledge, and with the practice of the methods to be used, from the point of view of effectiveness. This is done by the concrete detection of the opposites of the contradictions, and the interrelation of the different contradictions in the thing. Every detected element must be related to the concrete individual essence of a thing. The individuality of existing things must be detected in the principal, particular contradiction, which makes the thing individual, but temporal, conditional and relative. The principles of universality and the particularity of contradiction give the principles of the common character and the individual character of contradiction. It is clear from the nature of different scientific studies, that science is based on the nature of the particular contradiction

inherent in the subject-matter of the sciences. The common element of certain particular contradictions, the universal contradiction, helps to detect the cause or basis of the development of reality, making it possible to relate to the same reason different particular relations. The particular cause of individuality, given in the particularity of contradiction, marks the aims and methods of different sciences. The philosophy of sciences, which studies the causes, aims, and methods of sciences, is perfected by the gradual extension of the knowledge of the common qualities of things. The efficient, common element of two or more contradictions, in practice, is ruled by the common principal contradiction present in every objective process. To describe, therefore, the scientific study as part of the philosophy of sciences is possible only by studying the principal aspects of contradictions. The individual characters of contradictions give the key to knowledge, because each concrete existing contradiction is an individual one, and certain individual contradictions, having elements common in them, give the subjectmatter of sciences. Mao offers examples from the current sciences: sciences actually developed along the line of certain kinds of phenomena, certain kind of contradictions, positive and negative numbers in mathematics, action and reaction in physics . . .

From the point of view of the methods of practice, scientific study must devise effective methods to discover the specifically different process of motion as the cause of qualitative difference in things. To be effective, different methods solve different contradictions. There is no uniform method good for every science, or for every task. The necessary different methods can be discovered by studying the special features of every stage of a concrete process.

The method of study, in this scientific exploration of the stages of process in a concrete task, must be directed to discover the dominant contradictions, in order to know in this particular contradiction or process the tendency of the principal contradiction; the use of modifying means consequently engineers supersession of the old reality by the new reality. To do efficiently this tasks, two questions must be

solved. (a) The change in essence must correspond to the extinction of the old principal contradiction and to the emergence of a new principal contradiction. (b) The second question to be solved is, how the present difficulties and advantages during a certain specified method must not only show the existing principal contradiction, but also the convenience or inconvenience of a method to engineer a task.

B. The part of difficulties and advantages in a method, showing the principal contradiction during the process of change

Scientific method must be directed to realize a concrete aim performing a methodologically specified concrete task by concrete means. The discovery of the dominant contradiction provides the understanding of the "line of action" of the particular conditions of the actual operating process, which makes possible, if the stages are known, to change the means, and consequently, the old reality into a new one.

Trying to find the key to control the principal contradiction through the stages of development, Mao's doctrine can be grouped into three points:

a. The part of scientific method in the supersession of the old reality by the new one. The concrete analysis of concrete conditions under which the principal contradiction acts.

b. In a certain specified method the outbalancing difficulties or advantages show the existing principal contradiction.

c. Ideological superstructure acting on the ontological foundation.

a. Concrete analysis of concrete conditions.

Among many pairs of contradictions, the principal contradiction plays the leading and decisive part. In the studying, therefore, of any process, this principal contradiction must be discovered, and then any action undertaken,

strengthening or destroying one of the opposites in the contradiction.²² The leading aspects show the principal contradiction. The quality of a thing is determined by the dominant position of these aspects of the principal contradiction. The quality of things can be changed by changing the dominant position of the principal contradiction inside the thing. Mao's example is the analysis of the evolution of feudal society through capitalist society into socialism.²³

b. Difficulties and advantages show the existing principal contradiction.

The second question to be solved, to be able to know that the methodological means are correctly modified; is the elimination of difficulties and the presence of advantages, showing the presence of an acting principal contradiction. This means that during the solution of a problem by concrete means, in a concrete situation, if the difficulties outbalance the advantages, the principal tendency of the contradiction is methodologically unfavourable; the problem must be newly studied in order to eliminate the difficulties or change the method. How this is done is shown by Mao, in his explication of the role of "theory" in the philosophy of science.²⁴

In changing the reality there is no limit, thus the question of the connection between theory, or superstructure, and the principal contradiction, can be solved in indefinite ways. In a general way treating all sciences, in the solution of the problems connected with the factor: "the influence of superstructure on the reality", the directive method, plan, and policy must follow the principle of "advantages gained". This principle has the principal role at any time, when anything is to be organized, or obstacles are to be disposed of. Social consciousness, part of the evolving reality, by its force to change the reality, has as much right to be the principal force in change as the not as yet understood ontological foundation of a theory-practice.

²² Opus citatum, p. 322-323.

²³ Opus citatum, p. 323-325.

²⁴ Opus citatum, p. 325.

c. Ideological superstructure acting on the ontological foundation.

Mao Tse-Tung accepts the role of superstructure influencing the ontological reality in a dialectical change. The most important phase in the evolution of the reality is not when the productive forces, practice and ontological foundation are the principal aspects of the changing reality, showing the acting force of the principal contradiction, but when the principal aspects of the acting force of the principal contradiction are the relations of production: theory and the ideological superstructure.

This happens in the cases when the productive forces cannot be developed unless the relations of production are changed by using a directive plan, or when ideology and culture hinder action and ideological and cultural reforms become the decisive factors in the change undertaken.²⁵ To recognize that social consciousness influences social existence, and superstructure reacts on the ontological foundation, is part of dialectical materialism.

²⁵ Opus citatum, p. 326.

PART III

*Maoist Political Science: Class —
Struggle and its Application in the
Process of History: General Political
Theory-Practices.*

This chapter gives the conception of Mao's "Political Science" in its ontological foundation: class-struggle, and how he used this general principle in engineering the Chinese Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution through New-Democracy to its present phase: the Chinese Socialist Revolution.

Entering into the study of the political theory of Mao Tse-Tung, it is timely to give a preliminary notion of Maoism. Maoist Political Theory, or Maoism, is a revolutionary theory-practice of armed struggle to realize socialism upon the earth, by historico-political realities conditioned working-class action. To seize power for the working class and maintain the working class in political and economic, cultural power, the "International Communist Party" represents the power and authority of the state, exercising this power in conformity with the existing realities in the concerned nation or group of nations. The Party-ideology must be maintained in progress towards co-ordinate socialization of the world, eliminating everything which reacts against this progress.

In the knowledge of the ontological principle of politics: class-struggle; how class-struggle works in the social, political, cultural, economic realities of Chinese society: general political theory-practices; the social context of the Chinese revolution is understood to be able to establish a working knowledge of Maoist political-science. This knowledge is given in this dissertation as follows:

1. The potentialities of class-struggle to direct efficient political action to seize and maintain state-power.

2. The ontological engineering process directed by Marxist Weltanschauung based class-struggle.

3. The working of this engineering process influenced by special politico-cultural realities of periods in the five theory-practices of Maoism: (1) Revolutionary power factor of a given society. (2) The use of the revolutionary power-factor in conformity with the build-up of the motive-forces of the revolution. (3) Political-economy: to eliminate the economic power of the reactionary classes and strengthen the economic, political, cultural power of the mass-base of the regime. (4) Culture strengthens current political aims as superstructure of politics. (5) The Party-build-up, to detect, co-ordinate and successfully realize in practice all essentials to the aims of revolution in order to seize and maintain power and gradually realize socialism.

1. *The potentialities of class-struggle to direct efficient political Action to seize and maintain state-power.*

The systematical exposition of efficient laws of class-struggle to direct political action to seize and maintain state power must be based on the exact understanding and use of study to prepare efficient political theory-practices; this study must follow the special dialectical nature of political science through the aspects of the contradictions in every stage of their development: concrete analysis of concrete conditions, united with concrete analysis of concrete processes of the history of a concrete society.

2. *The ontological engineering process based on class-struggle.*

The working of ontological engineering process is explained through the operation of internal causes; external causes are the conditions of change and become operative through internal causes. Dialectical causality explains theory-practices and due to this dialectical process, the change

and nature of times (periods), and the change of historic realities during these periods are the essential points of political theory-practices.

In the past the causality of the dialectical process was ineffective because the social and historical conditions of past times were insufficiently evolved. The internal force of struggle was not clearly understood and formulated into efficient theory-practice and consequently could not scientifically explain the world and lost out to Metaphysics.

Marx borrowing the dialectics of Hegel created the basic principles of social evolution in the system of dialectical and historical materialism. Lenin and Stalin developed the international proletarian action against the last stage of capitalism: imperialism. Mao started the Chinese Marxist revolution and evolved Marxism into Maoism.²⁶

Mao Tse-Tung clearly understood the Marxist-Leninist dialectics in the opposition of Japanese imperialism and Chinese feudalism against the Chinese people. This contradiction imperilled the survival of Chinese bourgeoisie and landlords and was against a particular form of imperialism, the Japanese imperialism, and created in Maoist politics the United-Front national solidarity of all the classes to fight against Japan. The historical contradiction between Japanese and Western imperialism favoured the Maoist United Front. The Western powers helping Chiang to destroy the warlords, destroyed one section of the feudalist forces against the Communist Party. The factors of this dialectical causality are analysed in the different theory-practices of Maoism. The most important thing is, from the point of view of the engineering process undertaken by Mao Tse-Tung to realize socialism, the understanding of the influences of these contradictions on the political theory-practice. Other aspects of these contradictions are given in the analysis of periods and special realities of Maoism.

Mao used the actually present advantages in the present contradictions between anti-communist powers to debilitate

²⁶ Opus citatum, p. 302-303.

each other. One example is the Kuomintang's alliance with the Western-powers to defeat Japanese imperialism and the strengthening of the Chinese Communist Party's mass base, organizations and armed strength following the Three People's Principles at the same time. The theoretical insight of Mao made possible to express the periods and historical realities forming contradictions in theory-practices, and he was able to show in political practice how a stable Communist government, social and economic order, can be established in colonial, imperialist oppressed countries.

Maoism evolving transient theory-practices recognizing the special conditions of the country was able to constitute efficient theory-practices to promote Marxist-ends, and thus become the expression and realization of Maoist political philosophy.

3. *The five theory-practices of Maoism: Revolutionary society, Revolution, Political Economy, Culture and the Party.*

The detected revolutionary power-factor of the Chinese semicolonial society is used in conformity with the build-up of the motive forces of the revolution: the Party-leadership and armed mass-base. Revolutionary theory-practices change this revolutionary power-factor by the use of class-struggle, using the classes of the Chinese society as supporters, neutrals and reactionaries, from the point of view that these classes support or oppose the aims of the period. Everything which influences mental tendencies (ideology) is ordered to determined political aims controlled by the ultimate aim of Maoism: "the socialization of China". The execution of these aims is conditioned by the state of the Chinese society in its experimentally known cultural superstructure: "Expression of Art, Literature, Film, Recreation, and Education." With the economic control of the means to life-food, work, better living standard, ideological control is exercised in co-ordination with the four periods of Maoism. The ideological control by the means to life is given in the "Theory of Political Economy of Maoism". The ideologico-economic

co-ordination of the expression of the revolution progressing towards socialism by Art, Literature, Film, Recreation, and Education is given in the "Theory of Culture as the Superstructure of Politics". Thus Art, Literature and Education became purely political means.

All these essential theory-practices of Maoism are conditioned and perfected by the Party-leadership. How it is done is shown by Mao in the "Theory of Building the Party, the Instrument to Seize and Maintain Power, Realizing Socialism in China".

A detailed exposition would give therefore the documentary exposition of the following "General Theory-Practices of Mao Tse-Tung."

1. The Theory of Society concerned with the revolutionary power factor of a given society.

2. The Theory-Practice of Revolution: This theory is centered around the problem of how to use the revolutionary power-factor in conformity with the build-up of the motive forces of the revolution. The Party-leadership and the change in the revolutionary quality of the mass-base is lined up to attain the socialist final goal.

3. Political-Economy: to eliminate the economic power of the reactionary classes and strengthen the economic power of the mass-base supporting the regime and the revolution.

4. Theory of Culture: Art, Literature, Film, Education, Recreation and Religion must strengthen current political aims, and general dialectical-materialist principles, as these aims are proposed by the Party-leadership. This is what is meant when Marxists talk about culture as the "Superstructure of Politics."

5. Theory-Practice of the Party-Build up: to detect, co-ordinate and successfully realize in practice all essentials to the aims of revolution in order to seize and maintain power and gradually realize socialism in China.

This excerpt does not enter into the detailed exposition of these theory practices.

PART IV

The Evaluation of the Political Philosophy of Mao Tse-Tung.

Documenting the general theories and political theory-practice of Maoism the problem remains of evaluating Maoism in its internal build-up, and comparing Maoism with the scrutiny of rational and social nature of man, order of the universe, God, life after death. This consideration helps us to understand the problem concerning the survival of Maoism.

This evaluation treats certain particular points logically connected with the internal build-up of Maoism and the beliefs of Western civilisation:

1. Maoism is a Marxist Philosophy.
2. How Mao Tse-Tung is a better Marxist than Marx.
3. The truth of Maoism as a theory-practice.
4. The basic defects of Maoism.
5. The survival of Maoism.

The systematical exposition of this criticism is based on giving the tasks which should have been solved by Maoism as a dialectical philosophy. Two point of view present themselves: (1) The essential features observed or not observed in a Hegelian-Marxist philosophy, and (2) Maoism has contributed or has not contributed to the theoretical improvement of the solution to the problems centered around the "rational, social nature of man, living in a world where order exists, and the problem of how and why this order exists". The solution given in this discussion gives the most important basic point of view of every philosophy, the possibility of its survival.

1. Maoism is a Marxist philosophy.

The essential features of Hegelian-Marxist philosophy are observed in Maoism. To prove this statement it is necessary to summarize the coincidence of the basic idea of the reality accepted by Marx and developed by Mao in his general principles.

There is only "one reality", which is capable of gradually knowing itself, and by a self-perfecting knowledge arrives at a more and more perfect realization of the goals known. This evolution of the reality; "matter" by Marx, has in itself an internal, dynamic principle, the principle of dialectics, the conflict of opposite forces, the principle of the general and of the particular contradiction. The nature of the world and of the existing realities is known through the processes of development. In the history of every science, the student can find the ways in which the universal reality had expressed itself in its process to perfect itself. This tendency or aim, by becoming more and more conscious in the knowledge of mankind (social practice), arrived at better theory-practices to realize its conscious aims.

The process of self-perfecting reality presents itself in rational theory-practices. The nature of truth therefore in Maoism is to realize itself, attaining its goals through practice. When all the possible goals of conscious reality have been realized, then the sum of all particular truths: the "ABSOLUTE TRUTH" is realized, but not before. Until this degree of knowledge has been realized, freedom of human behaviour cannot be tolerated, but must be controlled by the society, because the summation of all particular truths is given in social consciousness, and consequently freedom and knowledge is not individual but social. The state is the organization of the social consciousness, society, protecting itself economically, culturally, and ideologically, realizing the goal of society, the common good, the general interest of all the members of the state, and removing everything which obstructs the way towards progress.

In order not to obstruct the way towards progress, the correct expression of social consciousness is not in the will of

the people, but in the interpretation of certain revolutionary individuals (Party-elite), who are able to see the "LINE OF PROGRESS" in the actual historico-political conditions of a certain era. What is necessary to realize this progress is "right", revolutionary, and progressive, and whatever opposes it is "wrong", counter-revolutionary, and reactionary, and consequently must be destroyed.

The Maoist system of political theory-practice is based on the internal, dialectical dynamic principle of class-struggle. Some aspects of political science, for example the nature of classless society, cannot be known, until the development of the corresponding political realities, through the process of socialization of economy, culture and ideology, are realized. Certain doctrinal points in Marxism, following the nature of Marxism, should have been restated before the time of Mao Tse-Tung. Mao, having understood the essence of Marxism, restated Marxism, following the change in the conditions of society. The essentially Marxist class-struggle tries to explain the transformation of society into socialism through different periods. Opposition in the struggle must be eliminated, in order to let the dominating, principal contradiction act in the "line of action".

2. *How Mao Tse-Tung is a better Marxist than Marx.*

This special analysis is now undertaken to prove that Maoism is a system which shows signs that Mao Tse-Tung improved Marxism. The fact that Mao was able to save the Chinese Communist Party from erroneous blunders, and that he practically realized Marxist theory-practices, show that Mao Tse-Tung was able to eliminate the fundamental defect of the Marxist system, that is formulate in given conditions theory-practices to seize actually power for the Communist Party, and transform human society into a socialist way of living.

Mao Tse-Tung, having understood the essence of Marxism: theory-practices to seize and maintain political power in order to socialize human society, actually started scientific socialism by its realization in China. Mao as a truer Marxist,

did not waste his time constructing theories without practice, but realized the essence of Marxism: to formulate a theoretical system of political action to seize power and prepare the start of socialization of human society. Leninism provided the analysis of capitalism of the imperialist stage, Maoism of the semicolonial and semi-feudal colonial capitalism. Mao inserted between capitalism and socialism NEW DEMOCRACY, not as a socialist-forming system, but as a political instrument to seize political and economic power for the Communist Party. The Marxist position that class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat was changed by Mao establishing his UNITED FRONT and NEW DEMOCRACY. In his practice, Mao used the Marxist principle that the incompatible interest of the Bourgeoisie and Proletariat causes the social change in a society struggling to dominate all society to their own interest, in an ingenious way, as it is explained in Maoist UNITED FRONT TACTICS.

Socialist production and individual, capitalist appropriation, is the underlying contradiction which drives the capitalist society towards the readjustment of social forces through revolution. In this readjustment, a socialist order must create a social and economic system consonant with its cooperative social nature. Mao perfected the control of the society to give the nation the product of the labour of the workers. The transitional stage envisaged by Marx is the DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, when economy is collectivized and socialized. Mao discarded this dictatorship after he came to power, and started his New Democratic Economy, thus bettering the Marxist system by making his New Democracy an integral part of the transitional stage of the Marxist social and economic philosophy.

The world-evolution of mankind through the socialist co-operation of all men by every means is elaborated in the theories of United Front and New Democracy of Mao Tse-Tung. Mao, eliminating the Dictatorship of the Workers as the power behind the progress towards socialism, substituted his NEW DEMOCRACY the "Three Principles of Sun" as aspects of the common good, and part of intelligent

human nature. The class-struggle, the evolutionary force moving society towards socialism, was used by Mao in its Marxist nature: individual gain towards the promotion of the common-good, and co-operative labour effectively destroying the struggle among workers to obtain private gain through social labour. Improving the economic standard of the workers and giving them security, the New Democracy of Mao used the political analysis of Marx, that industrial proletariat was concerned mainly with economic security, and that the peasantry was of petty bourgeois nature, thus changing the peasantry into a revolutionary force at the place of the industrial workers, which brought the Communist Party into political power.

3. *The truth of Maoism as a theory-practice.*

In the evaluation of the truth criterion of Maoism: the realization of the Maoist theory-practices, the "LINE OF ACTION" must be analysed:

1. To find out that socialist or democratic factors had been the necessary elements in helping Maoism to seize political power and to start the socialization of China, and
2. That using the "CLASS-STRUGGLE" as an ontological principle of Marxist politics, Mao Tse-Tung was able to seize political power and start the socialization of China.

The analysis shows the realization of NEW DEMOCRACY and not of COMMUNISM. Thus the Maoist practice of NEW DEMOCRACY AND NOT OF COMMUNISM, the intermediary period between the "capitalist system and Marxist socialism" ended in the consolidation of the power of the Communist Party, did not demonstrate the truth of Marxism, but only the genius of Mao Tse-Tung as a Marxist statesman.

When Mao abandoned the "DICTATORSHIP OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS" of early Maoism, this his insight was Marxist statesmanship and the sign of his practical genius, by which he was able to recognize and use the actually existing political power-forming values of the contemporary Chinese society to consolidate the power of

the Communist Party. Until the present times New-Democracy and military, economic and cultural control by the Communist Party are truthful theory-practices.

The analysis of Maoist New-Democratic and non-Communist theory-practices is given in two points:

A. The New-Democratic and non-Communist principles used by Mao, and

B. Special New-Democratic realities evolved by Mao in the "PERIODS OF MAOISM".

A. New-Democratic and non-communistic principles used by Mao Tse-Tung

Mao seized control of the Chinese state, consolidated the political power of the Communist Party, never risking the loss of this power, through the recognition and evaluation of the power value of special conditions of China, where the seizure and maintenance of the control of the state was in question. His means were the control of the reactionaries, abandoning the dictatorship of the proletarian masses and building up the primary and secondary motive forces of the revolution.

The ultimate aim of New-Democracy, as of Maoism, is the communist goal. The intermediate aims of Mao were to prepare the start of socialization of agriculture and industry, taking into account the conditions of China during the different periods of Maoism, and constructing theory-practices integrated into the final goal as transient instruments obtaining the final aim: socialization, never risking the loss of power, through compromise, moderation, retreat and attack. When in power, Mao slowly started to reconstruct true Marxism, the communist social and economic system.

Mao restrained reactionaries, classes against the interest of the Marxist economic and political system. These classes were exploited by the state in political, economic, organizational and ideological (education, culture, press) fields.

Through the participation of the masses in local governments and armed forces, the liberal democratic organizations

run by the bourgeoisie were suppressed. These liberal democratic organizations were the supporters of the reactionary classes. At the beginning moderation was necessary, because the expropriation of the ruling reactionary classes at one blow was impossible, they retained hidden money, influence, connections, knowledge, higher education, and military experience. The proletarian mass is unable to decide essentials in a long fight against the obstinate, skillful resistance of the reactionary classes. The UNITED FRONT with the peasants and the small bourgeoisie was necessary in order to lead the masses without losing their support. To counteract the knowledge of the Maoist tactics by the leaders of the Kuomintang, reactionary forces, these forces had been defeated only through the suppression of their armed forces, economic and political strength, and democratic reforms.

Motive forces developed by Mao are primary and secondary. The building up of the primary force, the PARTY ELITE, is accomplished by educating them and by having them practise dispassionate, objective action, and correct, clear thinking, so that they may intelligently lead and control the masses in a Marxist spirit, and be disciplined and connected intimately with the masses. The building up of the Party-Elite resulted in efficient organization, and control of the armed forces.

The building of the secondary motive forces consists in the building of the following instruments used by the Party-Elite: armed force, mass-base, and special conditions of the periods.

B. Special new-democratic realities evolved by Mao in the four periods of Maoism

This analysis of the conditions of China during the specified periods of Maoism illustrates the objectivity of Mao's political foresight and the connection of the political, economic and other conditions with the Maoist theory-practices. This analysis serves also as the proof that the system of Maoism is a better Marxist statemanship than that of Marx.

(a) *The base-area period of Maoism, 1920-1937*

The border-base-areas were necessary to test the theory-practices with all their practical difficulties, and to serve as the base of army operations in organizing the peasant mass-base of the Communist Party. The primary motive power, the Party-Elite actually could exist as separate from the exploited industrial proletariat on the condition that its members remained convinced Marxists and not necessarily representing the industrial proletariat, but the discontent peasant mass. This elite was a group of revolutionaries of different class origin.

The secondary motive power in the hand of Mao was the peasant discontent and not the class force of the exploited industrial proletariat.

This kind of doctrinal conception of the Party and of the revolutionary motive power of the masses, was clearly against the bookish conception of Marx. In Marxism, not restated by Mao, the Party is the living organism of the exploited industrial proletariat, and the discontent of the industrial proletariat should be the revolutionary power factor to be used in the class-struggle overthrowing the bourgeoisie. Mao following his theoretical solution of the revolutionary power factor in China, used the peasantry as the "Vanguard" of the Communist revolution, using their discontent to pursue the truly Marxist aim: to maintain and enlarge the base-areas and the peasant armies under the leadership of the Marxist Communist Party. His writings during this period show to the Chinese Communists his efficient conception of the Party and the revolutionary power value of the peasant movement. The peasants were of petty bourgeois mentality, bitter against those who owned land, but consumed with the desire to become land-owners. Mao, by giving land to the peasants, and by deploring their situation, was able to overthrow the Kuomintang government. This policy was clearly an anti-Marxist (pre-Maoist conception of Marxism) tendency, if Marxism is not conceived in its essential trends, a science to seize and maintain political power in order to realize communism: like and use

socialist ways of political, economic, cultural ways. Maoist peasant policies were more genuine Marxist-methods than anything connected with Marxism until present times.

The basic theory of New-Democracy was realized in the base-areas. The Three People's Principles of Sun disrupted the unity of the Kuomintang and made the THIRD PARTIES the ally of the Communist Party. The Red Army, the peasant mass-base, the anti-Japanese and anti-foreign sentiments of the bourgeoisie limited further the power of the Kuomintang. When Chiang destroyed the KIANGSI BASE-areas, Mao used the only remaining means, the war between the Kuomintang and Japan. The term "Anti-Japanese United-front" contains all these realities.

b. The new-democratic united-front period of Maoism, 1937-1949

The base-areas were enlarged into model-areas of national territory all over China. These territories, liberated zones, were politically, militarily, and economically self-sufficient, and were able to defend themselves against Japanese and Kuomintang attacks.

The leadership of Maoism was improved by using the mass-line and by not mentioning the ultimate aim, socialize China, but only the proximate aims, which will bring the Party to seize power, the national and social liberation of China, establishing a democratic government of all pro-democratic parties; Mao eliminated leftism and the Third Parties and the intelligentsia became pro-Maoist. American observers were of the opinion that Chiang Kai-Shek would be able to defeat Mao, and did not oppose Mao. The New-Democratic theory-practices of Mao were sufficient to prepare a successful civil war against the Kuomintang, which with the incompetence of the Kuomintang ended in the seizure of China in 1949.

The NEW THREE PEOPLE'S PRINCIPLES were the frame of the Maoist new-democratic theory-practices. Some terminated only during the present years, after the Socialist-

Phase of the Maoist revolution was started in 1954. The Three People's Principles were: National independence, Better livelihood, and Democracy.

The anti-American members of the Kuomintang were defected to Communism, due to the Kuomintang-American treaty of December 9, 1946, regarded by the Chinese as the revival of foreign imperialism to rule China. Better livelihood was realized throughout Communist occupied territories, for sympathizers, through tax reforms, economic construction, land policy against Kuomintang supporters, and cultural and technical reforms. To show democracy the constitution of the Maoist Marxist Party was changed into "Centralized Democratism" to make possible the coalition with the pro-democratic, anti-Kuomintang section of the Chinese society. The corruption and inefficiency of the Kuomintang left no alternative, in the eyes of the intelligentsia, regarding the termination of the Sun Yat Sen Three Principles Revolution; the Maoist Party must take the leadership of the Chinese political, economic and military reconstruction. The methods of the Kuomintang were clearly imperialistic: oppress the people through corruption and inefficiency. The completion of the Sun bourgeois-democratic revolution was used by Mao as a necessary, from the Chinese conditions dependent, tactical manoeuvre to seize the political power. New-Democracy expresses the doctrine to unite the people of China under the leadership of the Communist Party in the completion of the Sun Yat-Sen revolution. The United-Front explains how the different parties must be united to defeat the Kuomintang and anti-Communist strata of the Chinese society. This United-Front was anti-Kuomintang and New-Democratic during 1945-1949, New-Democratic and Pro-Communist during 1949-1954, and became pro-Socialist after September 1954.

This short analysis showed that Maoist New-Democracy can be called true Marxist-politics, because by utilizing the contradictions present in the Chinese state, seized political power for the Communist Party.

c. The people's democratic dictatorship period of Maoism, 1949 — September 1954

The state being firmly in the hands of the Maoist Communist Party, this period served to start slowly the socialist revolution, eliminating bourgeois-capitalist political and economic power and ideology, without harming the reconstruction of China. China had been integrated economically, culturally and militarily into the International Marxist United States headed by the USSR. The chief enemy of Maoism became American-Imperialism, the only surviving big power after the Second World War, and the only possible source of trouble for the Communist bloc in a future anti-Marxist world-war. The Party exercised a dictatorship in the name of the Chinese people in order to control the gradual, harmless socialization of agriculture, industry and business and at the same time to reconstruct China.

d. Collective leadership, 1954-1957

The Party took into its hands all important functions of the State. Long-term austerity of peasants and workers furnish funds to develop heavy industry and collectivized economy. The student of present Maoism cannot find one feature which, if the Chinese people had known it at the time of New-Democracy, until 1949, could help Maoism to seize power and maintain it. The slightest relaxation of military and police control of the state could start the dissolution of the Chinese State. The present practical difficulties of Maoism in China made necessary an analysis of the basic defects of Maoism.

4. The basic defects of Maoism

Two fundamental difficulties have emerged in China, the same as in every other Communist country, (A) that the basic tenets of the Marxist World-Outlook at present are without proof, and are to be regarded as unproved postulates, and (B) that Maoism is unable to solve its problem

with the rational and social nature of man, with the order of the universe and God, and with life after death. These two problems are analysed summarily.

A. The basic tenets of Marxist World-Outlook remain unproved postulates of Marxism

Maoism effectively started the socialization of China through a system which in realities of economy, politics and education trying to construct an ontological base under an ideological superstructure: Marxist World-Outlook.

Maoism is therefore an engineering process whose purpose is to change the world-outlook of mankind through changes made in the ontological realities of the universe. The present state of Maoism in China thus becomes an engineered proof of the Marxist World-Outlook. But from the point of view of sane philosophy the existence of a reality does not demonstrate the truth of a theory-practice to be realized, because the problem remains: to what degree is the realized system imperfect and deformed? In our world realities exist, which should not exist the way they exist, because they contain some privation as they exist. For example, a person who is sick, but healthier than a sicker person, cannot prove the reality of the healthiness of the person, who is less sick than the other, by the very fact of his sickness. Regarding Maoism at present, accepting scientific point of view, it is very imperfect, and its sickness will come into light gradually by the dislike of the Chinese, and the forced rule of the Party in China. In the case of a healthy theory-practice, during the process of its gradual realization, the mental attitude of the Chinese should change towards accepting conforming attitudes and likings. But this is not the case in China.

Maoism is aware of this difficulty, and expresses it as the division of mankind into two world-outlooks: metaphysical and dialectical. With the deformed, sick metaphysical outlook is connected the acceptance of the existence of God, of evil, and of the solutions of problems referring to eternal happiness in heaven. Maoism hopes that humanity

in an uniform social order, will remain faithful to the same ways of life as conditioned by education and of the life of the masses.

B. Maoism is unable to solve its problems with the human nature: rational, social, order in the universe and God, life after death

The short-term, 2000 years, Christian revelation; the division among Christians; the actual way of living of mankind, able to live without giving in personal life more time and energy to truths concerning life after death; the fact that man is able not to believe in God; are enough justification for Marxists to arrive at a Materialist-Marxist-Stand. Maoism proposes to wait until man has an intellect sufficiently developed in its process to know truth concerning problems contained in the different religions.

On the other hand, Communists know that the Marxist atheistic system is unrealizable until the rational and free man is faced with the undeniable fact of intelligent, objective order of the universe, referring to an outside of the universe, intelligent being: God. The question of soul, of the existence of spirit, can not remain an open question, but must be taken care of. The contradictions of this destructive force against Marxism is analyzed in two parts. (a) The problem of Maoism with the social nature of Man, and (b) The problem of Maoism with the order in the universe and life after death.

a. The problem of Maoism with the social nature of man

Certain needs of man can be met only by co-operation with other men. In the natural order of human life these social relations (love, procreation, teaching, social life, production) are exercised in the family and society. Before the family can have natural functions to perform (procreation of children, education, marriage life, care of the old), the family must have its right, which are not satisfied

by a Marxist social order. Social authority to direct the activities of man, as a member of society, is natural to mankind. The question is: which social order is the best to adopt for the realization of needs. In the political and economic order, this authority of society must have for the "line of action" the proper development of life upon earth. Material prosperity is not enough to satisfy human life; the question of virtues, of the satisfactory solution of the order found in the universe, and the question of life after death, must be solved to stabilize the social order instituted by Marxism.

b. *The problem of Maoism with the order in the universe and life after death*

Maoism admits that from nothing comes nothing, and that some original reality, containing in itself as internal principles of evolution all the possibilities of the presently existing realities, must have always existed. Believers in God say that this "original being" is infinite, has intelligence, free will, and had to know what he wanted in order to produce an orderly universe.

How the behaviour of the different foreign-christian religions, and buddhism, taoism, and mohammedanism strengthened Mao's Marxist stand, and influenced Mao to leave out the investigation of God, is not the subject-matter of this study. However with the capabilities of his statesmanship, and the greatest objective possibility of a system, combined with the positive solution of the reality of God, he could have inchoated a world of peace and greater progress. The solution of a self-perfecting evolution, based on motion from a power within, must explain the origin of this power within. This power within must have existed as the origin of evolution. Two necessary questions should be answered here: (1) how this original reality accounts for all that has followed, and (2) why this original reality existed. This second problem is the more important, because through its forces it also enters into the direction of the processes in the evolution of the world. The problem, why this original

being exists, is a necessity of the human mind, an existence of its own explication in a theory-practice of its own existence. This point should be the most important problem of Maoism, a force fundamental in the practice of Maoism, connected with the possibility, at least, that in not recognizing it, Maoism engineers a structure of society with a built-in force which is not recognized, and thus contains a force which could destroy it.

5. *The survival of Maoism.*

The survival of Maoism is connected with the practical question: "Can Maoism, as it exists, and it is developing in China and influences the international line of Communist action, survive or not survive?" Maoism will survive and develop in a more constructive direction, if it contributes to solving man's economic, social, military, cultural and ideological needs, through its theory-practices, which must also explain the existing order of the universe, and why and how this order exists.

The economic, military and political needs of man can be easily satisfied with the progress of the forces of production in industry and agriculture. Practice has shown that it is more difficult to realize the acceptance of the dictates of the Party-Elite, the select few who know the process of dialectical evolution towards a happy and contended life.

In the system of Maoism, the dynamic force of change towards socialism remains the dialectical struggle. The law of development of the process of production and class-struggle, being accepted as the base of survival, tries to exterminate all non-materialist views of life: religion, culture, philosophy, art, literature, which are in contradiction to these means of survival. With the economic and military consolidation of the Communist bloc, the antagonistic force, which will destroy the capitalist world, will be the forces of true democracies, or at a later date the struggle between the anti-Marxists led by the USA and the forces of Marxism led by the USSR.

Scrutinizing in an objective manner the movements of Maoism means to decide if there is or there is not, behind the present Maoist theory-practices, any force which is able to solve the question of the survival of the ruling system. The truth of Maoism, accepting practice in the dynamic order as the truth criterion, will depend on the events of history, whether man will be happy and contended or not, and whether all needs, leaving out only the needs of the soul, will be satisfied. The answer depends on three factors of human nature: rationality, social consciousness, and solution of the problem of the existence of an ordered universe. The ontological foundation of Maoist practice is the integration of the dynamic forces of the world and the dialectical process of self-perfecting reality into the transformation of society through rational theory-practices. Truth realizes itself by attaining its own aim or proposed goal. During the years 1945-1957, the bulk of the Chinese society was indoctrinated, and the line of progress towards socialism should become the expression of the social consciousness of the Chinese nation. It becomes apparent that, in the process of transformation towards socialist society, certain factors can be eliminated only by using police control and coercion: food-control, employment-control, death-penalty. These factors are connected with the rational, social nature of man, which is becoming more and more expressed in the social consciousness of the people living under Marxist domination: the desire to live a decent human life in freedom, in rational and social co-operation, giving every man the right to live according to the exigencies of his rational and social nature. Over all of these problems, the denial of the manifest order of the universe in the atheist dialectical materialism is coming into prominence. This problem should have been the most important reality in the theory of knowledge of Maoism. Mao Tse-Tung admits that social conscience, the source of the knowledge of social practice, contains forms of cultural and many other types of intellectual activity. Socialism being inchoated in China, human knowledge should develop to higher level, eliminating religio-cultural trends as reactionary factors during this process of evolution. In reality, no

human being, Marxists included, can put aside the order in the universe, the foundation of religio-cultural knowledge, in the present more comprehensive, historical understanding of the development of social conscience.

The Maoist criterion of truth is effective practice, directing sciences, politics, arts, education and all cultural trends dependent upon social conscience. Failure to extirpate cultural trends connected with religion shows that in this case an objective reality is in question, one which should not have been disregarded, but evolved. This would be a Maoist objective approach in verifying the inexactitude of atheistic Marxism through experimental practice of the people under Communist domination. The philosophy of Maoism should integrate into its system, at least on a temporal basis, the survival of religion. Any standpoint of life, the Maoist-stand included, if it wants to be fundamental in a test criterion of practice, should include religion as a factor of the universally adopted manifestation knowing the order in the universe. Nobody supposed to deny that religion exist as theory-practice. The Maoist research, arriving from facts to the knowledge of reality, should repudiate incorrect approaches in this point of religion. In this way, because the question of morality would be solved, Maoism would be in a better position to serve the workers as an objective social practice. Repeated occurrences of interrelations between practices and concepts of their interrelations, religion included, must express some objective process of the universe as part of an effective evolution under certain favourable circumstances. It would be the start of a new kind of social order, if Maoism would be consistent to its theory-practices in the interest of rational and social man, and would use only objective and rational factors in its methods, thus eliminating irrational atheism, police control and the suppression of freedom.

PART V

Conclusion.

This dissertation is a report of the research made on Maoism: "an improved form of Marxism", a documentary exposition of contemporary, revised, international Marxism-Leninism, practised in China and, since 1954, all over the world. Maoism clarified Marxism-Leninism and instituted a successful practice in China and strengthened International Communism in the final fight between bourgeois-democratic capitalism and International Marxist Communism. Mao Tse-Tung must be accepted as the **THIRD THEORETICIAN** of Marxism; the first being Marx (with Engels), the second Lenin, and the third Mao Tse-Tung.

The theoretical clarification of Marxism by Mao was brought about when Mao constructed, on the theoretical principles of Marxism, efficient theory-practices to realize socialism in the special conditions of China. The theory-practices of Maoism proposed in the dissertation analyzed the engineered practice of Mao, to show how political power was to be seized and how the process of socialization was to be started and carried on in a nation.

The summary conclusions of the research are centered around three essentials:

1. Presentation of the conclusions.
2. Resumé of the results of the research.
3. Recommendations leading to further research.

1. Presentation of the conclusions.

The political theory-practices of Mao Tse-Tung contain a system, a concrete application by a Marxian philosopher of the "Three Principles of Sun" to Chinese conditions. This system proved not the truth of Marxism, but the victory of

New-Democracy against the forces of imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism, as temporary features used by Mao Tse-Tung to seize power for the Communist Party and start the concrete application of Marxism in China.

The dissertation insists on the following conclusions.

(1) Maoism, International Communism, is an armed revolutionary struggle. Anti-Communist movements, without an international armed force, cannot be effective. (2) The criterion of Maoist truth, that actual success is the criterion of verity, can be used to prove that New-Democracy and not Communism was verified in China, and present trends are against peaceful, natural evolution towards socialism. (3) The Marxist-Weltanschauung is accepted not because of philosophical arguments, but of imperialism and human sufferings of expropriated and infuriated people living in capitalist and colonial countries. Appropriate economic, cultural and political measures, and not indoctrination, would be the effective instrument to change the stand of the Marxists. (4) Totalitarian (military and police) control of ideology and its ontological bases: economy, politics and scientific culture, is necessary in order to maintain the Maoist line of engineered process towards socialism. (5) Maoism is aware of the difficulties present in the system, at least aware in the same degree as the Western World. The "line of action" of Maoism, based on research and surveys, is ready to change its means and doctrines in order to be effective and to realize socialism. Better means will be used by Maoism to the same aims: to realize socialism. (6) The past mistakes of Western theoreticians and politicians helped the consolidation of Leninism and Maoism; present mistakes can bring victory to the Communist bloc; and this event in human history could make possible a radical change in the practices of International Marxism, by returning to New-Democratic ways, instituting more humanitarian, logical and practice-proven truthful ways of life, as a retreat from present theory-practices necessary because of the preparation to fight the anti-Marxist world, to heal the wounds caused by Marxism.

2. *Resumé of the results of the research.*

The general principles of Maoism express the fundamental assumptions of the Marxist Stand. The explication of reality documents the internal law of contradiction found in the writings of Mao Tse-Tung. The principle of contradiction serves only as principle to systematize philosophy and political theory. The proof of the theory of reality is given in the chapter, where the Maoist truth-criterion: practice, is explained. The knowledge, of how to engineer a conceived change is the foundation of the practices to form a socialist society.

3. *Recommendations leading to further research.*

Maoism, if conceived as an attempt to apply dialectical philosophy through the use of opposing aspects of an internal force, is full of surprising possibilities in the fields of ontology, knowledge and sciences. Due to the present unfavourable position of the anti-Marxist world, practical research should center around, how New-Democracy should be built-up as a universally adopted politico-economic system, in order to stop the progress of the Communist World. This New-Democracy should have the aims of destroying imperialism, restoring the national independence of all countries, elevating the living — standard of all the peoples, and promoting cultural renovation through national agencies. The historico-political factors of China until 1949 would be the truth proving criterions of right theory-practice. The difficulties of Maoism after 1949, would be the factors capable of showing the direction to be taken in the evolution of modern social engineering of mankind.

This research should be made in three stages. *First:* find out the particularity of contradiction in Chinese, Hungarian, Polish, Rumanian, Indonesian, etc. socio-political history. The research concerning China should have the title: Special theory-practices of the four periods of Maoism. The particular aspects of socio-political struggle of the other nations should compose the other aspects of the mentioned parti-

cularity of contradiction. *Second:* detect the universal nature of the line of action in the process of social evolution of the present world leaving out the particular factors present in the socio-political history of China, Hungary, USSR, etc. This synthesis finding out the interchained contradictions under the particular aspects obtained by these studies, should be based on the positive and negative aspects of the respective national events, factors, arranged from the point of view that there New-Democratic forces were acting, or were suppressed, or came to the surface through forced Marxist-line, as for example in the Hungarian-revolution: October 1956. *Third:* integrate the result of these studies checking the correct line of socio-political progress, through the conformity of the particular and general principles or their antagonism to the point of view of the rational, social nature of man and the order in the universe, with all its implications to effective political theory-practices and life after death. The proposed theory-practices should include all important features of human life.

PART VI

*Annotated Bibliography of
Primary Sources.*

The "Primary Sources" are divided into two groups.

1. — The first group lists "The Selected Writings of Mao Tse-Tung" in English, Chinese and Hungarian.

2. — The second group lists five important studies, which include Mao Tse-Tung's writings in English translation. Among the five, the "China News Analysis" preceeds in importance.

1. — THE SELECTED WRITINGS OF MAO TSE-TUNG

1 — MAO TSE-TUNG, *Selected Works*, Volume One, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1954, 378 p.

Authorized English translation based on the 3-volume Chinese edition. Explanatory notes are translated from the Chinese edition with some additional notes by the translators. The Chinese editors made every effort to include all the important writings of Mao Tse-Tung. The first volume covers the period 1926-1936, the Revolutionary Civil War.

Volume Two, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1954, 296 p.

This volume covers the first two years of the Japanese War, 1937-1938.

Volume Three, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1954, 260 p.

This volume covers the years of Anti-Japanese War up to 1941.

Volume Four, New York, International Publishers, 1956, 348 p.

This volume covers the years from March 17, 1941, to August 9, 1945. These writings of Mao give his thoughts about World War II; the renewed civil war, and the foundation of the Chinese People's Republic. This volume covers the war against Japan, 1941-1945.

These four volumes give the authentic and complete translation of all the writings of Mao contained in the Chinese Selected Works, *Hsuan-Chi*, Volume I, II and III.

2 — MAO TSE-TUNG, *On Practice*, 1937, July, in *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 282-297 and 377.

On the relation between knowledge and practice, between knowing and doing. This treatise was written to expose, from the viewpoint of Marxist theory of knowledge, such subjectivist mistakes in the Party as doctrinairism and empiricism, especially doctrinairism. These views were originally presented in a lecture at the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College in Yen-an.

3 — MAO TSE-TUNG, *On Contradiction*, in *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 298-338 and 377-378 and the same text in Vol. II, p. 13-53.

This philosophical essay was written, 1937 August, as a companion-piece to "On Practice", with special attention given to points of view of Theory of Dialectics (reality) and Science of Marxist Philosophy. It was originally delivered as a lecture at the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College in Yen-an. In its inclusion in the present collection, Mao made certain additions, deletions and revisions.

4 — MAO TSE-TUNG, *Introductory Remarks to the Communist*, 1939, October 4, in *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 53-65 and 247.

Mao gives a summary of the principal experiences and problems of the Chinese Communist Party in its eighteen years.

5 — MAO TSE-TUNG, *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*, 1939, December 12, in *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 72-101 and 247-250.

A textbook written by Mao and several other comrades in Yen-an. Mao revised the first chapter "Chinese Society", wrote the second chapter "The Chinese Revolution". A third chapter, "The Party Building", was left unfinished by the comrade drafting it. Mao "On New Democracy", written in January 1940, developed more fully his views on "The Chinese Revolution".

6 — MAO TSE-TUNG, *On New Democracy*, 1940, January 19, in *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 106-155 and 251-252.

Mao's doctrine on New-Democracy, New and Old Three People's Principles of Sun Yat-Sen. One of the most important documents of Maoism.

7 — MAO TSE-TUNG, *Reform Our Study*, 1941, May, in *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 12-20 and 333.

This is a report at a cadres' meeting in Yen-an. This and two others, *Rectify the Party's Style in Work* and *Oppose the Party "Eight-Legged Essay"*, are the writings of Mao contributed to rectify the Party's style in work, Party-line, petty bourgeois-ideology, formalism, consolidation of proletarian ideology, and raising the level of the Party.

8 — MAO TSE-TUNG, *On Methods of Leadership*, 1943, June 1, in *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 111-117 and 336.

Resolution on methods of leadership, line of the masses.

9 — MAO TSE-TUNG, *Resolution on Some Questions in the History of Our Party*, 1945, April 20, in *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 171-218 and 339-343.

An important document to understand the rise of Mao and the errors of past deviations of the years until 1935.

10 — MAO TSE-TUNG, *On Coalition Government*, 1945, April 24, in *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 244-315 and 345-346.

Political report. A very important document for the period of New Democracy, 1945-1949.

- 11 — MAO TSE-TUNG, *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship*, in Brandt, *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University press, 1952, p. 449-461 and 507.

Declaration of Mao giving the policy of the Communist Government of China. Important document related to the period of 1949-1954. Written in 1949, July 1.

- 12 — MAO TSE-TUNG, *Hsuan-Chi*, Volume One, Peking, People's Publishing House Edition, 1953, 6, 326 p. (Chinese)

Explanatory notes are translated and used in the English *Selected Works*. The first volume covers the writings of Mao, from March 1926 until July 1937. This Chinese edition is authentic, and was prepared for edition by a Special Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Notes of political importance towards the USSR can be seen in the Hungarian translation of Mao's writings. This Hungarian edition contains not only the footnotes of the Chinese editors, but also of the Russian editors of the official Russian version, base of the Hungarian translation, of the writings of Mao Tse-Tung.

Volume Two, Peking, People's Publishing House Edition, 1953, 10, 329-786 p.

The second volume covers the writings of Mao from July 23, 1937 until May 8, 1941.

Volume Three, Peking, People's Publishing House Edition, 1933, 789-1119 p.

The third volume covers the writings of Mao from March 4, 1941 until August 9, 1945.

- 13 — MAO TSE-TUNG, *Válogatott Művei*, Volume One, Budapest, Szikra, 1952, 579 p. (Hungarian)

This translation is based on the Russian translation of the Chinese original. It contains the writings of Mao from March 1926 until July 1937.

Volume Two, Budapest, Szikra, 1953, 507 p.

Contains the writings of Mao from July 23, 1937 until November 6, 1938.

Volume Three, Budapest, Szikra, 1954, 476 p.

Contains the writings of Mao from May 1939 until May 8, 1941.

Volume Four, Budapest, Szikra, 1954, 670 p.

Contains the writings of Mao from March-April 1941, until August 9, 1945.

2. — FIVE IMPORTANT STUDIES ON MAOISM.

- 1 — *China News Analysis*, Weekly News-letter, Hongkong.

First issue appeared August 25, 1953. This newsletter is an objective study of events and tendencies in contemporary China, based on close examination and careful analysis of official Chinese documents, in particular of the official Chinese press. It is for research students,

and for diplomats. Facts and information are made available, by this newsletter, in Canada and the USA, seven days after Chinese documents have been published in Communist China. The newsletter is obtained by airmail.

- 2 — BRANT, CONRAD; SCHWARTZ, BENJAMIN and FAIRBANK, JOHN K., *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University press, 1952, 6, 552 p.

This book is the first documented study of the development of Maoism until 1950. It presents documents and twenty six analytic summary statements related to the ideological growth of Maoism. Some statements of the book seem to suggest that Maoism is not one hundred per cent Marxism-Leninism. When Chinese texts were obtainable the book used Japanese or Russian versions. Fragmentary doctrinal documentation is offered until 1935. The documentation is sufficient between 1935 and 1945. The book did not mention many of the most important theoretical works of Mao Tse-Tung. The book was completed June 1950.

- 3 — COMPTON, BOYD, *Mao's China, Party Reform Documents, 1942-1944*, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1952, 52, 278 p.

This book was published by the Far Eastern and Russian Institute of the University of Washington. The book fails in analyzed exposition and correct documentation of Maoism. It gives only some of Mao's writings related to the correct ideology of the Maoist Chinese Communist Party, p. 9-103, 184-251. The book completed November 30, 1951 contains six writings of Mao.

- 4 — SCHWARTZ, BENJAMIN ISADORE, *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1952, 258 p.

This book gives the period of incipient Maoism, until 1931. Valuable information is given on anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist policies of Stalin in China, the statesmanship of Mao Tse-Tung, which saved the Chinese Communist Party from extinction. The book failed to show clearly the Maoist line between Rightism and Leftism. The historical investigations are not connected with sufficient documentary illustrations, showing the Maoist-line. Schwartz maintains in his book an erroneous opinion that Marxism has undergone a decomposition in its movement eastward, and in this process Lenin played a role, and Mao carried it forward another step.

- 5 — VAN DER SPRENKEL, OTTO P., GUILLAIN, ROBERT, LINDSAY, MICHAEL, *New China, Three Views*, New York, John Day, 1951, 241 p.

The book contains two writings of Mao.

PART VII

Chronology of Maoism, 1920-1956

1. — THE SUMMARY OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF MAOISM

A. The "Premaoist Period", 1866-1920, ended when in 1920 Mao Tse-Tung started to organize peasant movement.

B. The "New Democracy Period" is subdivided into three parts:

1. BASE AREAS, 1921-1937: First Revolutionary War, 1921-1927; War of Agrarian Revolution, 1927-1937.
2. ANTI-JAPANESE WAR UNITED-FRONT, 1937-1945.
3. COALITION GOVERNMENT, CIVIL WAR, 1945-1949.

C. The "Socialist Period" is subdivided into two parts:

1. DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP, 1949-1954 September.
2. COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP, 1954 September-1958.

2. — CHRONOLOGICAL DATA

A. *The Premaoist Period, 1866-1920*

1866 — Sun Yat-Sen born near Canton, South China.

1887 — Chu Teh born in South China.

Chiang Kai-Shek born in Fenghua, South China.

1893 — Mao Tse-Tung born at Shao-Shan (Hsiang-Tan), South China.

1898 — Chou En-Lai born in Huai-An, North China.

1900 — Sun Yat-Sen writes his Three People's Principles.

1911-1912 — Mao serves in the army of Sun Yat-Sen.

1912-1918 — Mao gets his degree, Ch'ang-sha, Hunan, in the Teachers-College. 1917 — Mao by studies converted to Marxism.

1918-1919 — Mao in Peking as library help takes courses at the National University of Peking. 1918 Spring — Marxist study-groups formed in the National University under the leadership of professor Li Ta-Chao.

1919, May 4 — The May Fourth movement begins: cultural renaissance, anti-imperialism, literary and social reforms.

1920 Spring — Communist youth-groups formed in France by Chou En-Lai, Li Li-San, Ch'en-I, Yeh Ch'ing.

1920 Winter — Mao in Hunan organized peasant movement.

B. *The New Democracy Period, 1921-1949*

1921, July 1 — First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

- October 10 — The Hunan branch of the CCP set up, with Mao as secretary.
- 1922, May-July — Second Congress of the CCP. Ch'en Tu-Hsiu is secretary general.
- 1923, June — Third congress of the CCP.
- 1924, January 20 — First congress of the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party).
- 1925, January — Fourth congress of the CCP.
- March 12 — Sun Yat-Sen dies.
- May 30 — May-thirtieth movement starts at Shanghai, Concession-police killing 13 demonstrators.
- 1926, March 20 — Chiang Kai-Shek engineers a coup against the CCP.
- July — The Northern expedition begins.
- 1927, January — Membership of peasant associations of Mao in Hunan increases more than two millions.
- April 12 — Anticommunist coup launched by Chiang, thousands of communist-leaders executed. The War of Agrarian-Revolution begins.
- April 28 — Li Ta-Chao is executed in Peking.
- August 1 — The Nanchang uprising.
- September 5-18 — The Autumn-Harvest insurrection in Hunan. Mao is reprimanded by the Cominform directed CCP.
- October 4 — First Chinese Soviets organized by P'eng-Pai at Hai-Lu-Feng.
- November — Soviet Regime set up at Ch'a-Lin, Hunan, by Mao.
- December 11-14 — Canton-commune.
- 1928, January 1 — Chu-Teh leads the South-Hunan uprising of the peasants, miners and soldiers.
- May — Mao Tse-Tung and Chu-Teh join forces at Ching-Kan-Shan, Hunan province. Formation of the Fourth Red-Army.
- 1929, August — Mao and Chu-Teh set up Soviets in Kiangsi.
- November 15 — Ch'en Tu-Hsiu dismissed from the CCP.
- 1930, December — First Kuomintang offensive against the Communist forces in Hunan and Kiangsi.
- 1931, May-June — Second Kuomintang offensive against the Kiangsi-Soviets by Chiang Kai-Shek.
- July-October — Third Kuomintang offensive against the Kiangsi-Soviets.
- November 7 — Chinese Soviet-Republic is established with Mao Tse-Tung as chairman, Chu-Teh as commander in chief.
- 1932, Autumn — The Central Committee of the CCP go to Jui-chin.
- 1933, November — Fifth Kuomintang offensive against the Kiangsi Soviets.
- 1934, October 16 — Communist forces start to evacuate Kiangsi, the beginning of the 6,000 mile LONG MARCH, under the leadership of Mao.

- November 10 — Jui-chin, capital of the Kiangsi-Soviet-Republic is occupied by Chiang Kai-Shek.
- 1935, January — The TSUN-YI conference, Mao assumes the leadership of the CCP.
- July-August — Mao-Erh-Kai conference.
- August-November — Communist forces led by Mao reach the North-West and joint forces with local communist guerilla units under Kao-Kang.
- 1936, December 12-25 — Sian-incident. Mao's mediation with the help of Chou En-Lai effects the release of Chiang Kai-Shek.
- December — Yen-an becomes the headquarters of the CCP.
- 1937, July 7 — The Sino-Japanese War begins with the Incident near Peking at the Marco-Polo Bridge. The Anti-Japanese-War United-front period begins.
- August 21 — Treaty of non-aggression between the USSR and Chiang Kai-Shek.
- August — Red armies reorganized into the Eight Route Army.
- Autumn — Red New-Fourth Army in Kiangsu, Anhwei.
- December — Shansi-Hopei-Chahar Border-Region is established.
- 1939, August — The USSR-German Pact signed.
- October — The Coalition Government and the preparation of the Civil War by Mao.
- 1940, July 7 — Three-Third system of political administration.
- August — Communist Hundred-regiments offensive against the Japanese.
- 1941, January 5 — New-Fourth-Army incident, Ch'en-Yi escaped to Northern Kiangsu.
- April 13 — Five year neutrality pact between the USSR and Japan.
- 1942, February 1 — The Cheng-Feng movement begins to correct undesirable and erroneous tendencies in the CCP, Red-army and in the administrative organizations.
- 1943 — Liu Shao-Ch'i becomes secretary of the Central Secretariat of the CCP.
- 1944, Winter — Meetings of democracy.
- 1945, January — Hu-Fong, writer started his activities.
- August 14 — Surrendering of Japan. Communists expand their control to the country-side. The Kuomintang takes over the key-cities. Coalition Government, Civil-War period begins.
- August 26 — Mao, Patrick Hurley fly to Chungking for peace talk with Chiang Kai-Shek.
- October end — Military clashes break out in eleven provinces.
- November 27 — General Marshall is appointed special envoy of President Truman of the USA.
- 1946, January 10 — Cease-fire agreement between CCP and Chiang.
- March 12 — Nationalists occupy Mukden. General Marshall returns to the USA to report. State of hostility begins.

- April 18 — Marshall returns to China.
- October 11 — Nationalists occupy Kalgan.
- 1947, March 19 — Chiang Kai-Shek occupies Yen-an, Communist capital since 1936.
- October 27 — Nationalist government outlaws the Third-Parties, Democratic League.
- December 25 — Formation of a Cominform in the Far East.
- 1948, April 22 — Communist reoccupy Yen-an.
- August 19 — North-China People's Government is formed, with capital at Shih-Chia-Chuang, Hopei province.
- November 1 — Communists occupy Mukden.
- November 21 — Hoffmann announced the suspension of aid to Nationalist China.
- 1949, January 15 — Communists occupy Tientsin.
- January 22 — Chiang resigned.
- January 31 — Peking is occupied by the Communists.
- April 20 — Crossing of the Yangtze by the Communists.
- August 7 — The USA Department of State issue its WHITE PAPER on United-States relations with China.
- October 1 — Founding of the People's Republic of China. The Socialist Period begins.

C. The Socialist Period, 1949-1958

- 1949, November 24 - December 5 — Congress of the Asiatic and Australian Labour Federation.
- December 16 - February 20, 1950 — Mao in Moscow meets Stalin.
- 1950, January 21 — Chou En-Lai arrives to Moscow.
- October — Chinese troops enter Korean War.
- 1951, January — Anti-USA-Aid Korea movement.
- March — Mass executions.
- June — All financial transactions must pass through the People's Bank.
- October 1 — Reorganization of the school-system.
- 1952, March — Germ-war accusations against the USA.
- 1953, March 5 — Stalin died.
- November — State monopoly of foodstuff.
- 1954, April 5 — Information released about the purge of Kao-Kang.
- September 15-28 — First National People's Congress.
- September 30 — Krushchev speech at Huai-Jen-Hai, Peking.
- November-December — European conference of Communist-states in Moscow.
- 1955, January 31 — Cooperation in atomic research with the USSR.
- February 14 — Sino-Soviet treaty on common stand.
- May — Warsaw military pact between Communist European countries.
- July 5-6 — Text of the five-year plan published, 1953-1958.
- 1956, February — Capital-building for the Five-Year-Plan.