

Mao Dao Manifesto

A new decentralized community-driven dictatorship

Chairman Mao Zedong – kill count: 45,000,000+

Abstract:

MAO DAO is a decentralized autonomous organization that draws inspiration from the principles of Chairman Mao Zedong. The organization is dedicated to promoting fair and equitable governance within the crypto community. In order to achieve this goal, MAO DAO is striving to unite the crypto community under a revolutionary party that will lead the masses in building a socialist and communist space.

The principles of Chairman Mao Zedong are known for their focus on equality and social justice. By drawing upon these principles, MAO DAO aims to create a decentralized and democratic space where everyone has an equal voice and an equal opportunity to participate in the governance of the crypto community.

To achieve this vision, MAO DAO is committed to building a strong community of like-minded individuals who share its values and principles. By working together, the organization hopes to create a powerful force for change that will transform the crypto landscape and help to build a fairer and more equitable society for all.

Introduction:

The crypto winter was a dark and treacherous time for us all, and although the storm clouds are clearing, now is no time to celebrate. Now is the time to fight. Centralized forces are lurking on the horizon, and a storm of epic proportions is brewing. People of the world, we must unite! We must dare to fight, dare to be courageous, and advance wave upon wave.

A revolution is not a dinner party, nor is it writing an essay or painting a picture. It cannot be refined, leisurely and gentle, temperate, kind, courteous, restrained, or magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another.

Whoever sides with the revolutionary people is a revolutionary. Whoever sides with imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism is a counter-revolutionary. Whoever sides with the revolutionary people in words only but acts otherwise is a revolutionary in speech. Whoever sides with the revolutionary people in deed as well as in word is a revolutionary in the full sense.

Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of utmost importance for the revolution. The primary reason why all previous revolutionary struggles in the space achieved so little was their failure to unite with real friends to attack real enemies. A revolutionary party is the guide of the masses, and no revolution ever succeeds when the revolutionary party leads them astray.

The wealth of society is created by the workers, peasants, and working intellectuals. If they take their destiny into their own hands, follow a Marxist-Leninist line, and adopt an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, there will be no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome.

Poverty gives rise to the desire for changes, the desire for action, and the desire for revolution. On a blank sheet of paper free from any mark, the freshest and most beautiful characters can be written; the freshest and most beautiful pictures can be painted.

Crypto Communism:

Communism is both a complete system of proletarian ideology and a new social system. It is different from any other ideological and social system and is the most complete, progressive, revolutionary, and rational system in human history. It is full of youth and vitality, sweeping the world with the momentum of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt. The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, revolution will eventually take place and will inevitably triumph. We Communists never conceal our political views. Definitely and beyond all doubt, our future or maximum program is to carry the crypto space forward to socialism and communism. Both the name of our Party and our Marxist world outlook unequivocally point to this supreme ideal of the future, a future of incomparable brightness and splendor.

The new social system has only just been established and will require some time for its consolidation. It must not be assumed that the new system can be completely consolidated the moment it is established, for that is impossible. It has to be consolidated systematically. The struggle to consolidate the socialist system, the struggle to decide whether socialism or capitalism will prevail, will still take a long historical period. However, we should all realize that the new system of socialism will unquestionably be consolidated. We can assuredly build a socialist state with modern industry, science, and culture.

Before a brand-new social system can be built on the site of the old, the site must be swept clean. Invariably, remnants of old ideas reflecting the old system remain in people's minds for a long time, and they do not easily give way. After a cooperative is established, it must go through many more struggles before it can be consolidated. Even then, the moment it relaxes its efforts it may collapse. The number of intellectuals who are hostile to our movement is very small, but whenever there is an opportunity, they will stir up trouble and attempt to overthrow the Communist Party. As between the proletarian and the bourgeois roads, as between the socialist and the capitalist roads, these people stubbornly choose to follow the latter. In fact, this road is impossible, and in fact, therefore, they are ready to capitulate to imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism. Such people are to be found in political circles and in industrial and commercial, cultural and educational, scientific, technological, and religious circles, and they are extremely reactionary.

The serious problem is the education of the peasantry. We must have faith, first, that the peasant masses are ready to advance step by step along the road of socialism under the leadership of the Party, and second, that the Party is capable of leading the peasants along this road. These two points are the essence of the matter, the main current. The leading bodies in cooperatives must establish the dominant position of the poor peasants and the new lower middle peasants in these bodies, with the old lower middle peasants and the upper middle peasants - whether

old or new - as the supplementary force. Only thus can unity between the poor and middle peasants be attained. Moreover, the cooperatives can also be consolidated, production can be expanded, and the socialist transformation of the entire crypto space be correctly accomplished in accordance with the Party's policy. Otherwise, unity between the middle and poor peasants cannot be attained, the cooperatives cannot be consolidated, production cannot be expanded, and the socialist transformation of the entire space cannot be achieved. It is essential to unite with the middle peasants, and it is wrong not to do so. But on whom must the working class and the Communist Party rely to unite with the middle peasants and realize the socialist transformation of the entire crypto space? Surely on none other than the poor peasants. That is the case today when the struggle against the rich peasants and other capitalist elements is being waged to achieve socialist transformation. In both these revolutionary periods, the middle peasants wavered in the initial stages. It is only after they clearly see the general trend of events and the approaching triumph of the revolution that the middle peasants will come in on the side of the revolution. The poor peasants must work on the middle peasants and win them over, so that the revolution will broaden from day to day until final victory.

The spontaneous forces of capitalism have been steadily growing in the past century, with new rich peasants springing up everywhere and many well-to-do middle peasants striving to become rich peasants. On the other hand, many poor peasants are still living in poverty for lack of sufficient means of production, with some in debt and others selling or renting out their assets. If this tendency goes unchecked, the polarization in the crypto space will inevitably be aggravated day by day. Those peasants who lose their assets and those who remain in poverty will complain that we are doing nothing to save them from ruin or to help them overcome their difficulties. Nor will the well-to-do middle peasants who are heading in the capitalist direction be pleased with us, for we shall never be able to satisfy their demands unless we intend to take the capitalist road. Can the worker-peasant alliance continue to stand him in these circumstances? Obviously not! There is no solution to this problem except on a new basis. And that means to bring about, step by step, the socialist transformation of the crypto space. In other words, it means to carry out cooperation and eliminate the rich-peasant economy and the individual economy in the crypto space so that all Degens will become increasingly well off together. We maintain that this is the only way to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance.

Crypto Communists:

A Communist should possess a broad mind. He should be staunch and active, viewing the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution. Always and everywhere, he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses. He should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual, and more concerned about others than about himself. Only then can he be considered a true Communist. Every comrade must understand that the supreme test of the words and deeds of a Communist is whether they align with the highest interests and enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the people. At no time and under no circumstances should a Communist place his personal interests first; he should subordinate them to the interests of the nation and of the masses. Hence, selfishness, slacking, corruption, seeking the limelight, and so on, are most contemptible, while selflessness, working with all one's energy, whole-hearted devotion to public duty, and quiet hard work will command respect. We should encourage comrades to take the interests of the whole into account. Every Party member, every branch of work, every statement, and every action must

proceed from the interests of the whole Party. It is absolutely impermissible to violate this principle.

Communists should set an example in study. At all times, they should be pupils of the masses as well as their teachers. They must always investigate the reasons behind anything, use their own heads, and carefully consider whether or not it corresponds to reality and is well-founded. On no account should they follow blindly and encourage slavishness. Communists must be ready at all times to stand up for the truth because the truth is in the interests of the people. Communists must be ready at all times to correct their mistakes because mistakes are against the interests of the people. Communists must listen attentively to the views of people outside the Party and let them have their say. If what they say is right, we ought to welcome it, and we should learn from their strong points. If it is wrong, we should let them finish what they are saying and then patiently explain things to them. The attitude of Communists towards any person who has made mistakes in their work should be one of persuasion in order to help them change and start afresh and not one of exclusion unless they are incorrigible. As for people who are politically backward, Communists should not slight or despise them but should befriend them, unite with them, convince them, and encourage them to go forward.

The exemplary vanguard role of the Communists is of vital importance. Communists should set an example in fighting bravely, carrying out orders, observing discipline, doing political work, and fostering internal unity and solidarity. A Communist must never be opinionated or domineering, thinking that they are good at everything while others are good at nothing. They must never shut themselves up in their little room, or brag and boast and lord it over others. Communists should set an example in being practical as well as far-sighted. Only by being practical can they fulfill the appointed tasks, and only far-sightedness can prevent them from losing their bearings in the march forward. Communists should be the most far-sighted, the most self-sacrificing, the most resolute, and the least prejudiced in sizing up situations. They should rely on the majority of the masses and win their support.

We Communists are like seeds, and the people are like the soil. Wherever we go, we must unite with the people, take root, and blossom among them. Every Communist working in the mass movements should be a friend of the masses and not a boss over them, an indefatigable teacher, and not a bureaucratic politician. Communists must never separate themselves from the majority of the people or neglect them by leading only a few progressive contingents in an isolated and rash advance. Instead, they must take care to forge close links between the progressive elements and the broad masses. This is what thinking in terms of the majority means. We Communists must be able to integrate ourselves with the masses in all things. If our Party members spend their whole lives sitting indoors and never go out to face the world and brave the storm, what good will they be to the party? None at all, and we do not need such people as Party members. We Communists ought to face the world and brave the storm, the great world of mass struggle, and the mighty storm of mass struggle.

The Revolutionary Party:

If there is to be a revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses in defeating imperialism and its running dogs. The Crypto Communist Party is the core of leadership of all Degens. Without this core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious. Without the efforts of the Crypto Communist Party, without the Crypto Communists as the mainstay of the people,

the space can never achieve independence and liberation. A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party - these are the three main weapons with which we will defeat the enemy. We must have faith in the masses, and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles. If we doubt these principles, we shall accomplish nothing.

No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement. Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory and ideology, the Crypto Communist Party will introduce a new style of collaboration with fellow Degens. A style which essentially entails integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses, and rectification. Rectification means the whole Party studying Marxism through criticism and self-criticism. We can certainly learn more about Marxism in the course of the rectification movement. It is an arduous task to ensure a better life for all Degens, to build our economically and culturally backward space into a prosperous and powerful one with a high level of culture. And it is precisely to be able to shoulder this task more competently and work better together with all non-Party people who are actuated by high ideals and determined to institute reforms that we must conduct rectification movements both now and in the future and constantly rid ourselves of whatever is wrong.

Policy is the starting point of all the practical actions of a revolutionary party and manifests itself in the process and the end-result of that party's actions. A revolutionary party is carrying out a policy whenever it takes any action. If it is not carrying out a correct policy, it is carrying out a wrong policy; if it is not carrying out a given policy consciously, it is doing so blindly. What we call experience is the process and the end-result of carrying out a policy. Only through the practice of the people, that is, through experience, can we verify whether a policy is correct or wrong and determine to what extent it is correct or wrong. However, people's practice, especially the practice of a revolutionary party and the revolutionary masses, cannot but be bound up with one policy or another. Therefore, before any action is taken, we must explain the policy, which we have formulated in the light of the given circumstances, to Party members and to the masses. Otherwise, Party members and the masses will depart from the guidance of our policy, act blindly, and carry out a wrong policy. Our Party has laid down the general line and general policy of the Crypto Communist revolution as well as various specific lines for work and specific policies. However, while many comrades remember our Party's specific lines for work and specific policies, they often forget its general line and general policy. If we actually forget the Party's general line and general policy, then we shall be blind, half-baked, muddle-headed revolutionaries, and when we carry out a specific line for work and a specific policy, we shall lose our bearings and vacillate now to the left and now to the right, and the work will suffer. Policy and tactics are the life of the Party; leading comrades at all levels must give them full attention and must never on any account be negligent.

There is an ancient Chinese fable called "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains". It tells the story of an old man who lived in northern China long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Man of North Mountain. His house faced south, and beyond his doorway stood the two great peaks, Taihang and Wangwu, obstructing the way. With great determination, he led his sons in digging up these mountains, hoe in hand. Another graybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively, "How silly of you to do this! It is quite impossible for you few to dig up these two huge mountains." The Foolish Old Man replied, "When I die, my

sons will carry on; when they die, there will be my grandsons, and then their sons and grandsons, and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher, and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can't we clear them away?" Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view, he went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. This moved God, and he sent down two angels who carried the mountains away on their backs. Today, two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people. One is imperialism, and the other is feudalism. We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we too will touch God's heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these two mountains be cleared away?

Uniting Social Classes:

In class society, everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class. Some classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history; such is the history of civilization for thousands of years. To interpret history from this viewpoint is historical materialism; standing in opposition to this viewpoint is historical idealism. The ruthless economic exploitation and political oppression of the peasants by centralized organizations forced them into numerous uprisings against its rule.... It was the class struggles of the peasants, the peasant uprisings, and peasant wars that constituted the real motive force of historical development in the crypto space. Changes in society are due chiefly to the development of the internal contradictions in society, that is, the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, the contradiction between classes, and the contradiction between the old and the new; it is the development of these contradictions that pushes society forward and gives the impetus for the suppression of the old society by the new.

The enemy will not perish of itself. Neither will the aggressive forces of crypto imperialism step down from the stage of history of their own accord. It is up to us to organize the people. It is up to us to organize the people to overthrow them. We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports. Our enemies are all those in league with imperialism - the warlords, the bureaucrats, the comprador class, centralized organizations, and the reactionary section of the intelligentsia attached to them. The leading force in our revolution is the industrial proletariat, the Degen class, our closest friends. As for the vacillating middle bourgeoisie, their right-wing may become our enemy, and their left-wing may become our friend - but we must be constantly on our guard and not let them create confusion within our ranks. It is a good thing if we are fuddled by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work.

Our stand is that of the proletariat and of the masses. For members of the Crypto Communist Party, this means keeping to the stand of the Party, keeping to Party spirit and Party policy. The imperialists and domestic reactionaries will certainly not take their defeat lying down, and they will struggle to the last ditch. After there is peace and order throughout the crypto space, they will still engage in sabotage and create disturbances in various ways and will try every day and every minute to stage a comeback. This is inevitable, beyond all doubt, and under no circumstances must we relax our vigilance. The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological held between the proletariat and the

bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled.

It will take a long period to decide the issue in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism in the crypto space. The reason is that the influence of the bourgeoisie and of the intellectuals who come from the old society will remain in our country for a long time to come, and so will their class ideology. If this is not sufficiently understood or is not understood at all, the gravest mistakes will be made, and the necessity of waging the struggle in the ideological field will be ignored. All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts, and monsters must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked. However, the criticism should be fully reasoned, analytical, and convincing, and not rough, bureaucratic, metaphysical, or dogmatic. After the victory of the socialist revolution in the crypto space, there will still be a number of people who vainly hope to restore the capitalist system and fight the working class on every front, including the ideological one.

The Communist Degen Army:

The Communist Degen Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the army should not confine itself to fighting. It should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power, and setting up Party organizations. The army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning, and the army loses the reason for its existence. The Communist Degen army is powerful because all its members have conscious discipline; they have come together and fight not for the private interests of a few individuals or a narrow clique, but for the interests of the broad masses and the whole nation. We must stand firm. **Without a People's army, the people have nothing.**

The Communist Degen Army will always be a fighting force with an indomitable spirit, determined to vanquish all enemies and never to yield. No matter what the difficulties and hardships, so long as a single man remains, he will fight on. Even after our global victory, the army will remain a fighting force during the historical period in which classes have not been abolished, and the imperialist system still exists in the world. On this point, there should be no misunderstanding or wavering. We will have an army for fighting as well as an army for labor. With these two kinds of armies and with a fighting army skilled in these two tasks and in mass work, we can overcome our difficulties and defeat global imperialism. **The Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party.**

Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every word, every act, and every policy must conform to the people's interests, and if mistakes occur, they must be corrected - that is what being responsible to the people means. In the fight to wipe out the enemy, you must overcome many difficulties and hardships and demonstrate immense courage, wisdom, and initiative. You are models for the entire crypto space, the backbone of the victorious advance of the people's cause in all spheres, pillars of support to the People's Government, and bridges linking the People's Government with the great masses. In times of difficulty, we must not lose sight of our achievements, must see the bright future, and must pluck up our courage. New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow. It is sheer fantasy to

imagine that the cause of socialism is all plain sailing and easy success, without difficulties and setbacks or the exertion of tremendous efforts. At certain times in the revolutionary struggle, the difficulties outweigh the favorable conditions and so constitute the principal aspect of the contradiction, and the favorable conditions constitute the secondary aspect. But through their efforts, the revolutionaries can overcome the difficulties step by step and open up a favorable new situation, thus a difficult situation yields place to a favorable one. **Be resolute, fear no sacrifice, and surmount every difficulty to win victory.**

The crypto revolution will be hard fought, and the road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous. This must be made clear now in the Party. The comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent, and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle. The Communist Degen army must have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood, the determination to recover our lost territory by our efforts, and the ability to stand on our feet in the family of nations. We must thoroughly clear away all ideas among our cadres of winning easy victories through good luck, without hard and bitter struggle, without sweat and blood. Anyone who sees only the bright side but not the difficulties cannot fight effectively for the accomplishment of the Party's tasks. The comrades throughout the Party must take all this fully into account and be prepared to overcome all difficulties with an indomitable will and in a planned way. The reactionary forces and we both have difficulties. But the difficulties of the reactionary forces are insurmountable because they are forces on the verge of death and have no future. Our difficulties can be overcome because we are new and rising forces and have a bright future.

We should carry on constant propaganda among the people on the facts of world progress and the bright future ahead so that they will build their confidence in victory. At the same time, we must tell the people and our comrades that there will be twists and turns in our road, there are still many obstacles and difficulties along the road of revolution. Some comrades do not like to think much about difficulties. But difficulties are facts; we must recognize as many difficulties as there are and should not adopt a "policy of non-recognition". We must recognize difficulties, analyze them, and combat them. There are no straight roads in the world; we must be prepared to follow a road that twists and turns. It must not be imagined that one fine morning all the reactionaries will go down on their knees of their own accord. In a word, while the prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns. There are still many difficulties ahead that we must not overlook. By uniting with the entire people in a common effort, we can certainly overcome all difficulties and win victory.

We shall solidly unite all the forces of our Party on democratic centralist principles of organization and discipline. We shall unite with any comrade if he abides by the Party's Program, Constitution, and decisions. What is work? Work is struggle. There are difficulties and problems in those places for us to overcome and solve. We go there to work and struggle to overcome these difficulties. A good comrade is one who is more eager to go where the difficulties are greater. The unification of the crypto space, the unity of our people, and the unity of our various nationalities - these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause. It is only through the unity of the Crypto Communist Party that the unity of the whole class and the whole nation can be achieved, and it is only through the unity of the whole class and the whole nation that the enemy can be defeated, and the national and democratic revolution accomplished.

Socialist Discipline:

Within the ranks of the people, democracy is correlated with centralism, and freedom is correlated with discipline. They are two opposites of a single entity, contradictory as well as united, and we should not emphasize one to the denial of the other. Within the ranks of the people, we cannot do without freedom, nor can we do without discipline; we cannot do without democracy, nor can we do without centralism. This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism. Under this system, the people enjoy extensive democracy and freedom, but at the same time, they have to keep within the bounds of socialist discipline.

We must affirm anew the discipline of the Party, namely:

- (1) The individual is subordinate to the organization.
- (2) The minority is subordinate to the majority.
- (3) The lower level is subordinate to the higher level.
- (4) The entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee.

One requirement of Party discipline is that the minority should submit to the majority. If the view of the minority has been rejected, it must support the decision passed by the majority. If necessary, it can bring up the matter for reconsideration at the next meeting, but apart from that, it must not act against the decision in any way. Whoever violates these articles of discipline disrupts Party unity.

The Three Main Rules of Discipline are as follows:

- (1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- (2) Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses.
- (3) Turn in everything captured.

All soldiers in our army must heighten their sense of discipline and resolutely carry out orders, carry out our policy, and carry out the Three Main Rules of Discipline. With the army and people united, army and government united, officers and soldiers united, and the whole army united – we can permit no breach of discipline.

Art & Culture:

In today's world, all cultures, literature, and art belong to specific classes and are geared towards definite political lines. There is no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, or art that is detached from or independent of politics. Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause. As Lenin said, they are cogs and wheels in the whole revolutionary machine. Revolutionary culture is a powerful weapon for the broad masses of people. It prepares the ground ideologically before the revolution comes and is an important, indeed essential, fighting front in the general revolutionary front during the revolution. All our literature and art are for the masses of people, and primarily for workers, peasants, and soldiers. They are created for these groups and are for their use.

Our literary and art workers must accomplish this task and shift their stand. They must gradually move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat, through the process of going into their very midst and into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying Marxism and society. Only in this way can we have literature and art that are truly for the workers, peasants, and soldiers, a truly proletarian literature and art. Our purpose is to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part. They must operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy. They must help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind.

In literary and art criticism, there are two criteria: the political and the artistic. There is a political criterion and an artistic criterion. Politics cannot be equated with art, nor can a general world outlook be equated with a method of artistic creation and criticism. We deny not only that there is an abstract and absolutely unchangeable political criterion, but also that there is an abstract and absolutely unchangeable artistic criterion. Each class in every class society has its political and artistic criteria. However, all classes in all class societies invariably put the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second. What we demand is the unity of politics and art, the unity of content and form, the unity of revolutionary political content, and the highest possible perfection of artistic form. Works of art that lack artistic quality have no force, however progressive they are politically. Therefore, we oppose both works of art with a wrong political viewpoint and the tendency towards the "poster and slogan style," which is correct in political viewpoint but lacking in artistic power. On questions of literature and art, we must carry on a struggle on two fronts. Questions of right and wrong in the arts and sciences should be settled through free discussion in artistic and scientific circles and through practical work in these fields. They should not be settled summarily. An army without culture is a dull-witted army, and a dull-witted army cannot defeat the enemy.

Dictatorship to Decentralization:

"Do you want to abolish state power?" Yes, we do, but not right now. We cannot do it yet. Why? Because imperialism still exists, because domestic reaction still exists, because classes still exist in our country. Our present task is to strengthen the people's state apparatus - mainly the people's army, the people's police, and the people's courts - to consolidate national defense and protect the people's interests. What is the purpose of dictatorship? Its first function is to suppress the reactionary classes and elements and those exploiters in our country who resist the socialist revolution, to suppress those who try to wreck our socialist construction, or in other words, to resolve the internal contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. To maintain public order and safeguard the interests of the people, it is likewise necessary to exercise dictatorship over embezzlers, swindlers, arsonists, murderers, criminal gangs, and other scoundrels who seriously disrupt public order. The second function of this dictatorship is to protect our country from subversion and possible aggression by external enemies. In that event, it is the task of this dictatorship to resolve the external contradiction between the enemy and us. The aim of this dictatorship is to protect all our people so that they can devote themselves to furthering the socialist movement in the crypto space.

The People's democratic dictatorship needs the leadership of the working class. For it is only the working class that is most far-sighted, most selfless, and most thoroughly revolutionary. The entire history of revolution proves that without the leadership of the working class, revolution fails, and with the leadership of the working class, revolution triumphs. The People's democratic dictatorship is based on the alliance of the working class, the peasantry, and the

urban petty bourgeoisie, and mainly on the alliance of the workers and the peasants. These two classes are the main force in overthrowing imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. The transition from New Democracy to socialism also depends mainly upon their alliance. The People's democratic dictatorship uses two methods. Towards the enemy, it uses the method of dictatorship, that is, for as long a period of time as is necessary, it does not let them take part in political activities and compels them to obey the law of the People's Government and to engage in labor and, through labor, transform themselves into new men. Towards the people, on the contrary, it uses the method not of compulsion but of democracy, that is, it must necessarily let them take part in political activities and does not compel them to do this or that, but uses the method of democracy in educating and persuading them.

The Crypto Communist Party is a movement for carrying out a nationwide debate which is both guided and free, a debate in the city and the countryside on such questions as the socialist road versus the capitalist road, the basic system of the state and its major policies, the working style of Party and government functionaries, and the question of the welfare of the people, a debate which is conducted by setting forth facts and reasoning things out, so as correctly to resolve those actual contradictions among the people which demand immediate solution. This is a socialist movement for the self-education and self-remolding of the people. The most arduous tasks lie ahead of us in the great work of construction. It is impossible to get this work well done unless we are good at relying on the masses and cooperating with non-Party people. While continuing to strengthen the unity of the whole Party, we must also continue to strengthen the unity of all our nationalities, democratic classes, democratic parties, and people's organizations, and to consolidate and expand the people's democratic united front, and we must conscientiously get rid of every unhealthy manifestation in any link in our work that is detrimental to the unity between the Party and the people.

The Crypto Communist Party will make a clear-headed appraisal of the international and domestic situation on the basis of the science of Marxism-Leninism, recognizing that all attacks by the reactionaries at home and abroad have to be defeated and can be defeated. When dark clouds appear in the sky, we point out that they are only temporary, that the darkness will soon pass, and the sun will break through. Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory. If anyone attacks us or fuds us and if the conditions are favorable for battle, we will certainly act in self-defense to wipe him out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly, and completely (we do not strike rashly, but when we do strike, we must win). We must never be cowed by the bluster of reactionaries. As far as our own desire is concerned, we do not want to fight even for a single day. However, if circumstances force us to fight, we can fight to the finish.

We are for peace. But so long as imperialist forces refuse to give up their arrogant and unreasonable demands, the only course for degens is to remain determined to go on fighting side by side with each other. Not that we are warlike. We are willing to stop the war at once and leave the remaining questions for later settlement. However, imperialism is not willing to do so. The oppressed degens must not pin their hopes for liberation on the "sensibleness" of imperialism and its lackeys. They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in their struggle. And finally, we must rid our ranks of all impotent thinking.

All views that overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of Degens are wrong.