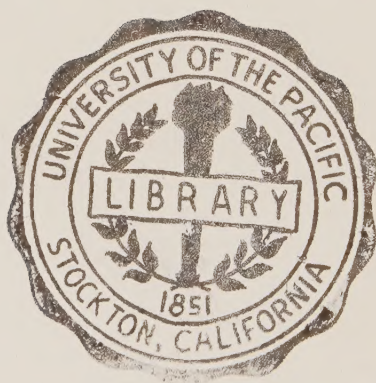


**COLLECTED WORKS OF
LIU SHAO CH'I**

BEFORE 1944

UNION RESEARCH INSTITUTE



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LIU SHAO-CH'I

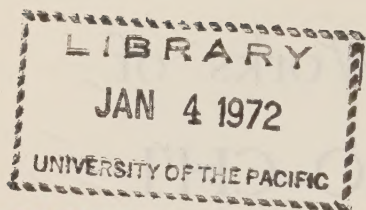
Before 1944

Collected Works of
LIU SHAO-CH'I

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UNION RESEARCH INSTITUTE

9 College Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong



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INTRODUCTION

As I take up my pen, I recall the face of a serious young man whom I first saw forty-six years ago in Soviet Russia. At the time, a famine had engulfed the Soviet Union, and there was likewise an acute shortage of food and fuel in Moscow. People complained and even the Communists who publicly presented a bold front were mumbling in private. But this tall, skinny, pale young man, endured the hunger and cold without observable murmur or depression. In 1922, the Communists were passionate and full of verve; but he seldom displayed any excitement. He was somewhat bookish, thoughtful, rather taciturn, but clearly persevering. His friends soon recognized these characteristics as genuine, cultivated from childhood. Some people, however, found him a bit too glum and devoid of youthfulness.

This plain young man was a member of the Chinese Socialist Youth League of the newly established Chinese Communist Party, and was one of the first group of eight students sent by the CCP to the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow. His name was Liu Shao-ch'i.

Confucius said: "The ardent will advance and get what they want; the stoical will refrain from doing what they do not want." Liu Shao-ch'i belongs to the latter category. He ascended step by step, not by obvious talents, but by solid hard work. Slowly he reached the position of Head of State of the Chinese Communist regime; but then some of those old friends with whom he had fought side by side for so many years could no longer tolerate him, and he was struck down ruthlessly. All these successes and failures are closely connected with his stoical character.

Liu Shao-ch'i and I were not only comrade-in-arms, but also intimate personal friends in our younger days. Our association probably started earlier than his association with any of those still around him. Though I am only about two years older than he, he was a student when we first met, whereas I was, as one of the

founders of CCP, a delegate to the Congress of the Toilers of the Far East convened by the Comintern. Meeting in a strange country facilitated the growth of our friendship; and he often called on me either to talk about the national and international situation or to discuss theoretical problems of Communism. Though he respected me as a leader and teacher, I regarded myself as his comrade and friend. Our friendship was pure and sincere; there was no inhibition or reservation.

At that time some CCP members emphasized ideology and theory, and others, action and practice. I belonged to the second group and, being the Director of Organization of CCP Central Committee, was regarded as the leader of the "practical workers." The same division existed among the Chinese students in Moscow. Some, such as P'eng Shu-chih, stressed the theoretical, while others, the practical. And as Liu Shao-ch'i was the leader of the latter group, the two of us were naturally drawn together.

Perhaps I might elaborate a little on these two inclinations. In the initial period of CCP development, emphasizing the practical side meant a policy of organizing workers, students, women and the poor masses to rise up and struggle for improvement of their livelihood. The stress was on the labour movement. Under the influence of the Western European labour movement, we developed an attitude of respecting the interests of the masses and taking action on the basis of practical conditions. This was an attitude of realism, not opposed to amelioration and progress, striving for legal benefits and legal activities.

Those who emphasized theoretical studies were different. They were engrossed in leftist thought and the theoretical development of the leftist movement — the doctrines of Leninism, which concentrated on the ways and means to organize and expand the Party, to exert leadership, planning and control in the Party, to conduct secret activities, and, taking a step further, to lead masses in armed rebellions, to seize power and establish the regime of proletarian dictatorship. This was considered the essence of Leninism, i.e., the theory of the realization of proletarian dictatorship. In such theoretical studies, one was apt to ignore the interests of the masses to the extent of exploiting them for the Party's political goals. Indeed, one might even feel that any amelioration, progress, or legal activity would only be an obstruction to the revolution and the seizure of power. Thus, the difference between these two factions was a fundamental one.

In his earlier years, Mao Tse-tung drew some experience from

the labour movement, which he later applied to the peasant movement; and he also drew some Leninist strategies for the establishment of the dictatorship from those who emphasized theoretical studies, thus enriching his strategic arsenal for political struggle. He grew up in guerilla war, and his doctrines were to become a branch of the Communist movement, which was indeed not at all orthodox, being what one might call a mixture of Li Tzu-cheng and Stalin.

Thus we might perceive the key reason why Liu Shao-ch'i could not work harmoniously with people like P'eng Shu-chih, Ch'in Panghsien and Chang Wen-t'ien, and why he could not be assimilated into the so-called Thought of Mao Tse-tung, and had to be discriminated against and eventually expelled.

I returned to Shanghai in March 1922, undertaking primarily the task of Directorship of the Secretariat for Labour Organizations. Soon, Liu Shao-ch'i also returned to Shanghai, as he was disappointed in the study programs in Moscow and requested to be transferred back home for some practical work. So I invited him to serve as the Secretary of my underground office. My work often required me to travel, and, even when I was in Shanghai, there were other duties to attend at the CCP Central Committee. So I left all the daily work of the Secretariat for Labour Organizations to Liu Shao-ch'i, and he assisted me whole-heartedly. Sitting face to face in the small office, we worked for six months in perfect co-operation.

In practical work, Liu Shao-ch'i not only obeyed the decisions of superiors and carried them out, but also proposed his own ideas in proper ways. At that time there were over a dozen young leaders in the Shanghai labour movement working under Liu Shao-chi; they all got along with him very well, and their programs were always orderly arranged. Had it not been for reasons of security, none of us would have wanted to break up that working relationship.

Liu Shao-ch'i was transferred in September 1922 to work among the coal miners of Anyuan, putting him in direct contact with Mao Tse-tung who was Secretary of CCP Hunan District Committee and in charge of labour movement in Hunan Province. This was also the first time that Liu Shao-ch'i co-operated with Li Li-san who was the Director of the Anyuan Miners' Labour Union. Liu became his Deputy Director, and the two started their partnership.

In March 1925, I returned to the CCP Central Committee in Shanghai together with my wife, whom I had married one year before and who had been imprisoned with me in Peking. We moved into the dormitory of the Labour Movement Committee of the CCP Cen-

tral Committee. Liu Shao-ch'i and his newly-wed wife Ho Pao-chen were living in another room of the dormitory. I assumed the Directorship of CCP Central Labour Movement Committee, and Liu became my Deputy, again assisting me in the daily work with perfect co-operation. In early May of that year we went together to attend the Second National Labour Congress held in Canton. Afterwards he immediately returned to Shanghai, while I was detained by other missions and did not return until the afternoon of May 30th, the day the "May 30th Incident" broke out. That night, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Li Li-san, Liu Shao-ch'i and a few others held an emergency conference in my bedroom, and we resolved to launch a movement for general strikes in the factories, schools and markets. We started working immediately. On June 1, I announced the establishment of the Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions in my capacity of Director of Shanghai Office of All-China Federation of Trade Unions. The first Congress, held that afternoon, elected Li Li-san Chairman of the Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions and Liu Shao-ch'i Director of General Affairs, while I was invited to provide guidance as the representative of All-China Federation of Trade Unions. In the period that followed we all worked feverishly. Liu Shao-ch'i, Li Li-san and I myself struggled in close co-operation, and our friendship flourished.

Li Li-san and Liu Shao-ch'i were a good combination in the labour movement. Liu Shao-ch'i once remarked that Li Li-san had a strong impetus and was an expert in agitation, capable of launching offensives and capturing new beachheads, but the programs he set up were always chaotic, requiring Liu Shao-ch'i to put in a lot of hard work to sort them out, to get the masses organized and the programs functioning. I was often called upon to help them solve their difficulties, and found this a recurrent pattern.

In the autumn of 1926, the Northern Expedition caused the CCP to move into a new stage. The Central Committee sent me to Wuhan as the front commander in charge of the programs of the Hupei District Party Committee, and soon Liu Shao-ch'i and Li Li-san were sent to assist me. They were both experienced, top-level CCP leaders in the labour movement by that time and were quite successful in their work with the newly established Hupei Provincial Federation of Trade Unions. The gravity of my own work had shifted, leaving little time for the trade union movement since the May 30th Incident; for in that highly complicated and fluid situation, labour was only one link in the general program. Nevertheless,

whenever Liu Shao-ch'i and the others (including Li Li-san at that time) encountered difficulties, they would come to consult with me. This was probably because we shared the same emphasis on the interests of the masses.

The complete breakdown of the KMT-CCP relationship came in the summer of 1927. I went to participate in the Nanchang Uprising, and later escaped back to Shanghai, while Liu Shao-ch'i worked underground in and around Wuhan. In late November he also returned to Shanghai, and we again lived together for about three months. It was a period of great danger. Sometimes we fought back to back; sometimes we helped each other run for our lives in narrow escapes from death. In February of the next year (1928) the CCP Central Committee sent Liu Shao-ch'i to other places for underground work, and I did not communicate with him for a long time. When I met him again in June 1937 in Yen-an, he was already the Secretary of the CCP Northern Bureau and Director of the Department for Work in Kuomintang-Controlled Areas at the central level, occupying an ever more important position.

In 1935-36, a dispute broke out in the CCP Central Committee as to whether the policy of launching the Chinese Soviet movement had been correct. The dispute, unprecedented in its seriousness in CCP history, started when the Red 1st Army Corps under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung and the Red 4th Army Corps under my leadership joined forces at Moukung in the western part of Szechuan Province. I asserted that the Soviet policy had been entirely wrong, and that it had proved to be a failure in fact. Mao Tse-tung opposed my view, saying that it was a slander against the correct leadership of the CCP Central Committee. In addition, there were disputes concerning the routes to be taken for the Long March and other military problems. Thus, there arose the demand for the reorganization of the CCP central leadership. I pointed out that among the original seven members of the Politburo elected by the CCP Sixth Party Congress held in Moscow in July 1928 — Hsiang Chung-fa, Li Li-san, Chou En-lai, Hsiang Ying, Ch'u Ch'iu-pai, Ts'ai Ho-shen and I myself . . . only Chou and I were left. The Fourth Plenary Session of Sixth Central Committee in January 1931, after abolishing Li Li-san's Line, elected Ch'en Shao-yu into the Politburo; and the Fifth Plenary Session elected Chang Wen-t'ien, Ch'in Pang-hsien, Wang Chia-hsiang and others into the Politburo. Those were all measures taken under special circumstances. The Tsunyi Conference in January 1935 was even more unwarrantable. It did not

examine the mistakes of the Soviet movement, nor did it properly criticize the policy mistakes of the CCP Central Committee, but simply bestowed Politburo membership to Mao Tse-tung and let him take over the actual leadership of CCP Central Committee. Such arrangements could not be considered normal and legal. For the Politburo had been torn to shreds, and Mao, not being a Politburo member at the time, was not properly qualified to assume leadership over it. Moreover, a meeting of the Politburo was not authorized to elect or appoint new members. Therefore, I called for the convening of an enlarged meeting of the cadres at the central level, to reorganize central organizations and elect new members to the Politburo. Mao Tse-tung firmly opposed my proposal, accusing me of attempting to reorganize the central organizations by military coercion. The result was a split at the central level and the confrontation of two central authorities, i.e., the Politburo under Mao's leadership and the second provisional central authority under my leadership.

During this serious and complex struggle, two persons were lucky enough to keep out of the storm. To avoid involvement, Chou En-lai used the pretext that he was busy with external affairs and Liu Shao-ch'i remained in Kuomintang-controlled area.

In June 1937, Liu Shao-ch'i arrived in Yen-an from Peking, for consultation with CCP central authorities on programs in Kuomintang-controlled area. It was after the Sian Incident and before the July 7th Incident, when the relationship between the Chinese Communist Party and Kuomintang was in a most subtle stage. The Nanking government demanded a complete surrender of the Communists, and the Communists were trying to create an impression that they might submit themselves to Kuomintang leadership, while they were secretly making preparations for resistance. So there was apparent tranquility in Yen-an but a lot of apprehension among the Communist leaders about a revival of war with the Kuomintang. Liu Shao-ch'i had heard about the quarrels between Mao Tse-tung and me; and, as a newcomer, he seemingly did not want to get involved. So, as soon as he arrived in Yen-an, he holed up to write his reports and refrained from contacting others.

A few days later, Tung Pi-wu came to see me and told me that Liu Shao-ch'i had written a long letter reviewing CCP policies over the past sixteen years. In Liu's view, the CCP had always committed leftist-adventurist, and not rightist-opportunist errors, including Ch'en Tu-hsiu during the First KMT-CCP Co-operation Period.

This remark on Ch'en Tu-hsiu was a most peculiar and significant point. Liu Shao-ch'i reportedly wrote that it was indeed childish of Communists to join the Kuomintang and to attempt to seize its leadership with bared claws while the CCP did not have much real strength of its own. The subsequent peasant uprisings were acts of leftist-recklessness, and the establishment of the Soviet Government in Kiangsi, together with its practical measures, was even more decidedly leftist-adventurism. Liu Shao-ch'i stated that the reason why he made this examination was because the CCP had now decided to take the national anti-Japanese united front as its primary policy, wishing to co-operate with the Kuomintang once more, and therefore the mistakes committed in the past should be carefully avoided and the principles for the resist-Japanese movement in the future should be carefully set up.

Liu's letter, when presented for discussion at the Politburo, caused a severe shock. Chang Wen-t'ien and others were reportedly indignant, saying it was outrageous. To say Ch'en Tu-hsiu was a left-adventurist instead of a right-opportunist was to be more offensive and more rightist than Chang Kuo-t'ao. Though it did not attack Mao Tse-tung directly, the letter did criticize the policies and lines which Mao had been applying. Chang Wen-t'ien and others suspected that Liu Shao-ch'i was collaborating with me in a plot to renew attacks against the CCP central authorities. Mao Tse-tung must have shared this suspicion to some extent. Moreover, he was aware that the relationship between Liu Shao-ch'i and me was deeper than Liu's relationship with himself. Thus apparently it was Mao who asked Tung Pi-wu to visit and sound me out. Tung Pi-wu said to me probingly: "Well, it's been about three months since you stopped going to Politburo meetings. Are you still sulking? Now, there is this matter of Liu Shao-ch'i's letter. So why don't you attend a meeting and make a few remarks to dispel all suspicion?"

Then I told Tung Pi-wu frankly: I don't want to attend Politburo meetings, or to receive comrades to discuss Party affairs. Furthermore I wish to withdraw from the central leadership of the Party. I'm now teaching economics with you at the North Shensi Public School; isn't this just fine? As for Liu Shao-ch'i's letter, he has not come to see me and I have not called on him. We have not yet met each other here; there is absolutely no collaboration or understanding between us. I don't know his intention in writing this letter, so why should I go to the Politburo to say something which might complicate matters even further?

Tung Pi-wu undoubtedly reported our conversation to Mao Tse-tung. Mao probably had been at a loss as to what to do with Liu Shao-ch'i; and, at Tung's report, decided that instead of casting suspicion on Liu Shao-ch'i and criticizing him, he would cultivate his friendship. Perhaps he reasoned: Since it seems that Liu Shao-ch'i and Chang Kuo-t'ao are not in collaboration, there would appear to be an essential difference between Liu and Chang. This is to say that while Liu has suffered much and is discontented with the central authorities and may even be more rightist than Chang, he is not opposed to Mao personally. He is not a rebel, and should be able to be appeased.

In any event, Mao Tse-tung went out of his way to win Liu Shao-ch'i, sympathizing with his frustrations, accepting many of his opinions, making concessions and awarding him with Politburo membership. In doing so, however, Mao had to make a considerable effort to overcome the opposition of Chang Wen-t'ien and others. Nevertheless, they eventually had to go along. For the Party had just weathered the anti-Chang Kuo-t'ao struggle and could hardly afford an anti-Liu Shao-ch'i struggle, particularly as this might arouse a joint attack on the central authorities by Liu Shao-ch'i and Chang Kuo-t'ao. Moreover, there were other problems at this time which demanded party unity. For example, the Kuomintang-CCP alliance was precarious at best and could have broken at any moment. So it was Mao Tse-tung acted promptly, winning over Liu Shao-ch'i, suppressing Chang Wen-t'ien and the others, and, on the pretext of urgent programs in the Kuomintang-controlled areas, he sent Liu Shao-ch'i back to Peking. Liu's letter was quietly suppressed.

Mao Tse-tung's promptness was admired by many leaders at that time. However, some commented to me: "Well, how Fortune's fickle wheel turns! You criticized the central authorities, demanded reorganization, and got a big bloody nose for your trouble. Liu Shao-ch'i followed your steps, made equally severe criticisms against the central authorities, and he got some unexpected rewards including Politburo membership."

Nevertheless, we can now see in retrospect that the unusual compromise, or one might say instant matrimony, between Mao and Liu was after all somewhat unnatural. Perhaps we might say that Liu Shao-ch'i was relatively honest and straightforward, while Mao Tse-tung was cunning, and that Mao exploited Liu for the sake of suppressing Chang Wen-t'ien.

Liu Shao-ch'i's letter must have been his first systematic state-

ment concerning Party policies. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i has been attacked from all angles and by all conceivable means; but somehow this letter written in 1937 has not been published for criticism. Possibly this is because its contents were largely accepted by Mao Tse-tung and absorbed into the "Decision Concerning Certain Historical Problems" adopted by the 7th Plenary Session of CCP Sixth Central Committee in April 1945, making it inconvenient if not embarrassing to dig it up. Nevertheless, that Liu Shao-ch'i would criticize Ch'en Tu-hsiu for left-adventurism clearly indicates Liu's own inclination for solid prudent policies.

Many people previously thought that Liu Shao-ch'i supported Mao Tse-tung whole-heartedly. This view has been proved wrong. Basically, the characters of Mao and Liu are antithetic; and Liu was never much of an admirer of Mao's. He once said to me that, in his opinion, Mao was somewhat illogical in his approach to problems, stubborn, indiscriminate in his choice of means, and lacking in self-culture. As a matter of fact, Liu Shao-ch'i himself is a person of rather refined self-culture. He does not delight in conspiracies; he is endowed with a strong moral sense; he upholds the constitution of the Party; he advocates policies of reconciliation; he does not enjoy class struggle; he does not cherish guerilla-ism; he wants to establish a good regime and gradually industrialize and modernize China. Mao Tse-tung, on the other hand, has little respect for reasoning, is highly interested in clandestine manoeuvrings, and lacks any sense of morality. He seems to be a disciple of Ts'ao Ts'ao who said, "I would prefer that I wrong all the people in the world, rather than that I be wronged by them." Some people consider Liu Shao-ch'i pro-Russia; this view is unreliable. In the Chinese Communist Party, it is Ch'en Shao-yu and his followers who are pro-Russia. Liu Shao-ch'i's discontent with Soviet Russia should at least equal that of Mao Tse-tung, but Liu probably does not approve of the extent of the present split with Soviet Russia. And he would never approve of a foreign policy which antagonized the whole world.

Because of his character, and his position as Mao's heir, Liu Shao-ch'i, it seems, did not endeavour to build up his own faction in the Party; but he has enjoyed the support of many important cadres, even in the army. Generally speaking, those cadres at higher levels who are more prudent and less opportunistic are congenial with him; and it is exactly this kind of cadre who has been purged as revisionist.

Liu Shao-ch'i has displayed a far greater sense of justice and selflessness than Mao Tse-tung; and the policies advocated by him

have been far more prudent and correct than those advocated by Mao Tse-tung. But in this present political struggle, the process of reverse selection has functioned again, and leaders such as Liu Shao-ch'i have been unable to hold their own. This is the great tragedy of the Chinese Communist Party.

Since the purge of Liu Shao-ch'i, Maoists have regarded his works as poisonous weeds to be completely destroyed. My friends in the Union Research Institute are trying their best to collect the recorded works and speeches of Liu Shao-ch'i and publish them for historic records. They asked me to write an introduction to the collection. I think their effort is commendable, and have thus added a few words about the author and his works.

Chang Kuo-t'ao
April 1968

PREFACE

This is one of the volumes of the *Collected Works of Liu Shao-ch'i* published by Union Research Institute. The present volume is a collection of the complete texts of available letters, speeches, reports and writings of Liu Shao-ch'i before 1944. The volume covering the period 1945-1957 was published in March 1969, and the volume covering the period 1958-1967 was published in August 1968.

We are fully aware that this is not an exhaustive collection, as few complete texts of Liu's letters, writings and the like, especially in the early years, have been published by Peking or have found their way out of China. Moreover, undoubtedly some material has escaped our attention.

Except for *On the Tientsin Bridge*, which is from a Red Guard tabloid, the other texts in this volume are from official sources or anonymous Communist publishers. Whenever available, the official English text is used. However, many of the earlier works in this volume are translated from Chinese texts by us, and five are translated from Japanese texts. Detailed information about the source of each work is given in the note under each title.

The texts are arranged chronologically according to date of presentation, not according to publication date. The arrangement for undated titles is based on the contents.

Acknowledgement and thanks should be made to Mr. Huang Yu-chuan for doing much of the ground work of locating the texts and to Mr. Geoffrey Chiang and Mr. Chiao Tso-min for their translations.

We are particularly grateful to Mr. Chang Kuo-t'ao, one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party, for writing the Introduction to this series of collected works. Mr. Chang's account of his association with Liu Shao-ch'i since 1922 and his comments on the personalities of Liu and Mao are most interesting and revealing.

A companion volume to this series on the *Collected Works of Liu Shao-ch'i* is a chronology of the major events and activities of Liu's life up through the end of 1968. It is now in preparation and will be published in the near future.

Union Research Institute
Hong Kong
October 1969

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ON THE TIENTSIN BRIDGE

1921

An unusual man seven feet tall,
Why are you so sad and angry, and sighing all the time?
Your life is short and your fortune is also bad,
Wealth and high office you can hardly expect in life.
Why not then enjoy life while you can,
Why drift a thousand miles, undergoing numerous hardships?
Talents are going westward,
Which frontier are you gazing at by raising your head?
Do you want to follow the footsteps of Marquis Pan to conquer
distant land?
Your eyes are wistful with thoughts of the autumn,
Your aspirations are foolish, and your sentiments silly.
Nobody knows me standing here on the Tientsin Bridge,
I can only mail it far away to my intimate friend who knows me.

To Dear Brother Keng-yang,
From Liu Shao-ch'i

This poem is translated from the Chinese text which appeared in *Hung Ch'i* (紅旗, *Red Flag*), a tabloid published by Peking Aeronautics College Red Flag Combat Corps, Nos. 10 & 11, February 10, 1967, p. 8.

The editor of that publication noted that sometime around 1921, Liu Shao-ch'i mailed a portrait to his sworn brother Hung Keng-yang. This poem was written on the back of the photo. "This poem truly depicts Liu Shao-ch'i's own ugly and vicious soul, which may be called his confession," the editor commented, and entitled it "*A Black Poem by Liu Shao-ch'i*."

The present title is adopted by the editor of this volume.

It should be noted that Liu Shao-ch'i went to Moscow early in 1921 and came back to China in the spring of 1922. This poem was probably written on his way from Shanghai to Moscow. He was obviously in a pensive mood, feeling forlorn and uncertain about the future. He had committed himself to the Communist movement in China, but had little confidence in the success of that movement. Having chosen not to "enjoy life while you can," he was "drifting a thousand miles" to Moscow where many other "talents" were going; he was expecting "numerous hardships," even a "short life," and not "wealth and high office." He knew his "aspirations are foolish" and his "sentiments silly" but he was gazing at a distant frontier, because he was "sad and angry" with the reality in China. This poem actually depicts the soul of a young and determined revolutionary; and the contemporary Maoist effort to distort its meaning cannot stand the scrutiny of an objective reader.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN SOVIET AREAS DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS

January 31, 1934

I am going to make a brief general report on the trade union movement in our Soviet areas during the past two years. Our Soviet government is a government of the workers, peasants and soldiers under the leadership of the proletariat. Our trade union under the Soviet government is the one and only organization which carries out collective education and guidance of the masses of workers and peasants. The trade union is a most important prop of our Soviet government among the masses. Therefore, as far as the Soviet government is concerned, developing, promoting and strengthening the trade union movement in the Soviet areas also constitutes a very important problem. Since the First National Congress of Soviet Areas, the trade union movement has made greater progress and success than before. Not only have we theoretically solved the various important problems of principle concerning the workers' movement but also, in fact, we have renovated the leadership of the trade union so that the leading organs of the trade union have been completely proletarianized. By drawing over 90 per cent of the workers in Soviet areas, admitting them into the trade unions, we have greatly developed the trade union organization and established three trade unions (the Trade Union of Agriculture, the Trade Union of Shop-employees and Handicraftsmen and the

This report was delivered by Liu Shao-ch'i at the Second National Congress of Soviet Areas held in January 1934, on behalf of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. The text is translated from a Japanese publication, *Liu Shao-ch'i Chu-tso Chi* (劉少奇著作集, *A Collection of Works of Liu Shao-ch'i*), Vol. 1, compiled by the Publication Committee of Liu Shao-ch'i's Works and published by San I Book Store, Kyoto, 1952.

Trade Union of Stevedores), supported by scores of thousands, even hundreds of thousands, of members. At the same time, we have also promoted democracy of the trade union, improved the living of the working class and elevated the status of the workers, thus greatly giving play to the activism of the workers in joining the Soviet and in building the Red Army. Thousands upon thousands of workers and activists have taken part in the work of all Soviet government organs. With practical action, they have given their warm response to the militant calls which the central government has made in past years. Such expression is most conspicuous in the Central Soviet Area.

First, concerning improving the living of workers in Soviet areas, at the First National Congress of Soviet Areas we had already promulgated the Law of Labour Protection. In 1933, a number of amendments were added to it. According to this law, the Soviet government has already established basic conditions for improving the living of workers. Thanks to the effective activities of the trade union, particularly to the movement of "labour contracts" and the struggle of the masses of workers, some major demands, generally speaking, already have been realized. At the same time, we also have rectified mistakes of mechanically carrying out the Labour Law. Permanent workers in cities and rural areas have been almost entirely included in various collective contracts or labour contracts. Some of the temporary workers in rural areas also have signed contracts. On the basis of these contracts, most of them are receiving treatment higher than conditions stipulated in the Labour Law.

As regards working hours, for permanent workers the system of eight working hours has been fully enforced; for temporary and odd-job workers in the rural areas the system of eight hours also is being introduced. Among young workers of 18 and below and juvenile workers of 16 and below working in factories, workshops and commercial stores, the system of either six or four working hours is enforced. Moreover, the workers are entitled to holidays on Sundays and memorial days and annual vacations of a half month to one month with full wages. Most state-run factories give their workers one month's vacation every year. In Tingchow (汀州), all shop-employees and some workers have two months' vacation each year.

Wages also have been greatly increased. In comparison with the days before the revolution, the increase is at least 20 per cent. In certain cases, the increase amounts to several times, or even scores

of times more.

The following table shows the increases in wages of workers in Tingchow:

Comparative Monthly Wages of Workers in Tingchow

(Unit: yuan)

<i>Trades</i>	<i>Wages before the revolution</i>	<i>Wages in 1933</i>
Cakes and foodstuffs	2 — 10	28 — 32
Paper	3 — 10	31 — 35
Oil	3 — 6	12 — 18
Medicine	2 — 6	26 — 30
Cigarettes	3.5 — 7	30 — 36
Printing	5 — 15	28 — 36
Metalwork	6	14 — 18
Wooden boats	14	46
Dyestuffs	3 — 5.5	18 — 20
Oil-paper	2 — 5	17 — 20
Wine	3 — 6	18 — 20
Cotton cloth	2 — 10	31 — 35

Wages for workers have increased greatly in Tingchow. There are similar increases in wages for workers in such cities as Juichin, Posheng, Shihcheng, Yutu and Huichang. Meals for the workers also have been improved. The living quarters for workers have even been greatly improved. In all Soviet areas, almost none of the workers has to pay house rent. Last year, the number of workers in state-run factories further increased. The monthly wage of workers of our arsenal and mint is 11 *yuan*, the highest wage being about 32 *yuan*; the apprentices receive wages in addition to free meals or food allowances. When the price of rice was high, each also was given one *yuan* extra each month as a rice allowance. Furthermore, the supply-marketing cooperatives of state-run factories also give their workers very great assistance. The sanitary equipment for worksites and workshops has been greatly improved.

In the rural areas, almost all workers and their dependents have received land from distribution; moreover, the Soviet governments exempt them from land taxes. Although a few handicraftsmen in some counties still have not yet received land from distribution, their number is only about one or two per cent. Moreover, in the rural areas the workers are receiving higher wages than before. For

instance, in Hsingkuo county, odd-job workers previously received only 500 *wen** as their daily wage; now they are paid 600 *wen*. In Kung-lieh county, it was 360 *wen* but is now 640 *wen*; in Wan-an county, it was 600 *wen* but is now 640 *wen*; and in Kunghsien county, it was 400 *wen* but is now 700 *wen*. In the Fukien-Chekiang-Kiangsi Soviet Area, the wage of a tailor was one silver dollar (*yuan*) for 12 workdays, but it is now one silver dollar for only seven workdays. A carpenter's wage was one dollar for seven workdays, and now is one dollar for only four and a half workdays. Formerly agricultural workers received one dollar for 10 workdays; at present they earn one dollar for only seven workdays. Barbers formerly were paid six *sheng*** of rice every month; now they are paid 15 *sheng*. In the Hunan-Kiangsi Soviet Area, last year every odd-job worker received 40 *wen* more in daily wages.

The workers now not only receive higher wages but also have adequate social insurance. In cases of illness, death, accidents and all other unforeseen mishaps on the job, the workers enjoy complete social insurance after the insurance bureau consults and reaches an agreement with the capitalists concerned.

Due to the attacks by and economic blockade of the imperialists and Kuomintang, large numbers of unemployed workers went to the Soviet areas up until last year. However, at present, most cases of unemployment have been solved in the Central Soviet and Fukien-Chekiang-Kiangsi Soviet Areas. Last year, in the Central Soviet, Hunan-Kiangsi Soviet and the Fukien-Kiangsi Soviet Areas, a relief movement for unemployed workers was launched. The unemployed workers were given funds from the government and the capitalists. At the same time, with the development of the national economy and the establishment of producers' cooperatives and employment agencies in the Soviet areas, most of the unemployed workers have some work to do. As regards workers, hired peasants and unskilled labourers who have received land plots from distribution, the trade unions and Soviet authorities also have given them assistance, such as, solving difficulties in obtaining draught oxen, farm tools, seeds and funds.

* *Wen* is monetary unit used in the Ch'ing Dynasty. It is a coin with a square hole in the middle. The dollar coin was the currency in circulation at that time. In fact, *wen* existed as a monetary unit only in name. At that time, a copper coin was called ten *wen*. One dollar equalled to approximately 4,000 *wen*.

** *Sheng* is a unit for the measurement of capacity.

On the problem of leadership over economic struggles of the workers, extreme "left" mistakes were committed last year. At the end of last year, strikes were staged in six cities. Wages were increased and various special demands were met without restrictions, with the result that the small entrepreneurs could not bear the burden and fell into a miserable plight. However, since May Day last year, after the workers' congress, such mistakes were generally rectified.

Next, I have to talk about the development of the trade union organization and how the workers have enthusiastically joined the Soviet and the building of the Red Army.

With the improvement in their living, the workers have greatly enhanced their revolutionary enthusiasm. They actively have joined trade unions of their own class. The membership of trade unions has increased very considerably. The total number of members of trade unions in the Central Soviet, Hunan-Kiangsi Soviet and Hunan-Hupei-Kiangsi Soviet Areas has reached 229,000 (not including trade unions in Posheng, Lokou, Changsheng and Tailei in Kiangsi; Kiangtung, Chaocheng and Pengpai in Fukien; Chaling in the Hunan-Kiangsi Soviet Area and the southeastern part of Hupei province). Furthermore, more than 10,000 members live in the neighboring areas. This group plus those in Soviet areas in Szechuan province totals over 200,000 members. In the Central Soviet and Hunan-Hupei-Kiangsi Soviet Areas, about 90 per cent of the workers have joined trade unions. According to detailed statistics of 12 counties in the Central Soviet Area, 95 per cent of the workers are trade union members. In Hsingkuo county, 98 per cent of workers have joined trade unions.

According to the decision of building a Red Army of one million as the hardcore of the proletariat, the trade unions in the Central Soviet Area have set up a Workers' Division, which is a great achievement in this field. The Fukien-Chekiang-Kiangsi Soviet Area has formed two workers' companies. The Hunan-Kiangsi Soviet Area has organized a number of workers' battalions. According to the statistics of 12 counties in the Central Soviet Area, at present 28 per cent of trade union members (19,060 people) are serving in the Red Army and in guerrilla contingents. Recently, during the shock movement for the expansion of the Red Army, the Executive Bureau of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions decided to turn 20 per cent of the trade union members into new fighters. At present, it has possibly been carried out. For instance, in Hsingkuo

county, 40 per cent of the union members have become new fighters; in Hsikiang county, it is 23 per cent; and, in Changsheng county, it is over 40 per cent. Generally speaking, the number of workers in the Red Army has reached the 20 per cent mark designated in the foregoing decision. However, in the Hunan-Hupeh-Kiangsi Soviet Area, the results are very poor. The trade unions in this area mobilized less than 1,000 of their members to join the Red Army in the past year. In Hsingkuo county, at present 36 per cent (5,180 people) of the trade union members are serving in the Red Army. In a certain area, 80 per cent of the union members have joined the Red Army. In quite a number of places, all members of a branch of a trade union together have joined the Red Army.

In mobilizing workers to take part in the construction of the Soviet, we have also made great achievements. On the present occasion, more than 80 per cent of union members took part in the election of the Soviet. In most cities, 90 per cent of the workers have taken part in the election. The number of Soviet representatives also has greatly increased. For instance, among the representatives of Hsingkuo county, 42 per cent are workers. In Hsikiang county, it is 30 per cent. Moreover, in some provinces the number of worker representatives to the Soviet Congress generally has exceeded the percentage set down in the Election Law (35 per cent). According to trade union statistics of the 12 counties in the Central Soviet Area, about 10 per cent of the union members are serving in the Soviet or other government organs. Moreover, the majority of them are doing some responsible work. It means that the trade unions have always sent their fine cadres to the Soviet, the Red Army and the Communist Party to take up responsible work. At present, among members of Soviet executive committees at all levels, generally speaking, one-third to one half are workers.

In mobilization on the economic front, the trade unions also have directed the workers to take an active part and make great achievements. Last year, the shop employees and handicraftsmen first made the call to contribute their second issue of government bonds and started the movement of demanding no repayment from the government. This movement had penetrated into factories, workshops, shops and the rural areas, with the result that most workers gave up all their bonds to the government. When government bonds for economic construction were issued, the workers also happily subscribed to the bonds. None of the workers subscribed to amounts less than a half month's wages. Some of them have

even taken bonds equivalent to their wages for two, three or four months. In the rural areas, large numbers of workers have subscribed to the bonds at 10 *yuan*, 20 *yuan* and even 50 and 60 *yuan*. In the 12 counties of the Central Soviet Area, on the average, each person has subscribed 4.50 *yuan* to the bonds (197,803 *yuan*). In Hsingkuo county, on the average, each union member subscribed 5.10 *yuan* to the bonds. It should be specially pointed out that the workers in state factories are very enthusiastic in production and the transport workers have supported military transportation.

Under the leadership of the trade union, the workers of state factories are, for the sake of boosting production, trying on their own initiative to economize the consumption of raw material, improve the quality of products and strive for higher labour discipline. They not only have organized emulations in production but also have formed shock teams for production. Consequently, all the factories not only have accomplished their production plans but also have overfulfilled plans which they themselves set down in advance. On their own initiative, the workers are all doing more work by coming on duty early and leaving their working posts late and taking no rest even on Sundays but continuing to do their work. Meanwhile, they have made continuous efforts to create new techniques. The artillery works in the Fukien-Chekiang Soviet Area and the Central Soviet Area, in particular, have made specially great achievements.

In agricultural production and in the rehabilitation and development of handicraft production, we also have made general achievements. Hundreds of producers' cooperatives have been established.

Workers who have joined either the Communist Party or the Communist Youth League have walked out from their homes and become members of trade unions. Their number has reached 28 per cent (12,435 people) in the Central Soviet Area. This fact may illustrate that the workers continuously have strengthened their support of the Communist Party and raised their own standards. However, in this respect, the situation in Fukien truly is very bad.

Comrades, in the past two years, the trade union movement in the Soviet areas has achieved great successes. It has greatly consolidated the mass foundation of the Soviet government and has also helped the Soviet and the Red Army become strong and make progress. However, we made these achievements only after we waged, under the correct leadership of the Communist Party, struggles against the dissolutionism of the right-wing trade unions and against the syndicalism and guildism of the extreme "left." At

the same time, it also proves that only the Soviet can enable the Chinese working class to gain complete and final liberation from unemployment, starvation and enslavement.

Nevertheless, comrades, the trade union movement in the Soviet areas is certainly not without mistakes and shortcomings! First of all, we must point out that the foregoing various achievements are very unbalanced in the various Soviet areas. This is to say, the basic demands of workers in the cities and the rural areas have not yet been entirely realized. Next, the trade unions have not yet aroused the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses of workers to the utmost extent. As a result, close ties between the Soviet and the workers cannot always be maintained on all important issues. Thirdly, in the protection of workers' daily economic benefits, the trade unions have not yet made adequate efforts. Particularly, in solving problems of daily living for every worker, the organs of trade unions have often handled matters at random and still show a tendency to take lightly all demands made by the workers concerning daily life. Fourthly, in the rural areas, the branches of trade unions generally have not fully exercised leadership over and given support to the poor peasant associations.

A LETTER CONCERNING THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

April 13, 1936

To the Editor of *Freedom Review* and to be forwarded to Mr. Chang Tung-sun,

(1) I have read Mr. Chang Tung-sun's article, in the No. 10 issue of your esteemed journal, commenting on the declaration issued by the Chinese Communist Party and discussing the national general cooperation. I am grateful that Mr. Chang with his objective and calm attitude and taking the Chinese national stand discusses the declaration issued by the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and the Soviet Government on August 1 last year and, in his discussion, puts forward many important questions and his own views. I believe that these questions and views are not only those of Mr. Chang himself and your esteemed journal, but also are shared by many Chinese people and political parties, in power or otherwise, in the movement of a general national cooperation for national salvation. Therefore, we must give Mr. Chang a clear and open reply with the request that Mr. Chang make a further study on this issue. I think that this will not be useless to China; as Mr. Chang says: "Russia has completely transformed itself into national capitalism with success." He also says that the Chinese Communist Party has long advocated "the abolition of private ownership", "proletarian dictatorship", "the completion of the task of world

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revolution", "taking orders from the Third International" and "compromising with nothing". Why at present should it give up all this and transform itself into nationalism and democratism? I am not going to discuss these questions here with Mr. Chang because they require a long explanation and it is not easy to reach a common conclusion. Moreover, it will interfere with our thorough discussion on the present most important question, that is, how to unite the whole nation in saving the country from disaster? However, we must make one point clear here, that is, the Chinese Communist Party has never suggested that in China private ownership should be immediately abolished, proletarian dictatorship immediately set up, Chinese affairs should not be settled by Chinese people ourselves but by foreigners, and the Chinese Communist Party and China should not fight for the life, freedom and independence of the Chinese nation. Nor has the Communist Party ever suggested that we should not at any time agree and cooperate with others. On the contrary, the Chinese Communist Party had for a long period cooperated with the Kuomintang. The Communist Party has all along been calling upon the people of the whole country to struggle for the complete freedom, independence and territorial integrity of China through to the end! It has all along opposed foreigners interfering in our domestic affairs. The reason is that the Chinese Communist Party has long understood that what China needs now is (1) complete freedom, independence and unification and (2) the elimination of any remnants of feudalism. Therefore, we put forward two tasks for the present stage of the Chinese revolution, namely, (1) expel the labor force of imperialism from China, and (2) carry out land reform. The carrying out and success of these two tasks is not yet socialism, much less communism. It is still within the scope and character of capitalist democratism (a kind of bourgeois democratic revolution), because the development of capitalism itself in China requires the accomplishment of the above two tasks. What is more, for socialism to be achieved, these two tasks must be successfully completed. The Chinese Communist Party has never advocated, but opposed, the abolition of the private ownership system and the prohibition of free enterprise at the present stage to carry out socialism and communism. Mr. Chang says: "The Communist Party must declare that in the period in which the national crisis is not yet over, at least within 10 years, it will abandon all underground communist activities." He asks the Communist Party to "temporarily cease the propagation of communism"

so as to "soothe the anxiety of those who are afraid of socialist revolution" and says that "it is a matter of great importance which will certainly reduce much resistance," as if the Communist Party were about to immediately carry out in the whole country or in certain areas the "socialist revolution" (e.g. the confiscation of banks and factories, the nationalization of mines and means of communication and transportation, the abolition of private ownership of important means of production and the prohibition of free industrial and commercial enterprises) when "national crisis is not yet over." Saying that the people were afraid that the cooperation among the various parties would be frustrated, he, therefore, asks the Communist Party to give up its propaganda. However, the Communist Party has never made such propaganda. On the contrary, its propaganda since 10 years ago has been that "in the period when our national crisis is not yet over, that is, when China has not yet gained her independence and unification and when the system of feudal exploitation has not yet been eliminated, it is impossible to carry out the revolution for tasks of socialism." There should be no fear, at least for the time being when the national crisis is not entirely over, of socialist revolution launched by the Communist Party. If some people are still afraid of the coming of the socialist revolution, their fear comes not from communist propaganda but from their antagonism against and vilification of Communist propaganda. The Communist Party at present publicizes only the bourgeois civil rights revolution. In recent years, we have carried out in the red area a policy faithful to such propaganda — there, instead of confiscating the property of industrial and commercial capitalists, we welcome outside capitalists to exploit its resources. The private ownership system has not been abolished and free enterprise is not prohibited; even big landlords can buy, sell and rent out according to official rules and regulations. Instead of being prohibited, private industrial and commercial enterprises and agricultural production are given great encouragement. There, only land and property belonging to the landlord class are confiscated for distribution among the peasants. Such feudal exploitation as usury, oppressive requisition and miscellaneous taxes has been abolished. Recently, it was even stipulated that land and the property of rich peasants will not be confiscated. This is what the Communist Party has propagandized and done. Then, anyone who says otherwise is against the Communists and cannot be commenting calmly.

The Communist Party solemnly declares that it did not, does

not and will not propagandize, but opposes carrying out tasks of socialism and communism in the whole country or in certain areas in the period when the national crisis is not yet over (that is, when China has not yet successfully expelled all imperialist influence and gained her complete independence and unification). I think what the people are afraid of and what Mr. Chang pays attention to is "carrying out". The once-publicized but not carried out communist theory will not scare people. Dr. Sun Yat-sen and many non-communist scholars have written books on the communist theory.

(2) Mr. Chang may say: "People are also afraid of land revolution! It would be nice for the Communist Party to give up land revolution." To this question, we have the following to say.

First, in China those who are afraid of land revolution constitute only one per cent, while 99 per cent of the population are in favour, or at least do not oppose land revolution. This is because the Communist Party advocates that only land belonging to landlords who live by exploiting others be confiscated for redistribution among the peasants. The small plots in the villages belonging to rich peasants, middle and poor peasants, petty-merchants and employees will not be confiscated. In fact, most of them will be allotted land in the process of land redistribution.

Second, at present, under the active aggression of foreign influence, the first of the two current tasks of the Chinese revolution, especially that of resistance against Japan, has been raised to the most important and urgent position. It has become the supreme task of the Chinese current revolution. Whoever is afraid of and opposes immediately waging our struggle for this supreme task is a counterrevolutionary and a traitor. The various parties in the whole nation joining hands in this struggle will become the basis for a general cooperation. This is also the reason for the Communist Party issuing the "August 1 Declaration." The Communist Party does not even insist that the other parties agree to the launching of land revolution as a term for cooperation.

Third, the various parties fighting alongside with the Communists against the Japanese invasion may have their own choice in land policy for their respective occupied areas. The Communist Party makes no attempt to overthrow the ruling power of another party, instead, it helps them. So, the Communist Party naturally cannot enforce its own land policy in these areas.

Fourth, land revolution has been thoroughly carried out in

the red area, and there will be no further changes from now on. However, in the army-occupied areas where land revolution has not yet been thoroughly carried out, the big and small landlords, so long as they do their best to positively participate in the cause of resisting Japan for national salvation, may keep their land and property which will not be confiscated.

However, the Communist Party believes in theory that the fulfilment of the peasants' desire for land not only will not weaken the strength of the Chinese people in their resistance against Japan and for national salvation, but also will greatly raise the enthusiasm of the peasant masses, which constitute over 80 per cent of our population, for plunging heroically into the struggle, on the battleground of national revolution, thus creating a revolutionary strength which cannot be conquered by any of the great powers. Moreover, after the peasants are relieved of feudal exploitation, they will work on improving the fertility and productivity of their land, thus increasing our economic strength for resistance against Japan and national salvation. The elevation of purchasing power and economic strength of peasants will also make way for the development of industrial capitalism and cultural enterprise of the society. Therefore, we hold that the fulfilment of the peasants' desire for land and the complete victory over the aggressor are in unison, instead of being contradictory. The Communist Party will not in the future refuse to fulfil the peasants' desire for land, and it even hopes that through government decrees or law, or any of the methods formulated by consultation of all parties, their desire can be fulfilled, "that is, to prevent or reduce, by lawful means, bloody means for direct seizure of land" to meet the peasants' demand for land. The Communists think that if the peasants' desire for land is not fulfilled, and such exploitation as usury, oppressive requisition and miscellaneous taxes is not abolished, it means that the Communist Party does not exist. Then, the peasants' revolutionary movement will never cease. (The continuous development of the Taiping Uprising, the White Lotus Society, the Red Spear Society, and Heavenly Gate Society and the anti-donation movement serve to illustrate this point).

(3) As to the method of realizing national cooperation of the various parties, Mr. Chang says that "we should not try to undermine the political power of another party," and "in dealing with the Kuomintang, there is no need to demand that it surrender

its power." In other words, there will be very little change in government system and policy. All that it needs is a round-table conference for representatives of various parties and factions to sit together and discuss matters of prime significance during the time of national crisis. He also advocates that "there should be co-operation before the war, during the war and after the war." Finally, he even says that "the government of the Red Area" should be changed into a local government, and this government may not necessarily be entitled "Soviet". What Mr. Chang means is the abolition of the Soviet Government.

In view of the approaching disaster of national and racial extinction, the Communist Party, after having proposed on several occasions cooperation in resisting Japan, went one step further to suggest organizing a government for national defence to be backed up by all parties in coalition and an army with the support of allied armed forces. We had to organize this provisional coalition government and build an allied army to cope with the threat from the outside because in face of such a situation which allowed no slow deliberations, the parties were left with no time for consultation on internal problems to establish a unified government of one system and one policy and organize an army of one system and one organization under a unified command. (abridged)

What the Communist Party asked for was no more than (1) cessation of the civil war, (2) resistance against Japan to save the nation, (3) realization of democracy and freedom to enable the people of the whole nation to participate in the resistance against Japan and for national salvation, (4) implementation of economic and education policies indispensable to national salvation, and (5) unification with all the anti-Japan forces the world over. The Communist Party's proposals were those contained in the Ten-Point Programme of the Government of National Defence. If the ten points were taken as a basis for consultation, the Communist Party will agree to talk. (abridged)

The Communist Party solemnly declares that regardless of to what faction an armed force may belong, so long as it is genuinely resisting the Japanese, opposing the betrayers and not attacking the Red Army and Soviet area nor impeding the Red Army in their resistance against the Japanese, it not only will refrain from undermining its political power and calling on it to surrender a piece of its occupied territory but also will aid and support it by every means at its disposal, so that its actions against the Japanese

and Chinese betrayers will be crowned with success. However, the Communist Party declares simultaneously that it will be impossible for it to cooperate with those who continue to betray the country and gang up with the aggressors invading China, those who obstruct other armed forces in resisting the Japanese and those who suppress the people in carrying on the national salvation movement. (abridged)

We have no particular preference as to the forms of cooperation. But a form of cooperation such as a round-table conference in which representatives of all parties can be asked to participate today and be rejected tomorrow or at which certain national salvation programme is adopted today but a compromise and capitulation resolution is passed tomorrow calling on all parties and factions to share the responsibility of destroying and betraying the country, we believe, will lead us nowhere. We reject it especially when Chinese betrayers and pro-Japanese parties may also send representatives to such round-table conferences and advance theories of offering no resistance, saying that resistance may cause destruction to the nation. In certain circumstances resistance could be turned into non-resistance. Such a round-table conference form of cooperation, therefore, is not good. In our opinion, the minimum term for cooperation will be: "Those who are in favour of resistance may join us; those who are not in favour of resistance may leave us." However, if Nanking should call a round-table conference on its own initiative, we are prepared to send delegates to participate in it, even though we disapprove such a form of cooperation. If Nanking resists Japan, we will aid it. (abridged)

(4) Mr. Chang proposed that in joining for cooperation, "various parties should examine their own mistakes committed in the past." He said, "Japan was originally a starved tiger," and had for long been looking forward to invading China, only "she was at a loss to find a very good pretext." In dealing with the Japanese, . . . it will be best not to let them have a pretext or give them an opportunity." "However, . . . China . . . often plucks at the tiger's whiskers . . . The responsibility for such deeds . . . should not be placed on the Kuomintang, for the slogan of crushing imperialism was originally put forth by the Chinese Communist Party . . . All the setbacks China suffered in the past decade have been due to this slogan of fanatical exaggeration. On the one hand, it has provoked Japanese aggression, and on the other, by opposing the European and American countries, it has caused China's isola-

tion." That is to say, the Chinese Communist Party should bear the responsibility for Japanese aggression on China. The Chinese Communist Party should not have often used the slogan of crushing imperialism, for it has incurred all sorts of losses upon China in recent years. It seems that had the Chinese Communist Party only refrained from referring to the slogan, Japan would not have invaded China and the European and American countries would not have refused to aid Chinese national independence.

We have welcomed criticisms from outsiders on our mistakes committed in the past, but we can hardly accept such criticisms made by Mr. Chang. According to Mr. Chang, not only must the Chinese Communist Party bear the responsibility for the Japanese invasion in the past, it will have to take the blame for any setback that China may suffer in her resistance against Japan because, in his opinion, it was the Chinese Communist Party which advocated resistance. On the other hand, those who have consistently favoured non-resistance would be hailed as men of merits. Has not Mr. Chang said it? "A country like ours is not in a position to talk about war." If we are not in a position to talk about war, upon invasion by the enemy, why do you resist the invasion with force? National destruction or occupation of certain areas by the enemy is what the reckless statement of resistance made by the Communist Party has provoked! I think that such blame could be forthcoming. However, our understanding is different from Mr. Chang's.

First, "Japan is a starved tiger." This sounds similar to what the Japanese aggressor has said. He said, "Japan has a surplus population. We invade China in order that the Japanese may live." In fact, there is no surplus population but rather a production surplus in Japan. A few capitalists want to monopolize the Chinese markets in order to sell their surplus products and obtain raw materials. This is the fundamental reason why Japan invades China. Since there is a surplus of production, there cannot be any real surplus of population. The reason why Japan still has hungry people is that a few capitalists are unwilling to distribute the surplus output to the starved people. Hence Japan is not a starved tiger. The so-called surplus of population is only a pretext of the Japanese aggressors to deceive the world. I hope Mr. Chang will not be easily deceived by the aggressors.

Secondly, if Japan is determined to invade China, it will not be difficult for her to find a pretext and an opportunity. To give the Japanese no pretext and opportunity is not a way to deal with

the aggressor, definitely not "the best way," for pretexts can be found everywhere. Prior to the invasion on September 18, the Japanese themselves sent their men to disrupt the South Manchurian Railway and then despatched their troops to occupy Manchuria. After the occupation, they declared to the world that the Chinese had caused the disruption of the railway and that they had to take over Manchuria for self-defence. After the Tangku Pact was signed, the Japanese aggressors wanted to occupy North China. After the Communist Party evacuated Fukien, they wanted to take over Fukien. They can find various pretexts for occupying any part of China. "Might is right." Mr. Chang must find some truth in these words!

Thirdly, China has all the might in resisting the aggressors. Furthermore, such resistance is very likely to end in final victory. The slogans of resisting aggression and crushing imperialism provide no reasons for provoking Japanese aggression. On the contrary, continued concession, capitulation and non-resistance will provoke the aggressors' unsatiable avarice; only firm resistance will deal blows at the invaders.

Fourthly, in dealing with Britain, the United States and other countries, we must adopt policies different from those we have formulated toward Japan, policies that will win their sympathy and assistance for China's national independence movement or gain their neutrality based on good will.

(5) Mr. Chang said that the Chinese Communist Party should be responsible for the dictatorship exercised by the Kuomintang because it was the Chinese Communist Party that had advanced the theory of dictatorship. We hold that the Communist Party should not be held responsible, precisely as we could not hold ourselves responsible for the dictatorship of the warlords appearing after the fall of Yuan Shih-kai's regime. These warlords did not have the Communist Party's theory in support of their dictatorial power, yet they long ago exercised it.

Many people were said to have refused to cooperate with the Chinese Communist Party because it advocated dictatorship. We say, first what we have advocated is democratic dictatorship for workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie. Our revolution is a democratic revolution, and the dictatorship we have referred to is the democracy for the broad masses of people. It has nothing in common with the dictatorship exercised by the Kuomintang. In our

opinion, democracy and dictatorship are not contradictory. Under the national defence government, I advocate practice of democracy in its very broad sense for all the people (regardless of class) who are unwilling to become stateless slaves. As for the few national betrayers, we should deprive them of all political freedom, that is, exercise dictatorship over them. Secondly, since we do not compel all the anti-Japanese parties to carry out the Soviet political system in their controlled areas and since they make no attempt to overthrow other parties and factions during the period of resistance against Japan, it is needless for people to cast any doubt on the dictatorship advocated by the Communist Party.

Fear for the "functions of the party and the league" has risen from the belief that such "functions are things that kill people and extinguish human nature" and the Communist Party "is carrying on such functions in secrecy." The Communist Party, of course, hopes that people will agree to and accept its viewpoints.

The Communist Party has consistently opposed the application of intrigues to carry out its views, the adoption of political intrigues by individual comrades in the Party and, particularly, any attempts to force people to agree to and accept one's own viewpoints. The Party relies on open propaganda and persuasion and on the support and approval of the great majority of people to put their views into practice. The Communist Party believes that they can depend on such open and normal methods to gain the approval and support of the vast majority of people for their proposals and carry them out; there is no need for it to rely on intrigues and clandestine plots. It has kept this pledge in the past and it is doing so at present. It will keep this pledge in future.

In the government, the meetings and the various civic bodies in which the Communist Party participates, it has party and league organizations which are only intended to attain uniformity of views and actions among its members participating in such government, meetings and civic bodies. Through such organizations its views can be better presented and explained. Under the circumstances when such organizations can be openly conducted, they are open. Therefore, the Communist Party's organizations are not designed to endanger its allies and are far from being "things that will kill mankind and extinguish human nature." In meetings in West European countries, the Communist Party has its organization, and so do other parties. We do not oppose other parties in China having their organizations in the coalition government.

(6) Mr. Chang said it seemed that the Communist Party should, according to its declaration, carry out in its controlled areas its policies of "rescuing people from natural calamities and giving them security in livelihood," "abolishing oppressive and miscellaneous taxes," "bringing order to finance and economy," "increasing salaries and soldiers' pay," and "bringing into practice the system of free education." It is correct! The Communist Party has abolished all oppressive and miscellaneous taxes in its controlled areas. In Northern Shensi, not a single tax is collected on anything. There are no starving people there. All widowers, widows, invalid and the old and feeble are aided with fixed sums from a public fund and quantities of grain. There are no robbers, thieves or beggars. The people are receiving a greater income and living a better life than before. Schools are giving free education. University and higher-grade school students are provided with clothing and food by the government. Wages have been increased, and workers are given better treatment. Although the government personnel have not yet been placed on a salary system, those doing low miscellaneous services are receiving the same amount of clothing and food as the high-ranking officials. Although commerce has been limited on account of the blockade, markets have expanded tremendously, and merchants' profits have increased several times. Cooperatives of various kinds have been established, and ways of increasing agricultural and handicraft production have been put into practice with government help.

Recently we have changed the title of the Worker and Peasant Republic into that of the People's Soviet Republic and modified many policies to make them conform to the task of unifying all the people in resisting Japan and saving the country. We have, for instance, altered the policy toward the rich peasants and extended the franchise to cover all members of the petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals engaged in resistance against Japan (men of letters, artists, journalists, scientists and experts) and the White army officers loyal to the course of resistance against Japan. We have adopted magnanimous policies toward national industrial and commercial capitalists, as, for instance, we do not confiscate their private properties but instead give them protection in their business operations. We welcome all anti-Japanese elements and unemployed intellectuals who have been mistreated and arrested by national betrayers. Officers and men who go to the Communist-occupied areas will receive good treatment and some work to do. They will be given opportunities to

develop their talents.

If you, sir, do not believe in what I have just said, you, or any other person interested in studying Chinese social systems, are welcome to go to the spot and see for yourselves. We assure you that you will encounter no obstructions in carrying out your mission or leaving the place, and that you will receive a satisfactory welcome. Those who go there can make a on-the-spot investigation and form their own judgment as to whether or not the Soviet system suits the state of conditions in our country. Regardless of the outcome, the Chinese Communist Party has anyway made a practical experimentation on a brand new social system. All the unreasonable slander is useless, whereas the conducting of an objective and calm investigation and study is necessary. There are people making a study and investigation of the system of public ownership of land in Shansi. We request similar investigations on our experimentation. I do not think our request is an unreasonable one! (abridged)

I hope you, sir, will publish this letter in your esteemed journal and let me have your reply through your paper. Perhaps this will be to the benefit of our Chinese nationality!

T'ao Shang-hsing

April 13, 1936

MY VIEW ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CURRENT POLEMIC ON LITERATURE AND ART

October 15, 1936

The prime significance of the current polemic, it seems to me, lies in overcoming sectarianism and exclusionism. In literary circles, sectarianism and exclusionism have not yet been completely overcome at the present, but it is quite obvious that with the unfolding of the polemic, the trend has been curbed to a considerable extent. Many have been criticized while others have corrected themselves, and we have already benefited greatly by the polemic. To my mind, it is incorrect to regard the current theoretical dispute as a "civil war" and as a "break in the united front." Therefore, it should be pointed out that clinging stubbornly to one's own erroneous viewpoint naturally is not a good attitude. It also must be pointed out that clandestinely spreading fabricated rumors divorced from facts and making senseless trouble through "mosquito" newspapers are particularly undesirable. While others, without knowing the focus of the polemic, act as if they deplore the situation by saying that "this is a split" and "an attack directed at an individual"; actually they themselves are making attacks on individuals and causing a "split". However, as the polemic unfolds itself and with the development of the anti-X movement outside literary circles, the basic point of the polemic is becoming more clearly defined and

This article was published under the pen name of Mu Wen-hua (莫文華) in *Tso-chia* (作家, *Writers*), Shanghai, Vol. 2, No. 1, October 15, 1936. An article in *Jen-min Jih-pao* (人民日報, *People's Daily*), September 16, 1967, reported that Mu Wen-hua is one of the many pseudonyms of Liu Shao-ch'i. Liu Shao-ch'i, at that time, was a member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Northern Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

more and more crystalizing into a principle, which is something really encouraging.

At the beginning of and prior to the current polemic, in one corner of the literary arena was Mr. Chou Yang and in the other, Mr. Hu Feng. However, the situation has changed with the appearance of two slogans from the polemic. On one side the original group with Mr. Chou Yang as the centre remains; on the other, Mr. Hu Feng and his group have suddenly disappeared. As the Chou Yang group beats its drums of victory, Mr. Lu Hsün, Mr. Mao Tun and later Mr. Lü K'o-yu have all come to make severe criticism of the Chou Yang group, completely negating its theory and, at the same time, criticizing and rectifying the attitude taken by Hu Feng and Nieh Kan-nu.

This leads to a new contrast: The Chou Yang group advocates "literature for national defense" as the slogan for the united front in opposition to "literature for the masses in the national revolutionary war." However, Lu Hsün, Mao Tun and others advocate that the resist-X united front should adopt resist-X as its political slogan and should not use "literature for national defense" to limit the enlargement of its scope. Therefore, the slogan "literature for the masses in the national revolutionary war" can be used without opposing "literature for national defense." Obviously, here are two factions differing in theory, not in slogans. We can easily see that the view held by Mr. Lu Hsün and Mr. Mao Tun is correct and the way they suggested it is proper and fits into the present realities. Moreover, as the polemic deepens, Mr. Chou Yang and his group are forced to change their attitude because their erroneous viewpoints, sectarianism and exclusionism are completely exposed and their theory is no longer tenable.

This is the general situation of the current polemic, from which one can see that the significance of the dispute lies, not in matters of slogan, but in the attempt to overcome sectarianism and exclusionism in the literary arena, as may be seen from the several most correct theses, the central theme of which deals with this point. Take, for instance, Mr. Mao Tun's article "The Two Slogans Causing the Dispute" (*Wen-hsueh Chieh* [Literary Circles], No. 3). In this he takes the correct stand and corrects, without favouring any side, the two factions: the sectarianism of Chou Yang, on the one hand, and Hu Feng and Nieh Kan-nu on the other. His other article, "A Few More Words", is written with a view to purging Chou Yang for his continued adherence to sectarianism and exclusionism. Mr.

Lu Hsün's long article, "Concerning the Question of Resist-X United Front" (*Tso-chia* [Writers], August issue), takes the correct stand and clearly and penetratingly criticizes and analyses Mr. Hsu Mao-yung and Mr. Chou Yang's theory and disposition of sectarianism. Not only has he pointed out to us the correct viewpoint and approach, but his criticism of Hsu Mao-yung, a youth deeply imbued with sectarianism, is also highly educational and serves as a really good lesson to us. The meaning conveyed in the article and the scathing criticism are all meant to propel the movement. At the same time, it deals with the question of theory. At no point in this lengthy article is there any sign of arguments over slogans. For another instance, the lengthy article, "Opinions on the Question of the Literary Movement", by Mr. Lü K'o-yu, (carried in *Writers*, September issue), has focussed itself on criticizing Mr. Chou Yang's exclusionism and mechanism; the article clearly set forth the correct way to approach the problem and has made practically no mention of the question of slogans. Therefore, if the current polemic is to be taken as a dispute over slogans, then an understanding of the correct viewpoint is still lacking; thus the real significance of the polemic will be lost.

At present, there is a great need for overcoming sectarianism. The current polemic has been going on for a long time and has experienced many twists and turns. All this proves that sectarianism and exclusionism are deep-rooted in the literary arena and have become historical. Judging from the history of the New Literary Movement, it can be seen that the Ch'uang-tsoo She (創造社), T'ai-yang She (太陽社) and later the left-wing Writers' Union, at different times, all have been heavily tinged with sectarianism, which finds its origin in the theory of art, namely, mechanism, as well as other objective factors The historical nature and objective factors of such sectarianism or exclusionism testify to the difficulty of, and also our need to, overcome it.

Another factor contributing to such a difficulty is that at the moment the united front movement is unprecedentedly "open-door". For this reason, when Lu Hsün and Mao Tun put forth plans to keep the doors open, we often hear people say, "You can keep the doors open but not that wide." This shows all the more clearly the need for us to overcome the error of exclusionism, I hope the present polemic will lead to better developments and a more favourable result.

Lastly, while I feel rather elated in reading Mr. Kuo Mo-jo's

thesis, "Sou Miao Ti Chien-yüeh" (蒐苗的檢閱, "A Review of the New Trend in Literature", *Wen-hsueh Chieh*, No. 4), I cannot agree with some of his points and must state my views below.

Mr. Kuo's attitude and intention are extremely good, showing that successful results will be obtained from the current polemic. I completely support his previous article, "Kuo-fang · Wu-chih · Lien-yü" (國防 · 汚池 · 煉獄, National Defense · Dirty Puddle · Purgatory), but in the present article what Mr. Kuo advocates in regard to the united front is nothing but exclusionism which has already been castigated by Lu Hsün and Mao Tun. For instance, he holds that there should be only one literary slogan. This is a straw which shows the direction he follows. For another instance, he considers undesirable what Mr. Lu Hsün observes, that is, "literature for the masses in the national revolutionary war" is just a development of the proletarian revolutionary literature of China. I personally think Mr. Lu Hsün's view correct, because by proletarian revolutionary literature he refers to literature of the left-wing writers of the previous years. He begins with the sentence, "Over the past five or six years, the left-wing Writers' Union" I am of the opinion that our literature, whether it is called "literature for national defense" or "literature for the masses in the national revolutionary war," is all the outcome of efforts of the past few years. How can we break history apart? Besides, I do not endorse the way Mr. Kuo splits the words of the term "literature for the masses in the national revolutionary war." For example, the central task in the Chinese revolution today naturally is national revolution, which is a fact beyond doubt. National revolutionary war is already a correct term understood by all beyond doubt. As to the term "literature for the masses," I agree with Mr. Lü K'o-yü in explaining it as "popular literature," because it is an urgent task for us to popularize literature among the masses. If this slogan which contains eleven Chinese characters is too long, then what about the term "socialist realistic creative method" [which contains 13 Chinese characters]? Therefore, this is not a forceful argument. On the contrary it might lead people to believe that Mr. Kuo also has a part to play in the dispute over slogans, thus obliterating the theme of the question. I wonder if Mr. Kuo will agree with me on this point.

(September 25)

VARIOUS QUESTIONS CONCERNING FUNDAMENTAL POLICIES IN ANTI-JAPANESE GUERRILLA WARFARE

October 16, 1937

I. GUERRILLA WARFARE IS TO BE THE MAIN FORM OF STRUGGLE FOR THE PEOPLE IN NORTH CHINA IN RESISTING THE JAPANESE

Prior to the Lukouchiao Incident, the Chinese people's primary form of opposition to Japanese imperialist aggression was unarmed struggle (for instance, parades, demonstrations and boycotts against Japanese goods) with sensitive students and members of the intelligentsia consistently standing at the forefront. However, since the Lukouchiao Incident, the primary struggle form of Chinese national resistance against Japanese aggression has been raised to the stage of armed struggle. This is a new stage in the War of Resistance Against Japan. At this stage, those at the forefront are the army and the armed people engaged in fighting. Hence most of the students and members of the intelligentsia have gone to the rear. From now on, those who wish to play an important role in the struggle must arm themselves, participate in the fighting and stand at the forefront of the battle.

This article was published under the pen name of Tao Shang-hsing (陶尚行). It is included in *K'ang-chan I-lai Ch'ung-yao Wen-chien Hui-chi, 1937-1942* (抗戰以來重要文件彙集, *A Collection of Important Documents Since the War of Resistance, 1937-1942*), compiled by the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, undated, pp. 19-33. The text is a translation from the above. Liu Shao-ch'i, at that time, was a member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Northern Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Generally speaking, there are three forms of armed struggle: (1) regular warfare, (2) guerrilla warfare and (3) armed uprising. As far as the whole nation is concerned, the principal form of struggle in the Chinese national opposition to Japanese imperialism is regular war. In North China, regular war is also still the principal means of resistance against the Japanese.

It is unfortunate that many defects still exist in the regular War of Resistance Against Japan. The political party and the political and military authorities leading the war still persist in adhering to mistaken policies; they are unable to carry out all the correct policies. This accounts for the fairly serious defeats in the regular war of resistance in North China, whereby most territories, principal communication lines and many major cities fell into the hands of the enemy, who are now using them to attack inland China. Although this is a very regrettable and painful event, many of the mistakes and defects in the regular war cannot be entirely rectified in a day or a month. On the other hand, the Eighth Route Army is not yet the main force in the regular war in North China. The true people's armed forces have not yet been broadly organized. Therefore, it is possible that the war in the north will continue to suffer further serious defeats.

If the regular War of Resistance in North China is further frustrated, guerrilla warfare will then become the people's principal form of struggle against Japanese imperialism. Nevertheless, the principal form of struggle for the Chinese nation as a whole in its resistance to Japan will still be regular war fought in Central and South China.

Guerrilla war is the major form of struggle for the people of North China in resisting Japan. For this reason, their central task today is to organize and develop guerrilla warfare extensively. A guerrilla war covering a broad area is still the most effective form of struggle for the people of North China to wage against the Japanese. The people who are willing to struggle against Japan should not dismiss or run away from guerrilla war. If we can really arm several hundred thousand or several million people of North China to undertake and persist in waging a guerrilla war, it will carry the following political and military significance giving us a bright future.

(1) It will tie down a large Japanese force in North China, tactically coordinating our efforts with the regular war in Central and South China. This will be to our advantage, giving us a better

chance of winning the war.

(2) It will be long-term resolute support to the War of Resistance Against Japan in North China, consuming the Japanese imperialists' strength and finally enabling us to win against Japanese imperialism.

(3) It will encircle the invading Japanese troops in the interior and finally annihilate them, allowing us to recover part of the lost territory.

(4) It will give the people of North China a chance to fight, pose a threat to traitors, expose the despicable look and mistake of the national defeatism of those who have surrendered and those who fear the Japanese, and seriously embarrass those who may possibly attempt to compromise with the Japanese. It will tell the whole world that the people in North China will fight a bloody war to the end to safeguard every inch of soil in the northern part of the nation.

(5) Finally, in the course of continuously expanding the guerrilla war and winning victories, regular war can be reverted to as the principal form of struggle for the people of North China in resisting the Japanese and driving the Japanese troops out of North China.

Many people who cannot make an adequate evaluation of the political and military significance of a broad guerrilla war in North China entertain doubts as to its prospect. They ask if it is possible for a loose guerrilla force organized by the people to fight a long drawn out war against a greatly numerically superior Japanese force and win, particularly when several hundred thousand long trained troops could not sustain the war in North China and were rapidly broken by a numerically inferior Japanese force. These people's thinking, however, is wrong, for they do not understand that we cannot ascribe the defeat of the regular war in North China to the failure of those several hundred thousand troops and the people. It was not that these troops and the people of North China could not win the war against the Japanese enemy; the defeat can be attributed only to the failure to develop the tremendous strength of the several hundred thousand troops and the people and to the misuse of the strength that existed. The Government authorities are to be blamed. The mistakes and defects can and must be quickly corrected and overcome in the forthcoming guerrilla war. The forthcoming guerrilla war can and must be won.

Why can we win the guerrilla war? How can we fight for victory? This depends on whether we can carry out correct strategy

and tactics and on the adoption of various fundamental policies.

II. THE CONDITIONS FOR UNFOLDING GUERRILLA WARFARE IN NORTH CHINA AND THE POSSIBILITIES OF VICTORY

With the forcible occupation of the main lines of communication and the major cities in North China by the Japanese imperialists, under what conditions then will the armed forces in North China be fighting? As far as the enemy is concerned, they are:

First, the enemy can concentrate superior forces and obtain supplies in the major cities and important military areas and move rapidly by utilizing the North China railways, major highways and industrial centres.

Second, the enemy has superior weapons.

Third, the people of North China will not assist the enemy, but will create resistance wherever he goes.

Fourth, the enemy cannot but fight in the rear. With supplies cut off from the rear, the enemy army cannot exist.

Fifth, North China covers a vast territory. In Shansi, Northern Hopei and Western Suiyuan there are many mountainous areas. The enemy's long transport and liaison lines are vulnerable to attacks by the guerrilla forces. The enemy cannot station their troops everywhere in the broad countryside.

Sixth, the great majority of the enemy troops came to China to fight under compulsion.

These are the enemy army's advantages and disadvantages.

What about our army and guerrilla forces?

First, tactically, we are fighting in the interior at the enemy's rear and on his flanks. It is difficult for supplies to reach us from the outside.

Second, our weapons and military techniques are inferior.

Third, we can get aid everywhere from the people, and we are familiar with the customs and habits of the people and with the topography.

Fourth, we have the vast mountainous region and the rural areas, where the enemy troops cannot be stationed constantly, as the bases for our guerrilla activities.

Fifth, our officers and soldiers are willing to fight the enemy.

Sixth, in North China, we have the Eighth Route Army, which has all the special features of a guerrilla unit, to serve as a centre of

the guerrilla organization.

All these are our advantages and disadvantages.

Moreover, in the past, the North China government authorities and the powerful and overbearing members of the local gentry and capitalists have consistently suppressed and exploited the people. The people's poor livelihood has never been improved. Many soldiers in the War of Resistance Against Japan are poorly disciplined and have left a very bad impression among the people. The people have been deprived of their democratic rights and are unorganized. Historically, Chinese governments have adopted mistaken policies toward the Mongolian, Hui and other minority nationalities. Bandits and members of black societies are rampant in some districts in North China. All these are conditions that we must take into consideration when we conduct guerrilla warfare on a broad front in North China. They should serve as the starting point on which we base our guerrilla war strategy and formulate our fundamental policy. However, after we have developed the guerrilla war and carried out correct policies, these conditions will gradually change and turn to our favour.

The armed forces are fighting the Japanese enemy in North China under the above-mentioned basic conditions. Our strategy, tactics and various policies should be drawn then on the basis of these conditions.

There have been many books written on the subject of guerrilla war strategy and tactics. I am not going into details here. I will only say that if we can develop guerrilla warfare extensively in North China and adhere to correct strategy and tactics and correct policies, then the more the enemy penetrates into China, the more difficult he will find it to form contacts with his rear. The railways and highways extending over distances of several thousand *li* will be subjected to sabotage and cut by our guerrilla units. This will compel the enemy to station large forces to guard the communication lines, giving our main force a chance to encircle and annihilate them. We can thus recover some of the enemy occupied territories. The guerrilla units can deal with an enemy numerically several times superior to themselves and win victories. This is borne out by the past experience of the Northeast Volunteers and all the experience of the Eighth Route Army. The several hundred thousand regular forces could not win against fewer enemies, but several hundred thousand guerrilla forces can defeat a larger enemy force. Anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare in North China has a bright future.

However, if the guerrilla units wish to defeat the enemy, aside from following correct strategy and tactics, they must (1) secure the people's fully organized assistance so they can camouflage their movements, find out the enemy's conditions, and obtain supplies and provisions without which they not only cannot win the war but they will not even be able to subsist; (2) follow correct policies in all respects and represent the people's interests and will so they can obtain the people's fully organized help; and (3) maintain excellent political and military discipline and treat officers and men equally so they can ensure the correct implementation of policies. If these conditions are not complied with, correct strategy and tactics will not help them win the final victory. For this reason, apart from organizing and developing guerrilla warfare extensively, we must build guerrilla forces which can carry out correct policies in all respects and reorganize those which cannot implement such correct policies, so the guerrilla war in North China can score the final victory. We should build strong bases for anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare, where we can establish anti-Japanese political regimes capable of doing work and leading the guerrilla war.

III. THE ORGANIZATION AND REFORM OF ANTI-JAPANESE ARMED FORCES

With the fall of North China into the hands of the Japanese plunderers, those determined to resist them will not be the Chinese Communist Party alone; all the political parties, armed forces and the people with national understanding and determination will take up rifles, join the guerrilla units and fight the Japanese. Naturally, this will be good, and the North China guerrilla war will be greatly developed. On the other hand, however, the armed forces in resistance against the Japanese will be mixed and complicated and not be of one mind and one heart. They will have different views, policies and stands. To deal with this situation, we advocate unification of all the different guerrilla units, coordination in warfare, and implementation of a definite common policy.

It is anticipated that the composition of the guerrilla units will be as follows: (1) the troops directly under the leadership of the Communist Party, (2) part of the various factional troops originally fighting the War of Resistance in North China, (3) members of the militia and police previously under the control of landlords, (4) armed forces organized by the people of their own volition, (5)

bandit and black society forces fighting the Japanese, (6) troops who have surrendered from the puppet Mongolian army, (7) units organized to fight against the Japanese by the Mongolians and Huis, and in the future possibly (8) the anti-Japanese armed units organized by soldiers who have defected from the Japanese army after rioting, and Japanese prisoners of war. All forces are unanimous in their determination to resist Japan, but are at variance in their views and policies. To defeat the strong Japanese, we propose:

(1) All the anti-Japanese armed forces in North China should be organized into an anti-Japanese allied army with an allied army headquarters operating under the leadership of the Central Military Commission of the Nationalist Government.

(2) The allied army headquarters and the allied regional army command headquarters should hold regular military conferences attended by delegates from various anti-Japanese armed forces. The conferences would decide war tactics and war plans and elect allied army commanders.

(3) To facilitate the fighting, the Communist Party advocates that all the miscellaneous and scattered fighting units be combined into a regular anti-Japanese army. Whenever it is possible, the Communist Party will do its best to unite, centralize and combine such scattered units into a regular army. This can only be done on a voluntary basis; the Communist Party opposes compulsory integration or re-organization.

(4) In the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Communist Party will need to win victories and make developments not only for itself but also for all allied forces. The Communist Party does not conceal its experience in success and victory. Assuming an entirely sincere and straightforward attitude, it will assist all anti-Japanese armed units politically, militarily and organizationally to reform themselves so as to become effective fighting units in all these respects. It will also openly criticize the mistakes and defects of the allied forces.

In the War of Resistance Against Japan, we urgently need to organize armed forces everywhere, and we also need to unite, centralize, combine and reform all existing forces. For this reason, the Communist Party opposes the policy of the Central Government in Nanking and certain local authorities in stopping the people from freely organizing anti-Japanese armed units. We should allow the people to arm, issue rifles to them and help them arm themselves;

we must not fear the redundancy and complexity of these armed forces. At the same time, the Communist Party stands opposed to separatism of various anti-Japanese armed units and advocates their alliance and concentration. It also opposes compulsory alliance and concentration and favours democratic alliance and concentration.

We are of the opinion that many armed forces taking part in the resistance against the Japanese need to be thoroughly reformed; otherwise, they cannot win their battles and develop themselves in the fighting or even exist in North China. Such reforms should be carried out as follows:

First, they must strengthen political education among the troops, then they can consolidate the fighting units, improve discipline and heighten their courage and spirit of sacrifice in fighting the Japanese.

Second, they must improve their treatment of soldiers, prohibit cruelties, such as beating and inflicting other physical penalties on soldiers. They must treat officers and men equally. Since a guerrilla war is fought under extremely difficult conditions, it is obvious that those who join the guerrilla units do not do so because they have nothing to eat or because they want to make a few dollars; they come to save their country and oppose the Japanese and to win their own glory. Therefore, the soldiers must not continue to be beaten, vituperated, cruelly treated or disregarded as human beings. If the bad practices of warlordism are allowed to continue, many of the anti-Japanese troops will run away; no one will join an army which cannot develop its soldiers' courage to fight the enemy. In the end, such an army can never win or even exist.

Third, they must leave all accounts open to the soldiers for inspection and let the soldiers choose their own men to control and administer economic affairs. Only in so doing can soldiers carry on under the most difficult supply conditions without complaining and can they eliminate the squeezing of bad middle people.

Fourth, they must weed out the vacillating elements who have no confidence in the War of Resistance before they can make their troops persist in conducting the war on a long-term basis and win it.

The Communist Party advocates that reforms be conducted among the fighting units which have the above-mentioned shortcomings and is willing to do all it can to assist the allied armed forces in carrying out the reforms. Naturally, the Communist Party will also humbly accept allied forces' superior features and good experience in reforming their own troops.

IV. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BASES FOR THE ANTI-JAPANESE GUERRILLA WAR AND THE ORGANIZATION OF ANTI-JAPANESE GOVERNMENTS IN GUERRILLA WAR AREAS

There must be bases for the guerrilla war, without which the war cannot be persistently fought on a long-term basis. Although the Japanese army in North China has occupied the important lines of communication and the major cities, it cannot reach or occupy for any length of time the mountainous and rural areas of the various provinces. In such areas we should set up bases of resistance against the Japanese as the rear for guerrilla activities.

However, in some areas the original governments still exist. They are either carrying on resistance against Japan or have surrendered to the Japanese and become puppet governments. In some areas, the original government personnel have run away, leaving the traitors to take advantage of the vacuum and establish maintenance organizations. Our policy is to set up true people's political regimes in these areas to carry on the War of Resistance. Our slogan is: Strike down traitorous governments and maintenance associations, oppose surrendering, and transform the original one party dictatorial governments into people's anti-Japanese governments. To establish truly effective anti-Japanese governments with the support of the masses in conducting the war in these areas, the original government organs must be made to undergo democratic reforms.

First, we should call together the representatives of various parties, factions, mass organizations, armed forces and the original governments in these areas and the delegates elected from the mass meetings would hold conferences and elect provisional government committees in the base areas. Under these governments all the county, district, *hsiang*, and rural governments would call similar meetings to undertake reforms. Aside from carrying on normal functions, it would be the provisional government's duty to make preparations for establishing a formal government, such as the drafting of organizational principles and election laws and the holding of elections for governments at various levels. When the elected representative congress is convened and the formal government established, the duties of the provisional government end, and the political power will then be handed over to the formal government. This is the procedure to be followed in reforming government.

What kind of system should this government adopt? It should practise the democratic system and carry out universal election by secret ballot. At the beginning the indirect election system should perhaps be adopted. Citizens, male or female, of 18 years or over and free of mental illness have the right to vote and be elected. The government of each level is to be controlled by a committee. All ministers should be appointed by the committee, and their selection made by majority rule.

Such a government would be a local government of the Chinese Republic, amenable to the leadership of the Central Government. It requires the approval of the Central Government and accepts its laws and decrees. At the same time, it is also a local autonomous government having the right to promulgate laws and orders of a local nature to be carried out within its own area.

Such a government should be a regional national united front government (the central and local governments are still the Kuo-mintang, one-party, dictatorial governments), in which all political parties, civic bodies, the army and individuals, who persevere in the War of Resistance Against Japan and have secured the masses' trust, should have their representatives participating in it. At the same time, these political parties, mass organizations, the army and individuals should have a common programme for the national revolutionary war, which should serve as the political programme for the government.

The current urgent task for the government is to lead the guerrilla war and strive for victory. Hence, its fundamental task for political administration should be (1) to universally arm the people and mobilize them to participate in the war, (2) to safeguard the people's democratic rights, (3) to improve the people's living standards, and (4) to liquidate traitors and repress all acts that obstruct and sabotage the War of Resistance Against Japan. All the policies and political programmes of the government should aim at the fullest fulfilment of the foregoing four tasks, that is, at winning victory in the War of Resistance.

If the government can complete the above tasks to the fullest extent, it will secure the masses' highest trust and can rally the masses' greatest enthusiasm to participate in the war and all other work, to organize and train themselves, and to willingly give everything to the government for the war against the Japanese plunderers. In this way, a solid base for resistance against Japan is built in the area, from which the guerrilla units can draw their supplies and

where the rear of the guerrilla units can be established. The enemy can be induced into the base area and then annihilated. The masses will come forth from all quarters to assist the government and guerrilla units with great enthusiasm. This will enable the guerrilla units to persist in battling against the numerically superior enemy and win.

V. VARIOUS POLICIES OF THE ANTI-JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

To fulfil the above four tasks, the government's concrete policies should be as follows:

1. Financial and Economic Policy. As a consequence of Japanese imperialist blockades and destruction, it has been difficult for imported goods to enter our ports and for various industries in the industrial centres along the coast to continue production and for many national industries of a comprador nature to maintain themselves. Some have closed down altogether. As a result of war destruction and its influences, rural production in many places has decreased. On the other hand, we need large quantities of industrial and agricultural supplies because of the large war consumption. This situation has caused a shortage of goods in the country, a rise in commodity prices and a drop in the value of the currency. The situation has worsened in the guerrilla base areas where communications have been cut by the enemy. There, many industrial and commercial capitalists and big landlords want to run away or even attempt to surrender. The enemy intends to blockade such areas in particular and stop the commercial contact between these and other areas. Hence the financial and economic conditions there will become extremely difficult. Such conditions create, on the other hand, opportunities for the pure Chinese national industries — the genuine native capital — to expand satisfactorily, for the war has brought to them unprecedentedly large markets, high prices and good profit for the goods they produce. The development of such national industries insures the benefit of both the War of Resistance Against Japan and national independence. This leads China gradually away from economic reliance on imperialism and towards the path of independence. It also helps the Chinese feudal landlords and money lenders at high rates of interest switch their investments to native industries. For this reason, the financial and economic policies of the anti-Japanese government should be determined on the basis of the following fundamental programme:

(1) Safeguard the provisions of the anti-Japanese armed forces and the supply of daily necessities to the people.

(2) Promote the development of native industries and agriculture. Remove the remnant vestiges of feudal exploitation as an incidental task in the War of Resistance.

(3) Make an effort to break the enemy's economic blockade.

(4) Lighten the burden on the labouring people and shift it on to the rich people. The slogan is: Let the people with money give money.

On the basis of the foregoing programme, the concrete financial policy of the anti-Japanese government should be to:

(1) Cancel all taxes and tax assessments of the past and prescribe a new accumulative tax. Collect heavy taxes on incomes of those who do not labour for them (such as land and house rents, interest on loans).

(2) Confiscate property that belongs to the traitors and the Japanese imperialists.

(3) Let government control or supervise the funds belonging to local mass organizations and take a part of the funds to pay for resistance against the Japanese.

(4) Collect national salvation contributions from the rich.

(5) Mobilize the masses to make contributions towards meeting the expenses of resisting the Japanese and to supply things required in war on a voluntary basis.

(6) Save expenses, stop waste, punish corrupt officials and middle-men, establish honest government, cancel salary and soldiers' pay systems, and prescribe the minimum and equal living expenses for civil servants.

(7) Issue national salvation bonds whenever it is possible and necessary.

(8) Draw up a general budget as close to reality as possible, in which the military expenses may occupy 80 to 90 per cent and other expenses are kept as low as possible.

(9) Collect and store fixed quantities of food for the armed forces at suitable places.

The economic policy should be to:

(1) Protect the freedom of trade for all industrial and commercial enterprises and eliminate dishonest merchants.

(2) Assist industries that are helpful to the War of Resistance, the ammunition and military supply industries in particular.

(3) Assist the people in organizing producers' and consumers'

cooperatives.

(4) Let government make use of the factories that have been closed down because of a slow-down by or the flight of capitalists by organizing cooperatives or limited liability companies to run them or by leasing them to private individuals who can operate them.

(5) Reorganize industries that produce luxury articles, so that they can turn out military supplies and articles of daily necessity for the people.

(6) Develop agricultural production, launch ploughing and sowing campaigns, protect draught animals and farm implements, prohibit destruction of farm tools and the unlimited export and excessive slaughtering of cattle.

(7) Organize imports and exports and permit merchants in enemy occupied areas and British and American traders to enter base areas to do business. Do not prohibit the entry of Japanese goods as a general rule (because of the shortage of goods in base areas, the enemy may impose the prohibition).

(8) Prohibit monopolies by commission agents or licensed brokers.

(9) As a general rule, use *Fah Pi* (banknotes issued by the Nationalist Government), do not stop the circulation of Japanese banknotes, and try not to issue notes independently. Maintain the original banks or establish the system of placing banks under government supervision to let them direct finances.

(10) Prohibit loans at exorbitant interest rates and exploitation through the collection of land rent. Grant low interest loans or loans without interest.

The financing and supplying of guerrilla forces and guerrilla base areas should be independent and self-reliant in principle. When it is possible, however, we should try to get subsidies and help from the Central Government or adjacent provincial governments.

It is imperative for guerrilla forces without a base or for forces operating far from a base to find their own provisions and supplies. In so doing, the guerrilla forces should strictly observe the foregoing financial and economic policies; they must never do as they please. The supplies for the guerrilla forces under these circumstances would depend mainly on goods confiscated from the enemy, the properties of traitors and contributions from the rich. Only when it is absolutely necessary can they solicit contributions from the masses. Even when we seek contributions from the rich, we should try to avoid resorting to compulsion or arbitrary assessments; we should persuade

the rich to contribute voluntarily. Only when it is imperative and when persuasion proves to be of no avail can we assess fixed sums of money or quantities of grain from the rich as contributions. The guerrilla units must never assess or solicit contributions from the rich through the heads of villages or districts or through chambers of commerce; contributions should be solicited or assessed directly from the rich households. We may designate certain quantities of goods for a certain rich person to contribute. If this is done through the medium of a village head, he will naturally solicit them from the poor as well with the result that the great majority of the people will harbour discontent toward the guerrilla forces. This is a point worthy of attention.

Not only should the guerrilla units refrain from assessing contributions among the poor; they should give the greater portion of properties confiscated from traitors and the enemy to the poor people and help the worker and peasant masses in the enemy occupied areas struggling to better their livelihood (such as wage increases, rent reductions, refusal to pay taxes). While getting provisions, the guerrilla forces should have a distinctly clear policy and observe strict discipline. If they refrain from taking things from the people at will, they will never arouse panic or the flight of the masses but instead will win their praise and support. In time of difficulty, the masses will voluntarily help them. On the other hand, if the guerrilla forces do not follow a definite policy in seeking provisions, but assess fixed sums of money from the people, take things without their consent, or buy things without properly paying for them, they will certainly offend the masses.

2. Peasants' Land Policy. The War of Resistance Against Japan cannot be won without the participation of the peasants who comprise over 80 per cent of the whole population. However, the great majority of peasants throughout the nation are living in a state of bare subsistence with no time to spare for anything else. Hence they have not the energy to do anything to save the country. For this reason, during the War of Resistance, the most important step to take to win the war is to find a correct and reasonable solution to the peasants' land question.

The Communist Party has consistently held that the land of the landlord class should be confiscated and distributed to peasants who have little or no land. This is the most direct and thorough way of solving the peasants' land question. Nevertheless, in view of the critical national crisis, we have made political concessions

in order to unite with the Kuomintang and other political parties; we have stopped directly implementing the policy of confiscating landlords' land. This concession is correct and necessary, but it does not mean to say that we do not advocate a solution of the peasants' land question during the War of Resistance. We have stopped using violence to confiscate landlords' land at the low level, but we advocate that the government solve the land question through laws and decrees so as to let peasants acquire land or to let the tiller have his own land.

We have the following proposals concerning the peasants' land policy in the base areas:

(1) Confiscate the land of traitors and distribute it to peasants who have little or no land.

(2) Distribute the land of the runaway landlords to peasants to cultivate without paying land rent.

(3) Distribute local public land to peasants.

(4) Promulgate laws to enforce universal reduction of land rent, setting a maximum rate and reducing present rent to a minimum.

(5) Protect the peasant's perpetual right to till the land leased to him.

(6) Let government deal seriously with matters concerning water conservation and aid calamity stricken people.

(7) Assist in the development of agricultural cooperatives and help poor peasants acquire farm implements, seeds and draught animals.

(8) Abolish the old agricultural law and protect the peasants' freedom to organize peasants' associations, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of the press.

(9) Punish local rascals and members of the vile gentry, who have extorted and exploited peasants. Peasants may elect their own rural administrators and organize their own armed guards.

(10) Put peasants' debts in order, prohibit fleecing peasants with loans at exorbitant interest rates. Grant loans at low interest rates or interest free.

After thorough implementation of the foregoing policies, the broad peasant masses will naturally develop their enthusiasm for participating in the War of Resistance. Some landlords may not approve of our policies, but they will have to sacrifice their interests somewhat so we might satisfactorily feed and clothe the peasants thus securing their participation in the cause of national salvation. After the loss of our country, landlords would face far greater

sacrifice than they may suffer now from the implementation of our policies. All broad-minded people should approve our programme. Land confiscated from traitors should be distributed first to the local landless families of military personnel fighting the War of Resistance and then to other peasants.

3. Labour Policy. The anti-Japanese government should have a correct labour policy before it can stimulate the workers' enthusiasm for participation in the War and at the same time, spur them to efforts for production. In the guerrilla war areas there must be many unemployed workers awaiting aid. While the local markets are isolated from the outside, native capitalists will monopolize them. Such a situation may also give rise to harsher demands on the employed workers to work harder. Concerning labour policy in these areas, the Communist Party's proposals are:

- (1) Aid the unemployed workers.
- (2) Prescribe an eight-hour work system and declare Sunday a day of rest.
- (3) Increase workers' wages and prescribe a minimum wage.
- (4) Protect the young and the child- and woman-worker, and improve the treatment of apprentices.
- (5) Prescribe pension and aid regulations for capitalists to observe in cases of workers' sickness, death and other unfortunate accidents, or institute the system of social insurance.
- (6) Prohibit forcible wage reductions and penalties, cruel exploitation by labour contractors and the beating, vituperation and atrocious treatment of workers. Disband factory police and organize workers' guards.
- (7) Protect the workers' freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of the press and freedom to strike and recognize the legal rights of trade unions and the right to sign collective contracts.
- (8) Promulgate special laws to protect hired farm labourers.

We can abolish the salary and pay system in government organs, but the wage system for workers should never be abolished. When the government improves labour conditions, promulgates labour laws and puts these measures into effect in the factories, workers will develop a high degree of labour enthusiasm for increasing production. Therefore, the government's labour policy should be formulated on the principle of improving the living standards of workers and employees, raising workers' enthusiasm for labour and increasing production.

4. Internal Affairs Policy. The internal affairs policy of the anti-Japanese government is, in principle, to liquidate traitors, insure as many people to join the War of Resistance as possible, and gradually smash the feudal relationships.

In the guerrilla base areas, we should declare a severance of national relations with Japan. For this reason, any relations with the Japanese imperialists in these areas are illegal. The Chinese traitors are those who oppose and sabotage the War of Resistance at the instigation of the Japanese. Those who surrender to the enemy for the sake of protecting their personal interests and who work for the Japanese at their direction are also Chinese traitors. However, there are many people who could not have escaped but surrendered under Japanese compulsion and were even forced to do labour and sentry duties for the Japanese. These people cannot be regarded as traitors. At times, the people are even compelled to report on the movements of the guerrilla forces. The guerrilla units should have compassion on these people, make no trouble for them but organize them to submit false reports to the enemy.

The internal affairs policies should be:

(1) Give Chinese traitors the death penalty.

(2) Punish the officials, vile gentry and factory owners who obstruct and sabotage the masses' anti-Japanese and national salvation movement.

(3) Reorganize the original police and militia and embody them into the anti-Japanese guerrilla forces. Organize special people's guards to maintain local order.

(4) Reorganize law courts. Judges should be elected by the people.

(5) Promulgate laws -- declare freedom of marriage and freedom of religious beliefs, prohibit smoking of opium and the use of other narcotic drugs, feet-binding, and the purchase and sale of human beings.

(6) Organize local people's police guards and the people for sentry duty. Institute the system of using safe conduct passes.

(7) Pay pensions to the dependents of those who have sacrificed their lives in the War of Resistance. Aid the refugees.

(8) Give special treatment to the dependents of military personnel.

5. Education Policy. The educational policy of the anti-Japanese government is, in principle, to train urgently needed cadres in the War of Resistance, heighten the people's national consciousness

and raise their cultural level. We should therefore thoroughly revise the old educational system and the old school curricula. The policy should be:

(1) Reorganize the existing universities to make them training institutes for various military, political and technical cadres and shorten the period of training courses to several months or to less than one year.

(2) Carry out universal free primary school education.

(3) Extensively develop supplementary education, popular social education and launch literacy campaigns.

(4) Promote the use of simplified characters and reform old stage dramas and songs.

(5) Establish various cultural bodies and research societies and hold reading meetings. Develop newspaper and printing enterprises.

(6) Improve school teachers' remuneration and make arrangements for them to live better. Recognize the legal status of the school teachers' and employees' joint associations and students' associations.

6. Nationalities Policy. The anti-Japanese government's policy towards the various minority nationalities in China should, in principle, be to unite all nationalities to resist Japan, aid all nationalities in self-determination and oppose great Han-ism; it should resolutely change the Nationalist Government's and the traditional policy of subjugating as well as befriending the minority nationalities. The government should declare:

(1) All the minority nationalities living within the boundaries of China should carry out self-determination. The government is to assist them in establishing their own autonomous governments. In the areas inhabited by both minority nationalities and Han, minority nationality committees should be formed if the Hans constitute a majority.

(2) The minority nationalities have the right to build their own armed forces.

(3) Develop the minority nationalities' culture and respect their religious beliefs.

(4) Strictly prohibit exploitation of the minority nationalities through loans at exorbitant interest rates.

(5) Stop the Hans' words, speeches and conduct that insult the minority nationalities.

(6) Invite all the minority nationalities to join the common

struggle against Japanese imperialist aggression.

It would be a great risk for the Chinese Government not to implement the above-mentioned policies when the Japanese imperialists are deceiving China's minority nationalities by assisting them in attaining independence and autonomy. This will lead some of the nationalities to feel that Japanese Government is better than the Chinese Government and the Hans, and to demand independence from China and oppose China upon the deception of the Japanese. To avoid the risk, the Chinese Government must carry out a concrete policy of assisting the minority nationalities in their endeavours to attain independence and autonomy. Only in so doing can we expose the Japanese imperialist deceptive policy. The independence and autonomy of the minority nationalities is nothing to be afraid of, for after they are given independence and autonomy, they can still join China in the common struggle against the Japanese. What is to be feared is their opposition to China and the Hans, initiated at the deception of and for utilization by the Japanese. The erroneous and dangerous view and policy will be the continued opposition to the minority nationalities' independence and autonomy; this will be the view and policy that would help the Japanese in deceiving the minority nationalities. Only by recognizing the right of the minority nationalities to enjoy independence and autonomy can we win their sincere participation in our resistance against Japan. Failure to recognize nationalities' right of self-determination deprives us of the national alliance on the basis of equality.

7. Foreign Policy. The anti-Japanese government's foreign policy should, in principle, be to concentrate our energies in opposition to Japanese imperialism and make efforts to win the support of and aid from other countries and world sympathy. Hence it should be:

- (1) Sever diplomatic relations with Japan.
- (2) Protect all the people from the neutral countries in China except the Japanese secret service officials and capitalists.
- (3) Also protect the honest Japanese living in China.
- (4) Treat the Japanese prisoners of war and wounded Japanese soldiers well and escort them to their army units.
- (5) Organize and assist the people of Korea and Taiwan in their independence movements.
- (6) Pay attention to the conduct of international propaganda and try to win international support and aid.

The anti-Japanese governments and the guerrilla forces must

resolutely carry out such a foreign policy. They must explain to the troops and the people that the aggressors are only a few Japanese warlords and capitalists and that the great majority of the Japanese people are not to be held responsible for the Japanese aggression; they are opposed to the Japanese Government and sympathetic to the Chinese people in their War of Resistance. For this reason, it is wrong to kill the Japanese people and the Japanese prisoners of war. If we do so, we will further help Japanese imperialism to deceive its own people and cause fear among the Japanese soldiers in their display of sympathy towards China, their surrender of weapons and their willingness to join us. This will further increase our difficulties in winning the war against the Japanese plunderers.

8. Mass Movements Policy. The policy of the anti-Japanese government on mass movements should be viewed from two aspects: (1) the government policy towards mass organizations and mass movements; (2) mass organizations' and mass movements' policy on various questions.

The government policy on mass organizations and mass movements should be:

(1) Protect the freedom of all mass organizations and mass movements except those of traitors.

(2) Establish the legal rights and status of mass organizations and mass movements.

(3) Give material aid to mass organizations.

(4) Respect the independence of mass organizations and refrain from making any direct organizational interference in the internal activities of mass organizations.

The foregoing is the correct attitude that the government should take towards mass organizations and mass movements. Only by allowing freedom to mass movements and respecting the independence of mass organizations can the government gain their loyal support. Some people are afraid of the opposition that mass movements may raise against the government. Hence they prohibit or restrict the freedom of mass movements, impede or interfere with the independence of mass organizations, ordering such organizations' responsible persons or counsellors to watch the masses, and forcing the mass organizations to be reorganized and so on. This will only increase the masses' discontent and hatred towards the government and make it all the more difficult for the government to get the masses' support.

There are still others who want the masses to give organized

help to the government, ordering them to organize themselves or even forcing them to join certain government sponsored public bodies. This is also a display of disrespect for the independence and freedom of mass organizations and makes it equally impossible for the government to organize the masses and secure their help, for the masses are human beings capable of thinking and making demands, and they can actively organize themselves but cannot be passively organized by others.

What should the mass organizations' policy be on various questions? This can only be decided by the mass organizations themselves. No party other than the government and the organizations themselves has any right to interfere. The various masses in the base areas should first organize themselves. They should establish the true mass trade unions, peasant associations, student associations, chambers of commerce and other youth, women and children organizations on the basis of a programme embodying their own political, economic and cultural demands. The majority of workers and hired farm labourers must be organized into trade unions and the majority of peasants must be organized into peasant associations.

Trade unions should be organized within the scope of each industry and profession. Independent hired farm labourers' unions and various handicraft workers' joint associations should be established. Peasants' associations should include all peasants who do physical labour — the hired farm labourers, and the poor, middle and rich peasants. Landlords and members of the rich gentry who do no physical labour are not allowed to join the association.

The internal affairs of the mass organizations should be conducted as democratically as possible. All the leading departments should be run by personnel elected by the members, and meetings should be called regularly to report on the progress of work and decide important questions. These organizations should have their own independent funds and collect membership dues. They may accept financial help and donations, provided such help and donations do not harm their independence.

The chambers of commerce in the guerrilla war areas should be reorganized by merchants so as to break the monopoly over them by a few big merchants.

National Salvation Associations, Anti-Enemy Rear Aid Associations, and other similar organizations should be established in the base areas, but they should be set up by various mass organizations jointly on the basis of a common anti-Japanese and national

salvation programme. These associations should never substitute or control mass organizations. When government organs based on a completely democratic system are established from the bottom up, such a government will be of a national united front organizational form still higher in level than the National Salvation and Anti-Enemy Rear Aid Associations. At such a time, the national salvation and other associations should not take any actions on behalf of the government.

These mass organizations should put forth their own clear demands and programmes that are acceptable and practicable at the time and mobilize the masses to struggle for the realization of the demands (referring to economy, politics and culture). They should also launch various campaigns for signing contracts (contracts between workers and employers about wage increases and the improvement of working conditions, contracts between peasants and landlords about rent and interest reductions). In this way, the government policy on the improvement of the livelihood and treatment of the masses can be carried out by relying on the efforts of the mass organizations and mass struggles.

The mass struggles aimed at improving the living conditions of the masses in the base areas should not only not be stopped or weakened but on the contrary, they should be developed. Only by developing such struggles can the government unite and consolidate the masses, improve their livelihood, carry out democratic rights, and stimulate the masses' greatest enthusiasm for participating in the national revolutionary war. To oppose the mass struggles for improving their livelihood on the theory that all the mass struggles should be stopped during the period of the War of Resistance is a most erroneous theory detrimental to the cause of the War, since the stoppage of the mass struggles for improving living conditions is tantamount to the stoppage of the mass movement, and then there will be no improvement of the masses' living standards.

During the period of the War of Resistance, such forms of mass struggle as strikes and demonstrations to deal with the stubborn capitalists, landlords and irredeemable officials should not, in principle, be suppressed. However, the mass organizations should themselves avoid adopting any form of struggle that may obstruct military movements; they should use a great number of and more complicated forms of struggle. They should not refuse to abide by government reconciliations and arbitrations. The mass organizations must appoint persons whom they think are suitable to take part

in the arbitrations.

The political and economic demands put forward by the mass organizations should be realizable at the time and bearable to the opposite party; they should never be too high or those that cannot be realized and borne by the other party at the time, for demands that are too high or struggle forms that are too "Left" will not be beneficial to the long-term benefits of the masses themselves and to the advantage of the War of Resistance.

Trade unions and peasants' associations are the most important mass foundations and mass pillars to the anti-Japanese government. Without powerful trade unions and peasants' associations as foundations and pillars, the anti-Japanese government would be nothing more than a house built on sand. The central task of trade unions, peasants' associations and other mass organizations is to guide, on the foundation of extensively developing the struggle for the betterment of livelihood, the broad masses to join the anti-Japanese government and armed forces in construction. The mass organizations should send their best staff members to the government and armed forces to work and mobilize the masses to enlist in the anti-Japanese army and guerrilla units and to take part in the work of various fields of the War of Resistance.

By joining the government the mass organizations should play a positive role of spurring the government to action, advance various proposals and present drafts of laws and decrees, mobilize the masses to assist the government in carrying out all the progressive laws and decrees to the benefit of the War of Resistance, struggle against erroneous views of the government and against pessimistic and lazy officials and vacillating elements, and demand the dismissal of such elements. The mass organizations, however, should never act on behalf of the government. It is wrong for the mass organizations to arrest and prosecute the people. They should never stand opposed to the government as a whole.

The trade unions in government enterprises should, apart from exerting efforts to improve workers' livelihood, try to stimulate workers to do all they can to increase production, to intensify their fervour for labour and to observe labour discipline. The trade unions should delegate their own men to participate in the management of the enterprises.

It is wrong for trade unions and the government to supervise and control all private enterprises. The government can only supervise private enterprises suspected of being involved in traitorous work or

those which are lax in production. At the guerrilla war bases, if the government has already carried out democratic reforms, the mass organizations' tasks should be: (1) to transform themselves into public bodies with the broad masses as members; (2) to universally and thoroughly improve the economic conditions of the masses, raise their social and political status and heighten their political and cultural levels; and (3) to mobilize the broad masses to join the anti-Japanese government and the anti-Japanese forces in all their fields of construction.

6. Conclusion. At the outbreak of the War of Resistance, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party proposed a Ten Point Anti-Japanese National Salvation Programme and believed that its complete fulfilment would be the inevitable path to victory in the War of Resistance. It also pointed out that there were defects in the current war and that if the defects continued to exist, it would be impossible to win the final victory and there would be a risk of a serious defeat. Unfortunately these defects still exist today in serious proportions, and it is equally unfortunate that the War of Resistance in North China has suffered fairly disastrous defeats. On the one hand, it shows that the evaluation made several months ago by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was entirely correct, and on the other, it calls on all the leaders and the people engaged in the cause of resistance against Japan and national salvation to learn the bloody lessons.

Guerrilla warfare is a more difficult form of armed struggle than regular war. The regular war in North China has suffered defeats on account of these defects. If they are not completely rectified, the guerrilla war will have no prospect of victory; the guerrilla war cannot be developed on a large scale. The various policies proposed in this article were based on the "Ten Point" Programme of the Chinese Communist Party; they constitute a further concrete form of the programme. If these policies are completely carried out in guerrilla warfare, the guerrilla war bases can be built solidly and victory can be won; otherwise, it will be impossible to win the war.

Regardless of whether there is a base or whether there is a democratic united front government, a guerrilla force from the first day of its formation must adhere to these policies in finding their own provisions and in dealing with the relations between the force and all quarters. An anti-Japanese force is a part of the anti-Japanese government. Every action taken by such a force must be based on the policy of the anti-Japanese government or must reflect

such policy. Hence all the above-mentioned policies must be completely or partially carried out first among all the anti-Japanese guerrilla forces and the army. Naturally, the implementation of these policies would be restricted by objective circumstances. For instance, in a small and unstable guerrilla war area, conditions may not be ripe for the complete fulfilment of these policies. Nevertheless, whenever possible, they must be carried out to the fullest extent.

Any government, guerrilla force or army, which can thoroughly implement these policies, will win the greatest trust and help from the masses and will be able to consolidate and develop itself with a bright future. Conversely, any government, guerrilla force or army, which cannot carry out or opposes these policies will invite hatred and opposition from the masses and will not be able to consolidate and develop itself, win a victory and have a bright future. The Chinese Communist Party has never concealed its political views. It expects to achieve its own successes. At the same time, it also wishes that every anti-Japanese government, guerrilla force or army will also achieve its successes. Hence the Communist Party is willing to present all its fundamental policies openly and completely to every anti-Japanese government, army, organization, political party and the heroic members of the guerrilla forces in North China.

THE QUESTION OF POLICY CONCERNING THE ANTI-JAPANESE GUERRILLA WAR

February 5, 1938

The experience gained in the anti-Japanese guerrilla war in North China over the past half year has made it possible for us to further discuss various policy questions concerning the guerrilla war of resistance against the Japanese. At the same time, the experience has also enabled us to further understand that the question of policy is the most important question regarding the guerrilla war against Japan.

To decide the various policies for the guerrilla war in North China, we must first and foremost base our decision on the following fundamental thoughts:

First, the guerrilla war in North China is only a part of the whole Chinese War of Resistance Against Japan, a kind of war conducted against the enemy's rear and flanks. Regardless of the increase in the strategic significance of the guerrilla warfare in the whole War of Resistance, because of the development of the war situation and the special ways required to solve various special questions that have arisen in the guerrilla war owing to the peculiar environment and conditions, the guerrilla war being waged in various areas must be subservient to the War of Resistance as a whole in strategy and Policy. In other words, in strategy it must observe the

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unified strategic will of the Central Military Commission and in policy carry out the unified policy of the Central Government concerning resistance against Japan. This is of particular importance to North China at present, for while the Japanese are setting up a puppet political regime in the north to split China, the people and all the anti-Japanese armed forces are more closely united under the unified leadership of the Central Government. This is a serious blow and an answer to the Japanese plunderers and the Chinese traitors.

Second, what are the Japanese plunderers attempting to do and what is the fundamental task of guerrilla warfare in North China? At present, although the Japanese have occupied most of North China's major cities and principal communication lines, they have not established their rule over the vast North China area. They are making an attempt to consolidate their occupation of North China so they can utilize the rich resources and manpower and make North China their base to conquer the whole of China. Because of this, the anti-Japanese guerrilla attacks on their rear and flanks can frustrate such an attempt, making it impossible for them to establish their rule over the vast territory of North China. The guerrilla war has at least unsettled the Japanese plunderers in the north, rendered it impossible for them to make full use of North China's resources and manpower and made a number of areas in North China long-term bases for our persistent War of Resistance. For these reasons, the tasks in the guerrilla war in North China are: to hamper as many enemy troops as possible so the enemy cannot concentrate its forces to invade Southern Shansi and Central and South China, to break the enemy's communication lines with his rear and to coordinate our efforts with our main forces in battle against the enemy. Our guerrilla forces will break the enemy's control, destroy the traitors' political power, disintegrate their organizations and maintain or recover the Chinese Republic's local political power. We must mobilize, organize and arm the people to persist in opposing the Japanese plunderers and in building up guerrilla war bases to protect and expand the present battlegrounds in Shansi and to turn them into advantageous battlegrounds for counter-attacking the Japanese and recovering North China.

Third, what is the policy that the Japanese have adopted to subjugate North China, and what is our anti-Japanese national united front programme to win victories against the Japanese. Aside from using armed forces to conquer North China, the Japanese plunderers also rely extensively on "controlling China with Chinese". Besides

resorting to atrocious killing to suppress the resistance of the Chinese people in North China, the Japanese also tried to moderate, weaken and split the people's resistance forces by deceiving, inciting and estranging the Chinese people. Although the Japanese have their weaknesses, they are nevertheless a powerful and vicious enemy. They are also a sly enemy good at taking advantage of China's internal contradictions and every one of our mistakes to break China's resistance strength. They induce the Chinese people to become traitors by threats and offers of pecuniary gains, establish large numbers of traitors' organizations, incite the Chinese people to wage internal struggles, that is, struggles between the Hans and the Huis or Mongolians. In the past, they put up the slogan of "only attack the central army but not the miscellaneous fighting forces". Now, they shout, "Attack only the Eighth Route Army, not the Chinese Army". In certain places, they called mass meetings to urge the refugees to return home and distribute candies and provisions to the people at meetings. These gestures form a part of the enemy's plan of subjugating North China. They are practised extensively in various places together with massacres, rapes, plunderings and distributions of narcotic drugs. To triumphantly deal with the enemy's plan of conquering North China, the guerrilla forces in North China must persist in following the anti-Japanese national united front programme. We must unite the greatest majority of political parties, public organizations and people to participate in the resistance against the Japanese, reduce as much as possible or obliterate the effectiveness of the enemy's policy of "controlling China with Chinese" so as to isolate the enemy as completely as possible and win as many supporters for the guerrilla forces as possible. To attain the foregoing objectives, the guerrilla units should carry into practice the slogans: "Attack only the Japanese bandits, not the puppet Mongolian or other troops" and "Chinese do not attack Chinese". We should try to reduce the Chinese people's internal friction and unite all the people under the general object of resisting Japan. We should direct all the political and military organizations connected with guerrilla warfare toward unity, mutual response and coordination in fighting.

Fourth, be prepared to fight a long-term War of Resistance and to persist in carrying on guerrilla warfare under the most difficult and serious environment. The Japanese are a powerful enemy. Only in a protracted war can we, in the end, win against them. To conquer China, the enemy's first attempt was to "win without fight-

ing", and his second attempt was to "fight and win as quickly as possible". Now, the situation is such that the Japanese plunderers cannot but fight a protracted war with China. This is detrimental to the enemy, but due to China's persistence in fighting the War of Resistance, he is left no alternative but to prolong the war. The Sino-Japanese War is a life and death struggle to China as well as to Japanese imperialism. In the course of the protracted war, the more extensively the North China guerrilla forces expand, the more serious the blow and threat to the enemy, and the more it will be possible for us to induce the enemy to employ his superior forces to attack the guerrilla forces and invade the bases in North China. For this reason, it is quite possible that guerrilla warfare in North China will come up against certain very serious difficulties in the protracted War of Resistance. Hence the guerrilla units in North China must get ready to struggle against the enemy in the most serious of circumstances, not only to fight open battles but to wage secret armed or unarmed struggles. They must be prepared not only to insure that they can openly mobilize the broadest masses to fight the enemy but also be able to mobilize, in an organized manner and in the most serious and clandestine environments, the masses to oppose the enemy in coordination with the guerrilla units. We must look not only to the present but also to the relatively distant future. It is imperative to persevere in guerrilla warfare in North China to the final moment when the Chinese regular army counter-attacks North China victoriously and recovers the northern territory.

The above four fundamental thoughts should be made the starting point for the various policies in the anti-Japanese guerrilla war in North China. A broad anti-Japanese guerrilla war is a form of mass war, which must obtain the people's support, approval, and cover, to persist over a long period and develop and win. It is not only a military but a mass affair. It must not only use the proper strategy and tactics, but also practice the correct anti-Japanese policy, and moreover, it must be a part of the whole Anti-Japanese War of Resistance to achieve final victory.

We must study the various concrete policies of the anti-Japanese guerrilla war on the basis of the above-mentioned fundamental thoughts. Here I must first mention the booklet on *Various Questions Concerning Fundamental Policies in Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Warfare* published on October 16, 1937, by Comrade T'ao Shang-hsing, which discusses the above policy questions at great length. The principles that he put forth are generally correct. However,

revision of several concrete questions has become necessary in the light of recent experience.

I must explain the following points concerning the armed forces and political power:

First, we must rally and aid the people and all the anti-Japanese organizations in the enemy's rear and on his flanks to take up arms, organize fighting units and fight to the death against the Japanese plunderers in the guerrilla war. These units must unite as much as possible under the direct leadership of the local, North China and highest central military command headquarters and carry out the policy laid down by North China's highest political organ and the Central Government. The commanding officers at various levels must, within the realm of possibility, be appointed or approved by the higher-level authorities.

Second, some anti-Japanese armed units will inevitably emerge from the ranks of bandits in the enemy's rear and on his flanks. These units are anti-Japanese but perhaps not for the cause of national salvation. They fight for the sake of enriching themselves and gaining political appointments or for other motives. They may not, therefore, carry out the policy prescribed by the Central Government and accept the command of the Central and North China headquarters or orders of the highest local commanders. We should unite these units to resist the Japanese, and, at the same time, strive to win them over to the cause of national salvation and to the unified command and leadership of the Central Government. In so doing it is imperative to patiently persuade them and to avoid incurring their ill feelings or clashing with them at the enemy's rear and playing into the hands of the enemy.

Third, we must maintain or recover our local political regimes in the enemy's rear and on his flanks. These regimes should try to carry out the same systems and policies in effect elsewhere in the country. The principal political administrators must be appointed or approved by the higher level government. Even when changes in government organization and administrative procedure in the extraordinary circumstances of the guerrilla warfare are found necessary, such as increase of the people's armed forces, establishment of additional Military Affairs or Food Departments in a county government and the like, a report of such changes should be submitted to the higher level whenever possible.

Fourth, close ties must be formed between local governments and the people through the channels of Mobilization Committees or

Advisory and Political Councils to enable representatives of people's organizations to maintain constant contacts with the government. In this way, the government can rely on the people, and the people can supervise or participate in the government proposed wartime work.

Regarding various policy questions I have the following few points to stress:

(1) Financial policy. It is impossible to establish an orderly and regular tax system in the guerrilla war environment. Only in the base areas where political power and order have been built up can a number of regular taxes be collected. To augment provisions and obtain money for other expenses of the anti-Japanese forces, the collection of some taxes is necessary, provided it is done under the principle of maintaining the government unification of finances. Certain reasonable taxes of the past that can be collected should continue to be collected; some that can be collected but are unreasonable should be abolished or changed. Strict enforcement of the provisions of a tax law is not always necessary. Demanding the rich to bear a little more financial responsibility to allow the poor to lighten their burden in accordance with the principle of "letting those with money give money" is beneficial to the unification of all the people to persevere in the resistance against the Japanese. However, unlimited increase in the burden of the rich should not be permitted.

Regular taxes should be used as much as possible in obtaining government revenue. Only when it is absolutely necessary and when the people do not object can provisional contributions or assessments be collected; no one's assessment should ever be excessive.

Food and fodder for the anti-Japanese armed forces should be obtained through existing local governments; armed units should not assess them directly from the people. Such assessments may be permitted only when the troops have penetrated deeply behind enemy lines, where our local governments do not exist. Even then, the principle of voluntariness must be observed. Under this principle, the armed forces may approach the people for contributions or loans of food and fodder but not for payments of money in lieu of food and fodder.

To help the armed units surmount difficulties regarding the expenses required in resistance to the Japanese, it is permissible to solicit contributions under the principle of voluntariness by arousing the people's patriotism. As long as there is no compulsion, the

people will show no reaction of hostility.

The reduction or abolition of salaries and wages for government personnel should also be realized under the same principle whenever it is possible. On the other hand, opposition to corruption and the prohibition of waste should be strictly enforced under the Central Government orders. When corrupt officials are brought to justice and punished, there must be definite evidence and compliance with legal procedure. Yet, past corrupt practices of officials should not be too rigidly investigated and punished.

(2) Economic policy. The questions of resuming production in the runaway capitalists' factories and cultivating the land of the runaway landlords should be solved according to the procedures proposed by Comrade T'ao Shang-hsing. The government should protect the individual's private property, the merchant's freedom to trade, the operation of factories and the cultivation of the landlord's land and call on the runaway landlords and capitalists to return and look after their factories and land. Only when they fail to return, can the government, for the purpose of increasing production, lease the factories to those who wish to operate them or set up companies or cooperatives to run them and allow hired farmers to cultivate the land. There will be, of course, no one to receive the factory and land rent. Such provisional measures should not be allowed to infringe upon the capitalists' and landlords' right of ownership to factories and land. When the capitalists and landlords return home, they may still manage their factories and land.

Dishonest merchants should be repressed, but the repression should be carried out with care. Our recent experience shows that limiting the interest rate of loans without simultaneously granting loans at a lower interest is a negative step causing the hoarding and stagnation of capital in rural areas. Therefore a general restriction is unsatisfactory. It will be up to people's organizations to arbitrate, in each case, for a reduction of interest. This is necessary. A repression of the brokers' monopoly cannot be carried out for the time being.

To safeguard the supply of grain to the guerrilla base areas, we should launch a spring ploughing campaign to help peasants solve various farming difficulties. We must call on peasants to grow more foodgrains and less cotton and the like, which the Japanese can use as raw materials.

(3) Question of Improving People's Livelihood. To mobilize and organize the broadest masses to participate in the War of Re-

sistance and national salvation, it is entirely necessary for the government to protect the freedom of mass movements, respect the independence of mass organizations and give material assistance to such organizations in implementing the policy of improving the people's livelihood (such as the reduction of excessive land rent and excessively long working hours, and adequate increase in wages, and the elimination of corruption and squeezing by middle men). However, in the guerrilla war environment it is impossible, at present, to implement the legal prescription of maximum rent, the protection of the perpetual right to lease farmland and the provision of the eight-hour working period and the minimum wages in rural areas.

Once the masses are organized, they will very naturally rise to demand improvement of their living standards. At such a time, the mass organizations should have an explicit programme recognizing the necessity, on the one hand, for improving the people's livelihood and, on the other, for subordinating the people's demand for an improvement in their living conditions to the interests of the War of Resistance and the united front. For this reason, the mass organizations should exercise a correct yet very tactful leadership.

The mass organizations should exert efforts to improve the people's livelihood together with the movement of mobilizing the masses to participate in the war under the slogan of resistance against the Japanese and within the scope of the united front. In pressing for improvements in the people's living standards, the mass organizations should take pains to avoid resorting to struggle as a means to the end. They should, instead, adopt the forms of reconciliation and arbitration to obtain recognition of the masses' demand and the form of compromise between the worker and peasant masses and the landlords and capitalists. The mass organizations should never deliberately disregard all other considerations to press the masses' opposition to the landlords and capitalists making them feel the serious threat of the mass movement. The organizations should try as much as possible to reduce the direct threat to the landlords and capitalists and adopt methods of negotiation, persuasion and other means (such as asking the government or third party to arbitrate and reconcile) to make them recognize workers' and peasants' demands. It is necessary to set up a workers' and peasants' department in the government or some other special government organ to take the responsibility of solving these questions.

For the common cause of resistance against Japan, efforts

should be made to reduce the internal friction and struggle among the people of China to avoid being taken advantage of by the Japanese. We should call on the people to unite and resist the Japanese aggression. We should reconcile struggles and friction among the people.

In certain districts, seeds of profound hatred have been sown as a result of excessive exploitation of workers and peasants by the landlords and capitalists and the struggles of the workers and peasants in opposition to the landlords and capitalists. Efforts should be made to reconcile their differences, and a call made to workers and peasants, landlords and capitalists to forget their personal hatred and direct their common struggle towards the national deadly enemy. Such a reconciliation is entirely possible if there are mutual concessions and apologies under certain conditions.

(4) Questions Concerning Traitors' Armed Units and Maintenance Associations. The War of Resistance in China can only be won in a protracted war. For this reason, we must oppose compromise and capitulation in the middle of the war. We must oppose the puppet regimes in Peiping and other places and liquidate the traitors and pro-Japan factions in our government and in the rear of our army; these are steps that we must doubtlessly take. However, to concretely solve this question in the rear of the enemy through guerrilla warfare calls for the application of certain special methods.

First of all, to disintegrate and win over the Japanese organized traitors' armed units, such as autonomous armies, the Mongolian puppet army and militia and security forces, we may forward such slogans as: "Chinese will not attack Chinese," "Attack only the Japanese plunderers, not the autonomous army and security forces," and "Chinese, unite to beat the Japanese." In actual practice, the guerrilla units must not deliberately seek out and attack these armed units to win them over to our side. In case these armed units attack the guerrilla forces and the guerrilla base areas or obstruct the movements of our guerrilla forces, they should be liquidated. It is imperative for the guerrilla units to sign non-aggression pacts with the commanding officers of those traitors' armed forces and to send anti-Japanese elements into these forces to propagate and organize the resistance against the Japanese.

Second, in the rear of the enemy completely under Japanese rule the people and district and village heads with no Chinese troops to protect them have had to surrender to superficially to the enemy

against their will. They have even had to attend meetings called by the Japanese and run errands for the enemy to appease them. We cannot stop the people behind the enemy lines from doing all these things. Moreover, we cannot punish these people as traitors. The guerrilla units can only ask these people to secretly help them by reporting on the Japanese, buying provisions and other things for them, escorting them to desired destinations, transmitting messages and camouflaging and protecting their camps and movements. The guerrilla forces should, in turn, keep secrets for these people and take precautions against leakage of news regarding their assistance to the guerrilla so as to protect them from atrocious Japanese punishments, for if the people under the enemy rule are punished for helping the guerrilla units, they will no longer dare to render further assistance.

Third, guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear and on his flanks should be planned to prevent the establishment of the traitors' political regimes and to destroy such established regimes. We should point out to the people that the maintenance associations are merely transitional organizations to puppet governments and advise them against organizing such associations or accepting orders from them. Our recent experience shows that in areas where the enemy wields great power, some people were compelled to join the maintenance associations, and others joined to protect their lives and property. We should never punish these people as traitors; all we can do is lightly reprimand them, make them repent and ask them to help the guerrilla forces and accept assigned tasks. Only those traitors who persist in opposing the guerrilla forces, suppressing people's resistance movements against the Japanese and killing the people should be liquidated together with those who do secret services for the enemy in anticipation of pecuniary gains and those who create disturbances behind our lines. These traitors should be given capital punishment and deprived of their property.

The Central Government's law for the punishment of traitors is correct, but when it is enforced in the rear of the enemy, the above-mentioned special conditions should be taken into consideration.

Fourth, we have recently discovered that in order to neutralize certain local armed units and gentry, the Japanese have put up the slogan, "Guard the territory and protect the people," which just suits the appetite of certain members of the local gentry and landlords. Thus, some leaders of the militia and even government

political administrators (like a certain government counsellor in Hopei for instance) declare their "guard the territory and protect the people" policy. They refuse to admit any anti-Japanese armed forces into their territory, and they do not look for such a force to attack the enemy. They surrender themselves to the enemy and prohibit the people in their areas from resisting the Japanese. Such people are worse than those who run the maintenance associations. We should oppose the territory guarding and people-protection slogan but advocate the safeguarding of our homeland by arming the people. It should be pointed out to such people that the idea of "guarding the territory and protecting the people" is an illusion and that they will inevitably be cut up by the Japanese. The events that took place in the northeast of China and Korea have proved this point. However, while these people have not awakened to reality, we should temporarily refrain from attacking them but strive to win them over, provided they do not attack the guerrilla forces.

Fifth, the Japanese plunderers have adopted the policy of atrociously killing the people who refuse to surrender and who resist them. For this reason, we should take concrete steps to enable the people in areas close to enemy posts to avoid being killed. In those areas we need to carry out secret work — secretly organize the masses to build armed forces. The dependents of the military personnel fighting the Japanese, in particular, should be thus organized (under the pretext that no one in their families is a soldier). Even in the base areas we should start to do such secret work, so that in case the Japanese plunderers enter such areas, struggle can still be waged against them even under the most serious circumstances.

The object of these policies is to persist in carrying on the Anti-Japanese National United Front in guerrilla warfare, unite broader masses and form a closer unity with the Central Government in order to win the war against the Japanese plunderers. All policies counter to this object should be on the list of policies to be rectified.

THE ARMED FORCES PERSISTING IN THE WAR OF RESISTANCE IN NORTH CHINA

July 1, 1938

(1)

The Japanese imperialists believe that repulsion of the Chinese troops in North China is the only necessary step to ensure their occupation of the region. However, as we can see today, the enemy apparently has failed to carry out this attempt of his. Though the enemy has occupied the big cities and important routes of communication in North China, he has not been able to occupy its vast territories. Even the important routes of communication under enemy occupation are by no means safe. Though Chinese troops have been repulsed by the enemy in such key military places as Paoting, Taiyuan and Shihchiachuang, and, moreover, at present the enemy has even crossed the Yellow River, there are still hundreds of thousands of Chinese armed forces remaining today in North China, persisting in the war of resistance and defending the territories of North China. Their number is certainly no less than that before the Lukouchiao Incident on July 7, 1937. This was not anticipated by the Japanese imperialists before the Incident. Precisely because there are hundreds of thousands of our armed forces remaining in North China and persisting in the war of resistance, we can set up our anti-Japanese bases and anti-Japanese political power behind the enemy lines, defend and recover vast territories in North China and, at the same time, play a very great strategic role in the war of resistance in Central China.

Since last year, in the war of resistance in North China, Chinese

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troops have made many sacrifices; moreover, many units have been transferred across the Yellow River to fight on its southern bank. At present, only a small number of regular units are remaining in operation in North China. How can it be, then, that the number of armed forces still in operation in North China has not been reduced? There are the following reasons: (1) Many new anti-Japanese units have emerged from the war of resistance in North China. (2) A great number of people's armed forces have joined the anti-Japanese troops to further reinforce and expand the regular armed units. (3) Some of the traitorous armed forces have turned back and become anti-Japanese units. At present, I am going to make a survey of the problem of the armed units engaged in the war of resistance in North China.

(2)

Firstly, I do not want to say any more concerning regular troops of North China except as concerns (1) the progress of the troops, (2) the replenishment and expansion of the rank and file of troops and (3) the relations between the troops and local guerrilla bands.

The troops in the war of resistance in North China are making progress. Such progress is first manifested in that they are learning practically and beginning to conduct guerrilla and mobile warfare. In the past, troops in North China had engaged in positional warfare; only the 8th Route Army conducted guerrilla and mobile warfare. However, at present, (a) as North China is behind the enemy line, there is neither the necessity for nor the possibility of carrying out large-scale positional warfare; and (b) due to many bloody lessons learned from past positional warfare, the troops still remaining in operation in North China have all turned toward guerrilla and mobile warfare. Certain units have begun to gain some success in this way. Secondly, at present all troops in North China have begun to conduct political education and raise the national consciousness of the troops. Political organs have been set up among the army units. Thirdly, they have raised the political discipline and military discipline of the troops and improved the relations between the troops and the people. Fourthly, they have improved the organization and system of troops; such as, carrying light equipment and gradually achieving equality between officers and men. Such progress is only in its beginning and has not reached minimum standard; it is not perfect in many respects. However, it is, nevertheless, progress. This is of great importance

to the war of resistance in North China.

At present, a very important problem confronts the troops in North China, that is, the problem of the expansion of these troops and the replenishment of their rank and file. As they are now operating behind enemy lines and constantly facing the danger of having their line of communication with other places in China cut off, they will find it very difficult to rely on the general rear of the country to replenish troops in North China. Therefore, troops in North China must be recruited and replenished locally; they should be able to replenish themselves and expand themselves. Otherwise, they will be gradually weakened. To solve this problem, these units must improve their discipline, their relations with the masses of people and the treatment of men in their force, thus attracting people join them voluntarily. In addition, it is also necessary (1) to organize in more consolidated areas large numbers of people's self-defense units not diverted from production and to systematically train these units; and (2) to set up organs in all army units for mobilizing and training recruits.

At present, in North China some army units, eager to get replenishment, sometimes do not use proper methods and disregard the future of our war of resistance. They have resorted to the following measures: (1) using force to absorb, take over and reorganize local guerrilla bands, (2) using force to conscribe and draw in people's self-defense units, and (3) using force to take men.

In their operation, the local guerrilla bands should be under the command of regular troops in their locality, which is necessary. No one should raise any objection. However, it is not good for the latter to absorb and take over the guerrilla bands for reorganization by force. (1) When the reorganization is by force, it cannot be consolidated, and incidents such as desertion, mutiny and conflict certainly will take place. (2) Operating behind the enemy line, the troops must work in coordination with local guerrilla bands, otherwise they cannot fight the enemy successfully. If they eliminate local guerrilla bands through reorganization, it will affect the war of resistance in future. (3) Antagonism will be created between local guerrilla bands and regular troops. At present, in some places local guerrilla units have never approached the regular troops. As soon as the troops come, they immediately run away. Moreover, in most cases they went behind the enemy lines because they were afraid of being absorbed by the troops. Such a relationship should be rectified.

Mobilizing the people's self-defense force (without diverting

them from production) to replenish the troops is, as a rule, necessary. However, at present there are malpractices in certain places. (1) Force instead of mobilization and persuasion is used to conscribe and draw in men. (2) The people's self-defense force has not been extensively organized. As soon as a few self-defense units are organized, they are continuously mobilized to join the troops, creating a bad impression on the masses of people, who naturally think that once they join the self-defense force, they will be forced into the army. Consequently, they refuse to join the self-defense force. Therefore, not only do the troops not have self-defense force to deploy, but also self-defense units cannot be set up. We should allow the self-defense force to widely develop and be trained. Then we may mobilize a small number of them to voluntarily join the army. As regards taking men by force, all know that this is very bad.

(3)

Next, I will speak about the anti-Japanese guerrilla force in North China.

In the war of resistance in North China, large numbers of anti-Japanese guerrilla units have come into being. According to the United Press correspondent in Peiping, there are more than 200 guerrilla bands in Hopei province, totalling about 300,000 people. Though the report may not be accurate, evidently the number must be very great. In Shansi and Shantung provinces, every county has one or more guerrilla units. The guerrilla force in North China has extensively developed, because (1) in North China the broad masses have high enthusiasm in fighting the Japanese, and there is the anti-Japanese movement; (2) in North China the military and government authorities have advocated and organized guerrilla forces, with the energetic support of political parties; (3) some army units gave support to and organized them; and (4) the enemy force is insufficient for distribution, and the traitors have not yet set up their political power.

At present, in North China, in addition to our regular anti-Japanese army units, there are newborn guerrilla forces generally of the following categories: (1) those organized according to plans by military or government authorities, people's organizations or army units, which are called guerrilla bands, self-defense forces, public security forces and special action forces; (2) those organized by

small groups of stray soldiers who lost contact with their units; (3) the majority of them were organized spontaneously by anti-Japanese activists among the masses of people and peasant leaders; (4) bandit bands; (5) the Red Spear Society and village allied associations; (6) people's armed self-defense contingents and anti-Japanese ten-person groups; (7) guerrilla units transformed from former civil defense corps and police; and (8) a few defectors from the puppet troops.

Before the arrival of the enemy the organization of guerrilla bands by military or government authorities was a simple process. The authorities issued arms, ammunition, supplies and provisions, appointed cadres and called up the men to form these units. Moreover, as these local guerrilla units were set up to defend their own territories, the peasants willingly took part in them. Their formation was comparatively easy. Afterwards, the only problem was training and consolidating them to carry out guerrilla operations.

What we should study is the anti-Japanese guerrilla bands which have grown up spontaneously from among the masses. At the time when Chinese troops retreated and local officials ran away, all the people were frightened. Then we saw some enthusiastic young people and peasant leaders with empty hands begin to organize guerrilla bands of from hundreds to over one thousand people in their home villages. The course of their growth was generally as follows: first, they did propaganda work among acquainted civil defense corps, police, stray soldiers and armed peasants and formed them into units of a dozen or scores of people. In this way, they became an armed propaganda team which continued to do propaganda work among peasants with guns. Under the slogan of resisting the Japanese in alliance and self-defense, they called upon the peasants to join the guerrilla force by bringing along their guns. When it was possible, they bought some arms and ammunition or borrowed guns from the people (in some cases certificates were issued for borrowed guns). They also did propaganda work for amalgamation among other small armed bands. They also tried to procure arms and ammunition from fighting the enemy and puppet troops and from deceiving the enemy troops. In this way, they became a guerrilla column of from a few hundred people to one thousand and even thousands of people not very long afterwards.

Because they did everything spontaneously, in the beginning their organization and system were rather democratic. They themselves stipulated through discussion their own rules and regulations, discipline, plan of work and plan of training. They elected their

leaders, chose their political personnel and set up various posts (such as general staff, managers and health officers). They procured their supplies and provisions from voluntary contributions of the people by relying on propaganda and by winning the people's support with their strict discipline and their help and protection to the people. At the same time, they also seized money and goods from the enemy and confiscated the money and goods of traitors.

This is our experience on the good side; there is also some experience on the bad side. We have seen not a few armed bandit units or those who have received their commission and appointment from certain organs. They then collect guns by force from the people and stray soldiers. They absorb smaller and weaker forces. They requisition supplies and provisions by force from the people and also take away their goods and money. In the beginning, it appeared that these units could make great progress. However, gradually they isolate themselves and cannot even stand because they have antagonized the people, the regular troops and other guerrilla units. They make enemies everywhere, so that incidents in which Chinese people fight against Chinese in mutual conflict often take place. Therefore, this led to the dissatisfaction of their own men. It also became increasingly difficult for them to obtain supplies and provisions. Finally, they not only could not make any progress but also failed to maintain themselves.

(4)

In the war of resistance in North China, many bandit groups have also come into being.

These bandit groups have grown up on the following grounds: (1) In certain periods, our rule and enemy domination both were very weak and the people had no organization for self-protection. (2) The enemy bribed, utilized and instigated the bandits to oppose China. (3) Some of our organs and army units also recruited men from bandit groups and gave them appointments without discretion. Some bandit forces were truly willing to fight against the Japanese and to be reorganized into regular units. But, the majority of them only waved the anti-Japanese flag to achieve their main purpose of plundering and grabbing power. Still others were bought over and recruited by the enemy to oppose the war of resistance against Japan.

In the war of resistance against Japan, we should rally all people and armed forces who are willing to resist the Japanese to fight the

enemy. Of course, we should also unite with any bandit groups who are willing to resist the Japanese. This is our general call. However, from our experience in North China, it has been proved that when we were actually dealing with various different bandit groups, we could not treat them in the same way. We should deal with separately the various bandit units according to differing circumstances in different localities during different periods. Some troops and guerrilla bands met with reverses in their opposition to the bandits. Other troops, however, have gained the great support and welcome of the people and consolidated their bases after they had annihilated and driven away the bandits. Some army units have, in a certain locality and during a certain period, achieved their success by uniting with, recruiting and reorganizing certain local bandits. However, in other localities and during other periods, they adopted the same methods in dealing with other bandits but met with complete failure and were even deceived by them. I believe, in dealing with bandit groups we should adopt the following methods:

- (1) At an anti-Japanese base where order and political power have been established, and the anti-Japanese troops and guerrilla bands are comparatively strong, they should not allow the bandits to cause disturbances and disrupt our rear. If there are bandit groups in this place, they must be made to obey orders, undergo reform, adhere to discipline and accept transfers or they may be transferred away from this locality to areas under enemy occupation to conduct activities. Otherwise, on the first opportunity, they should be eliminated.
- (2) When bandits carry out their activities in areas under enemy rule, they can disrupt peace and order under the enemy. In these areas, our anti-Japanese force is still weak; we should then urge and unite with the bandits to resist the Japanese. When it is possible, we may gradually transform the bandits, instead of opposing them and making more enemies, with the result that the bandits will unite with the Japanese troops in opposition to our anti-Japanese guerrilla forces.
- (3) As regards bandit groups who are truly willing to fight the Japanese, become regular units, accept reform and obey orders, we may reorganize them under the following conditions: (a) eliminate their bad elements; (b) adhere to the discipline of causing no trouble to the people and accept political education; (c) obey orders concerning transfers or reorganization and disbandment.
- (4) As regards bandits utilized and reorganized by the enemy, we may persuade them to come over and fight the Japanese; otherwise, when it is necessary and possible, we should eliminate them.
- (5) As

regards bandit units commissioned by certain organs, it is most difficult to deal with them. They are bandits and have even been commissioned by the enemy; however, they are also units of a certain category under certain Chinese official organs. Therefore, it is not proper either to oppose them or not oppose them. When they oppose you, you cannot oppose them in return. In dealing with such units, we can only report by all means to our government or to military and government authorities in the neighborhood to cancel their commission and, at the same time, we must heighten our vigilance. (6) We should never give any commission to bandits when we cannot truly transform them.

(5)

The Red Spear Society, the Heavenly Gate Society and the village allied associations are armed organizations which constitute a very serious problem in the war of resistance in North China.

In many places in North China, there are organizations of either the Red Spear Society or the village allied association. Recently, due to the offensive of the Japanese invaders and new disturbances by routed soldiers and bandits, they have become more active. They are armed organizations hiding deeply among the people, which came into being spontaneously without any lawful basis as far as the government is concerned. However, they have a long history. Their main purpose was to oppose exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous levies and disturbances by troops and bandits, being purely armed organizations for self-protection. When Japanese troops, deserters from troops and bandits do not come to their places to give them trouble, they also do not go out to resist the Japanese, fight the bandits or carry out guerrilla activities. Most of their leaders are of the influential gentry. However, they can particularly meet the backward and narrow self-interest of the peasants; therefore, they can be firmly united. Superstition is a means by which they unite with the peasants (the village allied association has no superstition and is better in this respect). On all problems, they always proceed from their own personal interests. Whoever gives them trouble and robs them, they will oppose him and get rid of him no matter whether he is from the Japanese army, puppet army, anti-Japanese army or the government, bandits or any political party. Politically, they are neutral. They also want arms and ammunition. When small armed bands go to their places and are not on their guard, these bands will often

be disposed of by them even though they have not disturbed anyone. In ordinary time, they do not have the organizational form of an armed force; however, when the time comes to fight, they can rally immediately into a very large force. Therefore, some army units often are not on their guard against them. In self-defense, they fight in their own locality and always display very great strength. However, when their leader goes beyond the scope of self-defense, launches some ambitious adventure (for instance, in the past some self-claimed emperors emerged from the underground societies) and leads his force to fight away from their home villages, their strength is not very great and always meets with failure because such adventures exceed the narrow personal interests of the peasants. It will not be easy to induce these underground societies through propaganda to actively resist the Japanese and carry out guerrilla operations and fight amid hardships for the sake of the whole interest of our nation and country at their own sacrifice. It also is not easy to ask them to actively help the Japanese troops in opposing the war of resistance. Among them, a few leaders have been bought over and utilized by the enemy. Nevertheless, they are, after all, also Chinese. I should be easier to ask them to resist the Japanese or show their sympathy for the war of resistance. At present, some underground societies in North China are giving support to the war of resistance against Japan.

We should adopt very prudent and patient policies toward the underground societies. In North China, many anti-Japanese troops and guerrilla bands have learned a great many painful lessons from lack of prudence toward them.

How should these underground societies be dealt with? In North China we have gained some useful experience, as follows: (1) We absolutely must refrain from rashness. (2) In areas of underground societies, anti-Japanese units should maintain strict discipline and never ask for anything from them and molest them while keeping watch. (3) We should never blaspheme their religious belief, but always pay respect to their belief and leaders. (4) When Japanese and puppet troops molest them, we should help them to attack and repel the Japanese and puppet troops. (5) We should win their trust and respect by means of our exemplary conduct and stern style and work and by giving them help in all fields. (6) What is most basic and important is that we should patiently do education, propaganda and explanation work among them to enhance their national consciousness and gradually induce them to resist the

Japanese and voluntarily provide the anti-Japanese forces with provisions. (7) We should try to divide and disintegrate underground societies whose leaders have been utilized by the Japanese enemy and have come out to oppose the war of resistance. (8) In general we should not advocate and help the expansion of underground societies, particularly in anti-Japanese bases and guerrilla areas. (9) In areas under enemy occupation, we should promote and help struggles in self-defense by underground societies in order to unfold an anti-Japanese movement.

In the rural areas of certain regions in North China, the anti-Japanese united front will be decided mainly by our relations with and our work among the underground societies. In a few regions, fairy tales can play a very useful role among the underground societies. In a certain locality, it is widely said that Chu Teh is the descendant of the First Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, and the underground societies in the locality have maintained particularly good relations with the 8th Route Army.

(6)

In the war of resistance in North China, the broad organization of people's armed self-defense contingents has come into being in many places. This is the best form of armed self-defense organization of the broad masses of people.

The tasks of people's self-defense contingents are as follows: (1) to fight in coordination with anti-Japanese troops; (2) to carry out guerrilla activities against the Japanese; (3) to post sentry, keep watch, scout, prevent the escape of intelligence information, help people to strengthen the bulwarks and leave no provisions outside before the arrival of the enemy; (4) to maintain local peace and order, oppose the activities of traitors, round up enemy agents and spies; (5) to relay information and transport military supplies and wounded soldiers; and (6) to disrupt enemy communication, safeguard the communication of our troops, prepare the battleground and help our troops to build a defense line.

In general, the people's self-defense force is not detached from production. Men and women above 17 and up to about 50 may join the force. Its organization includes a column, a contingent, a team and a group. When a village is taken as a unit, it will set up a group or a team. When a ward or a town is taken as a unit, it will set up a team or a contingent. When a county is taken as a

unit, it will set up a column. Each of them at all levels has a leader and an instructor. At the level of columns and above, there are the column headquarters and the general command. The forces are equipped with rifles and old-fashioned weapons. Taking a village as a unit, they conduct constant training. Taking a ward or a county as a unit, they conduct collective training or inspections. They have rules of discipline, such as resisting the Japanese for national salvation, obeying orders and uniting with the people. They are under the governments at various levels and, at the same time, maintain their own independent systems. This kind of organization is most suitable for the requirements of the broad armed people in the anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare. In the war of resistance in North China, it has already played a very great role and carried out various kinds of work. When necessary, they can leave their production posts for some time to carry out guerrilla activities. Through mobilization, they also may be drawn into army units and guerrilla bands as reinforcements. Such an organization should be greatly promoted in all places for intense training.

In the war of resistance, the Boy Scouts and the Children's Corps have also played their part. They post sentries, check permits for passage and detect traitors. In playing games, they learn various military movements and methods of self-defense. However, we have not yet heard that in the war of resistance, the able-bodied men's contingents trained in the past in some places in North China and the peasant schools run by Mr. Liang Suo-ming in Shantung province have played any active role.

(7)

Now I will speak about the problem of procuring supplies for the guerrilla bands.

The procuring of supplies is the most important problem to the guerrilla forces. In North China, the guerrilla bands usually procure their supplies in the following ways: (1) from local governments; (2) by directly asking for them from the people and receiving them from the people as gifts of comfort; (3) from organs or governments at higher level to which they belong; (4) by confiscating the property of traitors; and (5) by seizing goods and money from the enemy.

When guerrilla bands are stationed at or conduct activities in places where there are local governments and must procure supplies locally, they should do so through the local governments. As regards

how the local governments procure supplies for anti-Japanese units, I will discuss it later when I speak about financial problems. However, in places where there is no local government, or the local government is unable to procure supplies for them, then they have to get supplies by themselves. The best method is for a guerrilla band to maintain its strict discipline, not taking a single needle or a piece of thread from the people and, at the same time, conducting propaganda among the people by asking them to voluntarily give contributions and gifts of comfort. When the people refuse to do so, they should buy the supplies from the people with any money they possessed. If they have no money and must get the supplies, they may borrow some provisions from the people and give them a receipt for repayment in the future. In other words, all guerrilla bands should persist in the policy of not using force to requisition or ask for supplies from the people. However, on the other hand, some guerrilla bands are not very good in discipline. They use force to requisition supplies from the people and do not approach the local governments in places where there are local governments. Therefore, they arouse friction and dissatisfaction on many occasions.

Whenever a guerrilla band goes out on a long expedition, it must find means to procure its supplies independently. In organized bases, the acquisition of supplies for all guerrilla forces, by all means, should be placed under united arrangement.

(8)

Now, I will touch on the problem of consolidating the guerrilla forces.

Our experience in North China illustrates that it is not a very difficult matter to rally men with guns to form guerrilla bands. This is because we use the high enthusiasm of the broad masses for resisting the Japanese and guns in the possession of the people as our basis. However, it is comparatively difficult to consolidate the newly established guerrilla bands and turn them into units which can maintain strict discipline and fight. Here, we must have good cadres and good leadership. They must undergo long training in actual fighting and carry out arduous work. According to our experience in North China, to consolidate these units it is necessary to conduct the following work: (1) intensify political education among the units and enhance their national consciousness and political consciousness; (2) set down military discipline and political discipline

among the units (at present in North China, some units are following the "Three Main Rules of Discipline" and the "Eight Points for Attention" of the 8th Route Army) and carry out discussion in depth among the units so that every one of them consciously adheres to the discipline; (3) strengthen the organization of the units and correctly lay down various rules and regulations and styles of conduct of the units; it is particularly important to the consolidation of the guerrilla forces for officers and men to share same hardships; (4) intensify the military training of the units and, at the same time, carry out actively and prudently guerrilla activities to always win big and small victories. The guerrilla bands must undergo the training of actual guerrilla warfare before they can be consolidated and strengthened in their fighting power. Our experience proved that those units trained in the rear, made no contact with the enemy for long periods and never went to various places in guerrilla operations, did not have any fighting power and, moreover, could not be consolidated; (5) eliminate bad elements, such as hooligans and local villains, from among the units and guard against plots and sabotage of traitors and enemy agents; moreover, unite with the most loyal, courageous and active elements in the units and make them models in their units; and (6) ensure supplies for the units and, at the same time, pay attention that the units' living habits not degenerate into extravagance when supplies are plentiful.

In consolidating guerrilla units in various areas, it is very helpful to have a core unit which plays an exemplary role in all fields to be set as a model for all other units. Therefore, in all areas it is necessary to establish a core model guerrilla unit.

(9)

Finally, I want to say something about the problem of the unification of all guerrilla forces in North China.

The guerrilla forces in various places of North China have come into being and grown up under varying circumstances and in different forms. They have their various standpoints and systems; therefore, they are not unified in name, organization, supply, arms, discipline and operational command. This is a phenomenon which is inevitable in the initial stage of the extensive development of guerrilla warfare. Nevertheless, at present the guerrilla forces in North China are in urgent need of seeking unification by every way. First, we must have a united command and take united action. The reason is as follows:

(1) in North China, guerrilla warfare is being carried out separately in various areas; guerrilla forces in these areas must operate in co-ordination with those in other areas in strategy and operation; (2) guerrilla warfare in North China must be transformed gradually into mobile warfare; therefore, we must gradually combine all the smaller independent guerrilla bands and transform them into regular units; and (3) to annihilate the enemy, repel enemy attacks and establish our bases and order, it is necessary to unify the movements and command of all armed forces. Under conditions of confusion and lack of unification, the guerrilla forces will be weakened in their fighting power and effectiveness and, moreover, will have no prospect of winning victory. Here, it is necessary to intensify education and overcome conservative views, factional prejudices and tendencies toward going their own way without discipline among the guerrilla forces.

At present, in North China the guerrilla forces are gradually going through the process of unification. Some guerrilla bands have agreed to mutual amalgamation and are discussing their system of organization and policies and plans on military affairs and political work after amalgamation. Others have agreed to unify their command and action in operation without combining their organizations. Still others are under the united command of the local administrators and commanders of regular army units and military districts. At present, the best unification has been achieved in the Hopei-Chahar-Shansi Military Region. In this region are the headquarters and political department of the military region; under them are a number of headquarters and political departments of the sub-regions. In the whole region are several core guerrilla columns. They operate on the scale of an army group. In each county is a guerrilla band of from one hundred to several hundred men. In addition, there are also large numbers of people's self-defense contingents and, in the neighborhood of areas under enemy occupation, many guerrilla groups. In general, they are unified in organizational system and supplies. Therefore, comparatively speaking, the best order in North China has been maintained there.

The heads and representatives of various army units in certain localities have held many meetings to unify the command and actions of all guerrilla bands and consolidate and improve the work of army units. These meetings have always gained very great results and success. At these meetings, experiences are exchanged, unified plans of operation and work made and a temporary united command set up.

Nevertheless, the unification of guerrilla forces in North China is still inadequate. At present, military leadership for the whole of North China is still not united, and the division of military regions (that is, the guerrilla zones) also is not appropriate. At present, it is urgently necessary to designate that part of the North China region north of the Yellow River as the North China war zone in order to unify the war of resistance throughout North China. The North China war zone should be placed under the control of the Central Government. It should be divided into a number of military regions. A military region should be further divided into a number of military sub-regions. All regions should set up headquarters and political departments. These divisions of military regions and sub-regions should replace past administrative divisions by provinces and counties and should be determined according to the activities of the enemy, the topography and other conditions. These divisions should also be determined by taking a mountain range as the center and railways and key highways as the boundary-lines (on the plains, these regions should also be mapped out between railways and highways). At present the railways and highways are the obstacles and blockade lines in the guerrilla war. Mountain ranges, on the contrary, have become central areas of guerrilla activities. According to the conditions in North China, the war zone should be divided into the Hopei-Chahar-Shansi military region, the Hopei-Shansi-Honan military region, the Hopei-Shantung-Honan military region, the Northwest Shansi military region, the Southwest Shansi military region and the Hopei-Jehol-Chahar military region. The administrative areas of North China also should be divided in the same way.

We believe that if all the anti-Japanese armed units in North China, under the policy of the anti-Japanese national united front, can further realize their unification, then they certainly can develop guerrilla warfare in North China still more extensively and carry out mobile warfare on a comparatively large scale, strengthen the fighting power of all units and give the enemy still greater blows. Furthermore, they can consolidate and build anti-Japanese bases in North China and carry the war of resistance in North China through to the end, when they can attain the final objective of expelling the enemy from North China. However, this unification must be carried out under the policy of the united front and in a democratic form by uniting all anti-Japanese armed forces, all political parties and factions and all public bodies in sincere unity and cooperation before we can attain this objective in North China. Otherwise, if we

increase friction in trying to create unification, it will be to our disadvantage in the war of resistance in North China.

DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT AND BUREAUCRACY

What is democratic spirit? It is the spirit of complete equality of mankind. The bourgeoisie cannot practice complete equality of mankind. They pay lip service to democracy but actually they cannot practice it. Only the communists can practice true equality. We revolutionaries must have the spirit of complete equality; that is, equality in rights and equality in responsibility. Besides, we should thus understand the spirit of complete equality, that is, one has no right to oppress or exploit another, nor has one person the right to insult the personality of another person. If I can exploit your labor but you cannot ask me to do anything, that is not equality, nor is it democratic spirit.

Nevertheless, people are different and have different qualities. Some are clever and some stupid; some are tall and some short; some are strong and some weak; some are men and some women. Men are born different. Each individual has his specific conditions and environments, which is predestined. Moreover, as men's social conditions vary — such as some have the opportunity for schooling and some have not — their functions differ. There is a division of labor and difference in work and career. For instance, in our army there are the commanders and the fighters, and among the commanders there are the high-level commanders and the lower-level commanders, their duties and authorities being different. The commanders direct operations while the fighters obey the directions. Within the Party there are those who are the responsible persons and those who are not; those who are the leaders and those who are the led. Despite all the difference in nature, in work, in duty and in

This is an old article of Liu Shao-ch'i, included in a booklet *Chan-k'ai Fan-hsing Yu Tzu-wo P'i-p'ing* (展開反省與自我批評, *Launch a Campaign of Introspection and Self-criticism — Documents on Rectification of Work Style, Which Must be Studied*), published by Hsin-hua Book Store, Shantung, undated, pp. 16-21. The text is a translation from the above.

authority, mankind is basically equal. There is no inequality in human rights. A commander-in-chief has no right to beat up or abuse people or exploit people. Otherwise, he would violate the democratic spirit. This is also true of our attitude toward other nationalities. For instance, in dealing with the Miao and other minorities, if we can beat them and tell them to work for us, that signifies a lack of democratic spirit. In China it seems as if men are higher than women; men can beat women but not vice versa. Naturally, I do not mean to encourage women to beat men, but social habit seems to indicate that for men to beat women is only natural. That is a lack of democratic spirit. For another instance, in our daily work we often need a servant to help us, but if you think that he is lower than you, it is a lack of democratic spirit. A servant only helps you to do some work. Except that the functions you and he perform are different, he has in no way lost his rights, responsibilities and integrity. I think this is the way we should understand the democratic spirit.

Let us take a look at Lenin and Stalin's approach to the democratic spirit. Once upon a time, Stalin was present at a collective-farm partisans' rally. At first, he did not speak. Upon request by the public, he stated: "All of you have already spoken in a very correct manner and to the point, and there is very little for me to add. Since you insist that I say a few words I have to obey you. Anyway, you have the right to do so." (The sentences were underlined by Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i, as he placed special emphasis on them — *Chan-K'ai Fan-hsing Yu Tzu-wo P'i-p'ing* Ed.) That is what we call democratic spirit. Stalin did not think that as the leader he could talk or not talk as he pleases. Once an Italian historian went to see Stalin and brought forward a question: "Your Soviet Russia highly praises the American spirit. Why?" Stalin answered: "We do not admire the Americans as much as we do the Germans (Hitler had not come into power yet at the time), but we do admire very much the Americans for their democratic spirit. In American factories, it is difficult to tell who are the engineers and who are the workers." In the United States, an engineer may receive higher pay and be more capable, but he is in no way more superior than the workers.

In the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Route Army, there also is such a democratic spirit. To tell an officer from the servicemen is no easy thing. This is a wonderful spirit and should be fostered in the future. In our army, this democratic spirit basi-

cally is the same, but in certain aspects it is quite different. The united front has permitted its cadres to go too far. Some cadres and comrades among us, instead of promoting and maintaining our democratic tradition, wilfully show that they are different from others. We must get rid of this class mentality of climbing up high above others, thinking that we are in a higher bracket than others. For this is contradictory to democracy and must be discarded. Class mentality and the class system are things of the feudal society. Hitler is that kind of a man, saying that the Germans are different from the rest of the people of the world as they are particularly intelligent. Many of our cadres do not have sufficient democratic spirit; they truly think that they are higher than others. They do not realize that the difference in position and authority is only temporary. If you are asked to be the commander-in-chief, it is only a difference in function you are to perform. If you have to leave that position tomorrow, you will be just one of the common people, just as American Presidents Washington and Lincoln were common people when they retired. Even the American bourgeoisie can be so democratic as this; but among our Party members if anyone is asked to be a common person, he immediately feels unhappy about it. This mental state prevails even among the intellectuals. For instance, a university student thinks that he is in a higher bracket than a middle school student. Not every one of our comrades can truly and deeply understand democracy and possess the democratic spirit. Few are those who can truly understand democracy and apply it in the course of work and treat other comrades and Party members in a democratic spirit. If we want to stand above others while pursuing democratic revolution, it will not be a victory for the revolution but will produce a large number of bureaucrats. Therefore, in making democratic revolution, it is first necessary for one to be democratic in spirit. We have to practice democracy, politically and organizationally, raise our Party members' democratic spirit and rid ourselves of the undemocratic spirit. This is a must if we are to make democratic revolution.

However, the spirit of equality and democracy is not egalitarianism. Some of our comrades do not display enough democratic spirit, on the one hand, and, on the other, they seem to demand putting egalitarianism into practice. Of course, people have their particular characteristics. Some are tall, some are short, some clever and some stupid; some are old and some are young, some are men and some are women. . . . Short of these characteristics, people

will not be recognizable. At the same time, people's responsibilities and authorities vary, and the treatment they receive for their work also differs. For instance, it has been a rule in our army that a regiment commander, a battalion commander, or a brigade commander could have a horse, while others cannot; some eat a little better than others. Meanwhile, among our comrades there also is the phenomenon of absolute democracy, negating the organizational character, negating that there are those in our army who command and those who are commanded, and negating that some in our Party are leaders and some are the led. Such a demand for egalitarianism and absolute democracy in no way savors of the spirit of equality and democracy. Today, people's cultural level still differs, and there is the division of labor in which there is the difference between mental labor and manual labor. So, there is difference in our work and even a difference in our treatment. Some people's duties are heavy. An errand runner may have a horse to ride on and even eat better because he has to work harder. There must be such differences, otherwise it would not be fair. Egalitarianism negates any difference in responsibility and in treatment. To uphold absolute democracy is not correct. Nevertheless, you cannot be higher than others just because of this difference; it would be against the democratic spirit.

The question of democratic spirit is rather important. China is an undemocratic country. The people in general have not been oriented toward democracy and do not understand it. In our Party, too, there are many Party members who do not understand democracy. We are different from those people of the Western nations who have experienced democratic revolution and have been trained in democracy for several decades. Some of our comrades, when going out to work in local places, do not understand anything about democracy; the result is bureaucracy. For this reason, I am today introducing to you some examples of the democratic spirit of foreign nations because it is very necessary in our country and even in our Party. We must educate the masses in democracy. Such education is also necessary within our Party.

Bureaucracy is the opposite of democracy. Absence of the democratic spirit means bureaucracy. It is a form of rule in a stratified society, or in all exploiting class society. It is one kind of formalism, paying particular attention to forms of things, not the content and essence of things. Many things they do well in form, but it is merely to deceive the masses. For this reason, the exploiting

class care very much about the matter of face, otherwise they would not be bureaucrats.

Bureaucracy exists not only among the ranks of the exploiting class but also among the ranks of the proletariat, within the Communist Party, and in the proletarian countries. It is particularly serious when the ranks of the proletariat and their Party become the ruler or come into authority. Lenin said, "The Soviet nation is a nation of the workers but it carries a tumor of bureaucracy." There is bureaucracy in the New Fourth Route Army. The Anti-Japan democratic base is also pretty heavily imbued with bureaucracy. Where does bureaucracy come from among the ranks of our oppressed class? Lenin said, "The proletariat and the laboring masses are backward in cultural level, giving rise to bureaucracy. Bureaucratic organs of the bourgeoisie might be smashed and a Soviet organ (directly set up by the Soviet revolutionary masses) established instead. But, bureaucracy cannot be wiped out completely at one stroke." "Because the proletariat and the laboring masses' cultural level is low, one bureaucrat is removed only to be replaced by another." "Only by raising the cultural level of the proletariat and the laboring masses can bureaucracy be truly and ultimately liquidated, but it will take a whole epoch or several decades before this can be achieved, and before the gap between mental labor and manual labor (that is, the gap between the intellectuals and the worker-peasant elements) can be eliminated. By that time it will be possible to raise the cultural level of the proletariat and the laboring masses." The Communist International Program stated, "The trade union becomes the backbone of the proletariat's economic and state organizations because through it are trained leading cadres for construction work, because it absorbs the broad proletarian masses for participation in its work, and because it takes as its special task tackling the tumor of bureaucracy which emerges from the low cultural level of the masses and under the influence of the non-proletariat."

Bureaucracy exists within the Communist Party because the influence of the non-proletariat is very strong here and because the cultural level of China's proletariat and laboring masses is rather low. Bureaucracy exists today and it will continue to exist in the future. Therefore, liquidating it will take several decades. At present, many people write articles and slogans demanding the liquidation of bureaucracy. Yes, bureaucracy must be liquidated but it cannot be done overnight. It is not correct to put up slogans

to liquidate bureaucracy today. It may be easy for us to liquidate all our army and organs but not bureaucracy. Stalin said, "Concerning the question of bureaucracy, many people have talked on the subject; it is needless for me to deal with it further. There is no doubt that bureaucratic elements are found in our state organs, cooperative organs and Party organs. To fight the bureaucrats is a necessity. So long as our state power has not been extinguished and our nation still exists, this task is constantly before us — this is true. But we must not go too far. We should struggle against bureaucracy among state organs. However, if we in so doing propose to eliminate state organs, disperse state organs, destroy state organs, then we are acting against Leninism. That means we forget that our state organs are Soviet organs, the world's most perfect kind of state organ." (See *Question of Leninism*, Volume II, p.138). Therefore, today we cannot liquidate all bureaucracy, otherwise we will have to liquidate all our organs, and that will be going too far. However, compared with the organs of the Japanese invaders, puppet Wong and the diehards, bureaucracy exists to a much lesser degree in our organs. Before the cultural level of the proletariat and the laboring masses is finally elevated, and while the state power still exists and the gap between brain workers and brawn workers is not yet eliminated, bureaucracy cannot be finally wiped out.

Why is it that bureaucracy emerges when the cultural level of the proletariat and the laboring masses is low? The reason is that bureaucracy finds its existence in the darkness, stupidity and backwardness of the masses. In this way the exploiting class can rule the masses and hoodwink the masses. There is the possibility of the masses being deceived as long as their cultural level is low and as long as bureaucracy exists. If the cultural level of the proletariat and the laboring masses is very high and all of them are university graduates, there will be no chance for bureaucracy to exist. If what you can do other people also can do and there are many people who can do the same, there will be no bureaucrats. Since the cultural level of the proletariat and the laboring masses is low and only a group of people's cultural level is comparatively high, certain jobs can be taken only by those with a higher level of culture. They will then issue orders and drive people around, thus giving birth to bureaucracy.

When I was engaged in workers and peasants' movements, I knew how to judge the situation and told the masses how to organize themselves and how to carry out their struggle. When the struggle

ended in success, they clapped their hands for me, thinking that I helped them and gave all the credit to me alone. That means the masses give you the chance to be a bureaucrat and support you as such, because only you can do the job; if you leave, nobody else can do it and they will be left in an awkward position. If we know a little democracy, we would step down when the masses want us to ride over them. But only those with democratic spirit can do this. There are those who will not come down once the masses ask them to mount, and then they turn themselves into bureaucrats. This is the way in which bureaucrats are hatched. Of course, after you have become bureaucrats and do a poor job, the masses will still drive you away. But since the cultural level of the masses is low and the number of cadres is small, people have to count on you to perform certain jobs which are beyond the ability of the masses. When there is too much work and all the people have to ask a certain people who are capable, there bureaucracy emerges. When work is done in a rough manner and slowly, that is bureaucracy (but when priority is given to work which is urgent and putting back work which is secondary in importance, that is not bureaucracy).

Therefore, to elevate the cultural level of the masses, particularly to elevate the democratic spirit and carry out democratic education, is the fundamental method for opposing bureaucracy. Removal of a person from his post is merely a palliative measure. Democracy should be applied to all work systems and organizational systems, so that the struggle against bureaucracy can be unfolded. Among Party members and cadres there should be fully practiced the democratic spirit and the spirit of equality. In addition, one should supervise and purge others by democratic action. In this way, there will be very little chance for bureaucracy to make its appearance.

ON ENJOYMENT AND HAPPINESS

What is enjoyment? What is happiness?

There are two sides to life's enjoyment, spiritual and material. What we call spiritual life embraces ideological life, political life, cultural life and so on. What constitutes material life includes food, clothing and housing, which make up the whole of living. Between the two sides there often are conflicts which find their expression in mental depression.

Spiritual life is integrated with material life on a material foundation. That is to say, "the way of thinking is dictated by the way of living." However, it does not mean that spiritual life has no reverse effect on material life. From a Communist Party member's point of view, spiritual life plays an important role in the whole course of the development of his life. A Communist Party member attaches more importance to spiritual life than to material life. This has its particular significance.

For the enjoyment of material life, a Communist Party member takes, not an individual, but the whole class as his aim. His concern is the material life of the entire proletarian class. As to spiritual life, he takes communism and the communist cause as its content. For this reason, a Party member has always placed his demand for material life within a minimum limit. Under the dual exploitation of imperialism and the landlord-bourgeois class, the proletariat's material life has dropped to a pitifully low level. The day they cease to labor they will have nothing to eat. And even when one wants to work, one may not have the chance and has to remain hungry. Members of the Communist Party — a political party of

This is an old article of Liu Shao-ch'i. Its date of presentation is not known. The text is translated from *Hsiu-yang Chih-nan* (修養指南, *Guide to Self-Cultivation — A Collection of Works on Self-Cultivation*), undated, and no name of publisher given, pp. 53-61.

the proletariat — can endure any difficulty of living where material life is concerned. But such endurance is basically different from that of the fatalist who resigns to fate when he has to endure hardships. A Communist Party member suffers for the sake of improving material life and spiritual life of the entire class. This is communist thinking and also a Party member's ideal which forms the principal content of spiritual life. For this reason, his spiritual life is noble and great. It is precisely because of such noble and great spirit that he can overcome any difficulty of living and endure all sorts of hardship. Such is the concept of enjoyment and happiness of a Party member.

From this it can be deduced that the sense of responsibility, to a Party member, comes first and is born of self-consciousness, ideological consciousness and political consciousness. As to the enjoyment of material comforts, he relegates it to a very unimportant position. The minimum morality expected of a Party member is not to covet wealth, nor to fear death. This seems odd in the eyes of the landlord-bourgeois class, but to a communist it is only natural and understandable. This is how our Party members come to be great and why the Communist Party is great.

Conversely, the landlord-bourgeois class take individuals as the starting point when it comes to enjoyment of material life — made possible through exploitation. In other words, a minority enjoys material comforts at the expense of the interests of the majority. In terms of motor cars, western-style houses, concubines, indulgence in gambling and debauchery, etc., etc., such enjoyment can be extremely extravagant but appallingly wasteful. Much as this class despises spiritual life, they sometimes pretend to enjoy it a little, such as posing as connoisseurs of antiques or doing some reading of trash, but this is merely an attempt to seek an escape from mental contradictions (mental depression) resulting from their decadent material life. They cannot see "tomorrow" (their future) but seek only momentary enjoyment as the main content of their life. They cannot, nor will, endure any difficulty of living, however slight, thinking that to be poor is a shame. This is their concept of happiness.

The landlord-bourgeois class considers responsibility to society superfluous but life's enjoyment supreme and a smart thing to be proud of. They do talk about rights and responsibilities sometimes — not that they are conscious of their responsibility toward society but it can secure their rights with which to maintain their position of

exploitation and to entitle them to enjoy material comforts. To this end, where the landlord-bourgeois class exists, there prevails corruption and decadence. To us communists, this is utterly intolerable, but to the landlord-bourgeoisie, it is a matter of course and not to be strange at all. This is why they remain backward, and why there is no future for them.

Therefore, the landlord-bourgeois class, though still in a superior position today, but because it is a exploiting class, it will have no future. We communists are different. Though still oppressed, we are a newborn force, politically guided by Marxism-Leninism and led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Party center. Besides, we Party members are all boundlessly loyal to the cause of communism, ready to sacrifice our individual interests for the Party's sake, capable of enduring any difficulty of living and determined to overcome all hardships. That is the reason why the revolutionary task led by our Party has made the big stride it has today, why the prestige of the Party has increased among the entire people, and why the title of being a Party member has become a most sacred phrase in the eyes of the people throughout the country.

However, what I have dwelt upon above refers to the entire Party and the Party members in general. Today, if we conduct, in the spirit of strict self-criticism, a self-examination of the Party members of the Resist-Japan United Front as to their concept and demand in enjoyment, there is already in evidence a grave tendency of their inclining toward material comforts. Those Party members who work in the inland revenue department have openly become corrupt and decadent, of which they do not feel ashamed but think that it is something to be proud of. Those Party members in the army, instead of waging an active struggle against them, are covetous of their gains and sympathize with them. They are degraded even to the extent of wittingly committing errors and facing the risk of being dismissed rather than give up the chance of being a customs police so as to be in a position to collect tax. While this happens in individual cases, it is an utterly grave phenomenon when it occurs among the communist cadres. Another serious state of mentality is making money by exchanging Central Government currency for currency issued by the bogus government, thus exploiting the common people and losing the viewpoint of the masses which a Party member should cherish. Still another faulty idea is that the Party members can do business among the comrades to make money. The primary purpose in committing such deeds is to eat well and

live well, thinking only of oneself and one's own material comforts. Among the local armed force, our cadres accept bribes from the *hsiang* and *pao* chiefs of the bogus government. They are well dressed. They use public funds to buy things for private use. All the above are the serious phenomenon existing in our army and Party at present.

The behavior described above is exactly what a Party member should not have because his enjoyment should have the class as the starting point. The material life of our cadres in the Resist-Japan United Front today is far higher than that of the middle and small landlords and many times higher than that of the poor peasants and workers. On the other hand, in respect of spiritual life, our cadres in general show a state of tiredness. They take little interest in the Party's glory, political standing, culture and education, as if these are things they can do without. For this reason, they are not at all impressed when they are called upon to study. Obsessed with seeking after material life, they feel depressed or pessimistic when they fail to get the satisfaction they desire from material life. Feeling that there is nothing to look forward to, they take a perfunctory attitude toward their work, forgetting that as a Party member they should struggle for the cause of communism. We must build our happiness on the future prospect of victory of the revolution. On the contrary, they care only for immediate enjoyment and think their comforts should come first, without realizing that the whole Party and the whole cause of revolution is still in a stage of serious struggle and that one should suffer a little the lack of material comforts for the victory of revolution.

To be sure, that such a phenomenon occurs is by no means fortuitous but has its ideological and social roots. As far as the old cadres are concerned, due to the long-term struggle and the hardships of guerrilla warfare behind enemy lines, as well as the outside temptations posed by the environment of the United Front, they cannot see the future prospects of the victory of the revolution, due to their ideological backwardness and low cultural level. Nor can they see their own future opportunities of development. So, they pay attention only to their daily living such as clothing and eating and feel tired spiritually, seeking relaxation in material comforts. It seems as though they would feel fully satisfied once their desire for a comfortable material life is answered.

There also are those new cadres who have not yet been sufficiently tempered in struggle and whose desire for material comfort

and ideological concept, inherited from the old society, has not yet been thoroughly transformed. Once they are faced with the temptations of society, their old desire rekindles. Of course, this happens only in individual cases and is not serious, but the situation does exist. Here we do not deny that the leadership has not given our cadres enough education, its organizational discipline is not rigid enough, thus leading to the occurrence of such a trend. But we must not deduce from this that the leadership is to blame, because in all problems the inherent cause is primary whereas outside temptations and other effects are only secondary. "Things must begin to rot before the insects eat them." The same is true [with our cadres]. Therefore, we say that if such a trend should continue to develop, it will be very dangerous because the idea of enjoyment, when fostered, is bound to lead to corruption and decadence. Once a Party member's life is decadent, his stand cannot be firm. As analyzed above, the fundamental difference between a Party member and the landlord-bourgeois class lies in that one is for the class while the other is for himself. If a Party member happens also to be caring for himself, he actually becomes an appendix of the landlord-bourgeois class. Though he pays lip service to communism and the Communist Party, actually he himself has already undergone a change. That is, in form he is still a Party member but in fact he can no longer play the role of a Party member. Organizationally, he is a burden and to the Party it is a loss; insofar as individual Party members are concerned, it is a sign of deterioration. Once a Party member deteriorates, he is on his way to extinction because the material comfort of the landlord-bourgeois class have their private properties as a means of exploitation. But when a Party member deteriorates, he has no alternative but be a running dog of the enemy, a slave laboring for the landlord-bourgeois class. All the glory and political standing he has achieved will fall into pieces. Jung Yen-hsien, formerly of the Resist-Japan United Front, lost his life after he became decadent. Even those cadres who were not Party members sank into a hopeless and miserable condition once they left the revolutionary course. Renegade Wu Fu also died finally [after he had lived a decadent life]. Conversely, the majority of our cadres who persistently followed the revolutionary line under the Party leadership commanded the respect of the Party. Today, as the world-wide anti-Fascist struggle has ended in victory and the victory for the war of peace, democracy and self-defence in our country well in sight, we as individuals are ever nearer the triumph. This is our

glory and also our future which we must cherish.

At present, the trend [of craving for material comforts] has already manifested itself and is actually existing, but it has not yet reached a hopeless degree. The district Party committee has called upon us to launch all over again a rectification and study drive. Let us take opposition against the trend of enjoying material comforts as the central theme of the initial stage of rectification and study. We must, in the course of rectification and study, seriously study Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i's *On Self-Cultivation*, Comrade Cheng Weisan's "The Principal Unhealthy Trend within the Party in Huainan," as well as Comrade Su Yu's "Oppose Four Evil Trends" and make a good effort at self-examination and self-criticism by taking notes. We must also unfold an ideological struggle so as to correct the evil trend ideologically. In addition, in our way of living we should maintain and promote our fine work style of living a frugal life. Organizationally, we should help our comrades overcome this trend. We believe we can achieve all of this. The majority of our Party cadres have undergone a long-term struggle and received the Party's education and nurturing. We possess the excellent quality of good Party members and can be easily enlightened. We should, in response to the call of the upper level of the Party, intensify our study, consolidate our spiritual life, elevate our political level and ideological understanding and receive new things with new feelings. We must not lose our orientation just because of the desire to satisfy our material life. We should, on the foundation of what material life we have already attained, seek to enrich our ideological life, political life and cultural life, take that as our greatest enjoyment and be happy with it. Only in this way can we overcome the difficulty in material life, preserve the excellent work style of living a frugal life and strive for the victory of communism.

OPPOSING HEDONISM

Individual hedonism was a corrupt universal outlook of life among the people of the feudal class in China. They held that the most important thing in life was to be able to enjoy happiness individually; otherwise, life was not worth living, or living such a life would be despicable. The old Chinese literature reflected such an outlook of life in many ways. In the present Chinese society such an outlook of life is still quite popular. Some of our Party members have also been infected with individual hedonism, and the infection is developing. Once infected, a Party member (everybody else) can lose his most valuable qualities: his sense of striving for progress, his sense of responsibility and his sense of creation. He will become a backward, futureless and corrupt person; he will become simply a burden to the Party or even a dangerous person. In the beginning, such Party members might have realized that by relying on their own efforts in the society, they could not acquire any happiness to enjoy; they must join the Party or the revolutionary ranks or engage in speculative or pilfering undertakings in order to gain something that they can enjoy. Or they hope to make a great exertion in the Party or in the revolutionary ranks to establish certain merits and then make demands on the Party as meritorious members. Certain people might have joined the Party or the revolutionary ranks for the cause of revolution in the beginning. They seem to say: give me everything due so that I can enjoy, for I am a cadre who has gone through arduous struggles, done meritorious deeds or fulfilled my responsibilities (?). Today, I have no more responsibility toward the Party (?). The Party owes me a debt (?). To the Party I have only demands to make: reward me! Such a heap of demands for food, clothing, rest and movements plus requests for tonic injections

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the glory of public recognition and other glories that the Party may confer constitute what he would enjoy. He seems to think that he has every right to claim everything that the Party has for his personal enjoyment. He demands a position higher than those of others — at least a position higher than for other Party members who have joined the Party for a shorter period and yet are capable of bearing responsibilities and are progressive. He demands greater authorities and enjoyment. Yet, he does not care for or seems to have forgotten his work and responsibilities, studies and pursuit of progress, interests of the Party and the proletarian battles. If you mention them, he may still remember them and talk vaguely at length on the interests of the Party and revolution. He may even emphatically ask not to be misunderstood. However he expects his demands to be met but has no heart in his work. His work and merits achieved within the Party were limited, but his demands now are unlimited. He is good at making comparisons on qualifications and treatment (but not good at making comparisons on the work among comrades). Boats are elevated as the water rises. His duration of Party membership increases every year; so are his demands on the Party. He can say to you: a certain person held a certain post under me. When I was holding a certain position, he was still holding a small post. Now, he is (because he worked energetically and showed results) is doing something else and has certain things This person feels that he must be higher by one or two ranks in every respect (except work) than any comrade who has been recruited later than he was. Only by being exalted can he consider that he has been given a fair deal; otherwise, he would think that it has been “unfair” to him. He can go one step further to take advantage of the Party’s directive on giving care and protection to cadres and make greater demands. But, when he controls cadres, he forgets the Party’s directive of caring for cadres and puts unreasonable demands on the cadres. He seems to regard the possession of certain things a matter of greater importance than the cause of the Communist liberation of mankind. He is boundlessly interested in those things. His desire for getting or possessing certain things can never be satisfied. Thus, he becomes a burden to the Party. If his desire is not met to the fullest extent, he will feel dissatisfied. He will vent many complaints. He may irresponsibly publicize his dissatisfaction toward the Party in certain quarters. If he still bears a grudge against the Party, he may take one of the following three roads: He may seize an opportunity to amass a fortune to satisfy his own desire for personal enjoyment by

perpetuating certain illegal acts through his work. He may abscond with public funds or join the enemy, or he may commit suicide to end his own life. All these three roads are the final and dangerous outcome of the development of such a tendency.

Such a desire represents peasants' characteristic of backward ideological understanding due to influences of the feudal class's hedonism.

Owing to his long isolation from production and class, such a person fails to get the effect of the advancing revolutionary feelings among the masses or has been scared by the arduous revolutionary struggle. He may not understand the long-term nature of the Chinese revolution and the hardships in the cause of Communism. He may have been deeply affected by the corrupt life of the old society. He has transformed himself or is transforming himself into a separatist of the society, drifting farther and farther from the Party and the proletariat. He has already made it clear that he is no longer a progressive Communist Party member in ideology, action and even in the mode of life. However, due to his historical relations, the Party still retains him as a member. We must strictly criticize, expose, and educate such a person so as to awaken him to the necessity of seeking progress, studying and working in order to save himself from downfall.

Toward Party members of this category, the Party should take the following measures: (1) record all the work and arduous struggles they have done and waged. Do not obliterate their merits. Call on all Party members to accord them due respect and give them proper treatment provided they fulfil the condition of correcting their mistakes, uphold the Party's policies and programmes and take full responsibilities for their work; (2) strictly criticize and expose their mistaken ideas, words and actions. Awaken and educate them and call on them to change over to the correct side, study and seek progress vigorously and work sedulously. Failing to comply with these requirements, dismiss them from their posts; (3) if they are unable to continue working due to physical disability or illness, let them take rest, provided they pledge to uphold the Party and refrain from spreading depressing sentiments. When we need them and can afford to meet the need, we should set up sanatoriums; and (4) if they are unwilling to continue working in the Party and request permission to leave the Party and the work, permit them to do so, provided they pledge against joining the enemy, opposing the Party and exposing secrets.

SOME BASIC PRINCIPLES FOR ORGANIZING THE MASSES

May 1, 1939

China's War of Resistance Against Japan and for national salvation has been fought for almost two years. This is the greatest war of national liberation in the world. To win our final and complete victory in this war, from now on, we cannot but be prepared to tread the paths of a long journey, and we must exert our utmost efforts and make sacrifices to continue the fighting. Therefore, to defeat powerful Japanese imperialism, it is our most basic task to mobilize the whole of China's 450 million manpower and turn them into a united force. For this reason, since the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the call for mobilizing, organizing and arming the masses has been transmitted throughout the country. A great many people have joined in the mass movement. In many places, committees for mobilizing and organizing the masses have been set up. Furthermore, laws and decrees have been promulgated to this effect. However, has the great majority of the masses been aroused and organized? From the conditions throughout the country, it may be seen that except in a few places (such as North China), very little has been achieved. We cannot but say that this is the most important problem in our War of Resistance Against Japan. Before such an important problem is completely solved, it is extremely difficult, even impossible, to win a complete victory in our war of resistance. Even if the solution of

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this problem is only delayed, all the same, very great harm will be brought to our war of resistance by prolonging and increasing the sufferings and sacrifices of the people in the whole country during the war.

Why can't we widely launch the mass movement in the war of resistance? How can the results of mobilizing and organizing the masses be so poor? The main cause is that up to this day there has never been any democracy in China, nor has there been the freedom for mass movements. Some people at the top level have not only controlled and restricted mass movements but also have oppressed and undermined them. Consequently, the anti-Japanese movement for national salvation of the masses cannot be widely launched, and we cannot mobilize millions upon millions of the people to join in the war of resistance. To strive for the complete victory of the war of resistance, it is exceedingly urgent and necessary to correct this present situation. Why must we say so? If there is no democratic freedom, if in China we cannot at present enlarge the scope of democratic freedom, it is obviously impossible to truly mobilize and organize the broad masses and make them join in the war of resistance. If we cannot win a complete victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, it will be equally impossible for China to gain progress in all other fields. Therefore, we must link up the strife for democratism and the strife for the freedom of mass movements with the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan; we cannot treat them independently as two separate issues.

At present, let us put aside for the time being the relationship between democratic freedom in politics and mass movement and first discuss the problem on some basic principles concerning the mass movement itself, that is, how to organize the great majority of the masses under ordinary circumstances (disregarding the current political situation).

As regards the mass movement, there are three basic problems, namely, that of organization, that of action (or it may be called the problem of struggle) and that of propaganda and education. These three problems are interrelated and affect one another. If we wish to transform mass action into a conscious and organized action, we must organize the masses and educate them in the actions and struggles of the masses. What I wish to deal with at this moment is mainly the problem of how to organize the masses.

- (1) We must organize the masses by using their activism as

a base.

In organizing the masses, we must first understand the masses and, at the same time, must know the law of mass movement before we can lead and organize the masses. From the beginning, we must understand what the masses are. What we call the masses are a collective body of human beings, a collective body of human beings who can think, desire and act. The masses are neither blocks of wood or stone nor machines. Therefore, in organizing the masses, we must adopt methods different from those of laying timber and stone or assembling machinery. In other words, we cannot treat the masses entirely as passive and organize them at will, but must use their activism as a base, make them stand up by themselves and, then, take steps to organize them.

First of all, it must be understood that what we mean by organizing the masses and whether or not the masses want to be organized are two different things. There are contradictions between the two. We must resolve these contradictions and unify completely our determination to organize the masses and the will of the masses to organize themselves. Only by doing so can we organize the masses.

Therefore, in organizing the masses, we first must arouse the activism of the masses and make them understand that it is a necessity for them to get organized. Then, on the basis of the activism of the masses, and with our urging, assistance and leadership, the masses truly can be organized. Before the masses can understand the need for getting organized, they will not accept organization under whatever pressure or order; on the contrary, they will go over to the opposition. However, when the masses themselves think that they need to be organized, they will form an organization even though you do not intend to organize them. If they cannot do so openly, they will form a secret organization. The reason for this feature is that the masses are a collective body of active human beings.

A body organized by the masses under pressure can never be a true mass body. In such a body, the masses may temporarily hide their own free will; however, a very great contradiction has grown between them and those who exercise the pressure, with the result that while those who exercise pressure predominate for the time being and the masses are under oppression, this body will certainly have no vitality. However, when the masses predominate, those who exercise pressure soon will be rejected, and the masses will act according to

their own free will.

Why must we give play to the activism and initiative of the masses in the mass movement? The reason is that the masses are a collective body of human beings. Without the activism and consciousness of the masses, there is no way to organize the masses, and, consequently, there will be no mass movement.

Why must we implement democratism and respect the will of the masses in mass organizations? The reason is that the masses are a collective body of human beings. If there is no democratism in a mass organization, and the will of the masses is not respected, not only will it be impossible for the masses to be truly organized, but also there will be no way to enliven the organization because there will be no way to launch a genuine mass movement.

Why can't the activities in a mass organization be interfered with by outsiders, and why is it necessary to maintain the independence of the mass organization? The reason is that a mass organization is formed by human beings. If a mass organization cannot maintain the independence of its activities, its activism and initiative will certainly be strangled.

Some people do not understand the importance of giving play to the initiative and activism of the masses and do not understand the importance of implementing democratism and respecting the will of the masses in a mass organization. They do not understand that the independence of a mass organization should be respected and do not understand the importance of maintaining such independence. This phenomenon indicates that they basically have never thought that a mass organization is a body organized by human beings. They think that the masses, as other "things", can be dominated by them at will; therefore, they will try to control and tread upon the masses and force them to accept their command. They don't know that the masses can never be dominated by force or trodden upon. No matter what means one may adopt to control the masses, eventually one must be controlled by the masses and prostrate oneself before the masses; otherwise, one must be crushed under the pressure of the masses. This has been a good lesson in history.

Some people have the fancy that they can tell the masses to stand up when they find it necessary and can tell them to go to sleep when they do not want them. Such people don't understand that the masses constitute a collective body of human beings who have their own thoughts and can act. Therefore, the masses can never be made to stand up when you want them to stand up and lie down

to sleep when you want them to go to sleep. In the past, the local government of a certain place gave orders to the masses to establish certain organizations in a certain period and set up certain service teams. However, the masses did not carry out the orders. This was because this local government did not understand that the masses constituted a collective body of human beings who could be organized only on the basis of their consciousness and activism.

In their activities of organizing the masses, some activists of mass organs assumed the attitude of superiors above the masses, acted arbitrarily, commanded the masses at will and held them in service with the result that they naturally were rejected and cast away by the masses. These people did not understand that the masses constitute a collective body of human beings who can never be organized at one's free will.

The masses constitute a collective body of human beings. Nothing is more clear-cut than this. This is the only basic understanding. In their practical actions or activities, a great many people who lacked this most clear-cut basic understanding, or forgot that this was the basic tenet, committed various mistakes.

We can never treat the masses as machines and organize them as if assembling machine parts. However, we can lead them, activate them to organize themselves and help them to do so.

Why must we do so? Because the masses constitute a collective body of human beings. Today, the masses are still comparatively low in their political and cultural levels. They have not yet understood the necessity of organizing themselves for national salvation and for their self-salvation. As we are higher than the masses in our political and cultural levels, and as we also have higher understanding than the masses, we can make the masses understand the necessity of organizing themselves for national salvation and for their self-salvation. This is the responsibility of all those who are the more advanced among the masses. For this reason, we must activate and help the masses to organize themselves and should never leave the masses to develop according to their own emotions without any restraint nor follow behind the masses. We must lead the masses to rise.

We must educate the masses and convince them. While arousing the masses' demands and activism, we should help them to organize themselves. However, a true leader of the masses should never put on the airs of a leader, or preach seriously to the masses, or stand above the masses and give orders to them. As brothers,

we should approach the masses and convince them with the attitude of their comrades. We should never take the masses as our possession; on the contrary, we should make ourselves the possession of the masses. We should understand that we ourselves have no power to motivate the masses at will. If we do so, we are committing a crime against the masses. We should always accept the control of the masses. Only those people can be called true leaders who can become one with the masses, educate the masses, lead them and enhance their consciousness and activism. They will not assume self-importance or put on the airs of leaders; they can help the masses in all respects to solve various problems. The masses will welcome and admire them and pay respect to them as their leaders. Only leaders coming from among the masses are true leaders who are most capable of organizing the masses.

When we say that we should never force the masses, we don't mean that in a mass movement there is no need for strict discipline for the masses. Moreover, only a mass movement with discipline can become a strong mass movement. Discipline, at any rate, carries some degree of compulsion; however, such compulsion comes from the discipline of the mass movement itself. (1) This compulsion is based on the consciousness of the masses, that is, it is the discipline which the masses themselves understand and acknowledge and hope to follow strictly. Therefore, there must be such compulsion in a mass movement. (2) Such compulsion is based on the control which the majority of the masses exercises to a certain extent over the minority. That the minority should follow the majority is the most important discipline in a mass movement to ensure uniform action. If we can constantly preach to the masses the necessity of making the minority follow the majority in action, the masses also will understand this necessity. In this way, the minority of the masses will exercise self-control in their action, and, based on their own wish, will give up their own views for the time being, will cultivate the discipline of following the majority and, together with the majority of people, will maintain their uniformity in action and in organization. In this way, this discipline is a discipline brought about entirely by the consciousness of the masses. However, even with the discipline brought about by consciousness, in practical action it is also necessary to have the initiative of the masses as its basis so that the masses can consciously and self-restraintly adhere to it. We should never exercise compulsion, despite of the fact that compulsion is inherent to discipline!

In short, the masses are a collective body of human beings with their own ideas and desires and ability to act. If we wish to organize the masses, we must take their activism as the basis. All activists and leaders in mass movements have the responsibility of arousing and elevating the activism of the masses. At the same time, when the masses have heightened their activism, we should properly organize them and lead them. In this matter, all subjectivism must meet with sad failure.

(2) We must organize the masses upon their own demands.

The masses are a collective body of people with their own demands. The demands of the masses constitute the goal of the mass organization and its aim. Departing from the demands of the masses, we can never organize them. They want to organize themselves precisely for achieving certain common demands.

The demands of a mass organization determine its character. Demands are different; so are the characters of various mass organizations. Generally speaking, we may classify the different characters of mass organizations on the basis of their demands, as follows:

First, the political organizations: Such organizations, such as political parties, political factions or other organizations with some political character, are formed upon a common political demand.

Second, the economic organizations: Such organizations, such as trade unions, peasants' associations, producers' cooperatives and others, are formed upon a common economic demand.

Third, the cultural organizations: Such organizations, such as academic societies, clubs, dramatic troupes and other cultural bodies, are formed upon a common cultural demand.

The character of different mass organizations is determined by the principal demands and programs announced by them. All organizations have secondary demands in addition to principal ones. However, secondary demands can never alter the character of the mass organization. For instance, a political party always has secondary demands concerning economy and culture. Also, a trade union or a peasants' association always has political and cultural demands. Clubs and academic bodies always have secondary political and economic demands. However, when the secondary and attached demands of an organization take the place of principal and permanent demands, the organization has already changed its character. For instance, when a political party has long forsaken its political mission and wages its struggle only on some economic

demands (such as economism), this political party is, in fact, no longer a political party. Also, a trade union or a club becomes a political party or a political faction when it for a long duration forsakes its economic or cultural demands and engages mainly in political struggles and political activities. Though the name and the form of organization may remain unchanged, the personnel who gathered under the organization in the beginning must have changed. For instance, those who are averse to political struggles and political activities must have withdrawn from the organization, and only a small number of political activists still remain. Under the circumstances, such an organization actually is no longer an economic organization or a cultural organization but has become a political organization. Therefore, in the mass movement, as long as an organization does not intend to change its original character, it should never forsake its initial tasks and principal demands.

In the mass movement, many people cannot understand this point. These people do not understand that the character of different organizations is determined by the principal tasks and demands which these organization have undertaken. Only when these organizations alter their tasks and demands does the character of such organizations change. Being ignorant of this point, they totally disregard the demands and feelings of the masses, subjectively and arbitrarily cast away the tasks and demands which their organizations originally had undertaken and wage struggles for other demands. They do not know that this will entirely change the character and task of their organizations. Moreover, as far as the mass movement is concerned, any such chance is always very damaging.

On the other hand, it may also be possible to promote the mass movement by changing the character and demands of mass organizations. For instance, a certain mass organization in the beginning did not have very good purposes and demands and set down no unified requirements for the masses. Though it was called a trade union in name, in essence it was not a trade union but something else. Therefore, the masses treated this organization coldly and did not take any active part in it. However, when this organization changes the essence of its purpose and demands, it will attract a great many people to join in its cause. The organization can thus take the opportunity to organize the masses. Again, for instance, such organizations as the association of fellow provincials and the association of Buddhists may be changed into economic organizations or anti-Japanese organizations. To the masses, this change may be

advantageous. Nevertheless, under such a situation, we still have to make a concrete analysis and a careful evaluation.

Among all different mass organizations, the economic organization is the most important mass organization. For this reason, when we truly try to organize the masses extensively, we must pay attention to various different economic demands of the masses before we can organize them. Why? The reason is that the masses — workers, peasants, students, women and merchants — all have economic demands. These demands are the most direct and acute demands of the masses. If we disregard problems of age, sex, place of birth and political belief and unite them only under a common economic demand, we can widely organize a mass organization.

The political organization is the highest form of all organizations. The political party is the highest form of class organization and is the vanguard organization of a class. Why should we say so? The reason is that only people with high political consciousness can join a political party. The members of a political party must be closely concerned with political struggle. Therefore, the political organization can never be the principal form of mass organizations. A political party cannot be included in the scope of mass organizations. However, in a certain period, on the basis of only one single political call or political demand, it is also possible to extensively mobilize the masses and unite them. For instance, under such political calls and demands as “resisting Japanese aggression for national salvation,” “giving support to peace” and “opposing imperialism,” it is possible to rally masses of various different strata, irrespective of their occupation, locality and culture, to form an alliance. For instance, the present Association for National Salvation and the Association for Backing Up Resistance against the Enemy are such organizations. In a certain very short period, these organizations may also become the principal form of organization among the masses. However, they also have their weaknesses: (1) The principal demand of these organizations is comparatively simple. Though such organizations exercise influence over their internal activities, they cannot strengthen them. Their influence is only an individual influence without substantial force. (2) The principal demand of such an organization is only temporary, so that only in a certain historical period is it possible to have a common demand of the masses of people of different strata, occupation and localities. (3) The masses of different strata united under such organizations and with such a demand also have their own respective faiths and

demands besides the common demand. Therefore, there are many contradictions among them. For this reason, organizations formed with a common demand mostly adopt the form of an alliance. In this way, their internal unity can never be solid.

In establishing the economic organization of the broad masses, we can never truly organize the majority of the masses if we organize the masses with only a simple political call and not on the basis of their economic demands. For instance, if you want to organize the masses with only the calls for resisting Japan for national salvation or making self-sacrifice for national salvation without making any economic demands for the masses themselves, then those who are interested in these two calls may come forward and follow you and join your organization; however, the majority of others who are not interested in such slogans will not follow you and will never join your organization. Therefore, we can never organize the masses simply with some political calls and political demands. We must organize the masses with the economic demands of the masses and some economic calls; otherwise, we have no means to truly organize the great majority of the masses. Moreover, such as organization cannot last long.

Various mass organizations of different characters must be formed according to the various demands of the masses. Only in this way can we organize the great majority of the masses. There are many people who cannot understand this point thoroughly. We have seen that many people have tried to organize the masses and arouse them to resist the Japanese; to give support to the troops; to organize first-aid teams, transportation teams and scouting groups; or to arouse them to make revolution, oppose this and support that. . . . However, they show no concern about the demands of the masses and never take into consideration what the masses at the time and in the locality demand or reject. They only know how to make demands on the masses and ignore the demands of the masses. They only try to organize the masses according to their own demands. Needless to say, they can never attain their object. Why? Because they do not understand that the organization of the masses must be built on the demands of the masses. They want only to organize the masses according to their own subjective demands. If they cannot meet the demands of the masses, naturally the masses will not meet their demands. There are also some people who try to prevent the masses from engaging in the national salvation movement and joining the National Salvation Association and prohibit them from staging

a strike and asking for wage increases. However, such actions are entirely opposed to the demands of the masses. To attain their object, the masses always will form organizations on their own initiative, begin to take action and show no consideration for the ideas of these people. It is precisely because these people did not understand that they must meet the demands of the masses.

We say that the organization of the masses must be built on the demands of the masses; however, we certainly do not mean that we cannot further enlighten the masses in their demands and will forever leave their demands in the backward framework and that we will lower our demands to a backward and narrow scope. Any such thinking is entirely wrong. We must positively arouse and elevate the demands of the masses, which may be aroused and can be elevated to higher standards. We may take a peasant as an illustration. At the beginning, he had no demand for the reduction of land rents; however, when you explain to him the reason for his poverty and the method of mitigating his suffering, he will immediately demand the reduction of land rents. Again, for instance, this peasant originally did not feel the demand for armed resistance against the Japanese. However, you, on the one hand, can help him to find means to reduce rents on his land and, on the other hand, explain to him how disadvantageous it will be to him if our country is conquered by Japanese imperialism, or how important it is to safeguard his benefits from the reduction of rents, or necessary for all of us to arm ourselves and march to the front. Most likely, this peasant will demand to arm himself and go to the front to fight against the Japanese!

In the mass movement, all activists or leaders always must try positively to enlighten the masses and raise their demands, to raise their low demands to a higher level, by raising the economic demands to political demands, raising partial and temporary demands to whole and permanent demands and raising local demands to state and national demands. Only in this way can we, on the demands of the masses who have been aroused and elevated, organize the broad masses and more successfully and widely organize the masses to go to the front for resisting Japanese aggression.

In raising the demands of the masses to a higher degree as mentioned above, needless to say, it will not do if we do not take into consideration the objective situation and instead try to raise their demands blindly. For instance, as far as the workers are concerned, they at first demand an increase of only ten cents in

wages; however, we insist on raising the demand to an increase of one dollar. Or, the workers at first only demand wage increases; however, we insist on raising the demand to overthrowing the Trotskyites. This way of raising the level of demands must be carried out step by step and in stages according to the objective situation and by integrating objective reality with the degree of consciousness of the masses. We must understand that it will be a very long course from the time when the masses begin to have a certain demand to the stage when they can truly, for the sake of their demand, stand up, organize themselves, wage their struggle and begin determinedly to take action. For instance, the masses feel the demand of resisting the Japanese; however, it is entirely different from the fact that they are determined to stand up and carry their guns to fight the Japanese. Therefore, in raising the demands of the masses, it is not only necessary to carry out activities of propaganda and persuasion but also, what is more important, it is necessary for the masses to take practical action and wage actual struggle. Only from their own practice and struggle can the masses themselves realize that their economic, political and personal demands and the demands of the state and nation are basically an inseparable entity. In this way it is possible to guide the masses into bringing about a high demand to go to the battlefields of resisting Japanese aggression for national salvation.

There are distinctive differences among the political, economic and cultural demands of the masses. However, these demands are mutually integrated and cannot be separated from one another. No matter what kind of economic struggle is waged by the masses, it must be, at the same time, a political struggle. Any kind of political struggle or cultural struggle has basic economic ground. Therefore, all the economic demands of the masses must be integrated with political or cultural demands. When the masses begin to take action on one simple demand, we must lead the masses in fields related to their actions on this simple demand so that they can understand better a series of other problems and further push their action to a still higher stage. This way of doing things is the responsibility of all activists and leaders who take part in mass movements. Having aroused the demand of the masses, we then further raise the demand to include related problems. This enables us to solve the other problems. In other words, the contradiction between our demand and the demand of the masses can thus be solved. When we first organized the masses to participate in resisting Japan for national

salvation, what the masses demanded was the reduction of rents and taxes. This was the contradiction between the masses and ourselves. However, as long as we held the standpoint of the masses on the reduction of rents and taxes in leading and organizing the masses to take action and, in the actions of the masses to reduce rents and taxes, raised their consciousness, made them stand up and begin to demand resisting Japan for national salvation, then we could become one with the masses. In the beginning, there might be some temporary difficulties between the masses and ourselves, but later on the masses would accept our demand. In this way, our demand or call becomes the demand or call of the masses themselves. Of course, in this way we have to undergo some difficulties in educating the masses and guiding them to struggle. All activists and leaders taking part in mass movements naturally must understand this point. All political parties, political factions and other people who have the intention of organizing the masses to get up and resist the Japanese under their leadership can never succeed without first understanding this point. Should you only unilaterally ask the masses to get up and resist the Japanese under your leadership without waging the struggle for the demands of the masses, and even in opposition to the demands of the masses, no matter how hard you tried to exercise your control, the masses would never join in the war of resistance under your leadership. On the contrary, you would become the enemy of the masses.

(3) We must adopt various forms to organize the masses.

The masses are never a uniform type of person. Different kinds of people have different demands. They pursue different professions. They differ in age and sex and derive from different localities and social classes. They have different degrees of culture and consciousness. Therefore, in organizing the masses, it is necessary to adopt different forms so that we can truly organize the majority of the masses. The complexity of the masses (plus the complexity of the external political situation) decides the complexity of the forms of mass organizations. If we adopt only one form to organize the various different masses, we cannot organize the majority of the masses. At the same time, when we include all kinds of people in a single type of organization, we shall certainly meet with failure. Why? Trying to place doctors, professors, stevedores and old country-women into one organization and make them lead the same organizational life is unimaginable.

If we have to classify mass organizations according to their forms of organization, in general, there are the following types:

First, organizations based on their production enterprises. Workers and employees in the same production department may be organized into one body, such as, the various trade unions for workers in production enterprises: the union of railway workers, the union of textile workers, the union of miners, the union of seamen and the union of printing workers.

Second, organizations based on profession. People of the same profession may be organized into one body, such as the union of tailors, the union of carpenters and the associations of doctors and journalists.

Third, organizations based on localities. Certain people living in the same locality may be organized into one body, such as trade unions of various localities and students' associations. Also, associations of people from the same province and similar bodies are all organized on the principle of locality.

Fourth, organizations based on age. People of different ages are organized into different bodies, such as organizations for young people and children and local associations of old people.

Fifth, organizations based on sex, such as the women's federation.

Sixth, organizations based on social class. People of the same economic status are organized into one body, such as the trade unions and the federation of industry and commerce.

Seventh, organizations based on belief. The various religious bodies and the "Red Spear Society" and the "White Spear Society".

Furthermore, organizations also may be classified according to their internal structure, such as independent organizations and joint organizations. The organizational structure of an independent organization is a single body. All departments of this organization and its subordinate organs are not of an independent character. Such a structure of organization is adaptable to bodies more militant in character. A joint organization is mainly a common organization formed jointly by various independent bodies which still retain their independent characters. Such a structure of organization is adaptable to an organization which is comparatively complex in its inner structure.

Among the various forms of organization, the principal ones are organizations based on production enterprises and profession. Trade unions (including those of various different production enter-

prises), peasants' associations, women's associations, youth leagues and other bodies of people of free occupations are all principal mass organizations. If we can find such organizations everywhere in the country, then truly the great majority of the masses has been organized.

By organizing the masses in various different forms, we certainly do not mean to disperse mass organizations and deny the necessity of their unity. We strongly advocate the unification of mass movements. However, in achieving unity, we must: (1) take into consideration the various complexities among the masses and organize the majority of the masses in various different forms; (2) let the various departments of a mass organization shape the course of their unification under common demands and programs; for example, the unification of trade unions, peasants' associations, youth leagues and women's federations; and (3) unite all mass organizations on the common program of resisting Japan for national salvation to organize a united federation for national salvation and also set up this federation system in various places. In this way we can unite all the mass organizations under the leadership organ of the whole. Only in this way can we truly unify the leadership over mass movements in the whole country.

At present, though it is very important to unify the mass movements, it is more important to organize the great majority of the masses. If we fail to organize the masses in various different forms, we can never organize the majority of the masses. If we fail to organize the masses broadly, the unification of the mass movement will not be of much significance. To organize the masses broadly and to truly unify the mass movement, there is no way other than the adoption of the foregoing method. Besides this, there is no better method to fulfill such a task.

There are too many people who cannot understand this point and fail to see such complexities within the masses. These people take the masses as an inseparable entity and treat various different masses with the same method, the same attitude and the same language. They not only have no intention of studying the individual conditions of the masses but also have never studied even the life, habits, feelings, demands and cultural level of the masses. Therefore, these people can neither go deep among the masses nor become one with the masses. Of course, they cannot put forward any practical method for organizing the masses.

Furthermore, there are too many people who, because they

cannot understand this point, refuse to let the masses form various different organizations, particularly those based on the principle of setting up organizations according to different production enterprises and professions. These people think only about setting up one organization and place various kinds of masses in this one and only organization. They try to organize various different masses by means of one single form. Moreover, to exercise control over the mass movement, they refuse to permit the existence of various different mass organizations. However, they do not wish these organizations to form a joint organization. They wish only to dissolve all the mass organizations and put them in their one and only organization which has been set up purely on their subjective thinking. They claim that this is the unification of the mass movement. Needless to say, they can never attain their aim. Why? Because their method not only does not contribute anything to the mass movement but, on the contrary, entirely undermines the mass movement, splits it and brings about direct antagonism between the masses and themselves.

Today, some of us may say that it is necessary to arouse the masses and organize them; however, we know these people actually (1) not only do not organize the masses on their own initiative but also oppose the masses organizing themselves on their own initiative; (2) not only do not organize the masses according to their demands but also oppose the demands of the masses; and (3) not only fail to organize the masses in various different forms but also oppose various different organizations of the masses. It is only natural that these people can never arouse the masses and organize them. Why? Because they go against the foregoing three basic principles of all mass movements.

Here, I have mentioned only the three basic principles of mass organization. I have not yet touched upon other problems, for example, under the present political situation, how to promote mass movements in various places throughout the country, how to organize them and how to change the forms of the activities of mass movements and the forms of organization to cope with the changes in the objective situation. On these problems, I still have to prepare my manuscripts before I can talk about them.

A CONCISE HISTORY OF WORKERS MOVEMENT IN CHINA

May 1939

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM IN CHINA AND THE FORMATION OF THE CHINESE WORKING CLASS

Capitalism developed in China within the last hundred years, for the following three reasons:

First, the imperialist countries penetrated into China, importing their goods and carried away raw materials. This initiated the development of the Chinese steamship and railway transport enterprises. However, the imperialist countries not only started transport enterprises but also opened factories because of cheap Chinese labour. This was the so-called export of imperialist capital — investments in foreign countries. In this way, new industries emerged and developed in our country. Imperialist investments in China were made in two forms: (1) Loans. The investors made large sums of money available to Chinese capitalists to enable them to set up factories and drew interest on such loans, this indirectly exploiting the Chinese people. (2) They started factories themselves.

Second, state capitalism in China began to develop with war industries, such as arsenals and manufacturers of military supplies as represented by the Han Yeh Ping Company. At that time, the Chinese Government had just suffered several battle defeats against foreign countries and felt that to become prosperous and strong our country must start and operate their own war industries.

Third, since the Chinese private national industries had already made certain progress and new industries had emerged from factories

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established by Imperialists, certain Chinese merchants, landlords and new feudal officials were stimulated to undertake some light industries, mainly textile and flour mills. They were mostly compradors and officials closely connected with foreigners.

After the war in Europe, our country began to have quite a number of railways, several hundred cotton mills and silk filatures, mines, flour mills, printing presses, hydraulic power plants and light and heavy industries. Capitalism made a great headway in our country at that time, and we began to have workers. According to statistics available then, we had approximately 3,000,000 proletarian industrial workers in the country. At each industrial centre of Shanghai, Tientsin, Tsingtao, and Hankow, there were almost 100,000 workers. These cities became the headquarters of the proletariat.

Chinese workers had one special characteristic, that is, once they were organized, they wielded a greater power than the bourgeoisie. Such had never been the case in any other country. When the Chinese Communist Party was founded, we discussed this question and arrived at the same conclusion. The main reason for this was that many large industries in China at that time were operated either by imperialists or by the Chinese capitalists who were suppressed either by imperialists or by government officials. The Chinese working class was, on the other hand, strong not only politically but also physically.

2. THE CHINESE WORKERS' MOVEMENT BEFORE THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY WAS FOUNDED

The struggle waged by the Chinese working class at that time was spontaneous.

First, let us take a look at the characteristics of the development of the Chinese capitalism.

(1) Chinese capitalism developed under the influence of imperialist aggression against China. Although Chinese national capitalists had already developed in an opposite direction from imperialism, they had not ridden themselves of a bureaucratic atmosphere. While they had already developed in an opposite direction from feudal influences, they had not ridden themselves of the air of feudalism. Chinese Capitalism had therefore relied on feudalism as well as on imperialism in development. Had they proved to be unfavourable to imperialism, it would never have assisted them in their growth. Hence we can conclude that the Chinese national industries had grown because of their compatibility with the interests of imperialism.

(2) The import of foreign goods destroyed Chinese handicrafts and brought bankruptcy to rural areas. Workers from the bankrupted handicrafts and certain peasants entered factories in urban areas and became modern workers. Such had not been the case in foreign countries. In those countries, the development of national industry needed workers, but feudal serfdom restrained the development of foreign capitalism because it did not allow serfs to work in urban areas. Yet, factories could not exist without large numbers of workers. Therefore, the feudal system had to be opposed and the capitalist revolution initiated. What happened in China? Industries were imported from foreign countries. There were too many workers of bankrupted handicrafts and farmers, who could not find employment in urban areas. These wandering handicraft workers and farmers became a special class of hooligans in China, and their leaders became warlords once they took up arms. A keen competition for employment thus developed in the labour market, resulting in low wages and a miserable livelihood for the workers.

(3) In collusion with the feudal forces in China, imperialists commenced their aggression and destruction, for instance, the Opium War. They ended Chinese isolation and self-reliance by preaching religion and teaching foreign languages. When destruction was completed to a certain extent, it was stopped. The imperialists then began to collude with the feudal forces with the object of suppressing the revolutionary forces in China.

(4) Since there were many warlords and hooligans, the bourgeoisie in China could not obtain thorough liberation. This accounted for the lack of thoroughness in its revolution.

Second, the poverty of the Chinese working class: Wages in China were the lowest in the world. A highly skilled worker earned 30 to 40 *Yuan* a month. The working hours were very long, being nine hours a day in most factories but over 20 in some. Workers' lives and livelihood were unprotected. Chinese workers lived miserable lives because China was a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. Chinese workers were oppressed by three burdens for over 30 years. This is to say, there were few trade unions; the social position of workers was very low; and they had no political freedom. They belonged entirely to a class of "low social stratum people".

Third, under the oppression of above-mentioned miserable environment, the Chinese workers broke out with struggles and organizations quite naturally. We call these struggles the workers' original struggles. I remember that several decades ago, the industries

in Anyuan, Tangshan and Hanyang were hit with large scale strikes. These struggles in the form of strikes were influenced by gangster organizations, such as Ko Lao Wei of that time.

Fourth, there were not only the original struggles but also original organizations, such as trade leagues and guilds. In addition the Christians religion had organizations among workers, such as clubs. Later, many people hung up sign boards for organization which existed in name only. The anarchist Party also had their workers' organizations such as the Labour Association in Hunan, the Workers Cooperative in Kwangtung, and others.

This shows that before the Chinese Communist Party was founded, Chinese workers waged many struggles and set up many organizations. But it was only after the birth of the Chinese Communist Party that there was a true Chinese revolutionary workers' movement.

3. THE FOUNDING OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY AND ITS UNITY WITH THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT

The Chinese Communist Party was founded in 1921 (the tenth year of the Chinese Republic). The birth of CCP had a great deal to do with the Chinese workers' movement. In the beginning, very few members of the Chinese Communist Party were workers. Most were students, intellectuals and college professors. Comrade Hsiang Ying was the Party's only worker member. This is not strange, for to understand Marxism at that time one had to have reached a high cultural level. As soon as it came into existence, however, the Chinese Communist Party set out to launch a workers' movement to struggle for the cause of the Chinese working class. The Party lost no time in establishing "The Chinese Labour Organization's Department of Secretaries" to organize and educate Chinese workers. This Department of Secretaries at a later date became a "trade union". At that time, the Party did not know the name of trade union. The name of "labour organization" was copied from Japan. The "Department of Secretaries" was a Secretariat, and the "Labour Organization's Department of Secretaries" was the trade unions' secretariat through which the Party directed the workers' movement throughout the country. The Department of Secretaries had its general headquarters (first in Peip'ing and later in Shanghai) and branches in Canton, Chekiang, Hankow, Peip'ing and Shanghai. The principal responsible person for the Department, which had a staff of 20, was Chang Kuo-t'ao. At the outset, it set up workers' schools and clubs along the Peip'ing-Hankow Railway at Changhsintien, Chengchow and Hankow

along the Canton-Hankow Railway at Hsuehiapang, and at Shanghai, Anyuan, Canton and other places. It also published workers' newspapers such as the *Workers' Monthly* in Shanghai and Peip'ing and *Coolie* in Ch'angmen. Meanwhile, it also established some schools for the children of workers. At that time most of us were teaching in these schools. Afterwards, because we came into closer contact with workers, we set up clubs, which were registered with the government and in which most of the workers' leaders participated. Many significant results were born from activities such as these. This was the beginning of the entry of the Chinese Communist Party into the midst of workers.

The Chinese workers' movement officially began in February 1922, (with the great seamen's strike in Hong Kong.) The ships' Chinese crews had long had their trade unions of guild nature. After acquiring knowledge of trade union organizations from their trips abroad where they came into contact with workers of their trade or seamen in foreign countries, they first set up the Seamen's Trade Joint Association in Hong Kong. In 1922, carrying guns they presented demands and went on strike, leaving their ships and going to the union. Many ships were consequently paralyzed in the Hong Kong harbour. Over 10,000 crew members participated in the strike. Later, the wharf workers joined the strike, augmenting the strength of the strikes. Their principal demand was an increase in wages. Suppressed by local British imperialists, the strikers went to Canton. At Shamien in Canton, imperialists tried to stop them from going ashore and killed some of them, heightening the tension and arousing the sympathy of Canton merchants, who then joined the strike in opposition to the British imperialists. The strike lasted over 40 days and ended in a complete victory for the strikes. The workers returned to Hong Kong, but only after the British hung up a new union signboard did the workers return to their jobs. This strike marked the beginning of the Chinese workers' movement. Members of the Chinese Communist Party also participated in the strike. During the strike, all workers in China supported the Hong Kong seamen. The workers of the Peip'ing-Hankow Railway hoisted flags on the locomotives all the way from Hankow to Peip'ing.

On May 1, 1922, the First Labour Congress was inaugurated in Canton, with an attendance of more than 200 people. Apart from the Hong Kong delegates, who formed the majority, over 20 delegates came from various parts of the country, representing workers of many places. A resolution demanding an 8-hour work day was adopted,

and a statement was issued at the meeting. The Department of Secretaries of the Chinese Labour Organization was designated as the address of correspondence for all workers' bodies of the country. This was the First Labour Congress to forward the national workers' movement.

In July 1922, the workers at Changhsintien along the Peip'ing-Hankow Railway put up 22 demands and staged a strike. When the Railway Administration did not yield to their demands, however, the northern section of the railway suspended traffic for three days. The strike ended in victory for the strikers. The workers were given an increase of three *Yuan* and the workers' club was changed into a trade union. At the end of each year, workers were paid a bonus of one month's wage (this formed the basis for the regulation providing an annual bonus for workers).

Following the victorious strikes called by workers of the Peip'ing-Hankow Railway, other railway workers called strikes to press their demands which were eventually met. Other successful strikes were also called at Hanyang Iron Works, Anyuan and Hsiangp'ing Coal Mines and Tayeh Iron Ore Mine. Only the strikes at the five mines in T'angshan were frustrated and this was because of the opposition of the British capitalists. Even then wages were increased, but the trade union was closed and this was a real disappointment to the strikers. Later strikes were called in various cities throughout the country, and the national workers' movement was thus extensively developed under the leadership of the Labour Organization's Department of Secretaries. In half a year (from the autumn of 1922 to the spring of 1923), 96 strikes, both large and small, were called throughout the nation with a total of 270,000 workers participating in them. Along with the strikes, trade unions were established with all workers joining. All the principal railways and mines in China and all the factories in urban areas at that time had their trade unions organized. There were also federations of trade unions (such as the Federation of Trade Unions in Hupeh, the Federation of Trade Unions in Changsha, and the General Trade Union at Hanyehp'ing). A delegates' meeting of the trade unions of the Peip'ing-Hankow Railway was convened in Peip'ing, and the All-China Railway General Trade Union's preparatory committee was established. At that time, an unfavourable characteristic of the workers' movement was the refusal to admit employees [white collar workers] into trade unions as members. That was a mistake. The posts of trade union presidents were mostly held by the working comrades of the Labour

Organization's Department of Secretaries. Later, there was opposition to students serving as trade union presidents and us, as general secretaries.

A great storm raged in the worker and employee movement in China during the period from the time of the great seamen's strike in Hong Kong to the "February Seventh" in 1923. During this period, the Chinese workers labour legislation movement was initiated from the labour legislation draft by the Department of Secretaries for the protection of workers' legal status. The draft was published in newspapers and periodicals throughout the nation. The Department of Secretaries invited 60 members of the Congress to a dinner, of whom 30 were sympathetic to our cause. The question was dropped after the defeat in the "February Seventh" incident.

4. THE "FEBRUARY SEVENTH" TRAGEDY AND THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT THEREAFTER

First, political conditions at the time: The extensive nationwide workers' movement had developed as a result of the existence of the Chinese Communist Party. The Party was young but had some experience (from the Soviet and French returned comrades). The bourgeoisie was weak and impudent. The country was divided. There was the government of the Ts'ao Kun and Wu Pei-fu faction in North and Central China; the National Government in Kwangtung, headed by Sun Yat-sen and the government of the Chang Tso-lin faction in the Northeast. The three governments acted independently. On the other hand, imperialists were experienced in obstructing the workers' movement. The Chinese capitalists of that time were sympathetic toward the movement at first, and general opinion was fairly favourable to it. Even Wu Pei-fu was initially in favour of the movement. After the movement developed, the entire situation changed throughout the country. The results were:

(1) The workers' movement directly impaired the rule of the Northern Warlords and caused them political and economic losses. Wu Pei-fu had to reverse his stand and suppress it.

(2) Aware of the strength of workers in Western Europe, imperialists pressed the Chinese Government into suppressing the movement.

(3) The Chinese capitalists were originally sympathetic toward workers, but later colluded with the warlords to oppose the movement.

(4) The workers themselves were naive and proud and ignored their enemy. The workers' leaders demanded special trains to ride on their trips. All these factors created a new situation before the "February Seventh," calling for combating with imperialists and capitalists. We were not observant enough to see the onset of such a new situation with the result that the tragic incident happened.

Second, the prevailing conditions prior to the "February Seventh" tragedy: The Peip'ing-Hankow Railway Trade Union wanted to hold an inaugural meeting. The Union had been established, but the General Trade Union had not been organized. After six months preparation, the inaugural meeting was scheduled to take place on February 1, 1923 (the 11th year of the Chinese Republic). Celebrations were scheduled to last for some time, and Wu Pei-fu was duly informed in advance. When the meeting was about to open, Wu issued an order to stop its convening. The order specified that another date would have to be chosen if the meeting had to be held. However, the trade union had already issued invitations to other trade unions throughout the country. It was obvious that a postponement was impossible. Ignoring Wu's order, the meeting was held as scheduled.

Third, the events that took place on February 1: Several dozens of delegates including Chang Kuo-tao arrived at Chengchow, and workers' delegates formed in a file and marched to the meeting place, only to be stopped by Wu Pei-fu's police. Although permission still could not be obtained after two hours of negotiation, the workers nevertheless entered the assembly hall. Fifteen minutes later, it was surrounded by troops and police, and the meeting ordered to stop. Clashes ensued, and the hall was thrown into disorder. Wu Pei-fu wanted the workers' delegates to leave Chengchow immediately. They went back to Hankow, leaving the Federation of Trade Unions to deal with the aftermath. The Federation was located in the vicinity of the river-bank railway station in Hankow. The Federation issued a call for a general strike of the railway workers in opposition to Wu Pei-fu's suppression of the union's inaugural meeting. The strike began on February 4. Seven demands (five demands were of a political nature, and two economic) were put up. The Labour Organization's Department of Secretaries called for a nation-wide strike in support of the Peip'ing-Hankow Railway workers. It was meant to be a protest against Wu Pei-fu and a demand for freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association and freedom to call strikes.

After the strike was called, the government ordered trade unions at various places all closed, sent troops to occupy their premises and compelled workers to resume work. Clashes between workers and troops and police occurred at many places with arrests and bloodshed at Changhsintien and Chengchow. The well-known "February Seventh" tragedy ensued. The Chinese Government called for help from consulates of various countries to pressure the trade unions. Comrade Lin Hsiang-ch'ien, President to Hankow River Bank Trade Union Branch, was told to issue an order calling for the resumption of work. When Comrade Lin resolutely refused to comply with the demand, a clash occurred between workers and police, with 40 to 50 being killed and another 200 wounded in the River Bank district of Hankow. In the evening, troops and police went to workers' homes to coerce them into resuming work. Shih Yang, Legal Advisor to the Federation of Trade Unions was arrested and killed. This then was the prevailing situation. The train at Hankow was retained there, but the train from Chengchow arrived at the River Bank Station in Hankow, although it did not help the situation.

Believing it was no longer necessary to prolong the strike and that an opportunity for taking revenge would present itself in future, the Federation of Trade Unions issued a statement on February 9 ordering the resumption of work. Despite the order and setbacks, however, the strike continued in other places. The workers' movement in China had suffered a serious setback.

Fourth, the "February Seventh" incident caused the following repercussions:

- (1) The workers' movement could no longer be conducted in the open. Workers' schools and clubs were closed. These setbacks were caused by the warlords' government with Wu Pei-fu and others holding the reins.

- (2) Sun Yat-sen's Kwangtung Government resented the "February Seventh" tragedy and expressed sympathy toward the workers' movement.

- (3) Chang Tso-lin aided the victims of the "February Seventh" incident because Wu Pei-fu was his opponent. It was a battle of retreat for the workers' movement.

- (4) The tragic incident swayed the views of the workers of the world toward the workers' movement in China, saying the workers in China had stood up. The Communist International issued a statement over the incident, declaring that Chinese workers had entered the world political arena.

Fifth, the workers' movement after the "February Seventh" incident: The Anyuan Trade Union, which remained in existence, acquired the name of Little Moscow. Strike was sustained in Anyuan; the Federation of Trade Unions in Hunan remained unshaken and the movement forged ahead in Kwangtung. At about this time, the Federation of Railway Trade Unions came into existence and convened a national congress.

Sixth, the Second National Labour Congress in 1925 marked the beginning of the restoration of the workers' movement. The restoration was preceded, however, by the China Tobacco Company's and the Anyuan's strikes. After he occupied Peip'ing and Tientsin, Feng Yu-hsiang who was friendly to workers and granted them freedom to carry on their movement. When trade unions were inaugurated in Peip'ing and Tientsin, 50,000 workers attended the inauguration ceremonies. Unfortunately, with the arrival of Chang Tso-lin, Feng Yu-hsiang's influence in Peip'ing and Tientsin vanished.

On May 1, 1925, the Second Workers' Labour Congress was convened in Canton with over 200 delegates attending. This was the most important workers' meeting in China, for it resulted in: (1) the establishment of the All-China National Federation of Trade Unions; (2) the adoption of a resolution to join the Red Workers and Employees International (RWEI sent delegates to the Congress); (3) the adoption of a resolution forming the worker and peasant alliance (a peasants' delegates meeting was held at the same time of the Second Labour Congress); and (4) the adoption of the Federation's rules and regulations and approval for the list of names of its Executive Committee. This Congress paved the way to a new tide in the workers' movement and played the role of pushing forward the great revolution (500,000 workers were admitted into the Federation as members).

Seventh, the experience and lessons from the "February Seventh" tragic incident are summarized as follows:

(1) Prior to and after the "February Seventh" tragedy, the Chinese working class was transformed from a self-existent class to a self-active class which waged struggles for its own liberation.

(2) It enabled the workers' movement to form a close alliance with Communism. Alienated from the workers' movement, Communism would seem empty; without the support of Communism, the workers' movement could not effect the liberation of workers.

(3) From this time on, the Chinese working class was organized into an independent force playing a role on the political arena and standing at the forefront of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggles.

(4) Prior to "February Seventh", the workers' movement took the shape of a base for the Chinese anti-imperialist and anti-feudal united front. Had the Kuomintang taken no notice of the strength of the Chinese Communist Party, it would not have cooperated with us.

(5) The movement educated the Chinese workers profoundly, heightened their political consciousness and organized a general headquarters for the Chinese workers.

The movement had its defects. They were as follows:

(1) There were many union members, but few of them were Party members (worker members of the Chinese Communist Party). When the Chinese Communist Party held its Fourth National Congress, there were only 900 members, but around the Party the masses numbered several hundred thousands.

(2) Low-salaried employees were refused admission into trade unions.

(3) Trade unions then were too inexperienced.

5. THE MAY THIRTIETH MOVEMENT AND THE GREAT STRIKE IN CANTON AND HONG KONG

First, the May Thirtieth Movement marked the threshold of the great revolution in China. The Movement was created out of the following circumstances:

(1) Imperialism intensified its aggression in China resulting in the closure of factories and the forceful dismissal of workers. This created bourgeoisie opposition to imperialism.

(2) Ts'ao Kun and Wu Pei-fu, the North China warlords were toppled. Chang Tso-lin arrived at North China through Shanhai-kwan, and Tuan Chi-tsui was made the Chief Executive of the Government. China at that time was further divided politically. Sun Yat-sen journeyed to the North and died in Peip'ing. This brought about an upsurge in the people's revolution. The great revolution of 1925-1927 swept the whole country.

(3) The first successful cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party was a great factor that made the great revolution possible.

(4) The restoration of the national workers' movement provided the driving force for the May Thirtieth Movement.

Second, the May Thirtieth tragedy: Prior to the incident, a strike was called at a cotton mill on Ferry Road, Shanghai. It was victorious in the spring of 1925 and was followed by the formation of a trade union. After several months of preparation, imperialists provoked a second strike at the mill to suppress the workers. This was a tactical move taken by the Japanese imperialists. Workers often fell into their trap. However, they failed to achieve their aim in the second strike at the cotton mill. During the strike, workers rose to oppose imperialism. Among them was one by the name of Ku Cheng-hung. He was killed. The strike was resolutely carried on, and all forces of other sources were mobilized to oppose the oppression of the Japanese imperialists. The Japanese, however, had already enlisted the help of other imperialists to suppress workers by a concerted action. This placed the workers in a very difficult situation. At that time, we mobilized the masses into action by taking the blood stained clothes of the martyr and his photographs to schools to stir students into action. As a result, all schools and factories decided to mobilize 4,000 people on May 30 to parade through the streets, call mass meetings and appeal to the people for assistance to the workers. A group of student propaganda workers marching on Nanking Road were arrested by the British police. The masses then surrounded the police station and laid siege to it. The police chief ordered shooting and killed many Chinese. The slogans we put up then were to demand freedom for calling strikes, right the wrong done to Ku Cheng-hung and oppose the institution of gold and stock exchanges . . . These were the circumstances that had brought the May Thirtieth tragedy.

The May Thirtieth incident was different from the "February Seventh" tragedy in that the former signaled the development of a great revolution, and the bloodshed was a matter of great significance. Unlike the "February Seventh" tragedy which should have been avoided, the "May Thirtieth" incident was unavoidable. On February 7, Chinese warlords killed the Chinese people, while on May 30, many Chinese lives were sacrificed, and the movement not only had not been suppressed, but on the contrary, it ignited the flame of the great revolution. Imperialists prohibited the publication of the May 30th news in Chinese newspapers, but after a meeting among themselves, the papers throughout the country carried the news the next day. At that time, a strike was called at cotton mills in Tsingtao to oppose Chang Tsung-ch'ang. The May 30th incident became an anti-British as well as anti-Japanese movement.

Third, the situation after the May 30th: After May 30, all 500,000 workers of the British and Japanese factories in Shanghai went on strike and were joined by engineers and employees of factories and staff members of foreign banks and consulates. This was a general strike, an aftermath of the May 30th incident. The strike was expanded to include merchants and students who called on the General Chamber of Commerce, pleading for a general close-down of the whole city. A meeting of delegates of commercial enterprises and schools was called at the General Chamber of Commerce headed then by Yu Hsia-ch'ing as Chairman, to whom the demand was made. As a result, the entire city of Shanghai suspended trade, work and schools, and the International Settlement and the French Concession were blockaded against the entry of food and vegetables. Clashes between strikers and the British police took place. The workers, merchants and students organized themselves into a joint association and in the name of the association put up 27 demands primarily concerning the take back of the Settlement and the Concession, the revoking of the right to issue municipal bonds and the increasing of wages. The students formed a General Students Association, and workers, a General Trade Union of Shanghai. The movement in Shanghai caused repercussions in all parts of the country. Factories, large and small, in Peip'ing, Tientsin, Canton and Wuhan went on strike, and schools throughout the whole nation were suspended. Demonstration parades of students and workers were staged everywhere. It was about this time that Feng Yu-hsiang drove the deposed Emperor Hsuan Tung out of the Palaces in Peip'ing. Calls for donations were made in various places, resulting in the enrichment of the workers by several tens of millions of dollars. Admission receipts from tourists visiting palaces were all likewise donated to the workers. At the palace entrances were such signs as "British, Japanese and dogs are not admitted." Donations from all parts of the country were sent to the General Chamber of Commerce, which later attempted to embezzle the money. This will be referred to at a later date.

Worker, merchant and student strikes continued for a long time. The General Chamber of Commerce sought reconciliation, proposing 13 articles as terms for a settlement and organizing an Aid and Security Association financed with the donation receipts. It refused to hand over the funds to the Federation of Trade Unions for distribution among the workers. The General Chamber of Commerce called on workers to resume work. The British and Japanese factories and cotton mills remained closed. The strike lasted for almost two

months. The Chinese capitalists in alliance with the British imperialists tried to break the strike. The British Legation's investigation team confirmed the shooting by the police, expressed regrets and offered 70,000 dollars as compensation. At the request of imperialists, the newly-emerged warlord, Chang Tso-lin sent troops to Shanghai, thus creating an even more difficult situation for the workers in Shanghai. The strikers were paid 20 cents each day as a living allowance. The trade unions went into disarray due to poor organization. Afterwards the British ordered a curfew and official seizure of the Federation of Trade Unions. The British action was fruitless politically but triumphant militarily. A part of the money, \$75,000, was distributed to workers with the rest spent in setting up a May 30th Primary School and constructing a May 30th Martyrs Tomb. This ended the strike of Shanghai.

Fourth, the Canton and Hong Kong Great Strike: Canton and Hong Kong had many trade union organizations which were not unified under one leadership. Influenced by the May 30th tragedy of Shanghai, these trade unions called a delegates' meeting to form an alliance and call a strike in opposition to the Japanese imperialism. The strike which was referred to as the Great Canton-Hong Kong Strike started in Shamien, a British Settlement in Canton and spread into Canton and Hong Kong. All the unoccupied houses in Canton were taken over by the unions as workers' living quarters which they called "strikers' dormitories." The strikers elected delegates to a meeting at which a Strike Committee was formed. The Committee was organized on a large scale, with a staff of several hundred and a supervisory squad of several thousand armed inspectors. They blockaded the island of Hong Kong from all communications. The Strike Committee set up a Justice Court to try and pass sentences on strikers who violated discipline. The strike in Hong Kong lasted for almost a year with the support of the National Government and Sun Yat-sen. T.V. Soong loaned money to the strikers. Soong was responsible for financial matters from the time the strike was called until the Northern Expedition was ready to start. The strike was settled on the initiation of the National Government which wrote a letter to the Governor of Hong Kong, asking him to send delegates to Canton for talks. It was later suggested that an investigation committee be formed and that the Hong Kong Government should pay \$20,000,000 in advance as compensation. It was proposed that if the responsibility should be found to be China's, then the fund will be regarded as a loan. If the British were found to be responsible for the strike, then the fund

should be treated as compensation. This suggestion was however not accepted. The strike was eventually called off, but the Strike Committee remained in existence until the split between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party, when it was dissolved as a result of the Kuomintang's reactionary move.

From the Hong Kong Strike we could see the following points of superiority:

(1) It had a delegates' meeting.

(2) It launched a nation-wide anti-imperialist movement and enabled the people of China to understand that warlords must be opposed before imperialism, countered. This was the principal factor in the success of the Northern Expedition.

(3) The strike steeled the Chinese workers and organized the workers of the whole nation.

On May 1, 1926, the Chinese Third National Labour Congress was convened in Canton (prior to the start of the Northern Expedition) and attended by 120 delegates. The meeting adopted a resolution outlining the general policy on workers' strike. The workers expressed their willingness to the National Government to pledge their support for the Expedition. The Labour Congress resolved to mobilize the workers and employees of the whole nation in response to the Northern Expedition.

6. THE NORTHERN EXPEDITION AND THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT

In July 1927 the National Government in Canton started the Northern Expedition which successfully blazed its way to Changsha, Kiukiang, Nanking, Wuhan and Chengchow. Militarily, it was plain sailing. The workers of the whole country joined and aided it. Wherever the expeditionary forces reached, there were railway worker corps to help them. Shanghai was occupied mainly by workers. When they saw the expeditionary forces approaching, railway workers refused to set the trains in motion for the warlords and the telecommunications workers held up their telegraphic dispatches. Considering the immense assistance given by workers throughout the country, we can say that the success of the Northern Expedition did not depend entirely on military forces.

During the period of the Northern Expedition, workers organized their own unions and improved their own treatment. According to statistics available after the Expedition, there were 400,000 workers in

Hunan and 600,000 in Hupeh. Kiangsi had The workers' movement developed to a great extent. Everywhere workers and capitalists signed agreements to increase wages and improve workers' livelihood. Apart from workers, the unions had their own armed supervisory squads. There were the children's labour leagues. In Hankow and Kiukiang, the workers took back the British Settlements (Lushan was taken over) and drove the British soldiers and police from land to ships. Although a Board of Directors [probably including British members] was instituted, the British Settlements were taken back. At that time, workers had done a great many things, such as mobilizing the new troops into action, comforting soldiers and maintaining order with their own armed inspectors. Unfortunately, the workers were too left-inclined and too naive; their demands were too high and they went to the streets cutting pedestrians' long gowns with scissors. The Federation of Trade Unions overrode other organizations in authority. However, it was brought to their senses by the reactionaries. The Federation's orders were disobeyed.

The workers in Shanghai staged three uprisings, staged when the national revolutionary army arrived, when they responded to the establishment of the Shanghai People's Municipal Government and when they mobilized over one hundred thousand people to go on a strike. The first and second repulsions against the British and Japanese bombardment of the Shanghai Arsenal were unsuccessful, but workers were successful in their third counter-attack. After surveying the troop deployment at various districts of the city, one group of workers surrounded the headquarters of Sun Chuan-fang's troops, while another group disarmed Sun's soldiers. In a lightning action, workers brought the enemy troops to their knees. At that time, there were about 10,000 workers under arms. After they elected members of the Shanghai People's Municipal Government, the workers disobeyed Chairman Chiang Kai-shek's order to postpone the inauguration of the Municipal Government. The local government elected by the workers was inaugurated as scheduled. The workers of Shanghai thus scored a big victory in their independent action.

The split between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party took place in Shanghai, Nanking and other places but not in Hankow. The Wuhan Government still had the Ministry of Labour under Minister Comrade Su Chao-cheng; only there was little work to do at the Ministry. The Fourth National Labour Congress was convened in Hankow in 1927. The Federation of Trade Unions had a total membership of 2,800,000. The meeting lasted for a long

time. The representatives of the Red Workers and Employees International Ruzovsky, the delegate from the French Trade Union, and the Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, Border (referring to 1939 — Research Office's note) attended the Congress. The Chinese capitalists vacillated at that time. None of the resolutions adopted at the Congress solved any fundamental question, and views expressed were very much at variance.

Shortly afterwards, the Pacific Labour Congress established the World Labour General Association. At this stage, the Chinese Labour Movement not only had the Federation of Trade Unions at home; on the international front, it also occupied a leading position.

Attention had not been paid to the organization of hired farm hands. The Agricultural Association then had 10,000,000 peasant members. The Worker and Peasant Alliance had not found appropriate solutions to its concrete problems. Peasants even entered the city and smashed up trade unions.

A tragedy took place in Shachi [known as Shamien], a British Settlement in Canton at about the time when the May 30th and the Great Canton-Hong Kong Strike were raging throughout the country. On June 23, 1925, the strikes staged a demonstration parade in which merchants and the Whampoa students participated. The demonstrators gathered at Shachi. In taking precaution, the British troops opened fire and killed 200. Most of the wounded died afterwards because the bullets fired carried poison. Despite this unfortunate incident, the strike continued. After the Northern Expedition scored a big victory, the workers and employees movement made great headway.

7. FAILURE OF THE GREAT REVOLUTION AND ITS LESSONS

Let us review the events that had transpired in the great revolution which triumphed in the very beginning. The Northern Expedition started from Canton with only six troop divisions. As they swept northward, many other army units, such as those led by T'ang Sheng-chi, joined the expeditionary revolutionary forces. While the forces were marching, a gigantic mass movement developed up to Chengchow and Peip'ing in the north and to Kiangsi and Shanghai in the east. Workers and peasants conducted most effective activities.

The principal factor in the failure of the revolution was internal split. Seeing the development of the worker and peasant movement,

the bourgeoisie opposed the workers and peasants. This was favourable to the attempt at estrangement that imperialists took the opportunity to carry out among the Chinese people. A cleavage appeared between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party, which in turn brought about the failure of the great revolution.

The failure of the great revolution was not fortuitous but due to various factors: opposition from the allied imperialists on the one hand and from warlords in collusion with imperialists on the other. Before the revolution, the bourgeoisie were opposed to feudalism, but when workers and peasants rose to endanger their interests, they turned into reactionaries.

Concrete facts showing opposition against workers and peasants were the seizure of the workers and employees unions and the restraint placed on the development of the workers' movement. On March 12, 1926, certain army units in Canton surrounded the house in which the Soviet advisers lived and disarmed the workers' inspectors. At this time, many comrades left the Kuomintang's Headquarters. This move did not cause the KMT-CCP split. After the expeditionary forces reached Wuhan, the question of moving the seat of the government from Canton came up. Some people held that it should be moved to Hankow, while others were of the opinion that it should be shifted to Nanchang. However, the latter formed a minority group, and these people went to Nanchang instead of Hankow. The Wuhan Government was set up after the lapse of a long period. The two groups in Hankow and Nanchang were however at variance in their actions. The decrees of the National Government in Wuhan were unacceptable to some quarters. The incident of "April 12th" (1927) took place soon afterwards. This was the so-called Kuomintang's "Party Purge Movement" arresting and killing workers' leaders and dissolving the Shanghai Municipal Government. These actions marked the official break-up of the KMT-CCP alliance. On April 15, similar incidents took place in Canton. Li Chi-shen, in pursuance of the purge, ordered troops to surround the strike committee's headquarters, disarm the workers' inspectors, and arrest and massacre workers' leaders. Nearly 1,000 Communists were killed. Under the rule of the Wuhan Government, the *Ma* day incident (the word *Ma* is a telegraphic code for May 21) took place in Changsha. A regimental commander, Hsu K'e-hsiang, led the reactionary troops to surround the Hunan Peasants Association and Federation of Trade Unions and arrested and massacred armed workers' inspectors. Although it was only one regiment of soldiers whom Hsu led, we could

not resist them because we had not organized the masses well enough to become effective forces and there were the opportunists within the ranks of the Communists. After the *Ma* day incident, dissension arose among the responsible leaders of the Wuhan Government. Wang Ching-wei rose to pose opposition to workers and peasants and the Chinese Communist Party. Another group of leaders persisted in adhering to Sun Yat-sen's three great policies but did not stop the counter-revolutionary forces with the result that these forces met no resistance from the worker and peasant revolutionaries and grew in strength.

At that time, a group of revolutionaries left Wuhan and proceeded to Nanchang to start an uprising. This became the "August First Uprising." Madame Sun Yat-sen, Sung Ch'ing-ling, declared that she would uphold the three great policies.

Fighting broke out in Swatow after the Nanchang Uprising but ended in failure. These were the circumstances that led to the disastrous end of the great revolution. This explained how the mistaken right-inclined leadership in the Chinese Communist Party brought such disastrous results to the Party.

We offered no resistance against the frenzied counter-revolutionary forces. Without organized worker-peasant strength to back us up, we were left no alternative to retreat. In the end we even had to give up our last base.

In face of the counter-revolutionary attacks, our trade unions also made many right-inclined opportunist move. For instance, the workers in Shanghai voluntarily surrendered their arms because the right-inclined opportunists thought it unnecessary for workers to be armed. If armed, they thought the Kuomintang would be displeased with us.

The revolutionary troops should never have left Wuhan.

The Nanchang Uprising and persistence in the revolutionary programmes were correct. However, we lost most of our bases, and it was too late to try to remedy the situation. The retreat to Swatow was also a mistake. It would be an excellent strategy had we remained in the vicinity of Nanchang.

The mistakes of the right-inclined opportunism were prominent particularly in theory. Retreat could never keep the united front intact.

SUMMARY OF THE EXPERIENCES AND LESSONS FROM
THE FAILURE OF THE GREAT REVOLUTION

First, the strength of the counter-revolutionaries was very great as reflected in the strength of imperialism. At that time, imperialist countries of Britain, the United States of America, France, Germany and Japan formed an alliance to oppose the Chinese revolution. The world capitalism remained stable after the World War I. This situation placed immense difficulties in the path of the Chinese revolution. The world situation was far more unfavourable to us then that it is today, for now imperialism is divided into two fronts — aggression and peace. Imperialism then was united, and there was no crisis on the international front. Today, national revolution can still obtain aid from some imperialist countries by taking advantage of the contradictions among them. At that time all imperialist nations were unanimously opposed to revolution and aided the counter-revolutionaries. This was an event of great significance. Imperialist countries, Britain and the United States in particular, resorted to all means to undermine the Chinese united front. Moreover, they drove a wedge into the relations and unity between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party and applied force to threaten the Chinese revolution. Britain, France and Japan sent troops to China, and a British gunboat bombarded Wanh sien, Szechuan and fired on Nanking, forcing China to surrender. This was the so-called Nanking Tragedy.

Second, the bourgeoisie in China rose in opposition against revolution, and the worker and peasant movement was developing. Induced and threatened by imperialism, the revolutionary Chinese bourgeoisie became rebellious towards revolution.

Third, the Chinese Communist Party suffered from the right-inclined opportunist Chen Tu-hsiu's mistaken leadership. Despite the two above-mentioned factors, the Party could not have failed to that extent had it been led correctly. The elderly people in the Party committed mistakes, while the younger ones were inexperienced. Internally, the Party lacked unity.

Fourth, the Chinese Communist Party, trade unions and the Agricultural Association learned their lessons. There were the broad masses, but no armed masses. At that time, the importance of having the armed masses was fundamentally overlooked. Many Communist Party members in the Kuomintang revolutionary army did nothing to win over the forces to revolution. Had there been several hundred

thousand masses armed, the Party could not have met such a disastrous defeat.

The workers' movement achieved great results then. It had not only organized the broad masses of workers, but in practical struggles, it educated workers and improved their livelihood, raised their social position and mobilized them to join the national revolution.

The workers' movement was not without defects. There were insufficient armed men among the workers, and the educational work for workers was neglected. Insufficiently educated, workers were permeated with the traditional ideas of trade and guild systems. The trade unions then took many actions as if they were acting on behalf of the government. On the other hand, the unions paid no attention to the participation in the National Government and the government organs at various levels. They had failed to grasp the will of the masses. Workers then put up too high and too left-inclined economic demands. The trade unions had their defects. They were not democratic enough and not closely organized. They turned down requests from employees to join them. These shortcomings of workers and employees movement were partly responsible for the failure of the great revolution.

The main factors that accounted for the failure were the Communist Party's own defects and mistakes.

The failure of the Nanchang Uprising was followed by an uprising in Canton which brought an end to the high tide of the great revolution. After the Canton uprising, the Soviet flags began to flutter in China.

8. THE WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES MOVEMENT DURING THE PERIOD OF REACTION AND CHINA'S FIFTH LABOUR CONGRESS

The day of commemoration in Canton on 11 December, 1927 was the anniversary of the uprising of workers in that city. The uprising was plotted in secrecy. A regimental commander of the Canton Garrison Forces, Yeh Chien-ying, led his regiment in an uprising in coordination with the workers. During the three days of the uprising a worker-peasant Soviet Government was set up in the city. The counter-revolutionaries occupied the place of uprising, Honan, the southern bank of the Pearl River opposite Canton and then attacked Canton. The workers' uprising was defeated. The reactionary period began in China, and the tide of revolution came to a low ebb.

Opposing the red worker and employee movement, there were the yellow trade unions. The existence of such trade unions marked the split in the movement. The struggle between the two factions in the movement continued for many years. After the failure of the great revolution, many workers' organizations throughout the country remained in existence, many cadres carried on their activities and the confidence of the workers of the whole nation was still high. To eliminate the workers' movement, the Kuomintang organized the yellow trade unions and drove the red unions underground. The KMT, on the other hand, carried out extensive reorganization work on trade unions. This reflected the outcome of the struggle among workers themselves. Workers wanted to organize unions. What workers should have done then was to turn the yellow unions to their advantage and for their own benefit. The mistake they made was to oppose themselves to the yellow unions and refuse to join them. This was fundamentally wrong. The workers' schools and clubs should have been carried on openly and not clandestinely. The mistaken policy adopted then persisted to the final stage.

The Fifth National Labour Congress was convened in 1929 with an attendance of 100 delegates. The resolutions adopted included a report delivered by Comrade Hsiang Ying. At about this time, the National Government promulgated the Factory Law and Trade Union Law. Many articles of the laws were meant to oppose the workers' movement, but some were included for the benefit of the workers. The Kuomintang's promulgation of the laws was attributable to the struggle staged by the workers. Although the KMT was reactionary at that time, it still cared more or less for the workers' interests. Strikes were called afterwards on account of some of the provisions of the law. What we should have done then was to observe the Factory Law. Unfortunately our leaders of those days mistakenly opposed the KMT's Factory Law and advocated the adoption of the Soviet Factory Law. Such view was incorrect.

During the reactionary period, workers called many strikes and surrounded factories under the guidance of the red unions. Many mistakes were committed at that time; they were mainly organizational.

The trade unions organized by KMT (the so-called yellow unions) had a total membership of several hundred thousand. These unions were characterized by the following features:

1. Fundamentally they were meant to eliminate workers' organizations and suppress workers' movement.

2. They were designed to effect cooperation between workers and capitalists and oppose class struggle.

3. The unions were under the direct leadership of the Kuomintang which interfered in the unions' internal affairs, thus depriving the unions of their independence and turning them into official auxiliary organs.

4. Workers were not allowed to set up organizations on a national scale.

5. Apprentices, employees of factories and unskilled workers were denied admission into the unions. The object was to bring split to the workers' movement.

After the outbreak of the War of Resistance, many places were occupied by the enemy, but the Kuomintang still denied the right of workers to have their own organizations.

During the reactionary period, the Trotsky faction also resorted to all means to undermine the workers' movement.

During this period, there were two large-scale strikes. One was the strike of the Shanghai cotton mills, this was the strike called by workers in all Japanese cotton mills in Shanghai. Prior to this strike, Tsai Ting-kai intended to compromise with the Japanese. However, the workers' strike and the arming of workers incited the troops to rise against the Japanese. The "January Twenty-eighth" war of resistance was thus ignited and persistently carried on.

The great strike staged by workers in Tangshan in 1934 ended in victory.

9. THE WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES MOVEMENT IN THE SOVIET AREAS

In the Soviet areas in Kiangsi, Szechuan, the Hunan-Hupei-Kiangsi and the Hupei-Honan-Anhwei Border Regions, workers had their union organizations. Workers were mainly the hired farm hands. The organized workers in such areas numbered approximately 300,000. The workers' organizations in these areas were the Hired Farm Hands Union, Physical Labourers' Union and State Enterprises Trade Unions under the organizational system of the Central Federation of Trade Unions, Provincial Trade Union, Town's Trade Union and rural branches. On the question of the membership of rural trade unions, it was difficult to find a correct solution. It was however ruled that those who maintained their livelihood by hiring

out their labour and those who had done labour of six to seven months in a year were qualified to join the union. Workers who made and sold their own products were disqualified.

The Soviet Area Governments promulgated their own Trade Union Law which was not applicable to rural workers. A separate law was laid down for them. The Red Army in Kiangsi organized a workers' division. Workers who did not join the division worked in state factories to produce for the execution of the war.

The workers and employees movement in the guerilla warfare area was covered in reports published in liberation newspapers. With regard to the workers movement during the War of Resistance, Comrade Chang Hao who was better informed could make his report at a later date. I shall not talk on this subject here.

First of all, we should organize the workers of the whole nation in many ways, satisfactorily. We should carry out this work in the KMT-occupied areas.

The first and most important question facing us to-day is to organize workers. The question on the unity of workers movement comes next. There are of course people opposing the organization of workers, but we persist in carrying out this task.

The general policy with reference to the workers movement is to urge workers to join and aid the War of Resistance. Only by participating in the work of various departments concerned with the War of Resistance can workers raise their position. In the War, workers' interests must be protected. When it is possible, we must improve workers' livelihood. There are no trade union organizations throughout the country. However, workers and employees must have a workers' body or restore the organization of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. It may be too early to convene the Sixth National Labour Congress, but we must at least hold a national meeting.

10. CONCLUSION

From the struggle waged by the Chinese working class in the past we can draw evidence to show what workers could achieve in a joint effort.

1. It proved that workers could struggle together with the Communist Party and that only in a joint struggle with the Communist Party can they win their own liberation. The Chinese Communist Party is the Chinese working class's own political party. The Chinese

Communist Party and the Chinese working class are inseparable in relations.

2. After the Chinese workers were grouped into a class and stepped onto the political arena, it had always taken a position and a leading position at the forefront in the struggles against imperialism and feudalism.

3. The participation of the Chinese working class in the national revolution gives added strength to the revolution in China, makes it a more thorough and a mass undertaking and enables it to achieve success. Conversely, if a revolution is carried on without the participation of the working class or if a political alienates itself from the working class, the revolution will not be successful, and the political party will lose its vitality.

4. The Chinese working class was shown to have remained resolute and unbending when the revolution was at its most difficult time.

5. The Chinese working class had its broad masses of allies — peasants and petty bourgeoisie — in their struggles against imperialism and feudalism. These allies provide the greatest guarantee for revolution under the leadership of the working class.

6. It proved that in the development of the workers' movement, political democratic freedom was especially important in the interest of the working class's liberation. Some backward workers often ignored this point; what they cared for was increase in wages. Our working class must continue to strive for and make use of such democratic freedom.

7. The low-grade employees of factories and government departments and school teachers are wage earners and are components of the working class. We should allow them to join the unions and form alliance with them. We should never oppose the admission of employees into the unions.

8. A fairly heavy atmosphere of trade guilds and triad societies permeated the Chinese working class. In the workers and employees movement we should educate and call on them to subjugate temporary interests to long-term interests. The correction should be attained through persuasion and education.

9. The Chinese working class must become an independent force before they can lead peasants and petty bourgeoisie and defeat the enemy so as to complete its class tasks.

The present Chinese working class has their own independent political party. This however is still inadequate. We must organize independent trade unions.

Workers must not only increase their own wages but also undertake to liberate mankind's Communist world. They must have far-reaching vision and do practical work. Our future is bright and the final victory is going to be ours!

CONSOLIDATE OUR UNITY AND CRUSH ENEMY PLOTS

July 1939

Japanese imperialists have long determined to destroy China. Taking a look at the basic policies of the Japanese aggressors toward China, from the 21 Demands and the Tanaka Memorial to their recent armed aggression, one can see that everything testifies to this point. However, the method of destroying China adopted by the Japanese aggressors has undergone continuous change. Sometimes they mainly used the means of political intrigue; other times they mainly used the means of military occupation; or they used both means at the same time and emphasized either the former or the latter according to the time and the local conditions.

After they occupied the northeastern provinces in 1931, the Japanese aggressors tried to use the means of political intrigue to occupy north China and to dominate whole China. Since then, many sinister plots have emerged, such as "making north China a zone of special influence", "the Hirota's Three Principles" and "Common Defense against Communism" and "Victory without Fighting." However, when they could not attain their objective by means of these intrigues, they consequently resorted to the policy of directly launching armed attacks after the July 7 incident and occupied certain areas in north China and even central and south China. When the enemy had occupied Wuhan and Canton, he again intensified his political intrigue by inducing us to surrender. They tried to destroy China with the policy of inducing the Chinese to surrender.

For the time being, the enemy has temporarily stopped his

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large-scale military attack. This does not mean the enemy has no more strength to advance and the war has reached a stage of stalemate. In fact, it shows that the enemy is intensifying his intrigue. By this means (or even by some temporary concessions in military affairs), they are trying to induce China to surrender, and to disintegrate her anti-Japanese front and the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party; and, when internal dispute broke out in China, they would again launch an armed attack to attain the objective of destroying China at one stroke.

Due to such a sinister scheme of the enemy, plus the activities of national traitors, Trotskyites and the Wang Ching-wei's clique, the compromising inclination among certain elements in the anti-Japanese front and the activities of those in foreign countries who want to surrender to the aggressor, a serious crisis has appeared in China's war of resistance. The main danger in China's political situation is taking shape. If we could not overcome the danger of compromise and surrender and failed to persist in the war of resistance, we would have no way to win our final victory in the war of resistance.

Therefore, armymen and civilians throughout the country and all patriotic political parties must see through this scheme of the enemy, expose it and crush it so that the enemy can not succeed in his intrigue. Only by doing so can we carry our war of resistance through to the end. Consequently:

(1) We must intensify our national unity inside the country and strengthen and enlarge our united front and the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party.

(2) We must step up our struggle against the national traitors, Trotskyites and Wang Ching-wei's clique, expose their plot to compromise with and surrender to the enemy and wage struggles against the ideas and activities for seeking compromise and "peace and harmony" with the Japanese.

(3) All anti-Communist activities throughout the country must stop, because it is precisely such activities that contribute towards the enemy's plot to disintegrate the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and are the practical steps and a pretext of the capitulationists at home for preparing to surrender to the enemy.

(4) International conferences which sacrifice China's interests must be opposed.

(5) We must adhere strictly to the policy of self-reliance. Furthermore, in the country we must practice democracy and unfold

extensively the mass movement of resisting Japan for national salvation.

Only through our unity can we overcome all difficulties. Only by persisting in the war of resistance and striving for progress can we win our final victory of the war of resistance.

Consolidate unity at home, crush the enemy's intrigues, overcome the danger of compromise and capitulation and carry the war of resistance through to the end.

Long live the victory of the Chinese nation!

Yenan

2nd Anniversary of "July 7"

A LETTER TO CHINESE WORKERS ON THE 2ND ANNIVERSARY OF THE WAR OF RESISTANCE

July 1939

Workers, employees, hired peasants and handicraftsmen in the whole country!

The war against Japan has been fought all over China already for two years. It is a great war for national liberation unprecedented in the history of mankind. China's working class has, in all places and all fields throughout the country, taken an active part in this great, glorious and sacred war. Moreover, in this war, they have suffered very great sacrifices and hardships: casualties on the battlefields, large-scale unemployment, hunger and dislocation, prolonged working hours and increased burdens for war-time production, and, in the enemy occupied areas, being trampled down under foot by the enemy. The enthusiasm of the Chinese working class expressed in the war of resistance and the great sacrifices and hardships it has suffered have testified that in China's war of national liberation, the Chinese working class are the most resolute and determined fighters. It also proves that only when the Chinese nation has gained complete liberation can the working class gain its liberation. At the same time, it further proves that in the current war of resistance, the Chinese working class has maintained its firm national stand and class stand selflessly and has waged its struggles against Japanese imperialism and traitors as well as against all ideas and actions detrimental to the war of resistance.

This war of resistance against Japan in the past two years has

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gained very great results and progress in all fields and has dealt a severe blow to the Japanese imperialists. Unfortunately however, a very serious danger is making its appearance in the present war of resisting the Japanese. That is, in today's anti-Japanese camp, a danger has appeared very clearly in seeking compromise with the Japanese and in surrendering to Japan. This danger has been brought about by the seductive policy of the Japanese imperialists toward China, the pressure brought to bear on China by the capitulationists in foreign countries and, in addition, the development of the tendency towards compromise and surrender of some wavering elements in the anti-Japanese camp in China.

Having occupied Wuhan and Canton, the Japanese imperialists have, on the one hand, suspended for the time being their attacks on a large scale and, on the other hand, made gestures of giving possible concession to a certain extent in military affairs. Meantime, they have intensified their efforts in political intrigue to allure China into capitulation, with the hope that by this means they could divide China, "subdue the Chinese by means of other Chinese", and attain their objective of destroying China with no further need of fighting, or as little fighting as possible. Unfortunately, this scheme of the enemy is accepted not only by certain wavering elements in the anti-Japanese camp in China but also by those abroad who want to surrender themselves to Fascist aggressors. Therefore, it has become the greatest danger now. At present, traitor Wang Ching-wei's clique is very active, and nowhere have their activities been strictly suppressed. In all places throughout the country, a large-scale and systematic anti-Communist movement is going on to suppress mass movements and deprive people of their democratic rights. All progressive enterprises have been closed down or interfered with. Moreover, on the international scene, efforts are being made to prepare for and hold an international conference for the mediation of the Sino-Japanese War. All these serve to show that, at the rear of the Chinese anti-Japanese camp and in foreign countries, a strategic reserve force is being organized for the Japanese aggressors to destroy China, and this force is carrying on a large-scale movement which actually plots the surrender of China.

In China, in past years whoever intended to surrender himself to the enemy, or tried to start a counterrevolution, first had to raise opposition against the Communist Party, and against the working class. This is worthy of particular vigilance.

At present, should we fail to surmount this danger of com-

promise and capitulation and persist in the war of resistance against Japan, we would never be able to win our final victory of the anti-Japanese war; and, the stage of stalemate in the war of resistance, which is impending and to the advantage of China, would only be uselessly abandoned. In this way, the Chinese people, particularly the working class, will have to undergo much greater sacrifices and hardships through a period many times longer than before.

Workers and employees throughout the country! To strive for the liberation of the Chinese working class, the only path is to win our victory from the war of resistance against Japan. At present, our war of resistance is at its critical moment. Our working class must make efforts many times greater than before, continue the past glorious struggle amidst hardships, stand at the front of the war of resistance and, together with all armymen and civilians fighting throughout the country, surmount the danger of compromise and capitulation and persist in the national war of resistance. For only by carrying the war of resistance through to the end can we win our final victory, and proceed to the further liberation of the working class.

To surmount the danger of capitulation, our working class must oppose all ideas and activities of making preparations for capitulation, and, at the same time, oppose the activities of traitor Wang Ching-wei's clique and demand the strict suppression of all members of Wang Ching-wei's clique and hidden Trotskyite traitors.

We must insist upon the close cooperation between the Kuo-mingtang and the Communist Party and among all anti-Japanese political parties and the armymen and civilians, and insist upon the stoppage of all activities against the Communist Party and against the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Area. For the Communist Party and the Eighth Route Army and New Fourth Army constitute the strongest force in the war of resistance and are carrying out the correct policy of the national united front and Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles. Moreover, the current anti-Communist movement actually embodies the substance of capitulation to Japan and betraying the Chinese people.

We must oppose any international conferences that aim to sacrifice China's interests, i.e. the "Munich Conference in the East." We must ask governments of democratic countries and all persons of justice to impose sanctions against Japanese imperialism and give support to China in her war of resistance.

Finally, we must demand the freedom of democracy and mass movement in order to mobilize the strength and activism existing among our 450 million people to defeat Japanese imperialism. We must oppose any restriction on the patriotic movement of the people and all measures of depriving democratic rights and suppressing mass movements.

Only in this way can the working class mobilize itself, arouse the masses and public opinion to overcome the present danger of capitulation, consolidate our unity in the country in resisting Japan, persist in the war of resistance and achieve our final victory.

In the historical course of the Chinese revolution, the Chinese working class is assuming increasingly great responsibilities. From now on, the Chinese working class must rely more on its own independent strength, its own power of organization, discipline and determination, in order to rally various revolutionary and anti-Japanese masses to achieve its own glorious mission in this great war of national liberation, which is unprecedented in the history of the world. Therefore, the working class must ideologically and organizationally pay special attention to preparing itself and strengthening itself.

First of all, the working class must intensify its own education and propaganda. To understand its own position, responsibility and future in the present historical course, especially in the change in the current situation, to understand Dr. Sun Yat-sen's true Three People's Principles and distinguish them from various other phoney three people's principles and to understand Marxism-Leninism and adapt it to circumstances in China, the working class must enlarge its vision and consider itself as one who shoulders direct responsibility for a certain stage in the course of historical evolution in order to overcome the narrow guild thinking carried forward from the old society.

Next, the working class must unite itself by all appropriate means, use as far as possible all means permitted by law to bring its own members into various organizations and join in various lawful public organizations. The workers must unite themselves by all and every means and, on the basis of resisting Japan, unite all the organizations of workers. In these organizations, they must steel themselves, defend their proper interests concerning their survival and wage struggles against all ideas of capitulation to and compromise with the Japanese and those who propagate and support these ideas, which may exist in various forms in these organizations. Furthermore, they must lead the masses of workers to take part in

all activities of the war of resistance, give aid to the government and army resisting the Japanese, unite with all anti-Japanese masses and persist in the war of resistance. At the same time, to be able to cope with any eventualities, they must fully prepare themselves for all incidents, big or small.

Furthermore, the working class must also protect their own rightful interests for survival. They must oppose capitalists and employers who make money at the expense of the state, work only for their own interests or for the interests of a few people and disregard the crisis of the state and the people and the hunger of the working class. We must oppose capitalists and employers in their oppression of the working class and their class exploitation. We must safeguard the working conditions of the workers, proper working hours and wages scales. On work sites and in factories and government organs, we must fight for the freedom for patriotic activities. In this way, we can safeguard the proper interests of the working class against the oppression of the capitalists and employers who disregard the general situation, and we can unite the broad masses of workers. However, workers should never refuse to unite with capitalists and employers in efforts to oppose Japanese imperialism and traitors and capitulationists.

Only by raising their own consciousness, resolutely uniting themselves in solidarity, maintaining their own standard of living, and taking an active part in the war of resistance and in the army of resistance and all other organizations to resist the Japanese can the workers further elevate their own status in the war of resistance, more effectively oppose compromise and capitulation, and cause such attempts to be impossible and unsuccessful. And only by exerting still greater efforts and shouldering still greater responsibilities in the war of resistance can the working class enjoy a greater possibility to protect its own interests, elevate them to a higher degree and create more facilities for its own further liberation.

For only the working class can entirely integrate its own class liberation with the national liberation. Therefore, in the war of resistance, the working class is most capable of fully seeing the perspective of the whole situation and, for the liberation of the masses, carrying the struggle through to the end. It need not place its class interests in opposition to the national interests (under such conditions as in China). The complete liberation of the Chinese people can only be advantageous to the working class. Therefore, from the standpoint of the working class, it is absolutely necessary to

oppose compromise and capitulation, to carry the war of resistance against Japan through to the end and to strive for complete national liberation and national independence. And from the standpoint of the people and the nation, the demand is also the same. Only a handful of people intending to compromise and capitulate have, for the sake of the narrow self-interest of their class and themselves, created friction to undermine our unity, disregarded the general situation, given up our national stand, ignored the national crisis and shamelessly capitulated to the arch enemy of our people.

Workers, employees, hired peasants and handicraftsmen in the whole country! The war of resistance in China at present is confronted with a serious crisis. You must overcome this crisis, persist in the war of resistance and liberate the whole nation. You must take these things as your unavoidable responsibilities. Only after the whole nation has gained liberation, and the whole mankind has gained liberation, can the working class finally liberate itself. Therefore, without any hesitation, you should strengthen yourselves, organize yourselves, unite and become one, and unite together with all the people who are progressive and resisting the Japanese, in order to achieve your great and glorious mission.

Get organized! Unite! Struggle for the persistence in the war of resistance, and the complete liberation of the Chinese people! Struggle for the liberation of the working class itself!

HOW TO BE A GOOD COMMUNIST

July 1939

INTRODUCTION

Comrades! I must apologise. It is quite some time since you asked me to give you a talk but I have had to delay coming until today. The question I am going to talk about is the cultivation of Communist Party members. I think that it may not be unprofitable for us to talk about this question at a time when we are facing the basic task of building and consolidating the Party. I want to divide my talk into several parts, so today I shall deal with one part only, leaving the rest for next time. In order to enable many of the

How To Be A Good Communist probably is the best known work of Liu Shao-ch'i's. It is a series of lectures delivered by Liu in July 1939 at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Yen-an. It first appeared in three issues of *Chieh-fang* (解放, *Liberation Weekly*), published at Yen-an by the Hsin-hua Bookstore. Soon afterwards, it was printed in pamphlet form and widely circulated in "liberated areas." In June 1949, Liu rechecked and edited the text, which was then published in book form in Chinese by People's Publishing House, Peking, August 1949. The first English edition was published in October 1951 by Foreign Languages Press, Peking. Afterwards, numerous impressions were made by various publishing houses. It was regarded as "must" reading for the self-cultivation of all Communist Party members. As revealed in 1966 in the criticism during the Cultural Revolution, the book's circulation was more than 20 million copies, outdistancing Mao's works in sales.

In 1962, Liu Shao-ch'i revised the work, making a number of stylistic changes and additions, which first appeared in the double issue of *Hung-ch'i* (紅旗, *Red Flag*), Nos. 15-16, August 1962. It later appeared in book form published by People's Publishing House, Peking, September 1962. The revised (fourth) English edition by Foreign Languages Press was published in February 1964.

Since there are many changes between the first edition and the revised edition, both of them are included in this book. This text is taken from *How To Be A Good Communist*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, October 1951, pp. 1-111. For the revised edition, please see pages 219 to 281 of this volume.

younger comrades to understand, I shall have to give more explanations and examples on certain questions. Consequently, I cannot make my talk very succinct. This I must make clear at the very beginning.

WHY MUST COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS UNDERTAKE SELF-CULTIVATION?

Comrades, why must Communist Party members undertake self-cultivation?

Ever since man came into the world, in order to be able to live, he has had to struggle against nature to produce the material values essential to his existence.

However, men carry on a struggle against nature and utilise nature for the production of material values not in isolation from each other, not as separate individuals, but in common, in groups, in societies. Production, therefore, is at all times and under all conditions *social* production. In the production of material values men enter into mutual relations of one kind or another within production, into relations of production of one kind or another. (*The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) Short Course*, English edition, 1951, pp. 188-189)

Thus, the struggle carried on by men against nature for production is social in character. It is a struggle of men as social beings against nature. It is in this ceaseless struggle against nature that human beings have been continuously changing nature and simultaneously themselves and have changed their relations with one another. It is in the course of the long struggle of men as social beings against nature, that men's physical forms (hands, feet, posture, etc.), their social relations, their forms of social organisation as well as their brains, ideology, etc. are all continuously being changed and improved. This is because:

The first feature of production is that it never stays at one point for a long time and is always in a state of change and development, and that, furthermore, changes in the mode of production inevitably call forth changes in the whole social

system, social ideas, political views and political institutions.
(*The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B)*
Short Course, English edition, 1951, pp. 189-190)

Man has evolved from animals. In ancient times, man's mode of life, social organisation and ideology, etc. were different from what they are today. In the future, man's mode of life, social organisation, ideology, etc. will also be different from what they are today.

Humanity itself and human society are a kind of process of historical evolution. They are developing and changing and they can be, and have already been, continuously changed in the course of struggle.

When human society developed to a certain historical stage, class society arose. Thereafter, men in a class society existed as men of a given class. According to the principles of Marxist philosophy, men's social being determines their ideology. Thus, in a class society men's ideology represents the ideology of a given social class. In a class society there are ceaseless class struggles. Thus, in the course of constant struggle against nature and constant class struggle in society, men change nature, change society and at the same time change their own ideology.

Marx once told the workers:

It is not only for the purpose of changing the existing social relations but also for the purpose of changing yourselves and making yourselves into talented people capable of carrying on political rule that you will have to go through fifteen, twenty, or fifty years of civil and international wars.

In other words, men change themselves not only in their struggle against nature but also in constant social struggle. The proletariat will also have to consciously go through a long period of social struggle to change society and itself.

Thus, men should regard themselves as being in need of, and capable of, being changed. They should not look upon themselves as something unchanging, perfect, holy and beyond reform. It is no disgrace to regard this as necessary because it conforms to the inevitable laws of natural and social evolution; otherwise, men cannot make progress.

We Communist Party members are the most advanced revolutionaries in modern history and are the contemporary fighting and

driving force in changing society and the world. Revolutionaries exist because counter-revolutionaries still exist. Therefore, to conduct a ceaseless struggle against the counter-revolutionaries constitutes an essential condition for the existence and development of the revolutionaries. If they fail to carry on such a struggle, they cannot be called revolutionaries and still less can they advance and develop. It is in the course of this ceaseless struggle against the counter-revolutionaries that Communist Party members change society, change the world and at the same time change themselves.

A Communist Party member changes himself through the struggle against counter-revolution in various fields. It means that to achieve one's own progress and to raise one's revolutionary qualities and technique requires the unification of the following two aspects: one's steeling in the practical struggle and the cultivation of one's ideas. To pass from a novice to a mature and well-experienced revolutionary able to cope with any situation calls for a very long process of revolutionary steeling and cultivation, that is, a long process of reformation. A comparatively inexperienced revolutionary is still unable to acquire a really profound understanding of the enemy, of himself, of the laws of social development and the laws of the revolution because he has grown up in the old society and naturally has brought with him remnants of various ideologies, prejudices and habits of the old society and because he is still inexperienced and has not yet undergone a long period of revolutionary practice.

In order to change this situation, besides studying revolutionary experiences from history (the practice of our forefathers) he must himself participate in the contemporary revolutionary practice. In this revolutionary practice, that is, in the struggle against various counter-revolutionary elements, he should develop his subjective initiative and redouble his efforts in study and cultivation. Only then will he be able to gradually learn from his experience and to understand more profoundly the laws of social development and the laws of the revolution; be able to understand the enemy and himself; be able to discover the incorrectness of his own former ideas, habits and prejudices and to correct them; be able to raise the level of his consciousness, and his revolutionary qualities and improve his revolutionary methods, etc. Therefore, in order to change himself and raise the level of his consciousness, a revolutionary should not of course isolate himself from revolutionary practice, or abandon his own subjective efforts to carry on self-cultivation and to learn

through practice (both his own practice and that of others). Without the latter it will still be impossible for a revolutionary to improve himself.

For example, several Communist Party members go together to take part in a certain revolutionary mass struggle, undergo almost the same revolutionary practice and yet in the end the influence exerted on these Party members might be entirely different. Some may advance very quickly and some formerly backward members may even overtake others. Some may advance very slowly. Others may even begin to vacillate in the course of the struggle, and the revolutionary practice, instead of enabling them to advance, has left them behind. What is the cause of all this?

Again for example, many of our Communist Party members took part in the Long March, which was a severe test for our Party members and which exercised an extremely progressive and positive influence among Party members and even among the broad masses of the people. However, in the case of a very small number of Party members the influence was just the opposite. Having gone through the hard struggle of the Long March and the 10 years' Civil War, they grew fearful of this hard struggle. They attempted to retreat and run away. Finally, they deserted the revolutionary ranks as a result of outside inducement. Many Party members took part in the Long March and yet the influence upon them and the results thus obtained were vastly different. What is the cause of all this?

This is because these Party members possessed different revolutionary qualities, because they developed in different directions in revolutionary practice and because they differed in their subjective efforts in revolutionary practice, and in their degree and methods of self-cultivation. Because of the different qualities possessed by revolutionaries and the variation in their subjective efforts and self-cultivation, entirely different or even opposite results and influences may ensue. Such cases can be found even in your school. In the school you all receive the same kind of education and training. However, because of your different qualities, experiences, cultural levels, subjective efforts and the degree and methods of self-cultivation, you may get different or even opposite results. Have you not noticed that a small number of people have moved further away from the revolution after receiving education and training in schools in Yen-an? This is due to the same cause. Hence, for a revolutionary to change and improve himself, subjective effort, self-cultivation

and learning in the course of the revolutionary struggle are absolutely necessary and indispensable.

Not every revolutionary who has undergone the steeling of long years of revolutionary struggle can develop into a very good and experienced revolutionary, chiefly because his own efforts and self-cultivation are insufficient. But all those who have succeeded in becoming very good and experienced revolutionaries must certainly have gone through long years of steeling and self-cultivation in the revolutionary struggle. Hence, our Party members can make themselves politically inflexible revolutionaries of high quality only by steeling themselves, strengthening their self-cultivation, not losing their sense of the new and by improving their thinking ability in the course of the revolutionary struggle of the broad masses under all difficulties and hardships.

Confucius said:

At fifteen, I had my mind bent on learning. At thirty, I stood firm. At forty, I had no doubts. At fifty, I knew the decree of Heaven. At sixty, my ear was an obedient organ for the reception of truth. At seventy, I could follow my heart's desire, without transgressing what was right.

Here Confucius was relating the process of his steeling and self-cultivation. He did not regard himself as a born 'sage'.

Mencius said:

When Heaven is about to confer a great office on any man, it first exercises his mind with suffering, and his sinews and bones with toil. It exposes his body to hunger, and subjects him to extreme poverty. It confounds his undertakings. By all these methods it stimulates his mind, hardens his nature, and remedies his incompetencies.

What Mencius said also refers to the process of steeling and self-cultivation that a great man must undergo. As Communist Party members have to shoulder the unprecedentedly 'great office' of changing the world, it is all the more necessary for them to go through such steeling and self-cultivation.

The cultivation of Communist Party members is a revolutionary cultivation. We cannot carry on our cultivation by divorcing our-

selves from revolutionary practice or the practical revolutionary movement of the broad toiling masses, particularly the proletarian masses. The aim of our cultivation is solely to serve the interests of revolutionary practice and to direct more effectively the practical revolutionary movement of the masses. Herein lies the difference between our cultivation and other idealistic, formal and abstract cultivations which are divorced from social practice. I shall make a further brief explanation on this point later on.

Our Party members should steel themselves and intensify their self-cultivation not only in the course of arduous, difficult and even unsuccessful revolutionary practice but also in the course of favourable, successful and victorious revolutionary practice. Some Party members cannot keep their balance when they are heartened by success and victory and become dizzy with victories. Victory, success, the tribute paid them by the broad masses of the people as well as a certain amount of prestige which they enjoy among the masses make them unscrupulous, arrogant, bureaucratic or even vacillating, corrupt and degenerate, thus completely losing their former revolutionary spirit.

These are individual cases which are frequently found among our Communist Party members. The existence of such phenomena within the Party should serve as a serious warning to our Party members for it was almost an inevitable rule that such phenomena existed among the revolutionaries of past generations. But such phenomena definitely will not be tolerated in our Party. The revolutionaries of past generations, prior to the success and victory of the revolution and their own success and victory, were able to represent the demands of the progressive and oppressed masses and retain their revolutionary qualities, but as soon as the revolution and they themselves were crowned with success and victory they would more often than not become corrupt, bureaucratic and degenerate, thus losing their revolutionary qualities and their progressive character and becoming obstacles to the revolution and social evolution.

We know that many revolutionaries in China in the past hundred years, or more recently in the past fifty years, began to show signs of corruption and degeneration the moment they had achieved a certain measure of success and risen to some responsible position. This is due to the class basis of those revolutionaries of past generations. Because the revolutionaries of the past represented the exploiting classes they naturally turned around and oppressed the exploited masses after the victory of their revolution and thus

became obstacles to the continuous progress of the revolution and social evolution. It is an inevitable rule that the revolutionaries of the past would become corrupt, bureaucratic and even degenerate and lose their revolutionary qualities after the victory and success of the revolution.

However, this cannot and will not be the case with us Communists. As the exploited proletariat which we represent does not exploit anybody, it can carry on the revolution to the very end, completely liberate mankind as a whole and eventually make a clean sweep of all forms of corruption, bureaucracy and degeneracy in human society. It can build up a party and State apparatus with strict organisation and discipline for the purpose of carrying on an irreconcilable struggle against all forms of corruption, bureaucracy and degeneracy and to ceaselessly purge the Party and the State apparatus of those elements who are corrupt, bureaucratic and degenerate in their work (no matter what 'big-wigs' such elements are), so that the purity of the Party and the State apparatus can be preserved.

This outstanding feature of the revolutionary Party of the proletariat was not, and could not be, found in any of the revolutionary parties of the past. Therefore, our Party members must clearly understand this outstanding feature and see to it that even in the course of the success and victory of the revolution and in the course of the infinite rise of our popularity and authority special care is taken to intensify our self-cultivation and preserve our pure revolutionary qualities so as to avoid at the very end going the way of the revolutionaries of the past who became degenerate after they had been crowned with success.

Such revolutionary steeling and cultivation are important for every one of our Party members and particularly so for those new Party members of non-proletarian origin. Why are they particularly important for new Party members of non-proletarian origin? (1) Precisely because such Party members are of non-proletarian origin. Lenin said that Party members of worker origin have the innate qualities of the proletariat. It follows then that Party members of other class origin naturally have the innate qualities of other classes. Although they have accepted the Communist ideology today, they more or less still retain remnants of non-Communist ideology and habits. (2) Precisely because they are new Party members and have not yet undergone much steeling. Therefore, they have to steel and cultivate themselves in the course of the revolutionary struggle

before they can become good revolutionaries.

Steeling and cultivation are important for every Party member, whether he be a new member of non-proletarian origin or even a veteran member or a member of proletarian origin. This is because our Communist Party did not drop from the heavens but was born out of Chinese society and because every member of our Party came from this squalid old society of China and are still living in this society today. Hence, our Party members have more or less brought with them remnants of the ideology and habits of the old society and they remain in constant association with all the squalid things of the old society. We are still in need of steeling and cultivation in every respect for the sake of enhancing and preserving our purity as the proletarian vanguard and for the sake of raising our social qualities and revolutionary technique.

That is the reason why Communist Party members must undertake self-cultivation.

STRIVE TO BECOME THE BEST PUPILS OF MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND STALIN

To become a Communist Party member one is only required to possess the qualifications as laid down in the Party Constitution — namely, any person may become a member of the Party who accepts the Programme and Constitution of the Party, pays Party membership dues and undertakes assigned tasks in one of the Party's organisations. These are the minimum qualifications that every Party member must possess. Without these qualifications one cannot become a Party member. But every one of our Party members should not merely be a member of minimum qualifications, should not merely be satisfied with and should not confine himself to these minimum qualifications but should rather seek to make progress and ceaselessly raise his or her own consciousness and understanding of Marxism-Leninism. This is also a duty to the Party and to the revolution, which must not be shirked by any member of the Party. This duty has also been included in the new Party Constitution recently adopted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B). However, in order to fulfill this duty satisfactorily our Party members must intensify their own steeling and cultivation.

Therefore, the goal of Party members in steeling and cultivation should not merely be the standard of minimum qualifications but should be the standard of maximum qualifications. At present we

find it very difficult to define these maximum qualifications. However, we have before us the words and deeds, the achievements and qualities of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin throughout their lives as our examples and as the criterion of our cultivation. By cultivation is meant raising our own qualities in every respect to the same level as those of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Let us strive to become their best pupils. In his speech concerning the elections to the Supreme Soviet Comrade Stalin said:

The electors, the people, must demand that their Deputies should remain equal to their tasks; that in their work they should not sink to the level of political philistines; that in their posts they should remain political figures of the Lenin type; that as public figures they should be as clear and definite as Lenin was; that they should be as fearless in battle and as merciless towards the enemies of the people as Lenin was; that they should be free from all panic, from any semblance of panic as Lenin was, when things begin to get complicated and some danger or other looms on the horizon; that they should be as wise and deliberate in deciding complex problems requiring a comprehensive orientation and a comprehensive weighing of all pros and cons as Lenin was; that they should be as upright and honest as Lenin was; that they should love their people as Lenin did.

This is a simple description of how to learn from Lenin, a picture of Lenin's best pupil. The cultivation of Communist Party members is for the purpose of learning from Lenin exactly in such a way in order to be such a pupil of Lenin.

Some say that it is impossible to acquire the great qualities of revolutionary geniuses like Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and that it is also impossible to raise our own qualities to the same level as that of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. They regard Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as mysterious beings by birth. Is it correct to say this? I think not.

For so long as our comrades genuinely, resolutely, consciously and consistently take up their stand as the vanguard fighting for the liberation of the proletariat, have a truly Communist outlook on life and world outlook, and never divorce themselves for a single moment from the present-day great and profound revolutionary movements of the proletariat and the masses of the people, and make great efforts

to learn, and to steel and cultivate themselves, they will be perfectly able to raise their qualities and become as 'clear and definite', as 'fearless in battle and merciless towards the enemies of the people', as 'free from all panic and from any semblance of panic' amidst difficulties and dangers, and as 'upright and honest' as Lenin was, and to 'love the people' as Lenin did, and they will also be perfectly able to employ the Marxist-Leninist method and approach in solving complicated problems, in thinking over the problems from all angles and in weighing all pros and cons notwithstanding the fact that today our ordinary comrades are far from having such great talents, such wide scientific knowledge, such an environment and good stamina for learning as had Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and that a great many of our comrades cannot expect to achieve such profound erudition in the study of the theory of the proletarian revolution as did Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In other words, so long as we are determined to study hard, and cultivate and steel ourselves, do not divorce ourselves from the revolutionary movement of the masses of the people, and master the method of Marxism-Leninism, we will be perfectly able to raise our qualities to the level of those of the statesmen of the Lenin type, so that in our work and struggle we can employ the style of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, that is, to 'remain political figures of the Lenin type' and not to 'sink to the level of political philistines'.

Mencius said: 'Everybody can be a Yao or a Shun.'* It means the same thing. We should not resign ourselves to despair and hesitate to go ahead when we first perceive the qualities of such great revolutionaries as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. To do so is to become just such a 'political philistine', 'rotten wood that cannot be carved', and 'a mud wall'.**

But different kinds of people adopt different kinds of attitudes towards learning from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The first kind learns from Marx and Lenin without penetrating into the essence of Marxism-Leninism but merely acquires a smattering of Marxism-Leninism. Although they read Marxist-Leninist literature over and over again and learn by heart many ready-made

* Yao and Shun are legendary figures in ancient Chinese history renowned for their benevolence and wisdom.

** Ninth Chapter of the Book of *Confucian Analects*: "Tsai Yu being asleep during the daytime, Confucius said, 'Rotten wood cannot be carved; a mud wall will not receive the trowel. This Yu! — What is the use of my reproving him?'"

principles and conclusions from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, yet they are unable to use these principles and conclusions as methods to solve concrete and practical problems. They feel content with reciting these principles and conclusions, which they jot down and make use of mechanically. Although they work under the banner of Marxism and consider themselves as 'genuine' Marxists, nevertheless they are not genuine Marxists and their methods of work are exactly the opposite of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrade Stalin wrote in an article in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of Lenin's birthday:

There are two groups of Marxists. Both work under the banner of Marxism and consider themselves 'genuine' Marxists. Nevertheless, they are by no means identical. More, a veritable gulf divides them, for their methods of work are diametrically opposed to each other.

The first group usually confines itself to an outward acceptance, to a ceremonial avowal of Marxism. Being unable or unwilling to grasp the essence of Marxism, being unable or unwilling to translate it into reality, it converts the living and revolutionary principles of Marxism into lifeless and meaningless formulas. It does not base its activities on experience, on what practical work teaches, but on quotations from Marx. It does not derive its conclusions and directions from an analysis of actual realities, but from analogies and historical parallels. Discrepancy between word and deed is the chief malady of this group.

This is one kind of attitude toward learning from Marx and Lenin.

The first kind of people once constituted a not inconsiderable number within the Communist Party of China. The worst representatives among them were even worse than those mentioned above. In fact, they never really had any intention of 'studying' Marxism-Leninism. They did not concern themselves with the great proletarian character and the supreme qualities of Marx and Lenin. They attempted to imitate in a superficial way certain styles of Marx and Lenin, picked up at random some Marxist-Leninist terminology, regarded themselves as the Marx and Lenin of China, posed as Marx and Lenin within the Party, and had the impudence to ask our Party members to respect them as we do Marx and Lenin, to support

them as 'leaders' and to offer them loyalty and devotion. They also made bold to appoint themselves as 'leaders', climbed into responsible positions without waiting to be nominated by others, issued orders like patriarchs within the Party, attempted to teach our Party, abused everything within the Party and wilfully attacked, punished and rode roughshod over Party members. This kind of people had no intention of 'studying' Marxism-Leninism or fighting for the realisation of Marxism-Leninism but rather they were opportunists within the Party and brokers and black sheep in the cause of Communism. It is beyond doubt that this kind of people within the Party should be opposed, exposed and buried in oblivion by our Party members. And our Party members have already buried them in oblivion. However, can we say with full confidence that there are no more people of this kind within the Party? We cannot yet say so.

The second kind of people is just the opposite of the first. They regard themselves first and foremost as pupils of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and try to master the essence, spirit and methods which made Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin what they are. They look up to the great personal characteristics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and their qualities as proletarian revolutionaries and painstakingly carry on their own cultivation in the course of the revolutionary struggle and examine themselves to see whether their way of dealing with matters and people and the way they themselves behave are in conformity with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. They likewise read over and over again the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin; but they lay great emphasis on analysing the living realities, ponder upon the special features of all aspects of the situation facing the proletariat at the time and in the country in which they live and draw their own conclusions therefrom. They do not content themselves with committing to memory the principles and conclusions of Marxism-Leninism but strive to stand firm on Marxism-Leninism and master the methods of Marxism-Leninism and put them into practice in order that they may energetically direct all revolutionary struggles, change the existing state of affairs and at the same time change themselves. Their entire activities and the whole of their lives are guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and are aimed at one thing — the victory of the proletariat, national liberation, the liberation of mankind, the success of Communism, and nothing else.

Comrade Stalin said:

The second group, on the other hand, attaches prime importance not to the outward acceptance of Marxism, but to its realisation, its translation into reality. What this group chiefly concentrates its attention on is determining the ways and means of realising Marxism that best answer the situation and changing these ways and means as the situation changes — to this group may be fully applied Marx's saying that Marxists cannot rest content with interpreting the world, but must go farther and change it. This group is known as the Bolsheviks, the Communists.

This is another attitude towards learning from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Only the second attitude is correct. Only by adopting this attitude towards studying Marxism-Leninism can one avoid the mistake of 'drawing a tiger which looks like a dog' and improve one's own qualities so as to become a proletarian, Communist revolutionary of the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin type.

Those who really carry on painstaking self-cultivation and who are faithful pupils of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin pay special attention to nothing other than the mastery of the Marxist-Leninist standpoint and methods and the solution of various problems facing the proletariat in the revolution in the same manner as did Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Apart from this, they simply don't care whether their position and prestige within the Party are high or low. They never claim to be the Marx or Lenin of China and never demand or harbour any illusion that others should respect them as they respect Marx and Lenin. They do not consider themselves entitled to such a right and they know that to think so would be betraying Marx and Lenin and sinking to the level of political philistines. However, it is precisely because of this and because of their courage and unrivalled ability in the revolutionary struggle that they win spontaneous respect and support from the rank and file of the Party.

Comrades! Of course it is no easy matter to take Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as our models in self-cultivation and to become their most faithful and best pupils. It calls for an iron will and firm determination in the arduous struggle for the cause of the proletariat. It calls for a life-long devotion to studying Marxism-Leninism and putting it into practice in the course of the revolutionary struggles of the broad masses, and for steeling and cultivation in every aspect.

THE ASPECTS AND METHODS OF CULTIVATION

Comrades! In order to become the most faithful and best pupils of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin we need to carry on cultivation in all aspects in the course of the long and great revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the masses of the people. We need to carry on cultivation in the theories of Marxism-Leninism and in applying such theories in practice; cultivation in revolutionary strategy and tactics; cultivation in studying and dealing with various problems according to the standpoint and methods of Marxism-Leninism; cultivation in ideology and moral character; cultivation in Party unity, inner-Party struggle and discipline; cultivation in hard work and in the style of work; cultivation in being skilful in dealing with different kinds of people and in associating with the masses of the people and cultivation in various kinds of scientific knowledge, etc. We are all Communist Party members and so we have a general cultivation in common. But there exists a wide discrepancy today between our Party members. Wide discrepancy exists among us in the level of political consciousness, in work, in position, in cultural level, in experience of struggle and in social origin. Therefore, in addition to cultivation in general we also need special cultivation for different groups and for individual comrades.

Accordingly, there should be different kinds of methods and forms of cultivation. For example, many of our comrades keep a diary in order to have a daily check on their work and thoughts or they write down on small posters their personal defects and what they hope to achieve and paste them up where they work or live, together with the photographs of persons they look up to and ask comrades for criticism and supervision. In ancient China, there were many methods of cultivation. There was Tseng Tze* who said: 'I reflect on myself three times a day.' *The Book of Odes* has it that one should cultivate oneself 'as a lapidary cuts and files, carves and polishes.' Another method was 'to examine oneself by self-reflection' and to 'write down some mottoes on the right hand side of one's desk' or 'on one's girdle' as daily reminders of rules of personal conduct. The Chinese scholars of the Confucian school had a number of methods for the cultivation of their body and mind. Every religion has various methods and forms of cultivation of its own. The 'investigation of things, the extension of knowledge,

* A disciple of Confucius.

sincerity of thought, the rectification of the heart, the cultivation of the person, the regulation of the family, the ordering well of the state and the making tranquil of the whole kingdom' as set forth in *The Great Learning** also means the same. All this shows that in achieving one's progress one must make serious and energetic efforts to carry on self-cultivation and study. However, many of these methods and forms cannot be adopted by us because most of them are idealistic, formalistic, abstract and divorced from social practice. These scholars and religious believers exaggerate the function of subjective initiative, thinking that so long as they keep their general 'good intentions' and are devoted to silent prayer they will be able to change the existing state of affairs, change society and change themselves under conditions separated from social and revolutionary practice. This is, of course, absurd. We cannot cultivate ourselves in this way. We are materialists and our cultivation cannot be separated from practice.

What is important to us is that we must not under any circumstances isolate ourselves from the revolutionary struggles of different kinds of people and in different forms at a given moment and that we must, moreover, sum up historical revolutionary experience and learn humbly from this and put it into practice. That is to say, we must undertake self-cultivation and steel ourselves in the course of our own practice basing ourselves on the experiences of past revolutionary practice, on the present concrete situation and on new experiences. Our self-cultivation and steeling are for no other purpose than that of revolutionary practice. That is to say, we must modestly try to understand the standpoint, the method and the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, and understand how Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin dealt with people. And having understood these, we should immediately apply them to our own practice, i.e., in our own lives, words, deeds and work. Moreover, we should stick to them and unreservedly correct and purge everything in our ideology that runs counter to them, thereby strengthening our own proletarian and Communist ideology and qualities. That is to say, we must modestly listen to the opinions and criticisms of our comrades and of the masses, carefully study the practical problems in our lives and in our work and carefully sum up our experiences and the lessons we have learnt so as to find an orientation for our own work. In

* *The Great Learning* is said to be 'a Book handed down by the Confucian school, which forms the gate by which beginners enter into virtue.'

addition, on the basis of all these, we must judge whether we have a correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism and whether we have correctly applied the method of Marxism-Leninism, found out our own shortcomings and mistakes and corrected them. At the same time, we must find out in what respects specific conclusions of Marxism-Leninism need to be supplemented, enriched and developed on the basis of well-digested new experiences. That is to say, we must combine the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution.

These should be the methods of self-cultivation of us Communist Party members. That is to say, we must use the methods of Marxism-Leninism to cultivate ourselves. This kind of cultivation is entirely different from other kinds of cultivation which are idealistic and are divorced from social practice.

In this connection, we cannot but oppose certain idle talk and mechanicalism on the question of cultivation and steeling.

First of all, we must oppose and resolutely eliminate one of the biggest evils bequeathed to us by the education and learning in the old society — the separation of theory from practice. In the course of education and study in the old society many people thought that it was unnecessary or even impossible to act upon what they had learned. Despite the fact that they read over and over again books by ancient sages they did things the sages would have been loath to do. Despite the fact that in everything they wrote or said they preached righteousness and morality they acted like out-and-out robbers and harlots in everything they did. Some 'high-ranking officials' issued orders for the reading of the *Four Books* and the *Five Classics*,* yet in their everyday administrative work they ruthlessly extorted exorbitant requisitions, ran amuck with corruption and killing, and did everything against righteousness and morality. Some people read the *Three People's Principles* over and over again and could recite the *Will of Dr. Sun Yat-sen*, yet they oppressed the people, opposed the nations who treated us on an equal footing, and went so far as to compromise with or surrender to the national enemy. Once a scholar of the old school told me himself that the only maxim of Confucius that he could observe was: 'To him food can never be too dainty; minced meat can never be too fine,' adding that all the rest of the teachings of Confucius he could not observe

* The *Four Books* and *Five Classics* are nine ancient Chinese classics of philosophy, history, poetry, etc. of the Confucian Canon.

and had never proposed to observe. Then why did they still want to carry on educational work and study the teachings of the sages? Apart from utilising them for window-dressing purposes, their objects were: (1) to make use of these teachings to oppress the exploited and to make use of righteousness and morality for the purpose of hoodwinking and suppressing the culturally backward people, (2) to attempt thereby to secure better government jobs, make money and achieve fame and reflect credit on their parents. Apart from these objects, their actions were not restricted by the sages' teachings. This was the attitude and return of the 'men of letters' and 'scholars' of the old society to the sages they 'worshipped'. Of course we Communist Party members cannot adopt such an attitude in studying Marxism-Leninism and the excellent and useful teachings bequeathed to us by our ancient sages. We must live up to what we say. We are honest and pure and we cannot deceive ourselves, the people or our forefathers. This is an outstanding characteristics as well as a great merit of us Communist Party members.

Comrades! Is it not possible that the evil legacy of the old society still exerts some influence upon us? It does influence us. Among you students there are, of course, none who try to study Marxism for the sake of obtaining higher government posts, making money or oppressing the exploited. You are studying Marxism for the sake of eliminating the system of exploitation of man by man. However, I cannot guarantee that you have lived up to what you have learnt. Are there none among you who think in the following way? That is to say that their thoughts, words, deeds and lives need not be guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and that the principles they have learnt need not be put into practice. Again are there none among you who think that they study Marxism-Leninism and study profound theory in order that they may get promotion, to show themselves off and to make themselves celebrities? I have no guarantee that there are absolutely none among you who think this way. Yet this way of thinking does not conform to Marxism and it represents a gap between Marxist theory and Marxist practice. We have no objection to the study of theory and moreover we must study theory, but what we have learnt we must put into practice. We study for the sole purpose of putting into practice what we have learnt. It is for the Party and for the victory of the revolution that we study.

For example, you have very often shouted the slogan 'combine theory with practice' but have you combined the theory you have

learnt with your own practice? Are there not still some people among you whose practice is entirely divorced from the principles of Marxism-Leninism? It seems that there are still people among you who understand the combination of theory and practice in the following way: They want comrades working outside the school to come to report on their experiences so as to see how others combine theory with practice. This is of course a combination of theory and practice but it is theirs and not yours. I think the fact that you shout the slogan ought to mean that you should combine the theory you study with your own practice. If you do not understand this point in such a way, then what is the use of your shouting the slogan? I will give another example. You have shouted many slogans about the need for steeling yourselves, but are there not some people among you who have shown themselves anything but steeled or have shown that they could not stand up to being steeled when the hour of real test came, when they met with a rebuff, or when they were subjected to criticism and punishment, to the pressure of public opinion, and to the correct or incorrect supervision of the great majority of the people? They forgot that a Communist Party member should have a firm will and clear standpoint, etc. They looked dejected, not knowing what to do. Are these not examples of empty talk about steeling and cultivation?

As a matter of fact, the training you receive and the study you make in school are also forms of steeling and cultivation. We are trying to make you into useful cadres and Party workers through training and studying in school, not just to get you to learn only some abstract 'theory' and Marxist-Leninist terminology and formulas. Moreover, we want you to cultivate and steel yourselves so as to become cadres who can think correctly, have a firm will and be able to solve in a practical way all kinds of complex problems. However, I have often heard it said that to study in school is not the way to become steeled and that in order to steel and cultivate oneself one must leave school and take up practical work. Comrades! Steeling and cultivation are a life-long and many-sided task. They are needed everywhere at all times and in relation to all problems. We cannot say that we can undertake steeling and cultivation only at certain times, in certain places, in connection with certain matters but not at other times, in other places and in connection with other matters, although we don't deny the fact that Communist Party members should steel and cultivate themselves mainly in the course of the practical struggle of the masses.

That is to say we are opposed to idealism, idle talk, and mechanicalism on the problem of cultivation. That is to say we should be able to stand up to being steeled. We should steel ourselves in school, among the masses, and in the struggles both inside and outside the Party. We should study and cultivate ourselves under all circumstances, both of victory and defeat.

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE STUDY OF MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY AND THE IDEOLOGICAL CULTIVATION OF PARTY MEMBERS

Among our Communist Party members a comparatively prevalent way of thinking is the following: The firm and pure proletarian Communist standpoint has nothing to do with a Communist Party member's understanding and mastery of the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism. They think that although their class standpoint is not very firm and their ideology not very pure (they still retain remnants of the ideology of other classes, and they are still selfish and have material desires and so on), they can nevertheless thoroughly understand and master the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism all the same. Some comrades think that it is possible to thoroughly master the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism merely by means of one's own intellect, ability and study. Comrades! This way of thinking is wrong.

Mitin, a Soviet philosopher, is quite right when he says:

Differences in profundity of understanding require a class explanation. For example, at the present time, in the epoch of the decay of capitalism, no matter how talented some ideologist of the bourgeoisie may be, his creative ability, his ability to obtain a penetrating understanding of the laws of development are 'constrained' by his class nature, by the conservatism of the class he represents. The inability of the bourgeoisie to foresee the future, determines, narrows down the limits and reduces the depth of understanding of the phenomena of social development by bourgeois theoreticians. Notwithstanding all their talents, ideologists of those classes which are passing from the stage of history are not in a position to make really profound scientific conclusions and discoveries. This Marxist truth has been confirmed by the whole history of the development of

science and philosophy. (*Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, Part I, p.285 of the Russian edition, edited by M. Mitin. OGIZ. Moscow 1934)

Marxism-Leninism is the science of the proletarian revolution. It can be thoroughly understood and mastered only by those who fully take the proletarian standpoint and who adopt the ideals of the proletariat as their own. It is impossible for anyone to thoroughly understand and master the Marxist science of the proletariat, only by means of his intellect and strenuous study if he lacks the firm standpoint and pure ideals of the proletariat. This is also an obvious truth. Therefore, in studying the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism today it is necessary that our study proceeds simultaneously with our ideological cultivation and steeling because without the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism, we should have nothing to guide our thoughts and actions and our ideological cultivation would also be impossible. These two are closely related to each other and are inseparable.

We have often come across some of the best Party members of working class origin who are less developed in the theory of Marxism-Leninism as compared with those who are making a special study of theory. They would certainly prove less proficient if asked to recite Marxist-Leninist formulas or quotations from Marxist-Leninist works. But when it comes to studying the theory of Marxism-Leninism, quite often their interest is keener and their understanding deeper than those Party members of student origin, provided it is explained to them in words they understand. For example, the chapter in *Capital* dealing with the theory of surplus value is most difficult for some Party members to understand but it is not so difficult for members of working class origin, because workers fully understand how in the process of production the capitalists calculate wages and working hours, how they make profits and how they expand reproduction, etc. Therefore, it often happens that they are able to understand Marx's theory of surplus value more deeply than other Party members. Especially in observing and dealing with various practical problems, they often prove more apt, more correct and more in conformity with the principles of Marxism-Leninism than others. Why is this so? It is because they have the firm, pure proletarian and Communist standpoint and ideals, an objective attitude toward things, and in their minds they have no pre-conceived ideas whatever, no worries about personal problems

or about impure matters. Therefore, they can immediately perceive the truth of things and courageously uphold the truth without any hesitation or difficulty.

If among us Communist Party members there are still some whose class standpoint is not very clear-cut and firm, whose ideology is not correct and pure, who still retain to some degree remnants of various kinds of ideology, habits and prejudices of other classes and of the old society and who still have personal interests and private ends and all kinds of material desires and selfish ideas, Marxist-Leninist principles and conclusions are certain to clash with all such things of theirs when they come to study the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism. In that case, they will either try to overcome such things of theirs or try to distort the principles and conclusions of Marxism-Leninism to suit their prejudices, thus preventing them from understanding Marxism-Leninism. They will be unable to penetrate deeply into the essence of Marxism-Leninism, to absorb the quintessence of Marxism-Leninism which has a distinct class character and to make this quintessence a weapon of their own because such a weapon has nothing in common with their former class ideology.

Again, when they deal with various practical problems in the course of the proletarian revolution, the solution of these problems in accordance with Marxism-Leninism will often be incompatible with their habits and prejudices and will be in conflict with their personal interests. Under such circumstances, they will show themselves to be petty-minded, irresolute, hesitant and wavering. They will be unable to deal with problems aptly, correctly and in an objective way, or to perceive truth without difficulty or to courageously uphold the truth. They will go so far as to cover up or distort the truth consciously or unconsciously. Comrades! Such cases are by no means rare and strange but are of common occurrence.

Thus we can say: If a Communist Party member lacks the clear-cut, firm, correct and pure standpoint and ideology of the proletariat, it will be impossible for him to thoroughly understand and master the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism and to make of it a weapon in his own revolutionary struggle.

Therefore, first and foremost in the cultivation of Communist Party members should be ideological cultivation which is the foundation of all other cultivations. This I shall speak about in the following.

THE IDEOLOGICAL CULTIVATION OF PARTY MEMBERS

Comrades! In dealing with the ideological cultivation of Communist Party members, I shall try to discuss this problem on the basis of certain phenomena as manifested in the ideology of some members of our Party. What I am going to talk about in this connection is only the most basic ideology of Party members.

What, after all, is meant by ideological cultivation? I consider that it is in the main a struggle in our minds between the ideology of the proletariat and other ideologies; a struggle in our minds between the Communist outlook on life and the Communist world outlook on the one hand, and all other outlooks on life and world outlooks on the other; and a struggle between two concepts: the personal interests and aims of Party members and the interests and aims of the Party and of the people.

I consider that this is a struggle of conflicting ideas reflecting the economic and political demands of different classes in a given society. The outcome of this struggle, so far as the ideology of our Party members is concerned, should be the conquest and even elimination of all other ideologies by the proletarian ideology; the conquest and even elimination of all other outlooks on life and world outlooks by the Communist outlook on life and the Communist world outlook; the conquest and absorption of the idea of the Party members' personal interests and aims by the idea of the common interests and aims of the Party, of the revolution, and of the liberation of the proletariat and mankind. Should the outcome prove to be otherwise, then it would mean the conquest of the latter by the former and the Party member would become backward and even lose his qualifications as a Communist Party member. To us Party members, this would indeed be a dreadful and disastrous outcome.

It is in the course of all the ideological, political and economic struggles both inside and outside the Party that we Communists temper our own ideas and come to understand the realities of the revolution. At the same time we should constantly sum up and absorb the experiences gathered from revolutionary practice and examine our own ideas to see whether they are completely in conformity with Marxism-Leninism and with the interests of the struggle for the liberation of the proletariat. To eliminate in the course of such a study, reflection and self-examination all our incorrect ideas

and to nip in the bud even the faintest idea which runs counter to the interests of Communism — this is what we mean by ideological cultivation. It is also a form of ideological self-steeling.

Comrades! As you are aware, all the actions of man are guided by his ideology. Furthermore, every man has his outlook on life and his world outlook as a general guide to his ideas and actions. Therefore, in carrying on ideological cultivation we Communists must, first of all, clearly define our outlook on life and our world outlook because all our ideas and activities are connected with our outlook on life and our world outlook.

IT IS NECESSARY TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE CAUSE OF COMMUNISM IS THE GREATEST AND MOST ARDUOUS CAUSE IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND

The outlook on life and world outlook of us Communists should represent the system of ideology of the proletariat. They are the Communist outlook on life and world outlook and are also the methodology of us Communists. Since this subject has been treated at great length in Marxist-Leninist literature and especially in the works of Marx and Lenin on philosophy and since you have learnt a great deal about it, I am not going to talk about this today. Here I shall speak only briefly about how we should understand our own cause — what, after all, is the cause of Communism and how should we Communist Party members further our cause?

What is the most fundamental and common duty of us Communist Party members? As everybody knows, it is to establish Communism, to transform the present world into a Communist world. Is a Communist world good or not? We all know that it is very good. In such a world there will be no exploiters, oppressors, landlords, capitalists, imperialists or fascists. There will be no oppressed and exploited people, no darkness, ignorance, backwardness, etc. In such a society all human beings will become unselfish and intelligent Communists with a high level of culture and technique. The spirit of mutual assistance and mutual love will prevail among mankind. There will be no such irrational things as mutual deception, mutual antagonism, mutual slaughter and war, etc. Such a society will, of course, be the best, the most beautiful and the most advanced society in the history of mankind. Who will say that such a society is not good? Here the question arises: Can Communist society be brought about? Our answer is 'yes.' About this the

whole theory of Marxism-Leninism offers a scientific explanation that leaves no room for doubt. It further explains that as the ultimate result of the class struggle of mankind, such a society will inevitably be brought about. The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. has also given us factual proof. Our duty is, therefore, to bring about at an early date this Communist society, the realisation of which is inevitable in the history of mankind.

This is one aspect. This is our ideal.

But we should understand the other aspect, that is, in spite of the fact that Communism can and must be realised it is still confronted by powerful enemies that must be thoroughly and finally defeated in every respect before Communism can be realised. Thus, the cause of Communism is a long, bitter, arduous but victorious process of struggle. Without such a struggle there can be no Communism. Of course, this struggle is not, as some people have said, an 'accidental' social phenomenon or something engineered by certain Communists who are 'rebellious by nature.' On the contrary, it is an inevitable phenomenon in the course of the development of a class society. It is a class struggle which is unavoidable. The birth of the Communist Party, the participation of the Communists in the struggle, their organisation and direction of the struggle are also inevitable phenomena, which are in conformity with the laws of social development. Because imperialists, fascists, capitalists and landlords — in short, the exploiters — have oppressed and exploited the overwhelming majority of mankind to such an extent that the oppressed and exploited people can hardly live, they cannot but unite to oppose this oppression and exploitation; otherwise they cannot live and develop. Consequently, this struggle is an entirely natural and unavoidable phenomenon. On the one hand, we must understand that the cause of Communism is the greatest cause in the history of mankind, because Communism will eventually abolish classes, liberate the whole of mankind and raise human society to heights of happiness unparalleled in the history of mankind. On the other hand, we must also understand that the cause of Communism is the most arduous cause in the history of mankind because Communism must triumph over an extremely powerful enemy — the exploiting classes, along with all their influences, traditions and customs, etc. among the people.

By relying on the proletariat and on the broad masses of the exploited and oppressed people and employing the strategy and tactics of Marxism-Leninism in directing the revolutionary struggle

of the broad masses and in advancing society toward the great goal of Communism, the Communist Party is certain to win final victory. This is because the historical process of the social evolution of mankind is advancing toward Communist society, because in the ranks of the world proletariat and the masses of the exploited and oppressed people the greatest revolutionary forces lie latent which, when mobilised, united and organised, are capable of defeating all the reactionary forces of the exploiting classes and decaying capitalism throughout the world; and because the Communist Party and the proletariat are forces that are arising and developing. 'Only that which is arising and developing is invincible' (*The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) Short Course*). This can be fully proved by the entire history of the Communist Party of China and by the entire history of the international Communist and working class movements.

So far as the present situation is concerned, Communism has already won a great victory on one-sixth of the surface of the globe — in the Soviet Union. The Communist movements in all countries of the world are in the process of rapid growth and development. Militant Communist parties, armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, have already been established in all countries, and the strength of the world proletariat and the exploited, oppressed masses is being rapidly mobilised and united in ceaseless struggles. Therefore, the cause of Communism has become a powerful, invincible force throughout the world. There is not the slightest doubt that this force will continue to develop and advance and will win final and complete victory. Despite this, however, the strength of the international reactionary forces and of the exploiting classes are nevertheless still more powerful than ours and for the time being are still predominant in many respects. Consequently, we shall have to go through a long, bitter, circuitous and arduous process of struggle before we defeat them.

As exploiting classes have ruled over mankind for thousands of years, they have not only made themselves extremely powerful in every respect by seizing everything under the sun but have also exerted an extremely bad influence upon the masses of the exploited classes and people in society. These influences account for all kinds of backwardness, ignorance, selfishness, mutual deception, mutual antagonism, mutual slaughter, etc. in human society. This phenomenon is bound to occur in class society, especially in a society of commodity economy and in capitalist society. This is an inevitable

phenomenon created by the exploiting classes for the sake of their class interests and class rule, because without the backwardness, ignorance, dispersion and disunity of the masses of the exploited classes and of the colonial peoples it would be impossible for the exploiting classes to maintain their position as exploiters. Hence, in order to achieve victory we must conduct a sharp struggle not only against the exploiting classes but also against the prolonged influences of the exploiting classes among the masses, against the backward ideology and phenomena among the masses so that we can raise their consciousness and unite them to defeat the exploiting classes. Herein lies the difficulty we face in the struggle for the cause of Communism.

Comrades! If the masses were all conscious, united and free from the influences of the exploiting classes and from backward phenomena as certain people imagine, then what difficulties would still remain in the revolution? Such influences of the exploiting classes not only existed long before the revolution but will continue to exist for a very long time after the victory of the revolution and after the exploiters have been kicked out of their position of political power by the exploited classes. Just pause to think: how many complicated and difficult tasks and struggles shall we have to undertake if we are to liberate and change the whole of mankind, to finally defeat the exploiting classes and their influences among the people, to reform tens of millions of small commodity producers, to eventually abolish classes and to raise, step by step, mankind which for thousands of years has lived in class society with all kinds of old customs, traditions and backward phenomena (in such a society mankind is divided into classes and nations who fight and kill one another and thus create the ideas and customs of selfishness, mutual deception and mutual antagonism) and to raise it to the height of an intelligent, unselfish, Communist mankind with a high level of culture and technique?

Lenin said:

The abolition of classes means not only driving out the landlords and capitalists — that we have accomplished with comparative ease — it also means abolishing the small commodity producers, and they cannot be driven out, or crushed; we must live in harmony with them; they can (and must) be remoulded and re-educated only by very prolonged, slow, cautious organisational work. They encircle the proletariat

on every side with a petty-bourgeois atmosphere, which permeates and corrupts the proletariat and causes constant relapses among the proletariat into petty-bourgeois spinelessness, disunity, individualism, and alternate moods of exaltation and dejection. The strictest centralism and discipline are required within the political party of the proletariat in order to counteract this, in order that the organisational role of the proletariat (and that is its principal role) may be exercised correctly, successfully, victoriously The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a most terrible force It is a thousand times easier to vanquish the centralised big bourgeoisie than to 'vanquish' the millions and millions of small owners; yet they, by their ordinary, everyday, imperceptible, elusive, demoralising activity, achieve the very results which the bourgeoisie need and which tend to restore the bourgeoisie

Lenin continued:

. . . . the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small production. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn and desperate war of life and death, a war demanding perseverance, discipline, firmness, indomitableness and unity of will.

This was written by Lenin two years after the victory of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union. (This most difficult task has now already been solved in the Soviet Union). Hence, the proletariat still has the most difficult task to solve even after the victory of the revolution, because our revolution is different from all other revolutions in history. The bourgeois revolution, for example, is usually accomplished by the seizure of State power; but to the proletariat, political liberation and victory mean only

the beginning of the revolution. Gigantic tasks still lie ahead after political victory has been attained.

Lenin also said:

The bourgeois revolution is confronted only with one task — that of breaking, discarding and destroying all the shackles of the old society. Any bourgeois revolution which has completed this task will have done all that it should do, because the bourgeois revolution strengthens the development of capitalism. The Socialist revolution is in an entirely different situation. The more backward is a country which, as a result of a turning point in history, is compelled to embark on Socialist revolution, the more difficult will it be to pass from the old capitalist relationship to the Socialist relationship. In this connection, to the task of destruction, there is added a new and unprecedentedly difficult task — the task of organisation. (translated from the Chinese text — Translator.)

Hence, the proletariat still has difficult tasks even after the victory of the revolution. Hence, the cause of Communism is comparable to 'a 100-year great task' as we say, and can never be 'accomplished at one stroke.' The proletariat in different countries must go through different stages of development and defeat different enemies before Communist society can be finally established. For example, China is still in the stage of a democratic revolution of a bourgeois character and its enemies are imperialism which conducts aggression against China, and the feudal forces in collusion with imperialism. These enemies must be defeated before the revolution of a bourgeois character can be completed. In the present stage, the broad masses of the small producers still constitute a very great motive force of the revolution. Our country must undergo a prolonged period of Socialist reconstruction before it can finally pass, through gradual transition, into Communist society.

Comrades! To establish Communism is our most fundamental duty. Therefore, to overcome the various above-mentioned difficulties confronting the cause of Communism is naturally the bounden duty of us Communists.

Just because the cause of Communism is such a great and difficult cause there are today still many people (here we speak of those who have a sense of righteousness and who seek truth) who doubt Communism or withdraw from the cause of Communism

because they have lost faith in the possibility of establishing Communism. They do not believe that mankind can be developed and transformed into an exceedingly pure Communist mankind and that such difficulties can be overcome. Or they have not anticipated such difficulties so the moment they meet with difficulties they become pessimistic, disappointed and even wavering.

We Communists must possess the greatest courage and revolutionary determination of mankind. Every Party member should gladly and seriously make up his mind about shouldering this unprecedentedly great and difficult task in human history — the realisation of Communism. While we clearly see the difficulties confronting the cause of Communism, we are not in the least daunted by them for we also clearly understand that these difficulties can certainly be overcome in the course of drawing into the revolution countless millions of people. We clearly understand that the cause of Communism is a '100-year great task.' We must fulfill the great mission which historical evolution has devolved upon us. We have the support of the great masses. We must accomplish a great part of the task of the cause of Communism in our generation and leave to posterity the final completion of the task. Comrades! The great vision and courage of us Communists has never been matched by that of any past heroes in the annals of mankind. In this respect we have every reason to be proud of ourselves.

I remember a learned bourgeois biographer from Western Europe who visited the Soviet Union and asked Comrade Stalin what he thought about comparing Lenin with Peter the Great of Russia. According to this biographer, Comrade Stalin replied that Lenin could be compared to the waters of a mighty ocean while Peter the Great was only a single drop in the ocean. Comrades! Such is the comparison between a leader of the Communist cause of the proletariat and a leader of the cause of the feudal-bourgeois class in relation to their place in history. From this comparison we can understand that a leader who fights for the success of Communism and for the cause of the liberation of mankind appears so very great while a leader who fights for the cause of a handful of exploiters and parasites appears so very small.

Communist Party members have the greatest ideals, greatest objective of struggle and the most practical spirit of 'searching for the truth from concrete facts' and also carry on practical work. These are the characteristics of us Communists.

Comrades! If you only possess great and lofty ideals but not

the spirit of 'searching for the truth from concrete facts' and do not carry on genuinely practical work, you are not a good Communist Party member. You can only be a dreamer, a prattler or a pedant. If on the contrary, you only do practical work but do not possess the great and lofty ideals of Communism, you are not a good Communist, but a common careerist. A good Communist Party member is one who combines the great and lofty ideals of Communism with practical work and the spirit of searching for the truth from concrete facts.

The Communist ideal is beautiful while the existing capitalist world is ugly. It is precisely because of its ugliness that the overwhelming majority of the people want to change it and cannot but change it. In changing the world we cannot divorce ourselves from reality, or disregard reality; nor can we escape from reality or surrender to the ugly reality. We must adapt ourselves to reality, understand reality, seek to live and develop in reality, struggle against the ugly reality and transform reality in order to realise our ideals. Therefore, we Communist Party members should begin our great Communist task of changing the world by starting from the very people in close contact with us and from the very work that we can immediately undertake. Here I shall have to criticize some errors frequently made by certain young comrades — their attempts to escape from or to disregard reality. It is very good that they have lofty ideals. But they often complain that this place is no good and that place is no better; that this kind of work is no good and that kind is no good, either. All the while they are looking for some kind of ideal place and work so as to enable them to smoothly 'change the world.' However, such places and such work do not exist except in their wishful thinking.

This is my understanding of the cause of Communism, which is our life-long work. It also constitutes the most important part of our outlook on life and our world outlook. Our activities throughout our whole lives are for the sake of this and nothing else.

THE UNCONDITIONAL SUBORDINATION OF THE PERSONAL INTERESTS OF A PARTY MEMBER TO THE INTERESTS OF THE PARTY

Apart from clearly establishing his Communist outlook on life and his Communist world outlook, a Communist must also clearly define the correct relationship between his personal interests and

the interests of the Party. The Marxist-Leninist principle is that personal interests must be subordinated to the Party's interests, partial interests to total interests, temporary interests to long-range interests, and the interests of one nation to the interests of the world as a whole.

The Communist Party is the political party representing the proletariat. Apart from the interests of the emancipation of the proletariat, the Party has no other interests and aims of its own. The ultimate emancipation of the proletariat, however, must needs be the ultimate emancipation of mankind as a whole, because the proletariat cannot emancipate itself if it fails to emancipate all the working people and all nations, in other words, if it fails to emancipate mankind as a whole. Hence, the proletariat must loyally assist and lead all working people, all oppressed nations and peoples in fighting for their own emancipation and raising their own living standards and their own cultural and political levels. Therefore, the interests of the emancipation of the proletariat are identical with, and inseparable from, the interests of the emancipation of the whole of mankind and of all the oppressed nations. Therefore, the interests of the Communist Party are the very interests of the emancipation of the proletariat and mankind as a whole. They are also the interests of Communism and social evolution. Therefore, the subordination of a Party member's personal interests to the Party's interests means subordination to the interests of class and national emancipation and to the interests of Communism and social evolution.

Whether or not a Communist Party member can absolutely and unconditionally subordinate his personal interests to the Party's interests under all circumstances is the criterion with which to test his loyalty to the Party, to the revolution and to the Communist cause. Since the realisation of Communism must depend upon the proletariat and the Communist Party, Communism will never be brought about if the interests of the proletariat and the Communist Party are impaired.

At all times and on all questions, a Communist Party member should take into account the interests of the Party as a whole, and place the Party's interests above his personal problems and interests. It is the highest principle of our Party members that the Party's interests are supreme. Every Party member should firmly build up this conception in his ideology. This is what we have often spoken of as 'Party spirit', 'Party conception' or 'organisational conception'.

He should have only the Party and the Party's interests uppermost in his mind and not considerations of a personal character. He should ensure that his personal interests accord with the Party's interests or even merge with them. Thus when his personal interests conflict with the Party's interests he will be able to submit to the Party's interests and sacrifice his personal interests without the slightest hesitation or reluctance. To sacrifice one's personal interests and even one's life without the slightest hesitation and even with a feeling of happiness, for the cause of the Party, for class and national liberation and for the emancipation of mankind is the highest manifestation of Communist ethics. This is a Party member's highest manifestation of principle. This is the manifestation of the purity of proletarian ideology of a Party member.

In the Party our members should not have personal aims independent of the Party's interests. The personal aims of our Party members can only be part of the Party's aims. For example, our Party members want to study Marxist-Leninist theory, enhance their ability, lead the victorious revolutionary struggle of the broad masses and establish various kinds of revolutionary organisations, etc. If all these are their personal aims they are part of the Party's aims as well since they are also in the interests of the Party. And the Party certainly needs large numbers of such Party members and cadres. But apart from this our Party members should not have independent aims of their own such as personal position, individual heroism and so forth. If they have such aims, they may depart from the Party's interests to such an extent as to become opportunists in the Party.

If a Party member has only the interests and aims of the Party and Communism in his ideology, if he has no personal aims and considerations independent of the Party's interests, and if he is really unbiased and unselfish, then he will be capable of the following:—

(1) He will be capable of possessing very good Communist ethics. Because he has a strict standpoint he 'can both love and hate people.' He can show loyalty to and ardent love for all his comrades, revolutionaries and working people, help them unconditionally, treat them with equality and never harm any one of them for the sake of his own interests. He can deal with them in a 'faithful and forgiving' spirit and 'put himself in the position of others'. He can consider others' problems from their points of view and be considerate to them. 'He will never do to others anything he would not like others to do to him.' He can deal with the most

vicious enemies of mankind in a most resolute manner and conduct a persistent struggle against the enemy for the purpose of defending the interests of the Party, the class and the emancipation of mankind. As the Chinese saying goes: 'He will worry long before the rest of the world begins to worry and he will rejoice only after the rest of the world has rejoiced.' Both in the Party and among the people he will be the first to suffer hardship and the last to enjoy himself. He never minds whether his conditions are better or worse than others', but he does mind as to whether he has done more revolutionary work than others or whether he has fought harder. In times of adversity, he will stand out courageously and unflinchingly and in the face of difficulties he will demonstrate the greatest sense of responsibility. Therefore, he is capable of possessing the greatest firmness and moral courage to resist corruption by riches or honours, to resist tendencies to vacillate in spite of poverty and lowly status and to refuse to yield in spite of threats or force.

(2) He will also be capable of possessing the greatest courage. Since he is free from any selfishness whatever and has never done 'anything against his conscience', he can expose his mistakes and shortcomings and boldly correct them in the same way as the sun and the moon emerge bright and full following a brief eclipse. He is 'courageous because his is a just cause'. He is never afraid of truth. He courageously upholds truth, expounds truth to others and fights for truth. Even if it is temporarily to his disadvantage to do so, even if he will be subjected to various attacks for the sake of upholding truth, even if the opposition and rebuff of the great majority of people forces him into temporary isolation (glorious isolation) and even if on this account his life may be endangered he will still be able to stem the tide and uphold truth and will never resign himself to drifting with the tide. So far as he himself is concerned, he has nothing to fear.

(3) He will be best capable of acquiring the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism, viewing problems and perceiving the real nature of the situation keenly and aptly. Because he has a firm and clear-cut class standpoint, he is free from personal worries and personal desires which may blur or distort his observation of things and understanding of truth. He has an objective attitude. He tests all theories, truths and falsehoods in the course of revolutionary practice and is no respecter of persons.

(4) He will also be capable of being the most sincere, most candid and happiest of men. Since he has no selfish desires and

since he has nothing to conceal from the Party, 'there is nothing which he is afraid of telling others' as the Chinese saying goes. Apart from the interests of the Party and of the revolution, he has no personal losses or gains or other things to worry about. He can 'look after himself when he is on his own'. He takes care not to do wrong things when he works independently and without supervision and when there is ample opportunity for him to do all kinds of wrong things. His work will be found in no way incompatible with the Party's interests no matter how many years later it is reviewed. He does not fear criticism from others and he can courageously and sincerely criticize others. That is why he can be sincere, candid and happy.

(5) He will be capable of possessing the highest self-respect and self-esteem. For the interests of the Party and of the revolution, he can also be the most lenient, most tolerant and most ready to compromise and he will even endure, if necessary, various forms of humiliation and injustice without feeling hurt or bearing grudges. As he has no personal aims or designs, he has no need to flatter others and does not want others to flatter him, either. He has no personal favours to ask of others, so he has no need to humble himself in order to ask help from others. For the interests of the Party and the revolution he can also take care of himself, protect his life and health, raise his theoretical level and enhance his ability. But if for the sake of certain important aims of the Party and of the revolution he is required to endure insults, shoulder heavy burdens and do work which he is reluctant to do, he will take up the most difficult and important work without the slightest hesitation and will not pass the buck.

A Communist Party member should possess all the greatest and noblest virtues of mankind. He should also possess the strict and clear-cut standpoint of the Party and of the proletariat (that is, Party spirit and class character). Our ethics are great precisely because they are the ethics of Communism and of the proletariat. Such ethics are not built upon the backward basis of safeguarding the interests of individuals or a small number of exploiters. They are built, on the contrary, upon the progressive basis of the interests of the proletariat, of the ultimate emancipation of mankind as a whole, of saving the world from destruction and of building a happy and beautiful Communist world. To a Communist, it is most unworthy and inadvisable to make sacrifices for the interests of any individual or a small number of people. But if sacrifice has to be

made for the Party, for class and national liberation, that is, for the emancipation of mankind, for social evolution and for the interests of the greatest majority of mankind embracing countless millions of people, countless Communist Party members will face death with equanimity and make any sacrifice without the slightest hesitation. To the majority of Communist Party members, it will be accepted as a matter of course 'to lay down one's life for a noble cause' or 'to die for righteousness', if necessary. This is not because they live in fantasy or are ambitious for praise and fame but because of their scientific understanding of social evolution and their consciousness. This is exactly why our ethics are the greatest and the most scientific. Apart from this, we do not admit that there are so-called greater, more scientific 'super-class' and general ethics in a class society. This is only deceptive nonsense. These so-called 'ethics' are, in fact, built upon the basis of safeguarding the interests of a small number of exploiters. This concept of 'ethics' has always been idealist in character. It is only we Communists who build ethics upon the scientific basis of historical materialism and it is only we Communists too who openly build ethics upon the material basis of the interests of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat and mankind.

The Communist Party represents not only the interests of individual Party members but also the long-range interests of the entire body of workers and the emancipation of mankind. The Party's interests are the crystallisation of the interests not only of individual Party members but also of the entire body of workers and the emancipation of mankind. Apart from the interests of the proletariat and the emancipation of mankind, the Communist Party has no other interests and aims. Therefore, the Communist Party must not be regarded as a narrow, small group like a guild which seeks only the personal interests of its members. Whoever holds such a view is not a Communist.

Of course, a Party member has his personal interests and personal development. At certain times such personal interests may come in conflict with, or become antagonistic to, the Party's interests. Should this happen, a Party member is required to sacrifice his personal interests unconditionally and should not sacrifice the Party's interests to meet his personal interests (no matter under what cloak or pretext). Since the personal interests and development of the Party member are included in the interests and development of the Party, the success and victory of the Party and class also mean the

success and victory of a Party member. Therefore, only in the struggle for the development, success and victory of the Party can a Party member hope to develop himself. He cannot divorce himself from the development of the Party in order to strive for his personal development. In short, only in the course of the struggle for the development, success and victory of the Party can a Party member develop himself; without this, he cannot develop himself at all. Therefore, the personal interests of a Party member must and can be made completely identical with the Party's interests and development.

A member of our Party is no longer just an ordinary person. He is a conscious vanguard fighter of the proletariat. He should not only represent his personal interests. He should prove himself a conscious living representative of the interests and ideology of the proletariat. Since he has already become one of the representatives of the proletariat, his personal interests should never stand out as against the interests of the Party and proletariat. As to the cadres and leaders of the Party, it is all the more necessary for them to become the living representatives of the general interests of the Party and of the proletariat and to thoroughly merge their personal interests and aims in the general interests and aims of the Party and the proletariat. As circumstances now exist in China, the proletariat alone can best represent the interests of national liberation. Therefore, our Party members have proved themselves the best representatives of the interests of the nation as a whole.

This is one aspect of the problem to which our Party members should pay attention. But there is another aspect.

Although the general interests of the Party include the personal interests of a Party member, yet the former cannot embrace the whole of the latter. The personality of a Party member cannot and should not be eliminated. In any case a Party member will still have some personal problems to solve. Furthermore, he still needs to develop himself according to his personality and his special ability. Therefore, the Party permits its members to build up their personal and family life and to develop their personalities and special abilities so long as these do not violate the Party's interests. Moreover, under all possible conditions, the Party will help a Party member to develop his personality and special ability in the interests of the Party, provide him with appropriate work and working conditions and even give him all possible encouragement. Also under all possible conditions, the Party will look after and safeguard the personal, indis-

pensable interests of a Party member — for instance, the Party will give him opportunities to receive education and to study, help to solve his domestic and health problems and, if necessary, even give up certain Party work in order to preserve comrades, etc. However, all such measures are taken with no other purpose than that of safeguarding the interests of the Party as a whole because the tasks of the Party cannot be accomplished if the Party fails to guarantee its members the minimum conditions as regards living, work and education in order to enable them to work enthusiastically and without worries. In dealing with the problems of Party members the responsible leaders of the Party must pay attention to this point. This is the other aspect of the problem.

To sum up, a Party member should unreservedly submit to the interests of the Party. He should be strict with himself and public-spirited and should have no personal aims or considerations. He should not think only of himself in all matters. He should not make a lot of personal demands on the Party or blame the Party for not having promoted or commended him. Besides, a Party member should endeavour, under all circumstances, to study and improve himself to the best of his ability, to struggle courageously and to ceaselessly raise his consciousness and his understanding of Marxism-Leninism in order to render greater contributions and assistance to the Party and the revolution. In dealing with Party members' problems the Party and its leaders must pay attention to the working, living and educational conditions of Party members in order to enable them to do better work for the Party, to develop themselves and to raise their consciousness to the greatest extent in the proletarian revolutionary cause. Great attention should be paid especially to those comrades who are really strict with themselves and public-spirited. Only in this way, that is, only by paying attention to both aspects and co-ordinating them can the Party be most benefited.

EXAMPLES OF VARIOUS KINDS OF ERRONEOUS IDEOLOGIES IN THE PARTY

Comrades! If we take the Communist outlook on life and world outlook, our understanding of the cause of Communism, and the establishment of a correct relationship between the Party's interests and those of Party members as our criteria for evaluating our Party members and cadres, we will find out that on the one

hand, there are many Party members and cadres who conform to these criteria and can serve as models for other Party members, but that on the other hand there are also some Party members and cadres who still do not conform to these criteria, and still retain different kinds of incorrect ideologies to a greater or lesser degree. Here I shall openly point them out in a general way, so that our comrades may pay attention to them while carrying on their self-cultivation.

What are the basically incorrect ideologies among comrades in the Party? They can be listed roughly as follows:

Firstly, those who have joined our Party not only come from different social strata, but bring with them different aims and motives. Despite the fact that most members have joined the Party in order to fight for the realisation of Communism, for the great aim of emancipating the proletariat and mankind, there are, however, still some other members who have joined the Party for other reasons and aims. For example, some peasant comrades regarded as 'Communism' the 'striking down of the local despots and the distribution of the land' which we carried out in the past and they did not understand genuine Communism as meaning anything more when they joined the Party. At the present time quite a few people have joined the Party chiefly because of the Communists' determined resistance to Japan and because of the anti-Japanese national united front. Certain other people have joined the Party as a way out because they could not find a way out in society — they had no trade, no job, no school to attend, or they wanted to escape from their families, or from forced marriages, etc. Some came because they looked up to the prestige of the Party, or because they recognised, though only in a vague way, that the Communist Party can save China. And finally there were even some individuals who came because they counted on the Communists for tax reduction, or because they hoped to become influential in the future, or because their relatives and friends brought them in, etc. It is very natural that such comrades should lack a clear and definite Communist outlook on life and world outlook, should fail to understand the greatness and difficulties of the Communist cause, and should be unable to take a firm proletarian stand. Therefore, it is also very natural that at certain turning points, under certain conditions, some of them should have wavered or changed. They have brought with them all kinds and shades of ideologies into the Party. Consequently, their education, steeling and self-cultivation are an extremely important matter. Otherwise, they simply will not be able to become

vanguard fighters of the proletariat.

Despite this, however, it is by no means a serious problem. That certain people come to rely upon the Communist Party, come to the Party to seek a way out and give support to the Party's policies — all this, after all, cannot be regarded as wrong. They are not mistaken in having sought out the Party. We welcome such people except for the opportunist elements, enemy spies and traitors. The Party's Programme and Constitution must be accepted and observed. As to further study and understanding of Communism and of the Party's Programme and Constitution, they can do this after joining the Party, and moreover on the basis of their studies they can further steel and cultivate themselves in the course of the struggle, and make themselves into very good Communists.

As a matter of fact, it is impossible to require many people to have a profound understanding of Communism and of the Party's Programme and Constitution before they join the Party. It is for this reason that we only prescribe the acceptance of the Party's Programme and Constitution as a condition for admission into the Party, instead of prescribing a thorough understanding of the Party's Programme and Constitution as a condition. Although such persons still do not thoroughly understand Communism they can become active fighters in the course of the present Communist movement and the present revolutionary movement. Moreover, in the long course of the revolutionary struggle, they can become excellent and conscious Communists through intensive studies and cultivation. Besides, our Party Constitution further stipulates that Communist Party members shall have the freedom to withdraw from the Party (there is no freedom to join the Party). If any member lacks a profound belief in Communism, cannot endure strict inner-Party life, or for any other reason, he is free to withdraw from the Party. So long as he does not give away Party secrets, does not oppose Communism, does not engage in subversive activities against the Party, the Party allows any member to withdraw and will leave him be. As to opportunists and traitors who have sneaked into the Party, we will naturally expel them. In this way the purity of our Party can be preserved.

Secondly, certain Party members still have an ideology marked by relatively strong individualism and self-interest.

This kind of individualism finds expression in the following ways: certain persons, when solving all kinds of concrete problems, place their personal interests above the Party's interests; or they are

always worrying about their personal gains and losses, weighing their personal interests; or they engage in jobbery, taking advantage of Party work to achieve certain personal aims; or they attempt to pay off their personal grudges against other comrades on the pretext of a question of principle, or of Party interests.

When it comes to questions of salaries, amenities and other matters concerning private life, they always want to surpass others, and to compare and compete with the very highest cadres and 'use any means to achieve this end', and will brag about such things. But when it comes to work, they want to compare with those who are less capable. When there are hardships, they try to avoid them; in times of danger, they attempt to run away. As to orderlies, they always want more. As to living quarters, they always want the best. They want to show off and share the honours bestowed on the Party. They try to monopolise all the good things, but will have no part in anything that is in something of a mess.

Comrades! There are such people in our Party. Their heads are full of the ideology of the exploiting classes. They even believe in such expressions as: 'Everyone for himself, and the devil take the hindmost', 'Man is a selfish animal,' 'There is no such thing in the world as a genuinely unselfish person, or else such a person is a simpleton or an idiot.' They make use of all such expressions of the exploiting classes to justify their own selfishness and individualism.

This kind of selfish individualism frequently finds expression inside the Party in such mistakes as unprincipled disputes, factional struggles, sectarianism and departmentalism. It also finds expression in actions which disregard or even undermine at will Party discipline. Most unprincipled struggles arise from personal interests. Factional struggles and sectarianism often place the interests of the individual or the minority above Party interests. Such people often consciously undermine the organisation and discipline of the Party in the course of unprincipled factional struggles, attack certain persons in an unprincipled manner or deliberately, and make friends in an unprincipled way with certain people for the purpose of not offending each other, mutual shielding and mutual boasting and praising.

As to departmentalism in the Party, it is different from such individualism. Departmentalism comes about chiefly because a comrade sees only partial interests, sees only his part of the work, does not see the situation as a whole and does not see the work of others. Therefore, he commits the mistake of only looking after the interests of his part of the work to such an extent that he obstructs

others. Politically speaking, this is a thing resembling guildism. In the case of comrades committing the mistake of departmentalism their motives and their starting points may not necessarily be very bad. This of course cannot be compared with individualism. Nevertheless, persons with an individualistic outlook often commit the mistake of departmentalism.

Thirdly, self-conceit, individual heroism, showing-off etc., still exist to a greater or lesser extent in the ideology of quite a few comrades in the Party.

The first consideration of people with such ideas is their position in the Party. They like to show off, and want others to flatter them and admire them. They have a personal ambition to become leaders. They take advantage of their abilities and like to claim credit, to show off themselves, to keep everything in their hands and they are intolerant. They are full of vanity, do not want to bury their heads in hard work and are unwilling to do technical work. They are haughty. When they have made some small achievements they become very arrogant and domineering as if there were no one else like them in the world. They seek to overshadow others and cannot treat others on equal terms, modestly and politely. They are self-conceited and like to lecture others, to instruct and boss others. They are always trying to climb above others, and do not accept directions from others, do not learn modestly from others and particularly from the masses, nor do they accept criticisms from others. They like to be 'promoted' but cannot stand being 'demoted'. They can only work 'in fair weather' but not 'in foul'. They cannot bear attacks or injustices and are unable to adapt themselves to circumstances. They are not 'great men capable of asserting themselves when necessary or of keeping in the background when required.' They have not yet got rid of their deep-rooted 'desire for fame' and they try to build themselves up into 'great men' and 'heroes' in the Communist cause, and even have no scruples in employing any means for the gratification of such desires. However, when their aims cannot be achieved, when they receive rebuffs or cool treatment from comrades in the Party, there is a possible danger of their wavering. In the history of the Party there have been not a few members who left the Party because of such wavering. In the minds of such persons there exist remnants of the ideology of the exploiting classes. They do not understand the greatness of Communism, nor do they have the broad vision of a Communist.

Communists should not indulge in self-complacency or haughti-

ness. Granted certain comrades are very competent and have done certain work well and made great achievements. For example, our army officers led thousands upon thousands of men and won victories, or our Party and mass-work leaders in various places through their work brought about a much more favourable situation. Theirs may probably be 'great' achievements of which they may be proud, yet compared with the cause of Communism as a whole how great are these achievements after all? Their achievements are but 'a drop in the ocean'. To a person with a Communist world outlook, what is there in this that one may be really proud of?

So far as individual Party members are concerned how can one's personal position be worth worrying about? One's position can never be higher than that of an emperor, nevertheless, comparing the position of an emperor with that of a fighter for the cause of Communism, how great is it after all? It is only 'a drop in the ocean', as Stalin has said. So what is there that is worth worrying and bragging about?

Yes, in our Party, in the Communist cause, we need countless numbers of Communist heroes and a great many Party and mass leaders with prestige and position. At present, we really have far too few revolutionary heroes and leaders with prestige. We still need to temper and cultivate a great number of very good Communist revolutionary heroes and leaders in all fields. This is a very important thing in our cause which simply cannot be neglected. Whoever shows contempt for this point simply does not understand how to advance the Communist cause. Therefore, we must still greatly enhance our Party members' keenness and aspiration for progress in the revolutionary cause. At present we are not doing enough in this respect. This point shows itself, for instance, in the fact that certain Party members are not studying hard enough, and their interest in politics and theory is not deep enough.

Therefore, we oppose individual heroism and showing-off but we certainly do not oppose such aspiration for progress among our members — this is a most precious quality of Communist Party members. But the proletarian and Communist aspiration for progress is entirely different from the individualistic aspiration for progress. The former seeks truth, upholds truth and moreover fights most effectively for truth. It has a perspective of unlimited development and is of a progressive nature. But the latter, as far as the individual goes, is extremely limited in its progressive nature and furthermore has no perspective, because, for the sake of the indivi-

dual's personal interests, it often consciously negates, covers up or distorts truth. Therefore, our comrades must understand that real leaders and heroes in the Communist cause can never be individualistic and self-appointed. Anyone who appoints himself as a leader or who individually tries to become a leader can never become a leader in our Party. All leaders, whether national or local, have achieved success through mass support. The rank and file of our Party will not support as their leaders those persons who are self-conceited, given to individual heroism, showing-off, personal ambition for leadership and vanity. No Party member has the right to demand that other members and the masses support him as a leader or to safeguard his position as a leader. Only such Party members who have not the slightest personal aim, who are loyal to the Party, who have a high degree of Communist ethics and qualities, who can master the theory and methods of Marxism-Leninism, who have considerable practical ability, who can actually direct Party work, who try unceasingly and strenuously to study and to make progress can win the confidence and support of the Party and the masses and thus become heroes and leaders in the Communist cause.

Our comrades should further realise that a Party member, a leader or hero, whoever he may be, can only carry out a part of the work of the Communist cause and shoulder only a part of the responsibility. The Communist cause is a collective task involving countless tens of millions of persons over a long period of time, and cannot be monopolised by any individual. Even our great leaders, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin fulfilled only a part of the work of the Communist cause. Their work still needs the continuous efforts of tens of millions of us. We ordinary Party members also carry out a part of the work and shoulder a part of the responsibility in the cause of Communism. Our part is of course much smaller than that of Marx, Engels, Lenin or Stalin. Nevertheless, we all have our part. Although there is a difference between a great part and a small part, it is a part all the same. Therefore if we can do a part of the work well, it means that we have fulfilled our duty.

Of course, we should try our best to do a bigger part. But if we cannot, we can still do a smaller part just as well. So far as we individually are concerned, this is nothing worth while worrying about. In any case, we should at least try not to obstruct the development of the Communist cause, and should do our part of the work, be it big or small. That is the attitude we should adopt towards our own work. There are certain comrades who are not

willing to do technical work, thinking that to do so is to belittle themselves, and that it would prevent them from becoming famous in later generations (actually they can, like Edison and Stakhanov, etc. who all rose from among technical workers), and prevent them from displaying their talents. They seem to think that for them to do such work would be a great loss to the Communist cause. Therefore, they more or less lose the aspiration for progress required of all Party members.

Comrades! Such a way of thinking is incorrect! Technical work plays an extremely important part in our Party work. Those comrades who are doing such work are also doing their part for the cause of Communism in the same way as comrades doing other kinds of work. A Communist should do any work that is important at the time no matter whether the work is to his liking or not or whether it can win popularity or not. For example, following the victory of the Russian revolution many cadres doing important Party and political work were mobilised to learn the art of trade for the purpose of carrying out the New Economic Policy, for at that time only by carrying on trade efficiently could the Communist Party triumph over private capitalism. Even though none of the Party members liked to do trade yet they all did it because it was important. It was right that they did it, and it would have been wrong if they had not.

Here, let me repeat, Party leaders in assigning work to Party members should naturally take into consideration the different circumstances of individual Party members, see to it that the work assigned to them should suit their personality and help to develop their strong points and encourage their enthusiasm for progress. However, the Party member to whom the work is assigned should not refuse the assignment on such grounds.

Fourthly, there are a small number of comrades in the Party who strongly reflect the ideology of the exploiting classes. In dealing with Party comrades and inner-Party problems they often adopt methods used in coping with the enemy, being utterly devoid of the great, sincere, Communist and proletarian spirit of mutual assistance and solidarity.

Persons with such an ideology seek to elevate and develop themselves in the Party, but they achieve this purpose by holding others down and obstructing their development. They want to jump over the heads of others and are jealous of those who are more capable. They feel displeased if others go ahead of them, catch up with them or overtake them. They will not be pleased until they

have succeeded in keeping others down or behind them. They are not willing to be under others. They only care about their own well-being, their own development, without any consideration for the difficulties of others. When they see other comrades meet with difficulties, setbacks, frustration or attacks, they are happy over the calamity, secretly rejoice, and are entirely devoid of sympathy. They even scheme to injure other comrades, to 'throw stones at them when they are already down the well' and take advantage of the weak points and difficulties of other comrades to attack them and ruin their reputation. In the Party they also take advantage of the weaknesses in the Party's organisation and work to serve their ulterior purposes, to garner certain personal benefits by means of exacerbating such weaknesses. In the Party they are fond of spreading rumours, speaking ill of others behind their backs, and scheming to drive a wedge in the relations between comrades. They like to take part in all the unprincipled disputes in the Party, and take great interest in all 'controversies'. Especially when the Party is in difficulties, they create and exacerbate such controversies inside the Party.

In short, they are thoroughly vicious and not in the least upright. Is it not a sheer joke to say that such persons can master the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism, and can reflect the ideology of the proletariat? Quite evidently, theirs is absolutely the reflection of the ideology of the declining exploiting classes because all exploiters, in order to develop themselves, will impair the interests of others. To increase their own wealth or to prevent themselves from going bankrupt during a depression, the capitalists crowd out a great many smaller capitalists, and compel countless workers to starve. To expand their land, the landlords exploit the peasants and deprive many of their landholdings. Fascist countries like Germany, Italy and Japan, to expand themselves, hindered the development of other countries and conquered Austria, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, etc. and committed aggression against China. To impair the interests of others and to render others bankrupt are conditions essential to the development of the exploiters themselves, whose happiness is founded upon others' sufferings.

Therefore, among exploiters it is impossible to find genuine firm unity, genuine mutual assistance and genuine human sympathy. The exploiters must work out treacherous schemes and underhanded measures against others, for it profits them to undo others or to render them bankrupt. Nevertheless, they are compelled to tell lies

and pose before the masses as pseudo-saints and 'supporters of justice'. These are the characteristics of all exploiters in their decline. Such things, however, are also reflected in the ideology of some people in our Party. To the exploiters such things may be the standard of their 'noble' ethics; but to the proletariat, they are outright treason.

The proletariat is entirely different from what has just been described. The proletariat does not exploit others, but is exploited by others. There are no basic conflicts in interests among the workers, or between the workers and all the other oppressed and exploited toiling masses. To develop themselves and to win their own emancipation, the workers not only have no need to impair the interests and development of other workers or toiling people, but have need of uniting with other workers and toiling people. Only then can the workers develop themselves, raise their own position and emancipate themselves. The emancipation of the proletariat itself must be accompanied by the emancipation of all toiling people and mankind as a whole. It is impossible to separately emancipate an individual worker or a section of the workers. The cause of emancipating humanity must be carried out to the end, and it is impossible to stop or compromise halfway. And it must be the common, complete emancipation of humanity as a whole.

The ideology of the awakened workers, reflecting this objective situation of the proletariat, is entirely contrary to the ideology of the exploiters. On the one hand, they must of course employ the most merciless measures in dealing with the common enemy of the people; on the other hand, they never employ such measures in dealing with their own brothers and comrades, thus clearly differentiating their attitude and measures adopted against their enemy from those directed towards their friends and comrades. They have a great and sincere friendship, love and sympathy for their own class brothers and for all the toiling people who are being exploited and oppressed. They display a great spirit of mutual assistance, of firm solidarity and of genuine equality in dealing with their own brothers. They absolutely refuse to recognise that any one among their own brothers or among humanity has any special privileges and they do not cherish the idea that they themselves have any special privileges. To them such a thing is unthinkable and an insult. They want to develop and elevate themselves but they know they must at the same time develop others, raise the position of the whole labouring class, and only thus can they elevate-themselves. They are unwilling to lag

behind others as regards ideology, politics or work and they have a lofty aspiration to strive for progress, but they know they must respect, love and help those persons who are better qualified in such aspects. They strive to learn from such persons without any jealousy. They show extreme concern for the painful and difficult situation of their own class and of the whole of the world's labouring people. They are concerned about the struggle for the emancipation of labouring people everywhere and about their victories and defeats. They realise that every victory or defeat of the labouring people, wherever it takes place, means their own victory or defeat, and moreover, they express very great sympathy and concern about such victories and defeats.

They consider that in the struggle for the emancipation of any labouring people or of all the oppressed people it would be criminal to adopt an attitude of indifference or to gloat over other's misfortunes. They love their own comrades and brothers; they openly, frankly and sincerely point out the weaknesses and mistakes of their comrades and brothers. (Indeed, this is a true expression of love). In matters of principle, they never appease or compromise with their comrades or even encourage their mistakes and weaknesses (to do so would not be an expression of love), but use every means to help them overcome and correct such weaknesses and mistakes. They do not utilise or aggravate such weaknesses and mistakes to force their comrades into an unfortunate or even hopeless situation.

In dealing with their own comrades and brothers, they 'return good for evil'. If only the other comrades will correct their mistakes they will have not the slightest desire for retaliation. They are able 'to require much from themselves and little from others.' They are strict with themselves but rather lenient towards other comrades. Nevertheless, they take a firm and strict position in matters of principle, and adopt a candid, upright and serious attitude. They will not compromise on questions of principle. They will not tolerate anyone who in any way harms the interests of the Party, nor will they allow anyone to insult them without reason. They are especially contemptuous of anyone who lavishly praises, flatters or adulates them in an unprincipled way. They oppose all unprincipled struggles among their own comrades and at the same time keep themselves from being involved in unprincipled struggles. They are not influenced or irritated by those irresponsible and informal criticisms made behind their backs and will not on this account lose

their own stand on matters of principle or their cool-headed and calm attitude.

All this represents the ideology of the proletariat and should be reflected, developed and learnt by every one of our Party members. The entire lives of our great leaders, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin represent the highest model and concrete embodiment of such ideology. All this represents the uprightness of humanity in the present society, and it is the Communist Party that manifests such uprightness. We must promote and elevate such uprightness in order to overcome all viciousness.

Fifthly, bureaucracy still exists in our Party and in various organisations. I will speak again on this subject later on. Among some comrades there still exist such weaknesses as narrow-mindedness and the minding of small matters without taking into consideration the overall situation. They do not have the great courage or the far-sightedness of a Communist. Blind to the bigger issues, they are very much interested in small matters under their nose. They are not very much interested in the vital problems and the highly important events of the Party and the revolution, but instead often concern themselves with trifles as small as a needle or a piece of thread or with insignificant remarks. Over such trifles they will seriously and endlessly argue with others and become overwhelmed with unrestrained emotion. They can also be easily bribed by others with small favours or gifts. They have all the characteristics of narrow-mindedness of the small producer in rural society.

Also there are still certain individuals who seem to have no clear and definite standpoint. To them, this may be all right and that may also be all right. They play ball with both sides and try to please everybody. To his face they can get along very well with a person whom they hate. They can speak well of you to your face, while speaking ill of you behind your back. They may speak well of a certain person to one man, and speak ill of the same person to another man. "To show himself, when speaking, to be a respecter of persons and circumstances", to "tack with the wind", and to lean without principle on the winning side — such are their characteristics. Sometimes they are just fence-sitters, watching to see which side is winning and going over to that side. Such people who are neither 'fish, flesh, nor fowl' but who are 'double-dealing' creatures are not altogether unknown in our ranks. They display the characteristics of a broker.

In addition, there are certain persons who simply cannot stand

the temptations of the exploiting classes of the old society. They begin to waver when they see around them the kaleidoscopic world, glittering gold and beautiful women. As a result, they may commit crime, or may even betray the Party and the revolution.

Furthermore, the impetuosity and inconsistency which characterise the petty-bourgeoisie, and the destructive character of the lumpen-proletariat and the bankrupt peasantry are also often reflected in the ideology of some of the comrades in the Party. We have no need to go further with our list.

To sum up, apart from those who represent the Communist ideology of the great and resolute proletariat, there still exist in our Party certain comrades who, to a greater or lesser degree, reflect various kinds of non-proletarian ideology and even the ideology of the declining exploiting classes. Such ideology is sometimes latent in the Party and only reveals itself in some small individual daily problems. Sometimes it grows and systematically exposes itself in various problems of principle in the Party, in important political questions and in inner-Party struggles. Certain individual sections or links of the Party organisation may also be controlled or corroded by such erroneous ideology. When it develops to the highest degree, for instance, during the time when Chen Tu-hsiu, Chang Kuo-tao and the like were in power in the Party such erroneous non-proletarian ideology even temporarily controlled the major part or the most important part of the Party leadership. But in normal times such ideology is overcome by correct proletarian ideology. This is demonstrated by the inner-Party ideological struggle.

The same is also the case with certain Party members. Sometimes, their erroneous ideology lies dormant and under control. But at other times it may develop to the point of controlling their actions. This is demonstrated by the contradictions and struggles between the two different ideologies possessed by the same individual.

Our ideological cultivation means that we should consciously adopt the proletarian and Communist outlook on life and world outlook and have a correct understanding of the relationship between individual development and the interests of the emancipation of the class, nation and mankind in order to overcome and eliminate all kinds of incorrect and non-proletarian ideologies.

THE ORIGIN OF THE VARIOUS ERRONEOUS IDEOLOGIES IN THE PARTY

Comrades! The Communist Party represents the brightest and

the most progressive side of contemporary human society. It is here that the best ideology of humanity — Marxism-Leninism — exists and develops. Gathered together in the Communist Party are the world's most conscious, progressive, and sound persons with the highest sense of morality and righteousness. They persistently fight against all evil influences and struggle for the bright future and for the final emancipation of human society. The Chinese Communist Party is one of the best Communist Parties in the world. It is powerfully armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, and, at the same time, it has inherited the finest traditions of the many progressive thinkers and prominent men who have made great achievements in past generations in China's history. It stands for the most progressive and the brightest side of Chinese society. In its organisation are gathered together the most splendid Chinese men and women. It has carried on a protracted struggle against the old, evil influences and traditions of Chinese society and it has accumulated rich experiences and gone through many trials over a long period of revolutionary struggle. All these are matters which we Communists can be proud of. Furthermore, we can assert, with full confidence and on every authority, that we shall certainly achieve final victory and final success.

However, even so, not everything in our organisation is perfect. Our organisation is not without defects or mistakes. Our ranks are not without unsound elements or even thoroughly bad eggs. And it is still not impossible for such unsound elements and bad eggs to do foul and harmful things. That is to say in our bright Party there are still things of darkness, there is still a seamy side. These are the things which I have previously enumerated.

Once a family has taken in marriage an ugly son-in-law or daughter-in-law, it will not be possible to keep him or her from meeting the guests. With regard to the things of darkness, even if we try to adopt an attitude of 'not washing our dirty linen in public', it will be impossible. The masses of people are in constant contact with our Party, our sympathisers will come to visit us, and a vast number of people, young men and women, who look up to us, desire to come here (Yenan — Translator) to learn from us or to join our Party. When they arrive here, apart from seeing all our progressive, bright, and beautiful things and family-members, they will meet our ugly son-in-law or daughter-in-law, who in the presence of many people, talks nonsense, or makes a fool of himself or herself. In such cases some of our guests and new Party members will wonder.

They will ask such questions: Isn't the Communist Party supposed to be the best? Aren't Communists the best men and women? Why are there still such ugly persons and bad things in the Communist Party? Isn't this strange?

Some young comrades, before they joined the Party, were very bitterly dissatisfied with existing society and felt that there was no way out and that only the Communist Party offered the brightest hope. They thought that after they joined the Party everything would be satisfactory and hopeful. But after they joined they began to feel that in the Party there were also certain mistakes, defects and things of darkness. Moreover, in fact, we cannot make them feel satisfied with everything (because what they find to be satisfactory may be more or less not in conformity with the interests of the Party and the revolution). What they now actually feel does not exactly coincide with their former ideals. Then they began to feel doubtful and puzzled and asked: "Why are there also such things in the Communist Party?" Before some of them came to Yen-an and entered the Anti-Japanese University they thought that Yen-an and the Anti-Japanese University must be as good as they had dreamed them to be, but after they had arrived and entered the University they found that not everything was satisfactory. Then they again became puzzled, asking: "Why are there still such unsatisfactory things at Yen-an and in the Anti-Japanese University?" Certain persons even became pessimistic and disappointed because they could not find answers to these questions.

With reference to these questions, in addition to sharpening our vigilance and instructing our Party members and cadres to pay serious attention to carefully treating and guiding our new Party members and those who are inclined to us, and not giving them an unfavourable impression, it is necessary to give an explanation to our comrades inside and outside of our Party.

Why are there still such bad things in the splendid organisation of our Party? The reason, I think, is very simple. It is that our Party is not a Party that has fallen from the heavens; it is a Party which has grown out of the existing Chinese society. Although in general our Party members are relatively the best Chinese men and women, the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat, they come, however, from every stratum of Chinese society and are still living in this society which is replete with the influences of the exploiters — selfishness, intrigues, bureaucracy and every kind of filthy thing. Most of our best Party members are unlikely to be influenced by

such things, but is it so strange that there should still be other Party members who to a greater or lesser extent bring into our Party, or reflect in our Party, some of the filthy things of society? Is it anything strange that there are muddy stains on a person who crawls out of the mud and who constantly dabbles in the mud? It is not strange at all. It is a matter of course. It would be very strange indeed if there were absolutely no such filthy things in the Communist Party. How could it be possible for such a filthy society to give birth to a Communist Party that is perfectly immune from filth? It is utterly inconceivable. It can be said that so long as there are still such filthy things, so long as there are still classes, and the influences of the exploiting classes in society there are bound to be such filthy things in the Communist Party to some extent.

Therefore the Communist Party is confronted with the task of carrying on the revolution and it is necessary for Communist Party members to carry on self-cultivation and steeling. Because of this, in addition to waging struggles against all dark and backward influences and things in society we must carry on inner-Party struggle to oppose the wavering, unsteady elements who reflect in the Party all kinds of dark and backward things in society. This constitutes the very basis of our inner-Party contradictions and inner-Party struggle. In the course of the various struggles inside and outside of the Party we seek to remould society, to gradually rid it of the dark, backward things and at the same time to remould our Party and Party members, to solve inner-Party contradictions so as to develop our Party and Party members to a sound and firm level.

Comrade Stalin says:

. . . the sources of contradiction within proletarian parties lie in two circumstances.

What are these circumstances?

Firstly, pressure by the bourgeoisie and bourgeois ideology on the proletariat and its Party in the course of the class struggle — pressure which the least steadfast strata of the proletariat, and that means the least steadfast strata of the proletarian Party, not infrequently give way to. It cannot be considered that the proletariat is completely isolated from society, that it stands outside society. The proletariat is part of society, connected with its various strata by numerous ties. But the Party is part of the proletariat. Therefore, the Party cannot be free of connections with, and the influence of, the various strata of

bourgeois society. The pressure of the bourgeoisie and its ideology on the proletariat and its Party finds expression in the fact that bourgeois ideas, morals, customs and moods not infrequently infiltrate into the proletariat and its Party through certain strata of the proletariat, connected in one way or another with bourgeois society.

Secondly, the heterogeneity of the working class, the presence of different strata within the working class. I think that the proletariat, as a class, may be divided into three strata.

One stratum is the basic mass of the proletariat, its core, its permanent part, it is that mass of 'thoroughbred' proletarians, which has already long ago severed its ties with the capitalist class. This stratum of the proletariat is the most dependable support of Marxism.

The second stratum consists of those who only recently came from the non-proletarian classes, from the peasants, the middle classes, the intelligentsia. These people who come from other classes, who only recently joined the ranks of the proletariat, have brought with them into the working class their customs, their habits, their hesitations, their instability. This stratum represents the most favourable breeding ground for all sorts of anarchistic, semi-anarchistic and 'ultra-leftist' groupings.

Finally, there is a third stratum: the working class aristocracy, the elite of the working class, the best provided for section of the proletariat, with its tendency towards a compromise with the bourgeoisie, with its dominant tendency to adapt itself to the powers that be, with its striving 'to become a somebody'. This stratum represents the best breeding ground for outspoken reformists and opportunists.

Comrades! This is the origin of various non-proletarian ideologies, errors, defects and filthy things which still exist in our splendid proletarian Party. This is the origin of the various contradictions that still exist in the Party.

THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS VARIOUS ERRONEOUS IDEOLOGIES IN THE PARTY AND INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE

Because of the influence of the exploiting classes, because of the heterogeneity of the working class and of our Party, there arise among different Party members differences in ideology, viewpoint,

custom, habit and mood; there arise among different Party members differences of varying degree in their philosophy of life, their world outlook, and their concept of ethics; and there arise among different Party members differences in methods of looking at things and ways of thinking with regard to various revolutionary problems. Some look at things in a correct objective manner, from the angle of their development and their inter-connection; while others look at things in an incorrect subjective manner, taking things to be in a state of stagnation and isolation. Some only observe or exaggerate this aspect of things, while others only see or exaggerate that aspect of things; that is to say, they do not view problems as a whole in accordance with the laws of the development and relation of objective things, but view problems in a one-sided and subjective way; therefore differences as to the method of activity are brought about among Party members and differing ideas, views and arguments arise and in this way inner-Party struggles are aroused.

Such differences and arguments will inevitably become all the sharper, especially at turning points of the revolution, in conditions of ever-intensifying revolutionary struggles and growing hardships and under the influence and pressure of the exploiting class and its ideology. Therefore, the crux of the problem is not whether there are differences in ideology and opinions in the Party — there are bound to be such differences. The point is how to solve the contradictions within the Party, how to get rid of these differences, how to overcome the various erroneous non-proletarian ideologies in the Party. Naturally, it is only through inner-Party struggle that we can solve these contradictions, clear away the differences, and overcome the various erroneous ideologies. Just as Engels said: 'No one can at any time hide contradictions for long. Contradictions must be solved by means of struggle.'

Different kinds of people, both inside and outside of the Party, hold different kinds of views and adopt different kinds of attitudes towards the various errors and defects and undesirable things in the Party.

People of one kind do not see or are unwilling to see the defects, errors, and undesirable things in the Party. They are blindly optimistic and take it for granted that everything is all right in the Party; therefore they relax their vigilance and slacken their struggle against the defects, errors and all the undesirable things.

People of a second kind see nothing or almost nothing but errors, defects and undesirable things; they do not see the bright

side of the Party. They consider that nothing is good in the Party; therefore they become pessimistic, disappointed and lose their confidence in the future of the Party. Or they become alarmed and regard such things as 'disastrous'.

Both of these views are incorrect and one-sided. Our view is different from both. On the one hand, we know that our Party is the most progressive, most revolutionary political party of the Chinese proletariat. On the other hand, we clearly realise that in our Party there are still various kinds of errors, defects and undesirable things, both large and small. At the same time we clearly understand the origin of these things, the method of gradually correcting them and eliminating them. Accordingly, we must strengthen our efforts and work and carry on the necessary struggle in order to advance our Party and the revolution.

Just as the standpoints and views of various persons are different, so there are also different kinds of attitudes towards the undesirable things in our Party.

The first kind of attitude is: To enjoy seeing the defects, errors and undesirable things in our Party and to gloat over them and by every means utilise and magnify them in order to undermine our Party (sometimes the method used is to oppose certain mistakes and to support the Party line in such a manner as to channel the mistakes in another direction). This is the attitude adopted by our enemies outside the Party and by the spies and trotskyites lurking within the Party.

The second kind of attitude is: To sympathise with, accept and learn from certain erroneous ideologies and bad examples in order to gratify certain personal ambitions and desires. People with this attitude consider that the existence of certain defects and errors in the Party is to their advantage, therefore they themselves consciously or unconsciously promote the development of such defects and errors and make use of them. This is the attitude adopted by opportunists and Party members of the most undesirable character.

The third kind of attitude is: To leave these errors, defects and undesirable things undisturbed and to let them take their own course. People with this attitude try to take things easy and are unwilling to struggle against these things. Or they fear inner-Party struggle and self-criticism, and consider these as harmful and not beneficial to the Party. Or they are apathetic and unwilling to recognise these phenomena or they adopt a perfunctory, conciliatory and eclectic attitude towards these phenomena. This is the attitude

adopted by Party members who have but a weak sense of duty towards the Party and who are profoundly imbued with liberalism and who are guilty of bureaucracy.

The fourth kind of attitude is: To harbour violent hatred towards the errors, defects and persons in the Party whose ideology is incorrect. People with this attitude bluntly sever relations with such persons, attempt to purge them and expel them from the Party at one stroke. But if they fail in this or if they themselves meet with rebuffs they give up and become disheartened and melancholy. They 'mind their own business', keep themselves aloof or stand far away from the Party. This kind of absolute attitude also finds expression in a mechanical understanding of inner-Party struggle and self-criticism. They think that the more bitter the struggle among comrades in the Party the better; they raise every trifle to a so-called 'level of principle'; they label the tiniest fault as political opportunism, etc., and abuse the organisational methods of the Party or even methods used in struggles outside the Party to punish comrades. They do not carry on the inner-Party struggle in an appropriate and concrete manner in accordance with the objective requirements and the laws of development of objective things, but, on the contrary, they carry on the 'struggle' mechanically, subjectively, violently and unscrupulously. They consider that inner-Party struggle must be carried on under any circumstances, and the more frequent and the more bitter the struggle the better, with the result that they deliberately hunt for 'targets for struggle', deliberately create inner-Party struggle, and seek to promote the work of the Party by relying upon such mechanical 'struggle'. This is the attitude adopted by Party members who do not understand the origin of the contradictions within the Party and who lack knowledge of the methods of dealing with inner-Party differences and who only mechanically understand inner-Party struggle.

The fifth kind of attitude is the very attitude we should adopt, an attitude which is opposite to the four kinds previously mentioned.

1. We first of all recognise and make out which of the various phenomena, ideologies, diverse opinions and views are correct, beneficial to the long-range interests of the Party and the revolution and which of them are incorrect and detrimental to the long-range interests of the Party and the revolution. Maybe both sides to the dispute are wrong but a third opinion and view may be right. After sober analysis and consideration we decide our clear-cut attitude, and take up our stand on the correct side. We do not blindly follow or

idolise anybody.

2. We study, promote, and develop all that is good and upright and uphold all the correct views and opinions in the Party. We do not imitate the bad examples or allow ourselves to be influenced by incorrect ideology.

3. We do not adopt a liberal attitude but carry on an irreconcilable struggle against various ideologies and views which are wrong in principle and against all undesirable phenomena in the Party in order to constantly try to overcome such mistakes and phenomena. We do not temporise or permit the development of these mistakes and phenomena to jeopardise the interests of the Party. Nor do we fear this kind of inner-Party struggle.

4. We do not, however, adopt a mechanical, absolute attitude. We combine irreconcilability and clarity in principle with flexibility in the methods of struggle and with the spirit of patient persuasion. In the course of prolonged struggles, we seek to educate, criticise, steel and reform those comrades who possess erroneous ideologies but who are not incorrigible. In a concrete and appropriate way we carry on ideological struggles in the Party which are essential to the various questions of principle at different stages but do not recklessly carry on struggle in the Party in a subjective, mechanical and fanatical manner. Nor are we addicted to struggle.

5. By means of inner-Party struggle we consolidate the Party and enhance its discipline and prestige, and mete out organisational penalties to the incorrigible elements or even expel them from the Party in order to ensure the soundness and consolidation of our Party. This is the attitude which all good and mature Party members should adopt.

Of the five previously-mentioned attitudes only the fifth is the correct Bolshevik attitude. It is obvious that the first and second attitudes are incorrect. It is not at all strange that our enemies should make use of all our errors and defects in order to undermine our Party. In addition to constantly sharpening our vigilance, we should, on every occasion when defects and mistakes occur inside the Party, reduce any opportunity which could possibly be utilised by the enemy. This is the bounden duty of every comrade who loves our Party. If in the course of inner-Party struggle a Party member ignores this point, or is only concerned with victory in the immediate struggle and his own momentary gratification, or if he does not reject assistance from bad elements, but joins in with them, or if he utilises certain forces and help from outside the Party in

order to attain a certain goal in inner-Party struggle, he will commit an unforgivable political mistake and a gross violation of Party discipline.

Our Party members should reflect the correct ideology, learn from good examples and not from incorrect ideologies and bad examples in the Party. They should fight against such incorrect ideologies and bad examples. There are, however, still certain comrades in the Party who, apart from reflecting correct ideologies and following good examples, sometimes more or less reflect certain incorrect ideologies and follow bad examples. It seems easy for certain comrades to learn to be bad but hard for them to learn to be good. This deserves our serious attention.

These comrades, in the event of certain mistakes occurring in the Party, are apt to help to develop or magnify such mistakes either intentionally or unintentionally and in the course of inner-Party struggle they often line up on the wrong side, or for certain reasons they join the winning side. These comrades will scarcely make any progress, unless seriously prodded and steeled.

It is, I think, quite clear to you students of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism that the comrades of the third kind who adopt a liberal and bureaucratic attitude towards the various errors, defects and undesirable phenomena are of course extremely wrong and entirely non-Bolshevik. For in *Party Construction* which you have studied, there is a whole chapter devoted to the necessity of self-criticism and ideological struggle in the Party. Lenin and Stalin have likewise on many occasions given clear and profound explanations on this point to which you may make reference, and the fourth and fifth chapters of the book *On Political Parties*, published by the Chinese Publishing House, deal with this question at great length, therefore I need not go into details now. What I do want to point out, however, is that there are still not a few comrades in the Party who adopt this kind of attitude. They have been very inadequate in carrying on self-criticism and particularly in self-criticism from the lower levels upwards, and in exposing various errors, defects, and undesirable phenomena in the Party in a responsible, formal, and sincere manner in order to correct and eliminate them. In this respect, we still need great improvement. But there is quite a lot of irresponsible, informal and cowardly criticism and discontent, backbiting and gossiping in the Party about this or that person or concerning this or that matter. These are two expressions of liberalism in the Party. This shows that the political development and

courage on the part of some comrades in the revolutionary struggle are still inadequate and that the correct practice of inner-Party democracy is also still inadequate.

Certain comrades dare not dispense with face-saving, fear to give offence to others or to incur their animosity or counter-criticism. They would rather leave the various errors and defects in the Party alone and adopt a perfunctory attitude of 'muddling through' and 'the less trouble the better' and yet they criticise others behind their backs. This is not beneficial but detrimental to the Party. Such irresponsible criticism and talk may lead to unprincipled disputes and splits in the Party, and may offer opportunities to spies lurking in the Party and bad elements to carry on disruptive activities in the Party. Furthermore, the mistakes and defects in the Party will never be corrected by means of such kind of irresponsible criticism. Therefore the Party rules adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China prohibit such irresponsible criticism and talk and promote inner-Party, responsible and formal self-criticism which is beneficial to the Party.

Since various errors, defects and incorrect, non-proletarian ideologies exist in the Party, each of these incorrect ideologies may at some time develop into a certain trend in the Party, give rise to differences in the Party over certain principles and affect the Party's unity in action. If under such conditions we do not correctly carry on self-criticism in the Party and constantly expose and correct the various errors and defects, overcome all incorrect ideologies and conduct inner-Party struggle to overcome inner-Party differences, but instead adopt an eclectic attitude and 'middle' line and try to muddle through — then, 'we shall not be able to correctly educate the Party, the proletariat, and the masses' (Stalin). 'We shall not be able to advance or develop'; 'we shall no longer be proletarian revolutionaries and we shall be doomed to failure' (Lenin).

Stalin says:

The 'middle' line on questions of principle is a 'line' that muddles up one's head, a 'line' that covers up differences, a 'line' of ideological degeneration of the Party, a 'line' of ideological death of the Party.

The policy of the 'middle' line on questions of principle is not our policy. The policy of the 'middle' line on questions of principle is the policy of a party that is declining and degenerating from day to day. Such a policy cannot but lead

to the transformation of such a party into an empty bureaucratic organ, functioning fruitlessly and detached from the working masses. This road is not for us.

Therefore, . . . the overcoming of the contradictions within the Party by means of struggle is the law of development of our Party . . . the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) grew and gained strength by overcoming the contradictions within the Party.

Therefore, it is incorrect to adopt a liberal and bureaucratic attitude; self-criticism must be developed and inner-Party struggle carried on to oppose all undesirable phenomena, and to overcome differences in the Party before it can be consolidated, developed and advanced.

Liberalism is manifested in another phenomenon. When a particular dispute has broken out in the Party many comrades put aside their regular work and for days and nights engage in inconsequential discussions or deliberately indulge in denouncing everything in the Party, and in the course of such debates they weaken Party unity, disintegrate the solidarity of the cadres, weaken Party discipline, incapacitate the Party leadership, destroy Party prestige and convert militant Party organisations and the Party apparatus into debating societies. Cases like this have taken place more than once in the past in certain of our Party organisations. As Stalin says: 'This is not self-criticism but a scandal.' 'This is slandering the working class.' This is alien, anti-Bolshevik 'self-criticism'. It has nothing in common with the self-criticism we advocate. The reason why we need self-criticism is not to destroy Party prestige, undermine Party discipline, weaken Party leadership, but to promote Party prestige, consolidate Party discipline, and strengthen Party leadership.

The comrades of the fourth kind who adopt an absolute attitude are also wrong. This attitude is the opposite of liberalism — the third attitude mentioned above. Those who adopt this attitude do not understand that the incorrect ideologies in the Party have a deep-rooted social origin and cannot be eliminated at one stroke. All comrades in the Party, at different times, are more or less apt to reflect some incorrect ideology of society. Only people like Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin who were so pure, so firm, and so correct, keen and profound in observing things can be perfectly free from the influence of these ideologies. That is why Dr. Sun

Yat-sen called Lenin 'the sage of the revolution'. It is inevitable that everyone of us will commit some mistakes in our work. If we do not tolerate and make allowances but absolutely reject and even eliminate all comrades who to some degree or other reflect non-proletarian ideologies of society and who commit some mistakes but who are not incorrigibly bad elements, then our Party cannot be built up. The ultimate result of such rejection and elimination may lead to the eventual elimination from the Party of the very comrades who adopt this absolute attitude, because they are not 'sages of the revolution' and they themselves cannot help committing mistakes. For example, in the past some comrades committed mistakes during the campaign to suppress reactionary elements because they adopted this absolute attitude. Comrades who adopt this attitude do not specifically understand that in the course of the struggle for the cause of Communism, the greatest and most difficult task is to transform mankind into selfless citizens of Communist society. If they understand this point, if they understand that even mankind with all its weaknesses, can in the long course of struggle, be steeled, educated, and converted into highly civilised Communists, why can they not educate and reform the Party members who have joined the Party but who still retain to some degree or other the remnants of the ideology of the old society?

Naturally, it needs long, patient education and steeling to reform and educate these Party members. It is a difficult task. However, if we are reluctant to undertake this small, difficult task and shrink from it, how can we talk about changing the world and mankind? Since we have made up our minds to undertake, and not to shrink from, the unprecedentedly arduous task of changing the world and mankind what other arduous tasks in the world today can daunt us? Party members who believe in the Communist philosophy of life and world outlook are dauntless and unafraid of any difficulties and hardships, and at the same time understand that the course of progress of world events is a tortuous one. The comrades who adopt an absolute attitude do not yet understand the arduous and tortuous nature of the cause of Communism. If they fear hardships, desire to travel a straight road, to eliminate at one stroke all the undesirable things, and immediately to leap into their ideal world, they will certainly run their heads against the wall. After they have run their heads against the wall they will become pessimistic and disheartened, lose their confidence in the future of the cause of Communism, thus exposing the very substance of their non-prole-

tarian ideology. What a pity it is that there are still not a few comrades in our Party who more or less adopt such an attitude!

The reason why inner-Party struggle is necessary is that differences over principles inside the Party are brought about in the course of the development of the Party and the struggle of the proletariat; at such times, differences can be overcome and contradictions solved 'only by a fight for one or the other principle, for one or the other goal of the struggle, for one or the other method in the struggle leading to that goal.' No compromise will be of any avail. Inner-Party struggle is necessary not because we like to struggle or to argue. That is to say, when questions have developed to the level of principle and cannot be solved by any means but struggle, we should unflinchingly carry on inner-Party struggle to solve them. It does not mean that we have to conduct inner-Party struggle in a fussy and uncompromising way and with a long face, against all dissenting views concerning current policies and purely practical matters. Comrade Stalin said:

We can and must reach all kinds of agreements with dissenters within the Party on questions of current policy, on questions of a purely practical character.

When opportunist ideology manifests itself and differences in principle take place in our Party, we must carry on struggle to oppose these erroneous principles and opportunism and overcome them; it does not mean that when there is no difference in principle, no opportunism in the Party we subjectively and deliberately try to magnify some difference in opinion among the comrades concerning certain purely practical matters and take it for 'difference in principle', and deliberately 'hunt' for certain comrades as 'opportunists', regarding them as 'targets' in inner-Party struggle. It does not mean that we think that the work of the Party, the development of the Party and the victory of the proletarian revolutionary struggle will be miraculously expanded simply by relying upon intensifying the fire against such 'targets'. Of course, this is not conducting inner-Party struggle seriously but is simply making a mockery of the Party, and making child's play of inner-Party struggle, which is of an extremely serious nature.

It is necessary to prod, publicly criticise or even mete out organisational penalties to certain comrades in the Party who, having committed mistakes in principle and displayed opportunist ideology,

turn a deaf ear to persuasion, ignore Party criticism, and furthermore persist in their errors and become so headstrong and obstinate as to struggle against the policy of the Party or adopt a double-faced attitude. But we should not attack or punish comrades who have committed mistakes if they do not persist in their mistakes and after discussion and persuasion, are willing to correct their mistakes and give up their former points of view, or when they are calmly thinking over their mistakes or are dispassionately discussing them with other comrades. In carrying on self-criticism and inner-Party struggle we do not mean that the grimmer the face the better nor do we mean that the more comrades we punish the better. The highest aim of self-criticism and inner-Party struggle is to effectively educate the Party, to educate the comrades who have committed mistakes, to correct errors and to consolidate the Party. If this aim can be attained by means of peaceful discussion, persuasion and criticism instead of attacking comrades — if this is possible, then of course, it is all the better. However, during certain periods in the past, we hardly ever heard in the Party openly expressed views to the effect that such inner-Party peace and solidarity resulting from the absence of differences over principle were both desirable and essential. According to some seemingly crazy people, inner-Party peace is bad even if it results from unity in principle and line, and only by deliberately creating inner-Party struggle out of nothing can we be called 'Bolsheviks.' Of course people of this kind are not 'Bolsheviks' at all but are almost incorrigible people and careerists usurping the name of 'Bolshevik'.

This is the reason why the four previously-mentioned attitudes are wrong. This is the answer to the question as to what attitude we should adopt in dealing with the errors, defects and undesirable phenomena in the Party. As a matter of fact, it is through the struggle against the things of darkness inside and outside the Party that we seek to change the world and mankind, as well as our Party and ourselves. Inner-Party struggle is the reflection of the class struggle outside the Party. In the course of the class struggle outside the Party — the revolutionary mass struggle — the Party steels, develops and consolidates itself and at the same time, in the course of the inner-Party struggle achieves solidarity and unity so as to be able to lead the revolutionary mass struggle systematically, correctly and effectively.

Therefore, it is entirely wrong and favourable to the enemy to adopt a liberal attitude towards the various mistakes, defects and

undesirable phenomena in the Party, to try to deny differences over principle in the Party, to evade inner-Party struggle, to cover up inner-Party contradictions and 'muddle through', because it is against the laws of development of the class struggle and against our fundamental standpoint of changing the world and mankind through struggle.

Therefore, it is also wrong to separate inner-Party struggle from the class struggle outside the Party — the revolutionary struggle of the broad masses — and to turn it into empty talk because the Party cannot steel, develop and consolidate itself if it divorces itself from the revolutionary struggle of the broad masses.

However, it is not right, either, to carry the matter to another extreme — to adopt an absolute attitude towards the comrades who have defects and mistakes but are not entirely incorrigible, and to mechanically carry on, or even subjectively create, inner-Party struggle, because this will undermine the Party, afford opportunities to the enemy to attack our Party and is against the laws of development of the Party. We should not break with the honest comrades in the Party the moment they have committed some mistakes but should seek to persuade, educate, and steel them in a considerate and sympathetic manner. We should not publicly attack them or expel them from the Party unless it is absolutely necessary.

In spite of certain errors and defects, certain individual, isolated, bad phenomena that still exist in our Party we are fully confident that in the development of the labour movement and in the great revolutionary struggle of the masses, we can and shall certainly eliminate these things. The history of the past more than ten years' struggle of the Chinese Communist Party, its great progress in all respects, and the history of the development of the labour movement in the various countries of the world have thoroughly convinced us on this point.

Inner-Party struggle is an indispensable and essential component part of the revolutionary struggle of the Party. Therefore our comrades should not only be steeled and cultivated in the course of the struggle outside the Party, but also be steeled and cultivated in the course of inner-Party struggle on two fronts. However, not a few of our comrades still do not thoroughly realise this point and lack self-cultivation and steeling in this respect. This is manifested in the unprincipled struggle in the Party, and in the following examples: some of our comrades, especially those who have worked for a relatively long time in the army, never vacillated, complained

or felt disheartened in the course of the struggle against the counter-revolution, no matter how cruel and hard the struggle was or how many attacks, wrongs, or injustices they suffered. But during inner-Party struggle they could hardly bear any criticism, attacks and injustices, not even a single word. Or they were suspicious and thought that what other people said alluded to them and on this account they would complain and become extremely disheartened. Comrades, we cannot but pay attention to such phenomena.

We ought to say that they are in general very good comrades because they resolutely fought against the counter-revolution and regarded the Party as their affectionate mother. After having undergone many hard battles against the counter-revolution and returned to the arms of their own great mother they expect to meet with encouragement, consolation and affection and not more attacks, criticism and injustices. It is only natural that they should have such expectations. However, what they have not taken into account or into full account is that since there are still various errors and defects in the Party it is necessary to conduct inner-Party struggle in which every comrade must take part. It is inevitable in the course of inner-Party struggle for everybody to meet with correct or incorrect criticisms, attacks or even injustice and humiliation. This must be undergone by every comrade. It is not because our Party is merciless, but because this is an inevitable phenomenon of the Party in the course of the class struggle. However, these comrades fail to take this point into account, therefore the moment they come across such phenomena they are surprised and feel exceptionally miserable and disheartened.

In this respect, I think that our comrades should on the one hand, take care to unite with other comrades, treat them in a sincere and candid manner and should not hurt their feelings by casual malicious remarks, or throw sharp sarcastic remarks at them, and especially should not irresponsibly criticise comrades behind their backs. With the exception of those who are most obstinate and who persist in their mistakes and do every kind of wrong thing in the Party, we should, in general, clearly and sincerely admonish and criticise, in their presence, and in a considerate and helpful manner, comrades who have committed mistakes. This is what we, and especially our comparatively responsible comrades, should pay attention to. We should bear in mind an old Chinese maxim: 'If the body is cut with a sharp knife, the wound will heal, but ill-feeling roused by sarcasm will never be forgiven.' On the other hand, our

comrades on their part should be prepared for inner-Party struggle and should have the courage to bear criticism, attacks or misunderstandings and injustices and especially should not be aroused to anger by other's irresponsible and even incorrect criticism and rumours. Besides formal and mutual criticism made among the comrades in Party organisations, so long as our ideology and behaviour are correct, we may, if necessary, make some explanations in answer to the irresponsible criticism and misunderstanding by others, and if such explanations are of no avail we had better let others say what they like. We should also bear in mind two other old Chinese maxims: 'Who is not gossiped about by others behind his back, and who does not gossip about others?' 'When the storm rises, sit calmly in the fishing boat.' There is not a single person who is not misunderstood in some way by others. On the one hand, we should be able to bear any misunderstanding and not involve ourselves in unprincipled struggles; on the other hand, we should always keep ourselves on the alert and examine our own ideology and behaviour.

That is to say, we should not casually hurt other comrades' feelings by our remarks but we should be able to bear any remarks others may cast at us.

We are radically opposed to unprincipled disputes in the Party. Since they are 'unprincipled' they are harmful and unprofitable to the Party. Since they are 'unprincipled' there is nothing right or wrong, good or bad about them. We should not try to find out who is right and who is wrong, or who is good and who is bad in unprincipled struggles, because these matters cannot be straightened out. We are radically opposed to this kind of unprincipled struggle and ask comrades who are engaged in it to stop it unconditionally and return to questions of principle. This is the policy we should adopt in unprincipled disputes. What shall we do, if in spite of prohibition by the Party and opposition by us, unprincipled disputes in the Party still take place or many unprincipled questions are involved in certain struggles over principle? What shall we do if unprincipled questions are thrust upon us and we become involved in them? In cases like this, we must concentrate our attention on the questions of principle and not on the unprincipled ones and must seriously deal with unprincipled disputes in accordance with the above-mentioned policies, firmly maintaining our standpoint to the end without becoming entangled in unprincipled disputes. We should not return 'wrong' for 'wrong'. We should consistently stand

upon the 'right' side to oppose the 'wrongs' of others. This is not very easy for some of our comrades to do. Therefore we must carry on steeling and cultivation.

In a word, the aim of our ideological cultivation is fundamentally to steel us as loyal, pure, 'progressive, model Party members and cadres. We should do the following:

1. Build up our firm Party and class standpoint through the study of Marxism-Leninism and revolutionary practice.

2. Examine our own ideology, behaviour, correct all erroneous ideas and at the same time look at questions and other comrades on the basis of the Communist philosophy of life, world outlook and firm Party standpoint.

3. Constantly adopt an appropriate attitude and method in the struggle against various erroneous ideologies in the Party, especially those that affect the revolutionary struggle of the time.

4. Strictly control ourselves in ideology, speech and behaviour. We should particularly control those political ideologies, speeches and activities which concern the revolutionary struggle at the time by taking a firm standpoint and by sticking to principle. In addition it would be best to pay attention even to many 'trifles' (private life, behaviour, etc.). But as regards other comrades, except on questions of principle and important political questions, our restrictions imposed upon them should not be too severe. We should not try to find fault over 'trivialities'.

Comrades! This is, in my opinion, what is meant by the fundamental ideological cultivation of Communist Party members.

HOW TO BE A GOOD COMMUNIST

July 1939

Comrades!

The question I shall discuss is how members of the Communist Party should cultivate and temper themselves. It may not be unprofitable to the building and consolidation of the Party to take up this question at the present time.

I. WHY COMMUNISTS MUST UNDERTAKE SELF-CULTIVATION

Why must Communists undertake to cultivate themselves?

In order to live, man must wage a struggle against nature and make use of nature to produce material values. At all times and under all conditions, his production of material things is social in character. It follows that when men engage in production at any stage of social development, they have to enter into certain relations of production with one another. In their ceaseless struggle against nature, men ceaselessly change nature and simultaneously change themselves and their mutual relations. Men themselves, their social relations, their forms of social organization and their consciousness change and progress continuously in the long struggle which as social beings they wage against nature. In ancient times, man's mode of life, social organization and consciousness were all different from what they are today, and in the future they will again be different.

This is the revised English text of *How To Be A Good Communist*, published by Foreign Languages Press, Peking, February 1964, pp. 1-95.

For comments on this work, please refer to page 151 of this volume.

Mankind and human society are in process of historical development. When human society reached a certain historical stage, classes and class struggle emerged. Every member of a class society exists as a member of a given class and lives in given conditions of class struggle. Man's social being determines his consciousness. In class society the ideology of the members of each class reflects a different class position and different class interests. The class struggle constantly goes on among these classes with their different positions, interests and ideologies. Thus it is not only in the struggle against nature but in the struggle of social classes that men change nature, change society and at the same time change themselves.

Marx and Engels said:

Both for the production on a mass scale of this communist consciousness, and for the success of the cause itself, the alteration of men on a mass scale is necessary, an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, a *revolution*; this revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class *overthrowing* it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew.*

That is to say, the proletariat must consciously go through long periods of social revolutionary struggles and, in such struggles, change society and change itself.

We should therefore see ourselves as in need of change and capable of being changed. We should not look upon ourselves as immutable, perfect and sacrosanct, as persons who need not and cannot be changed. When we pose the task of remoulding ourselves in social struggle, we are not demeaning ourselves; the objective laws of social development demand it. Unless we do so, we cannot make progress, nor fulfil the task of changing society.

We Communists are the most advanced revolutionaries in modern history; today the changing of society and the world rests upon us and we are the driving force in this change. It is by unremitting struggle against counter-revolutionaries and reformists that we Communists change society and the world, and at the same time change ourselves.

When we say that Communists must remould themselves by waging struggles in every sphere against the counter-revolutionaries

**The German Ideology*, International Publishers, New York, 1947, p. 69.

and reformists, we mean that it is through such struggles that they must seek to make progress, and must enhance their revolutionary quality and ability. An immature revolutionary has to go through a long process of revolutionary tempering and self-cultivation, a long process of remoulding, before he can become a mature and seasoned revolutionary who can grasp and skilfully apply the laws of revolution. For in the first place a comparatively immature revolutionary, born and bred in the old society, carries with him remnants of the various ideologies of that society (including its prejudices, habits and traditions), and in the second he has not been through a long period of revolutionary activity. Therefore he does not yet have a really thorough understanding of the enemy, of ourselves or of the laws of social development and revolutionary struggle. In order to change this state of affairs, besides learning from past revolutionary experience (the practice of our predecessors), he must himself participate in contemporary revolutionary practice, and in this revolutionary practice and the struggle against all kinds of counter-revolutionaries and reformists, he must bring his conscious activity into full play and work hard at study and self-cultivation. Only so can he gradually acquire deeper experience and knowledge of the laws of social development and revolutionary struggle, acquire a really thorough understanding of the enemy and ourselves, discover and correct his wrong ideas, habits and prejudices, and thus raise the level of his political consciousness, cultivate his revolutionary qualities and improve his revolutionary methods.

Hence, in order to remould himself and raise his own level, a revolutionary must take part in revolutionary practice from which he must on no account isolate himself. He cannot do so, moreover, without subjective effort, without self-cultivation and study, in the course of practice. Otherwise, it will still be impossible for him to make progress.

For example, several Communists take part in a revolutionary mass struggle together and engage in revolutionary practice under roughly the same circumstances and conditions. It is possible that the effect of the struggle on these Party members will not be at all uniform. Some will make very rapid progress and some who used to lag behind will even forge ahead of others. Other Party members will advance very slowly. Still others will waver in the struggle, and instead of being pushed forward by revolutionary practice will fall behind. Why?

Or take another example. Many members of our Party were on the Long March; it was a severe process of tempering for them, and the overwhelming majority made very great progress indeed. But the Long March had the opposite effect on certain individuals in the Party. After having been on the Long March they began to shrink before such arduous struggles, and some of them even planned to back out or run away and later, succumbing to outside allurements, actually deserted the revolutionary ranks. Many Party members took part in the Long March together, and yet its impact and results varied very greatly. Again, why?

Basically speaking, these phenomena are reflections in our revolutionary ranks of the class struggle in society. Our Party members differ in quality because they differ in social background and have come under different social influences. They differ in their attitude, stand and comprehension in relation to revolutionary practice, and consequently they develop in different directions in the course of revolutionary practice. This can clearly be seen in your Institute as well. You all receive the same education and training here, and yet because you differ in quality and experience, in degree of effort and self-cultivation, you may obtain different or even contrary results. Hence, subjective effort and self-cultivation in the course of revolutionary struggle are absolutely essential, indeed indispensable, for a revolutionary in remoulding himself and raising his own level.

Whether he joined the revolution long ago or recently, every Communist who wants to become a good, politically mature revolutionary must undergo a long period of tempering in revolutionary struggle, must steel himself in mass revolutionary struggles and all kinds of difficulties and hardships, must sum up the experience gained through practice, make great efforts in self-cultivation, raise his ideological level, heighten his ability and never lose his sense of what is new. For only thus can he turn himself into a politically staunch revolutionary of high quality.

Confucius said, "At fifteen, my mind was bent on learning. At thirty, I could think for myself. At forty, I was no longer perplexed. At fifty, I knew the decree of Heaven. At sixty, my ear was attuned to the truth. At seventy, I can follow my heart's desire, without transgressing what is right."* Here the feudal philosopher was referring to his own process of self-cultivation; he did not consider himself to have been born a "sage".

*From the *Confucian Analects*, "Wei Cheng". Confucius lived from B.C. 551 to B.C. 478.

Mencius, another feudal philosopher, said that no one had fulfilled "a great mission" and played a role in history without first undergoing a hard process of tempering, a process which "exercises his mind with suffering and toughens his sinews and bones with toil, exposes his body to hunger, subjects him to extreme poverty, thwarts his undertakings, and thereby stimulates his mind, tempers his character and adds to his capacities".* Still more so must Communists give attention to tempering and cultivating themselves in revolutionary struggles, since they have the historically unprecedented "great mission" of changing the world.

Our Communist self-cultivation is the kind essential to proletarian revolutionaries. It must not be divorced from revolutionary practice or from the actual revolutionary movements of the labouring masses, and especially of the proletarian masses.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said:

Discover the truth through practice; and again through practice verify and develop the truth. Start from perceptual knowledge and actively develop it into rational knowledge; then start from rational knowledge and actively guide revolutionary practice to change both the subjective and the objective world. Practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge. This form repeats itself in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level. Such is the whole of the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, and such is the dialectical materialist theory of the unity of knowing and doing.**

Our Party members should temper themselves and intensify their self-cultivation not only in the hardships, difficulties and reverses of revolutionary practice, but also in the course of smooth, successful and victorious revolutionary practice. Some members of our Party cannot withstand the plaudits of success and victory; they let victories turn their heads, become brazen, arrogant and bureaucratic and may even vacillate, degenerate and become corrupted, completely losing their original revolutionary quality. Individual instances of this kind are not uncommon among our Party members. The existence of such a phenomenon in the Party calls for our comrades' sharp attention.

*From *Mencius*, Book VI, "Kao Tzu", Part II. Mencius lived from B.C. 372 to B.C. 289.

***"On Practice", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I.

In past ages, before proletarian revolutionaries appeared on the scene, practically all revolutionaries became corrupted and degenerated with the achievement of victory. They lost their original revolutionary spirit and became obstacles to the further development of the revolution. In the past hundred years of China's history, or to speak of more recent times, in the past fifty years, we have seen that many bourgeois and petty-bourgeois revolutionaries became corrupted and degenerated after gaining some success and climbing to power. This was determined by the class basis of revolutionaries in the past and by the nature of earlier revolutions. Before the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, all revolutions throughout history invariably ended in the supersession of the rule of one exploiting class by that of another. Thus, once they themselves became the ruling class, these revolutionaries lost their revolutionary quality and turned around to oppress the exploited masses; this was an inexorable law.

But such can never be the case with the proletarian revolution and with the Communist Party. The proletarian revolution is a revolution to abolish all exploitation, oppression and classes. The Communist Party represents the proletariat which is itself exploited but does not exploit others, and it can therefore carry the revolution through to the end, finally abolish all exploitation and sweep away all the corruption and rottenness in human society. The proletariat is able to build a strictly organized and disciplined party and set up a centralized and at the same time democratic state apparatus; and through the Party and this state apparatus, it is able to lead the masses of the people in waging unrelenting struggle against all corruption and rottenness and in ceaselessly weeding out of the Party and the state organs all those elements that have become corrupt and degenerate (whatever high office they may hold), thereby preserving the purity of the Party and the state apparatus. This outstanding feature of the proletarian revolution and of the proletarian revolutionary party did not and could not exist in earlier revolutions and revolutionary parties. Members of our Party must be clear on this point, and — particularly when the revolution is successful and victorious and when they themselves enjoy the ever greater confidence and support of the masses — they must sharpen their vigilance, intensify their self-cultivation in proletarian ideology and always preserve their pure proletarian revolutionary character so that they will not fall into the rut of earlier revolutionaries who degenerated in the hour of success.

Tempering and self-cultivation in revolutionary practice and tempering and self-cultivation in proletarian ideology are important

for every Communist, especially after the seizure of political power. The Communist Party did not drop from heaven but was born out of Chinese society. Every member of the Communist Party has come from this society, is living in it today and is constantly exposed to all its evils. It is not surprising then that Communists, whether they are of proletarian or non-proletarian origin and whether they are old or new members of the Party, should carry with them to a greater or lesser extent the thinking and habits of the old society. In order to preserve our purity as vanguard fighters of the proletariat and to enhance our revolutionary quality and working ability, it is essential for every Communist to work hard to temper and cultivate himself in every respect.

These are the reasons why Communists must undertake self-cultivation. I shall now discuss the criteria for Communist self-cultivation.

II. BE WORTHY PUPILS OF MARX AND LENIN

The Constitution of our Party stipulates that membership is open to any person who accepts the Programme and Constitution of the Party, pays membership dues and works in one of the Party organizations. No one can be a Party member unless he fulfils these requirements. But no Communist should rest content with being a Party member who merely fulfils the minimum requirements; as laid down in the Party Constitution, he should strive to make progress, ceaselessly raise the level of his political consciousness and diligently study Marxism-Leninism. In tempering and cultivating ourselves we should take as our model the words and deeds, the work and qualities of the great founders of Marxism-Leninism, as manifested throughout their lives.

Engels said of Marx:*

. . . . Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which *he* was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the con-

*"Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx", *Selected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1958, Vol. II, p. 168.

ditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival.

Engels also said of Marx:

None of us has that *breadth* of *vision* with which he, whenever it was necessary to act quickly, did the right thing and tackled the decisive issue.*

Stalin said concerning the necessity of our learning from the example of Lenin:

Remember, love and study Ilyich, our teacher, our leader.

Fight and defeat our enemies, home and foreign — in the way that Ilyich taught us.

Build the new society, the new way of life, the new culture — in the way that Ilyich taught us.

Never refuse to do the little things, for from little things are built the big things — that is one of Ilyich's important behests.**

On another occasion Stalin said:

The electors, the people, must demand that their deputies should remain equal to their tasks, that in their work they should not sink to the level of political philistines, that in their posts they should remain political figures of the Lenin type, that as public figures they should be as clear and definite as Lenin was, that they should be as fearless in battle and as merciless towards the enemies of the people as Lenin was, that they should be free from all panic, from any semblance of panic, when things begin to get complicated and some danger or other looms on the horizon, that they should be as free from all semblance of panic as Lenin was, that they should be as wise and deliberate in deciding complex problems requiring a comprehensive orientation and a comprehensive weighing of all pros and cons as Lenin was, that they should be as upright and honest as Lenin was, that they should love their people as Lenin did.***

*Letter to J.P. Becker, October 15, 1884. Quoted from *Frederick Engels* by Yelena Stepanova, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, p. 221.

**"To Rabochaya Gazeta", J.V. Stalin, Works, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954, Vol. VII, p. 15.

***J.V. Stalin, *Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Voters of the Stalin Electoral Area*, Moscow, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1945, pp. 12-13.

These are concise characterizations of Marx by Engels and of Lenin by Stalin. That is how all members of our Party should learn from the thinking and qualities of Marx and Lenin and strive to be their worthy pupils.

Some say that the thinking and qualities of such great revolutionary geniuses as the founders of Marxism-Leninism cannot be acquired and that it is impossible to raise one's thinking and qualities to their high level. They regard the founders of Marxism-Leninism as born geniuses, as mysterious beings. Is such a view correct? I think not.

True enough, the average Party comrade is far from possessing the great gifts and profound scientific knowledge of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, and most of our comrades cannot attain their deep and broad erudition in the theory of proletarian revolution. But it is perfectly possible for our comrades to grasp the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism, cultivate the style of Marx and Lenin in work and struggle, constantly heighten their revolutionary quality and become statesmen of the type of Marx and Lenin, if they really have the will, take a really conscious and consistent stand as vanguard fighters of the proletariat, really acquire the communist world outlook, never isolate themselves from the current great and deep revolutionary movement of the proletariat and all the labouring masses, and exert themselves in study, self-tempering and self-cultivation.

There is a saying of Mencius', "Everybody can be a Yao or a Shun."* I think that was well said. Every Communist should keep his feet on the ground, seek the truth from the facts, work hard at tempering himself, work conscientiously at self-cultivation and do his best steadily to improve his own thinking and quality. He should not regard the thinking and qualities of such great revolutionaries as the founders of Marxism-Leninism as beyond his reach, give up and be afraid to advance. For if he does so, he will become a "political philistine", a piece of "rotten wood that cannot be carved".

We should of course adopt a correct attitude towards learning from the qualities of the founders of Marxism-Leninism and towards learning Marxism-Leninism itself. Otherwise it is impossible to learn well, if at all. In fact, there are different kinds of people in our ranks with different attitudes towards such learning.

There are people who, when studying Marx and Lenin, fail to get to the essence of Marxism-Leninism, but only learn its terms and

*Yao and Shun were legendary kings of ancient China renowned for their benevolence and wisdom.

phrases superficially. Although they read Marxist-Leninist literature, they are unable to use its principles and conclusions as a guide to action and apply them to concrete, practical problems in real life. They are content to learn isolated principles and conclusions by rote, and even style themselves "the genuine" Marxist-Leninists; but they are certainly not genuine Marxist-Leninists and their actions and methods are diametrically opposed to Marxism-Leninism.

We have had not a few people of this type in the Chinese Communist Party. We had certain representatives of dogmatism at one time who were even worse. These people knew absolutely nothing about Marxism-Leninism and could only babble Marxist-Leninist phraseology, and yet they regarded themselves as "China's Marx" or "China's Lenin", posed as such in the Party and had the impudence to require that our Party members should revere them as Marx and Lenin are revered, support them as "the leaders" and accord them loyalty and devotion. They went so far as to appoint themselves "the leaders" without being chosen, climbed into positions of authority, issued orders to the Party like patriarchs, tried to lecture our Party, abused everything in the Party, wilfully attacked and punished our Party members and pushed them around. Those people had no sincere desire to study Marxism-Leninism or fight for the realization of communism — they were just careerists in the Party, termites in the communist movement. Such people were bound to be opposed and eventually unmasked and discarded by the rank and file. And indeed they were discarded by our Party members. But can we say with full confidence that no such people will reappear in our Party? No, we cannot yet say so.

Then there are people of exactly the opposite kind. They see themselves above all as pupils of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, conscientiously study the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism and strive to grasp its essence and spirit. They look up to the noble character and proletarian revolutionary qualities of the founders, and in the course of revolutionary struggles they conscientiously carry on self-cultivation and examine themselves to see if their handling of affairs, their dealings with people and their own behaviour conform to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. They are well read in Marxism-Leninism but at the same time they make a special effort to investigate and analyse living reality, to study the characteristics of their own time and of all aspects of the situation facing the proletariat of their own country, and to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in their own country. They

do not content themselves with memorizing Marxist-Leninist principles and conclusions, but take a firm Marxist-Leninist stand, learn the Marxist-Leninist method and act accordingly, giving spirited guidance in every revolutionary struggle, and thus they transform reality and at the same time transform themselves. Every one of their actions without exception is guided by the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and is devoted to the victory of the proletarian cause, the liberation of the nation and all mankind, and the triumph of communism.

The attitude of these people is the only correct one. It is the one attitude towards studying Marxism-Leninism and learning from the qualities of its founders that will enable us to become communist proletarian revolutionaries of the Marx and Lenin type.

A person who really takes pains to cultivate himself and to be a faithful pupil of the founders of Marxism-Leninism will lay special stress on maintaining the Marxist-Leninist stand and using the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and method to solve the problems arising in the revolutionary movement led by the proletariat, as the founders of Marxism-Leninism did. He will give no thought whatsoever to his own position or fame in the Party, nor will he ever claim to be a Marx or a Lenin, nor require or expect others to have the same high respect for him as for Marx and Lenin, for he does not think he has any right to do so. Yet such a person will enjoy the considered respect and support of the mass of the Party members just because he acts in this way, because he is always honest and loyal, brave and firm, and shows great ability in the revolutionary struggle.

Of course it is not easy to model ourselves on the founders of Marxism-Leninism and be their faithful and worthy pupils. But we can become their faithful and worthy pupils if we are strong-willed and determined to fight hard for the cause of communism, if we diligently study Marxism-Leninism amid the great revolutionary struggles of the masses and are good at summing up experience, and if we temper and cultivate ourselves in every respect and devote our whole lives to the proletarian communist cause.

III. THE SELF-CULTIVATION OF COMMUNISTS AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE OF THE MASSES

In order to become faithful and worthy pupils of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, we must engage in all-round self-cultivation in

the course of the great and protracted revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the masses. We must engage in self-cultivation in Marxist-Leninist theory; self-cultivation in applying the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to the study and handling of all problems; self-cultivation in proletarian revolutionary strategy and tactics; self-cultivation in proletarian ideology and morality; self-cultivation in upholding unity in the Party, practising criticism and self-criticism and observing discipline; self-cultivation in developing the style of hard work and persistent struggle; self-cultivation in building close ties with the masses; self-cultivation in various branches of scientific knowledge, etc. We are all members of the Communist Party and therefore we must all without exception carry on self-cultivation in these respects. However, since Party members differ from one another in political consciousness, experience of struggle, field of work, cultural level, and in the conditions in which they work, it is natural that comrades should differ to some extent in the various aspects of self-cultivation to which they must pay special attention or which they must stress.

When Tseng Tzu, in ancient times, said, "I reflect on myself three times a day,"* he was discussing self-examination. *The Book of Odes* in the famous lines, "As knife and file make smooth the bone, as jade is wrought by chisel and stone," referred to the need for help and criticism among friends. What all this shows is that very hard work and very earnest self-cultivation are essential if one is to make progress. But the "self-cultivation" pursued by many people in the past was generally idealistic, formalistic, abstract and divorced from social practice. They exaggerated the role of subjective intentions, thinking that so long as they had "good will" in the abstract, they could transform reality, society and themselves. Of course that is absurd. Our self-cultivation cannot be done that way. We are revolutionary materialists; our self-cultivation cannot be separated from the revolutionary practice of the masses.

For us it is most important never to divorce ourselves from the current revolutionary struggle of the masses, but to identify ourselves with it, in order to study, sum up and apply the revolutionary experience of the past. This means that we must cultivate and temper ourselves in revolutionary practice and that in turn our self-cultivation and tempering are undertaken solely for the sake of the people and of revolutionary practice. It means that we must modestly learn the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method, learn from the noble

*From the *Confucian Analects*, "Hsueh Erh".

proletarian quality of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, and apply all this in our practice, in our words and deeds, our daily life and work, constantly correcting or eliminating anything in our ideology contrary to it, and strengthening our own proletarian communist ideology and character. It means that we should listen modestly to the opinions and criticisms of our Party comrades and of the masses, make a careful study of the practical problems in our life and work, carefully sum up and draw lessons from our experience in work, and that, in the light of all this, we should ascertain whether our understanding of Marxism-Leninism and our use of the Marxist-Leninist method are correct, and check up on our shortcomings and mistakes so as to overcome them and improve our work. Furthermore, on the basis of new experience we should ascertain whether there are any individual conclusions or aspects of Marxism-Leninism that need supplementing, enriching and developing. In short, we must integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution.

This is the method of self-cultivation for us Communists. It is entirely different from those methods of self-cultivation which are idealistic and divorced from the revolutionary practice of the masses.

In order to persevere in this Marxist-Leninist method of self-cultivation, we must resolutely oppose and thoroughly eradicate one of the worst vices bequeathed to us by the old society in the field of education and study, namely, the separation of theory from practice. In the old society many people who studied thought it unnecessary, or even impossible, to act upon what they had learned, and though they wrote and spoke abundantly of justice and morality, in fact they were out and out scoundrels. Although the Kuomintang reactionaries memorize the "Three People's Principles"* and recite Sun Yat-sen's Testament,** in actual fact they bleed the people white with taxes,

*The Three People's Principles were the principles and the programme put forward by Sun Yat-sen on the questions of nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood in China's bourgeois-democratic revolution. In the Manifesto adopted by the Kuomintang at its First National Congress in 1924 Sun Yat-sen re-stated the Three People's Principles. Nationalism was interpreted as opposition to imperialism, equality among all nationalities in the country and unity in the common struggle with those nations of the world which treat us as equals. Active support was expressed for the movements of the workers and peasants. Thus the old Three People's Principles were transformed into the new Three People's Principles characterized by the Three Great Policies, that is, alliance with the Soviet Union, alliance with the Communist Party, and assistance to the peasants and workers.

**The Testament made by Sun Yat-sen on his deathbed in March 1925, enjoining the thorough implementation of the Manifesto of the Kuomintang's First National Congress.

practise corruption and slaughter, oppress the masses, are opposed to "those nations who treat us as equals", and go so far as to compromise with or surrender to the national enemy. An old *hsiutsai** once told me that of all the teachings of Confucius he was able to observe only this one, "For him no food can ever be too dainty and no minced meat too fine,"** and that he could not observe the rest and had never intended to. Since that is what these people are like, why do they run schools and study the "teachings of the sages"? They are after advancement and money, use the "teachings of the sages" to oppress the exploited, and deceive the people by paying lip service to justice and morality. This is typical of the attitude of the exploiting classes of the old society towards the sages they "worship". Needless to say, when we Communists study Marxism-Leninism and all that is best in our national heritage, we must never adopt such an attitude. What we learn, we must practise. We proletarian revolutionaries are honest and pure in purpose; we cannot be untrue to ourselves, to the people, or to those who went before us. This is an outstanding characteristic as well as a great merit of Communists.

Is it possible that the evils of the old society can have no influence on us? No, it is impossible! It is true that none of you students are studying Marxism-Leninism for the sake of advancement and money and of oppressing the exploited. Yet is it possible to maintain that none of you ever entertains the idea that your thoughts, words, deeds and life do not necessarily have to be guided by Marxist-Leninist principles or that you do not intend to put all the principles you have learned into practice? Is it possible that none of you ever thinks of studying Marxism-Leninism or going deeper into theory as a means of getting ahead in life, of showing off and becoming famous? I cannot guarantee that none of you thinks along these lines. That kind of thinking runs counter to Marxism-Leninism and to the basic Marxist-Leninist principle of the integration of theory and practice. Certainly we must study theory, but we must also practise what we learn. And it is for the sake of practice, of the Party, of the people, and of the victory of the revolution that we study theory.

*From the Tang Dynasty onwards, the imperial competitive examinations in feudal China were conducted at three levels, the national, the provincial and the county (or *chou*). Those successful in the county (or *chou*) examination were called *hsiutsai*.

**From the *Confucian Analects*, "Hsiang Tang".

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said:

The great strength of Marxism-Leninism lies precisely in its integration with the concrete revolutionary practice of all countries. For the Chinese Communist Party, it is a matter of learning to apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the specific circumstances of China. For the Chinese Communists who are part of the great Chinese nation, its flesh and blood, any talk about Marxism in isolation from China's characteristics is only Marxism in the abstract, Marxism in a vacuum. Hence to apply Marxism concretely in China so that its every manifestation bears the required Chinese character, *i.e.*, to apply Marxism in the light of China's specific characteristics, becomes a problem which it is urgent for the whole Party to understand and solve. Foreign stereotypes must be abolished, there must be less singing of empty, abstract tunes, and dogmatism must be laid to rest; and these must be replaced by the fresh, lively Chinese style and the Chinese air which the common people of China love.*

Our comrades must study the theory of Marxism-Leninism by following the method Comrade Mao Tse-tung speaks of here.

IV. THE UNITY OF THEORETICAL STUDY AND IDEOLOGICAL SELF-CULTIVATION

We Communists must not separate our study of theory from our ideological self-cultivation. We must remould ourselves and temper our proletarian ideology not only in the practice of revolution but in the study of Marxism-Leninism.

The view is current among some members of our Party that a firm and purely proletarian communist stand is irrelevant to a Party member's understanding and mastery of the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism. They believe that one can thoroughly understand and genuinely master the Marxist-Leninist theory and method even though one's proletarian stand may not be very firm and one's ideology not very pure (*i.e.*, it may be tainted with remnants of non-proletarian ideas). They believe that the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism can be mastered merely through book learning. This view is wrong.

*"The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. II.

Marxism-Leninism is the science of proletarian revolution, the science by which the working class builds socialism and communism. It can be thoroughly understood and mastered only by those who have a firm proletarian stand and who have made the ideals of the proletariat their own. Without a firm proletarian stand and pure proletarian ideals it is impossible for anyone thoroughly to understand or master the science of Marxism-Leninism. The science of Marxism-Leninism is of little or no use to anyone who is not a genuine revolutionary, who is not a proletarian revolutionary to the core, who does not want to bring about socialism and communism throughout the world and emancipate all mankind, to anyone who does not want revolution or is unwilling to carry it through to the end and wants to stop half-way.

We often come across very fine Party members from the working class who are not well grounded in Marxist-Leninist theory and who may not do so well as others in an examination in which Marxist-Leninist works and formulations have to be quoted from memory. Yet in studying Marxism-Leninism, provided it is explained to them in language they understand, they generally show much keener interest and far greater comprehension than some Party members from the intelligentsia. For example, the section in *Capital* concerning surplus value is difficult for some Party members, but not for those from the working class. The reason is that in the process of production and of struggle against the capitalists, the workers come to know all too well how the capitalists calculate wages and working hours, exploit the workers for profit and oppress them. Therefore, they generally understand Marx's theory of surplus value more profoundly than do some Party members from other classes. When we say that many Party members from the working class are readier than others to accept Marxism-Leninism, we do not, of course, mean that their class background makes them born Marxist-Leninists. We mean that, provided they study Marxist-Leninist theory modestly and diligently and have a real grasp of the method of seeking the truth from the facts, those comrades who have a firm and purely proletarian stand and are free from personal prejudice or other blemishes are certain to be keener and more correct than others in their observation and handling of practical problems. In the struggle, too, these comrades will prove more able to discern the truth and will uphold it more courageously and unhesitatingly.

Also, we come across many Party members of non-proletarian origin who differ in their development owing to their differing attitudes

towards the relation between Marxist-Leninist study and ideological self-cultivation. Generally speaking, when they join the revolution such people do not have a firm and clear-cut proletarian stand, are not very correct or pure in their ideology, and to a greater or lesser extent carry over various non proletarian ideas from the old society. Obviously, these ideas come into direct conflict with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and since people take different attitudes, the results of the conflict differ. In studying Marxism-Leninism, some people correctly combine theoretical study with their ideological self-cultivation, using Marxist-Leninist principles to fight and overcome whatever is backward in their thinking. In this way they achieve a more truly proletarian stand and a more undiluted proletarian ideology, and learn how to apply Marxist-Leninist principles to the solution of practical problems. We have many such Party members. Others, however, go the opposite way; they have a lot of old junk accumulated in their heads and many stubborn habits, prejudices and selfish desires, but lack the determination to remould themselves. In studying Marxism-Leninism they do not make use of its principles to criticize and repudiate whatever is backward in their own ideology, but employ it as a weapon to further their own private ends, and this is carried to the point where the principles of Marxism-Leninism are distorted by their old prejudices, so that these people can neither reach a correct understanding of these principles nor grasp the spirit and essence of Marxism-Leninism. When they handle practical problems in the course of revolutionary struggle, the habits and prejudices which they have brought with them from the old society and their individualistic calculations lead them to think in terms of personal gain or loss, to be hesitant and vacillating and incapable of going deeply into things in a free and untrammelled way or of courageously upholding the truth, and they conceal or distort the truth unintentionally, or even deliberately. These people are absolutely incapable of guiding their lives by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and hence incapable of dealing with practical problems promptly, correctly and realistically according to these principles; sometimes they even adopt a negative attitude when practical problems have already been correctly solved according to these principles by the Party organization, or by comrades other than themselves. Such things are neither rare nor unusual, but are quite common.

Thus we can say that it is impossible for a Party member who lacks a clear-cut, firm proletarian stand and a correct, purely proletarian ideology to achieve a thorough understanding and real mastery

of the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism as a weapon in the revolutionary struggle. In other words, a Party member must have the noble stand of the proletariat in order to become versed in Marxist-Leninist theory.

At the same time we should add that no Party member can maintain a proletarian stand and express proletarian ideology concretely in every revolutionary struggle unless he studies the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism diligently and guides his thinking and action accordingly.

There are some Party members who think it quite enough to have revolutionary firmness and to fight bravely, and that it does not matter much whether they study and undertake self-cultivation in Marxist-Leninist theory. Some comrades even think that a good class origin or a good personal class status is all that is needed to make them vanguard proletarian fighters without their having to study Marxism-Leninism. There are other comrades who never study it earnestly in the course of work or struggle, though they generally admit the importance of theory. All such attitudes are obviously wrong.

The theory of Marxism-Leninism is our weapon for studying every phenomenon and dealing with every question, and especially for studying all social phenomena and dealing with all social questions. If we do not know how to wield the weapon of Marxist-Leninist theory, we shall be unable correctly to understand and deal with the problems confronting us in the revolutionary struggle and shall be in danger of losing our bearings and departing from the revolutionary proletarian stand, or even, whether consciously or unconsciously, of becoming opportunists of one kind or another, captives and yes-men of the bourgeoisie.

Revolutionary firmness and courage in struggle are precious qualities which every Communist must possess. Besides these qualities, Communists must have the ability to find the right way to conduct the revolution and carry on the struggle in different historical periods and under different conditions of struggle, if they are to win victory for the revolution and realize the highest ideal of communism. Only by applying Marxism-Leninism can we correctly solve such important questions in the revolutionary struggle as the question of whom to rely upon, whom to unite with and whom to overthrow, the question of who are our direct allies and who are our indirect allies, who is the main enemy and who are secondary enemies, the question of rallying all possible allies, including even secondary enemies under

certain conditions, to defeat the main enemy, and the question of making timely changes in strategy and tactics to meet changing situations. Without mastering the weapon of Marxism-Leninism and attaining a high degree of self-cultivation in Marxist-Leninist theory, we cannot possibly maintain a firm, correct proletarian stand on every important question in the revolutionary struggle, or formulate the policies which are most advantageous to the cause of the proletarian revolution or champion the over-all, long-term interests of the proletarian revolutionary struggle amid complex situations and sharp changes, when it is necessary for us to make detours and turns.

Consider, for instance, our Party's experience in carrying out the policy of the national united front against Japan. Before the Incident of July 7, 1937,* certain comrades did not understand that the contradiction between the Chinese nation and Japanese imperialism had become the principal one while the contradictions among the different classes and political groups within the country had become secondary. As a result they opposed the Party's policy of forming a national united front against Japan, of uniting all patriotic classes, strata, political parties and social groupings for joint resistance, and especially of uniting with the Kuomintang to fight Japan. Although these comrades thought they were taking a firm proletarian stand in opposing the Party's correct policy, they actually departed from it and plunged into "closed-doorism" and sectarianism. Had we acted in accordance with their wrong views, the proletariat and its political party would have been unable to unite and lead all the patriotic classes, strata, parties and social groupings for the purpose of defeating Japanese imperialism; instead, the forces of the Anti-Japanese National United Front would have been weakened and the proletariat and its political party would have been isolated, to the detriment of the struggle to resist Japan and save China. After the July 7th Incident, when our Party had formed the Anti-Japanese National United Front with the Kuomintang, certain comrades went to the other extreme, maintaining that since the Kuomintang had joined in resistance to Japan, there was hardly any distinction between it and the Communist Party. They adopted a policy of capitulationism by appeasing the big landlord and big bourgeois classes and the Kuomintang, and

*On July 7, 1937, Japanese invading forces attacked the Chinese garrison at Lukouchiao, ten kilometres southwest of Peking. Under the influence of the ardent anti-Japanese movement of the whole people, the Chinese troops there put up resistance. This incident marked the beginning of the Chinese people's heroic War of Resistance Against Japan which lasted for eight years.

opposed the Party's policy of upholding its independence within the united front. While they overestimated the strength of and placed undue trust in the Kuomintang, on which they pinned all their hopes for resisting Japan and saving China, they had no confidence in the strength of the Communist Party and the people, did not place their hopes on the Communist Party, and therefore did not dare freely to expand the Party and the anti-Japanese people's revolutionary forces and resolutely to fight against the Kuomintang's policy of opposing and restricting the Communist Party. The comrades with this approach styled themselves the true representatives of the proletariat, but in essence their policy would have made the proletariat a vassal or an appendage of the bourgeoisie, and would have caused the proletariat to lose the leadership of the Anti-Japanese National United Front. These "Left" and Right mistakes are both striking examples of failure to take a firm proletarian stand and to identify the correct path for advancing the revolutionary cause when major changes are occurring in the political situation.

The proletariat cannot just emancipate itself alone; it must fight for the emancipation of all the working people, the emancipation of the nation and of all mankind, for only thus can it fully emancipate itself. The proletariat must rid the whole of human society of exploitation, oppression and class struggle once and for all, for only thus can it genuinely and finally emancipate itself. Hence a firm proletarian stand must be sharply differentiated from "closed-doorism" and sectarianism. In waging struggles the proletariat and its political party must establish close ties with the masses of working people, form revolutionary alliances with other revolutionary classes and parties and lead the working masses and all their allies forward together; they must represent the interests of all working people and all revolutionary classes and the interests of the nation, that is, they must represent the interests of more than ninety per cent of the population of the country. To have a firm proletarian stand is to represent at all times and in all circumstances the highest interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, which, we must understand, are also the highest class interests of the proletariat. On the other hand, a firm proletarian stand must be sharply differentiated from all appeasement and capitulation. In waging revolutionary struggles the proletariat and its political party must draw clear lines of distinction not only between themselves and the landlord class and bourgeoisie but also between themselves and the revolutionary democrats of the petty bourgeoisie, and must even make some distinction between

themselves and the masses of working people. In the revolutionary struggle they must at all times firmly maintain their independence and be free from any bourgeois or other non-proletarian class influence. In every stage of the development of the revolutionary struggle they must combine the interests of the part with the interests of the whole and immediate interests with long-term interests. As Marx and Engels said of Communists:

1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.*

During his struggle to organize a political party of the proletariat at the end of the 19th century, Lenin said:

. . . the consciousness of the working masses cannot be genuine class-consciousness, unless the workers learn, from concrete, and above all from topical, political facts and events to observe *every* other social class in *all* the manifestations of its intellectual, ethical, and political life; unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and the materialist estimate of *all* aspects of the life and activity of *all* classes, strata, and groups of the population.**

Further:

. . . the Social-Democrat's ideal should not be the trade-union secretary, but *the tribune of the people*, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; who is able to generalise all these manifestations and produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; who is able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to set forth *before all* his socialist convictions and his democratic demands, in order to clarify for *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation

*"Manifesto of the Communist Party", *Selected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p. 46.

**"What is to Be Done?", V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1961, Vol. V, p. 412.

of the proletariat.*

To fulfil the requirements cited by Lenin in these two passages, we Communists must of course unceasingly take part in revolutionary practice and thus increase our perceptual knowledge and accumulate practical experience. But, it must be pointed out, perceptual knowledge and practical experience alone are not sufficient. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said:

Fully to reflect a thing in its totality, to reflect its essence, to reflect its inherent laws, it is necessary through the exercise of thought to reconstruct the rich data of sense perception, discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from one thing to another and from the outside to the inside, in order to form a system of concepts and theories — it is necessary to make the leap from perceptual to rational knowledge.**

Therefore, while engaged in revolutionary practice, we must most conscientiously study the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism.

The theory of Marxism-Leninism is the summing-up of the experience of the international working-class movement; it is a theory formulated in revolutionary practice and in turn serving revolutionary practice. If only we study this theory, apply it and master it in close conjunction with revolutionary practice, we shall be able to understand the inner connections of the changes taking place all around us and to know how and in what direction the various classes are now moving and will soon move, and we shall be able to determine our line of action and shall have confidence in the future of the revolutionary movement.

It is precisely because the theory of Marxism-Leninism plays such a great role that Lenin said, “. . . the *role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory*”.*** Members of the Communist Party must closely link their study of the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism with their own ideological self-cultivation and self-tempering; they must never divorce one from the other.

Time and again Comrade Mao Tse-tung has emphasized the tremendous importance of cultivating oneself in the theory of Marxism-Leninism. He has said:

**Ibid.*, p. 423.

***“On Practice”, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I.

***“What is to be Done?”, V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow, 1961, Vol. V, p. 370.

From the Marxist viewpoint, theory is important, and its importance is fully expressed in Lenin's statement, "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement."

But Marxism emphasizes the importance of theory precisely and only because it can guide action.*

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has constantly urged all Party members who have some capacity for study to study Marxist-Leninist theory, study the actual conditions of the movement, study Chinese and world history and learn to guide their actions by Marxist-Leninist theory, and also to help educate comrades with a lower cultural and theoretical level. The whole Party should at all times bear in mind this injunction of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's.

V. THE CAUSE OF COMMUNISM IS THE GREATEST AND MOST ARDUOUS UNDERTAKING IN HUMAN HISTORY

Now let us continue with our discussion of ideological self-cultivation by Communist Party members.

What does ideological self-cultivation mean? Fundamentally, in my opinion, it means that every Party member should use proletarian ideology to combat whatever non-proletarian ideas he has, use the communist world outlook to combat whatever non-communist world outlook he has and use the principle of the supremacy of the interests of the proletariat, the people and the Party to combat his individualism.

This struggle is one of conflicting ideologies, and it reflects the class struggle in society. For a Party member, the result of this struggle should be that the proletarian ideology overcomes and ultimately eliminates all other ideologies, that the communist world outlook overcomes and ultimately eliminates any non-communist world outlook and that ideas based on the general interests and aims of the Party, of the revolution and of the emancipation of the proletariat and all mankind overcome and ultimately eliminate all individualism. If the opposite happens, that is, if the latter prevails over the former, the comrade concerned will retrogress and may even lose his qualifications as a member of the Communist Party. For a Communist, that would be a terrible and dangerous thing to happen.

*"On Practice", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I.

We Communist Party members temper ourselves ideologically in struggles of all kinds inside and outside the Party, constantly sum up and learn from experience gained in revolutionary practice, and examine our own ideas to see whether they fully conform to Marxism-Leninism and the interests of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat. It is through such study, reflection and self-examination that we eliminate all remnants of incorrect ideas and nip in the bud any ideas inconsistent with the interests of communism.

As you all know, a man's words and actions are guided by his ideology. And a man's ideology is inseparable from his world outlook. The only world outlook for members of the Communist Party is the communist world outlook. This world outlook is the philosophical system of the proletariat and also our communist methodology. All this has been abundantly discussed in Marxist-Leninist literature, and especially in the philosophical works of the founders. As you have studied it, I shall not go into it today. Here I shall only talk briefly of our communist cause, of what it is and how Party members should advance it.

What is our most fundamental duty as Party members? It is to achieve communism. As far as the Communist Parties of different countries are concerned, in each country it is for the Communist Party and the people there to transform it by their own efforts, and in that way the whole world will be transformed step by step into a communist world. Will the communist world be good? We all know it will be. In that world there will be no exploiters and oppressors, no landlords and capitalists, no imperialists and fascists, nor will there be any oppressed and exploited people, or any of the darkness, ignorance and backwardness resulting from the system of exploitation. In such a society the production of both material and moral values will develop and flourish mightily and will meet the varied needs of all its members. By then all humanity will consist of unselfish, intelligent, highly cultured and skilled communist workers; mutual assistance and affection will prevail among men and there will be no such irrationalities as mutual suspicion and deception, mutual injury, mutual slaughter and war. It will of course be the best, the most beautiful and the most advanced society in human history. Who can deny that such a society is good? But can this good communist society be built? We say that it can and will be. Marxist-Leninist theory has explained this scientifically and beyond any doubt. And factual testimony has been provided by the victory of the Great October Revolution and the successes in socialist con-

struction in the Soviet Union. Our duty is constantly to advance the cause of socialism and communism in accordance with the laws of development of human society, so as to make socialist and communist society a reality as soon as possible. This is our ideal.

However, the cause of socialism and communism still faces powerful enemies who must be thoroughly and finally defeated in every field; only then will socialist and communist society be brought into being. Victory for the communist cause can only be won through long and arduous struggle. Without it there can be no victory. This struggle, of course, is not an "accidental" social phenomenon or an invention of certain Communists, as some people assert. It is inevitable in the development of class society; it is unavoidable class struggle. The birth of the Communist Party and the fact that Communists participate in, organize and guide this struggle are also inevitable phenomena conforming with the laws of social development. The imperialists, fascists, capitalists and landlords — in short, all exploiters and oppressors — are exploiting and oppressing the overwhelming majority of the people of the world to such an extent that they are hardly able to survive, and have to unite and fight against this exploitation and oppression, because they cannot exist, much less make progress, in any other way. This struggle, therefore, is natural and unavoidable.

On the one hand, we must understand that communism is the greatest cause in human history, which will eliminate exploitation and classes once and for all, emancipate all mankind and bring humanity into a world of happiness, radiating with beauty, such as it has never known before. But on the other hand, we must also understand that the cause of communism is the most arduous undertaking in all history; that only through protracted, bitter and tortuous struggle will we be able to defeat our extremely powerful enemies, defeat all the exploiting classes; and that for a long time after our victory we shall patiently have to carry out social and economic, ideological and cultural transformation, for only thus will all the influences, conventions and habits of the exploiting classes be eliminated from among the people, and only thus will a new social and economic system, a new communist culture and code of social morality be built up.

The Communist Party will definitely win final victory by relying on the proletariat and the masses of the exploited and oppressed people and by using Marxism-Leninism to guide the revolutionary struggle of the masses and propel society towards the great goal of communism. The reason is that the historical laws of social devel-

opment make the progress of human society towards communism inevitable; that latent in the proletariat and the other exploited and oppressed masses of the world lie extremely powerful revolutionary energies which, once mobilized, united and organized, can triumph over all the reactionary forces of the exploiting classes and imperialism; and that the Communist Party and the proletariat are the new and rising forces and whatever is new and rising is invincible. This has been fully demonstrated by the history of the world communist movement and the Chinese Communist Party. The present situation is as follows. Socialism has already won a great victory in the Soviet Union, or on one-sixth of the earth's surface; militant Communist Parties armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism have been organized in many countries; the world communist movement is rapidly growing and developing; and the forces of the proletariat and the other exploited and oppressed masses of the world are being rapidly mobilized and united in the course of incessant struggles. The communist movement is already organized as a mighty and invincible world force. Beyond all doubt the communist cause will continue to develop and advance, and will win final and complete victory. However, we should also realize that international reaction and the exploiting classes are as yet stronger than we are, that they are temporarily superior in many fields, and that only by protracted, tortuous and bitter struggles can we defeat them.

In a society in which private ownership of the means of production has existed for thousands of years, the exploiting classes through their rule have built up great power in all fields and have grabbed everything under the sun. Their long rule has given rise to backwardness, ignorance, selfishness, mutual suspicion and deception, mutual injury and slaughter in human society, which have persisted down the ages. It has exerted a most pernicious influence on the exploited masses and on other members of society. This is the inevitable result of the efforts of the exploiting classes to preserve their class interests and rule. For they cannot maintain their ruling position unless they keep the exploited masses and the colonial peoples backward, unorganized and divided. Hence, in order to achieve victory we must not only conduct a stern struggle against the exploiting classes but also carry on a struggle against their long-standing influence among the masses, and the backward ideas and other backward phenomena found among the masses, for only thus can we enhance their political consciousness and unite them to defeat the exploiting classes. Here is the difficulty in the course of achieving

communism. Comrades! If the masses were all politically conscious, united, free from the influence of the exploiting classes and free from backwardness, as some people imagine them to be, what would be so difficult about the revolution?

Not only does this influence of the exploiting classes exist before the victory of the revolution, but it survives for a very long time after when the exploiting classes have been ejected from their ruling position. Think how tortuous is the process and how arduous are the work and struggle that are needed to vanquish the exploiting classes and their influence among the people once and for all, to emancipate and change all mankind, to transform myriads of small commodity producers, finally to abolish all classes and gradually to transform mankind that has lived in class society for thousands of years and been influenced by all kinds of old customs and conventions until it becomes communist mankind, intelligent and unselfish, and with a high level of culture and skill!

Lenin said:

The abolition of classes means not only driving out the landlords and capitalists — that we accomplished with comparative ease — it also means *abolishing the small commodity producers*, and they *cannot be driven out*, or crushed; we *must get on* with them; they can (and must) be remoulded and re-educated only by very prolonged, slow, cautious organizational work. They encircle the proletariat on every side with a petty-bourgeois atmosphere, which permeates and corrupts the proletariat and causes constant relapses among the proletariat into petty-bourgeois spinelessness, disunity, individualism, and alternate moods of exaltation and dejection. The strictest centralization and discipline are required within the political party of the proletariat in order to counteract this, in order that the *organizational* role of proletariat (and that is its *principal* role) may be exercised correctly, successfully, victoriously. . . . The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a most terrible force. . . . It is a thousand times easier to vanquish the centralized big bourgeoisie than to “vanquish” the millions upon millions of small owners; yet they, by their ordinary, everyday, imperceptible, elusive, demoralizing activity, achieve the *very* results which the bourgeoisie need and which tend to *restore* the bourgeoisie.*

He also said:

*V.I. Lenin, “*Left-Wing*” *Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, pp. 34-35.

. . . the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased *tenfold* by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the *force of habit*, in the strength of *small production*. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production *engenders* capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons . . . victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn and desperate war of life and death, a war demanding perseverance, discipline, firmness, indomitableness and unity of will.*

Hence, the proletariat has a very difficult task to perform even after the victory of the revolution. The proletarian revolution differs from all other revolutions in history. Bourgeois revolutions, for example, are usually completed with the seizure of state power. But for the proletariat, victory and political emancipation are only the beginning of the revolution, and a tremendous amount of work remains to be done after victory, after the seizure of state power.

The cause of communism is indeed a "hundred years' task", as the saying goes, and it definitely cannot be "accomplished at one stroke". In different countries this undertaking has to go through different stages, and different enemies must be defeated, before a communist society can be gradually established. Take the case of our own country. China is still in the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and our enemies are imperialism, which perpetrates aggression against China, and the feudal and comprador forces, which are in collusion with imperialism. Only when we have defeated these enemies can we complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution in our country. Then, after the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, it will still be necessary to make the socialist revolution and to carry on socialist transformation and socialist construction for a long period, and only so will the gradual transition to communist society be possible.

Since the ultimate goal of our struggle is the achievement of communism, it is naturally our duty as Communists to overcome all the difficulties arising in the process.

Since the communist cause is so great and arduous an undertaking, some people who seek social progress are still sceptical and not convinced that communism can be realized. They do not believe

**Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

that under the leadership of the proletariat and its party the human race can develop and transform itself into a communist mankind of the highest quality, and that all the difficulties in the process of revolution and construction can be overcome. Either they do not foresee the difficulties or they become pessimistic and disappointed when confronted with them, and there are even Party members who waver and desert the communist ranks.

We Communists should be men of the boldest vision and revolutionary determination. Every Party member should gladly and solemnly resolve to shoulder the task of realizing communism, a task greater and more arduous than any in human history. We clearly see the difficulties in the process of realizing communism, but at the same time we clearly understand that they can undoubtedly be overcome by arousing millions of people to revolutionary action, and no difficulties will ever daunt us. We have the masses of the people to rely on, and we have full confidence that a substantial part of the work of building communism will be accomplished in our own time and that the whole of this magnificent undertaking will be triumphantly completed by the coming generations. The heroes of no other class in history could possibly have had this great communist ideal and boldness of vision. In this respect we have every reason for pride.

I recall the instance of the Western European bourgeois biographer* who interviewed Comrade Stalin during a visit to the Soviet Union and brought up comparisons between historical personalities. Comrade Stalin told him that Lenin was like the ocean while Czar Peter the Great was only a drop in the ocean. Such is the place in history a proletarian leader of the communist cause occupies, compared with that of a leader in the cause of the landlord and the rising mercantile classes. From this comparison we can see how truly great is a leader who fights for the triumph of communism and the cause of the emancipation of mankind and how paltry is one who fights for the cause of the exploiting classes.

We Communist Party members must have the highest goals in our struggle and the highest ideals, while at the same time we must have a practical spirit and do real practical work. Such are the characteristics distinguishing us as Communists. If all a person has is great and lofty ideals without having a practical spirit or doing real practical work, he is not a good Party member but only a dreamer, a prattler or a pedant. On the other hand, whoever is interested only

*The German biographer Emil Ludwig (1881-1948).

in practical work but lacks great and lofty communist ideals is not a good Communist either, but just a routine plodder. Only by combining the great and lofty ideals of communism with real practical work and a practical spirit can one be a good Communist. This standard for a good Communist has often been stressed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the leader of our Party.

The communist ideal is beautiful, while the reality of the existing capitalist world is ugly. This is precisely why the overwhelming majority of the people demand the changing of that reality, and why it must be changed. In order to change the world we must not divorce ourselves from reality, disregard it or escape from it, nor must we surrender to ugly reality. We must face reality squarely, study and understand it, live and grow in it, fight against the ugly reality and transform it, so that we can gradually realize our ideal. Hence we members of the Communist Party must initiate and press ahead with our great communist task of changing the world, beginning with our immediate surroundings, with the people immediately around us and such work as we can immediately undertake. Here we should criticize those young comrades who frequently make the mistake of wanting to escape from or disregard reality. It is good that they have lofty ideals, but they often complain about their place of work and the kind of work they are given. They are always looking for some "ideal" place or job so that they can "change the world" with ease. But no such place and no such job exists, except in their dreams.

The cause of communism is our life work. Throughout our lives, our every activity is exclusively devoted to it and to nothing else.

VI. A PARTY MEMBER'S PERSONAL INTERESTS MUST BE UNCONDITIONALLY SUBORDINATED TO THE INTERESTS OF THE PARTY

Personal interests must be subordinated to the Party's interests, the interests of the local Party organization to those of the entire Party, the interests of the part to those of the whole, and temporary to long-term interests. This is a Marxist-Leninist principle which must be followed by every Communist.

A Communist must be clear about the correct relationship between personal and Party interests.

The Communist Party is the political party of the proletariat and has no interests of its own other than those of the emancipation of the proletariat. The final emancipation of the proletariat will also

inevitably be the final emancipation of all mankind. Unless the proletariat emancipates all working people and all nations — unless it emancipates mankind as a whole — it cannot fully emancipate itself. The cause of the emancipation of the proletariat is identical with and inseparable from the cause of the emancipation of all working people, all oppressed nations and all mankind. Therefore, the interests of the Communist Party are the emancipation of the proletariat and of all mankind, are communism and social progress. When a Party member's personal interests are subordinated to those of the Party, they are subordinated to the interests of the emancipation of the class and the nation, and those of communism and social progress.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said:

At no time and in no circumstances should a Communist place his personal interests first; he should subordinate them to the interests of the nation and of the masses of the people. Hence, selfishness, slacking, corruption, striving for the limelight, etc. are most contemptible, while selflessness, working with all one's energy, whole-hearted devotion to public duty, and quiet hard work are the qualities that command respect.*

The test of a Party member's loyalty to the Party, the revolution and the cause of communism is whether or not he can subordinate his personal interests absolutely and unconditionally to the interests of the Party, whatever the circumstances.

At all times and on all questions, a Party member should give first consideration to the interests of the Party as a whole, and put them in the forefront and place personal matters and interests second. The supremacy of the Party's interests is the highest principle that must govern the thinking and actions of the members of our Party. In accordance with this principle, every Party member must completely identify his personal interests with those of the Party both in his thinking and in his actions. He must be able to yield to the interests of the Party without any hesitation or reluctance and sacrifice his personal interests whenever the two are at variance. Unhesitating readiness to sacrifice personal interests, and even one's life, for the Party and the proletariat and for the emancipation of the nation and of all mankind—this is one expression of what we usually describe as "Party spirit", "Party sense" or "sense of organization". It is the highest expression of communist morality, of the principled nature

*"The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. II.

of the party of the proletariat, and of the purest proletarian class consciousness.

Members of our Party should not have personal aims which are independent of the Party's interests. Their personal aims must harmonize with the Party's interests. If the aim they set themselves is to study Marxist-Leninist theory, to develop their ability in work, to establish revolutionary organizations and to lead the masses in successful revolutionary struggles—if their aim is to do more for the Party—then this personal aim harmonizes with the interests of the Party. The Party needs many such members and cadres. Apart from this aim, Party members should have no independent personal motives such as attaining position or fame, or playing the individual hero, otherwise they will depart from the interests of the Party and may even become careerists within the Party.

If a Party member thinks only of the communist interests and aims of the Party, is really selfless and has no personal aims and considerations divorced from those of the Party, and if he ceaselessly raises the level of his political consciousness through revolutionary practice and through the study of Marxism-Leninism, then the following ensues.

First, he has a high communist morality. Taking a clear-cut, firm proletarian stand, he is able to show loyalty to and love for all comrades, all revolutionaries and working people, help them unreservedly and act towards them as his equals, and he will never allow himself to hurt a single one of them for his own interests. He is able to feel for others, place himself in their position, and be considerate of them. On the other hand, he is able to wage resolute struggle against the pernicious enemies of mankind and persevere in the fight for the interests of the Party, the proletariat, and the emancipation of the nation and all mankind. He is "the first to worry and the last to enjoy himself".* Whether in the Party or among the people he is the first to suffer hardship and the last to enjoy comfort; he compares himself with others not with respect to material enjoyment but to the amount of work done for the revolution and the spirit of hard endurance in struggle. In times of adversity he steps forward boldly, and in times of difficulty he does his duty to the full. He has such revolutionary firmness and integrity that "neither riches nor honours can corrupt him, neither poverty nor lowly condition can make him swerve from principle, neither threats nor force can bend him".**

*See *Yueh Yang Lou Chi*, by Fan Chung-yen of Sung Dynasty (989-1052 A.D.)

**From *Mencius*, Book III, "Teng Wen Kung", Part I.

Second, he has the greatest revolutionary courage. Having no selfish motives, he has nothing to fear. Having done nothing to give himself a guilty conscience, he can lay bare and courageously correct his mistakes and shortcomings, which are like "an eclipse of the sun or the moon"*. Because he has the courage of righteous conviction, he never fears the truth, courageously upholds it, spreads it and fights for it. Even if it is temporarily to his disadvantage and if, in upholding the truth, he suffers blows of all kinds, is opposed or censured by most other people and so finds himself in temporary (and honourable) isolation, even to the point where he may have to give up his life, he will still breast the waves to uphold the truth and will never drift with the tide.

Third, he learns how best to grasp the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism. He is able to apply them in keenly observing problems and in knowing and changing reality. Because he takes a clear-cut, firm proletarian stand and is tempered in Marxism-Leninism, he is free from personal apprehensions and self-interest, so that there is no impediment to his observation of things or distortion of his understanding of the truth. He seeks the truth from the facts, and he tests all theories and distinguishes what is true from what is false in revolutionary practice. He does not take a dogmatist or empiricist approach to Marxism-Leninism but integrates the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with concrete revolutionary practice.

Fourth, he is the most sincere, most candid and happiest of man. Because he has no private axe to grind, nothing to conceal from the Party and nothing he cannot tell others, he has no problems of personal gain or loss and no personal anxieties other than for the interests of the Party and the revolution. Even when he is working on his own without supervision and is therefore in a position to do something bad, he is just as "watchful over himself when he is alone"** and does not do anything harmful. His work bears examination and he is not afraid of having it checked. He does not fear criticism and at the same time is able to criticize others with courage and sincerity.

*See *Confucian Analects*, Book XIX, "Tzu Chang", Chapter 21. "The faults of the superior man are like the eclipses of the sun and moon. When they appear, all men see them; when he corrects them, all men look up to him.

**From the Confucian "Doctrine of the Mean" in the *Book of Rites*: "There is nothing more visible than what is secret, and nothing more manifest than what is minute. Therefore the superior man is watchful over himself when he is alone."

Fifth, he has the greatest self-respect and self-esteem. For the sake of the Party and the revolution he can be most forbearing and tolerant towards comrades and can suffer wrong in the general interest, even enduring misunderstanding and humiliation without bitterness if the occasion so demands. No personal aims lead him to flatter anyone or to desire flattery from others. When it comes to personal matters, he knows how to conduct himself and has no need to humble himself in order to get help from others. He knows how to take good care of himself in the interests of the Party and the revolution and how to strengthen both his grasp of theory and his practical effectiveness. But when it is necessary to swallow humiliation and bear a heavy load for some important purpose in the cause of the Party and the revolution, he can take on the most difficult and vital tasks without the slightest reluctance, never passing the difficulties to others.

A member of the Communist Party should possess the finest and highest human virtues and take a clear-cut and firm Party and proletarian stand (that is, possess Party spirit and class spirit). Ours is a fine morality precisely because it is proletarian and communist. It is founded not on the protection of the interests of individuals or of the exploiting few, but on those of the proletariat and the great mass of working people, of the cause of the final emancipation of all mankind, the liberation of the whole world from the calamities of capitalism, and the building of a happy and beautiful communist world — it is a morality founded on the Marxist-Leninist theory of scientific communism. As we Communists see it, nothing can be more worthless or indefensible than to sacrifice oneself in the interests of an individual or a small minority. But it is the worthiest and justest thing in the world to sacrifice oneself for the Party, for the proletariat, for the emancipation of the nation and of all mankind, for social progress and for the highest interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. Indeed, countless members of the Communist Party have looked death calmly in the face and made the ultimate sacrifice without the slightest hesitation. Most Communists consider it a matter of course to die for the sake of the cause, to lay down their life for justice, when that is necessary. This does not stem from any revolutionary fanaticism or hunger for fame but from their scientific understanding of social development and their deep political consciousness. There is no morality in class society to compare with this high communist morality. The universal morality which supposedly transcends class is sheer deceptive nonsense and is in fact a morality

designed to protect the interests of the exploiting few. Such a concept of morality is always idealist. It is only we Communists who build our morality on the scientific basis of historical materialism, and publicly proclaim its purpose to be the protection of the interests of the proletariat in the struggle for the emancipation of itself and of all mankind.

The Communist Party represents the general and long-range interests of the proletariat and all mankind in their struggle for emancipation; the Party's interests are the concentrated expression of this cause. One must never regard the Communist Party as a narrow clique, like a guild pursuing the interests of its members. Anyone who does so is no Communist.

A Party member has interests of his own, which may be inconsistent with or even run counter to the interests of the Party in certain circumstances. Should this happen, it is incumbent on him to sacrifice his personal interests and unconditionally subordinate them to the interests of the Party; under no pretence or excuse may he sacrifice the Party's interests by clinging to his own. At all times and in all circumstances, he should fight heart and soul for the Party's interests and for the Party's development, regarding every success and victory won by the Party and the proletariat as his very own. Every Party member should strive to increase his effectiveness and ability in the service of the people. But this must be done in the fight for the advancement, success and victory of the Party's cause, and there must be no striving for individual development divorced from the fight to advance the Party's cause. The facts prove that only by complete devotion in the fight for the advancement, success and victory of the Party's cause can a Party member heighten his effectiveness and ability, and that he cannot possibly make progress or heighten his ability in any other way. Hence a Party member can and must completely merge his personal interests with those of the Party.

Members of our Party are no ordinary people but the awakened vanguard fighters of the proletariat. They must consciously represent the class interests and class ideology of the proletariat. Therefore, their personal interests must never project beyond those of the Party and the proletariat. It is all the more necessary for each cadre and leader of the Party to be a living embodiment of the general interests of the Party and the proletariat, and to merge his personal interests completely in their general interests and aims. In present-day China, it is the proletariat that best represents the interests of national libera-

tion, and therefore our Party members must be worthy champions of the interests of the nation as a whole.

Members of our Party must subordinate personal to Party interests and are required to sacrifice them to Party interests if necessary. But this by no means implies that our Party does not recognize, or brushes aside, the personal interests of its members or that it wants to wipe out their individuality. Party members do have their personal problems to attend to, and, moreover, they should develop themselves according to their individual inclinations and aptitudes. Therefore, so long as the interests of the Party are not violated, a Party member can have his private and family life, and develop his individual inclinations and aptitudes. At the same time, the Party will use every possibility to help members develop their individual inclinations and aptitudes in conformity with its interests, furnish them with suitable work and working conditions and commend and reward them. As far as possible, the Party will attend to and safeguard its members' essential interests; for example, it will give them the opportunity to study and to acquire an education, it will help them cope with health and family problems and, when necessary, it will even give up some of its work in order to preserve comrades working under the rule of reaction. But all this has no other purpose than the over-all interests of the Party. For the fulfilment of its tasks the Party must ensure that members have the conditions necessary for life, work and education so that they can perform their tasks with enthusiasm and without worry. Comrades in responsible Party positions must bear all this in mind when they deal with Party members' problems.

To sum up, on his side, every Party member should completely submit himself to the interests of the Party and self-sacrificingly devote himself to the public duty. He should forgo all personal aims and private considerations which conflict with the Party's interests. He should not think of himself all the time, make endless personal demands on the Party or blame the Party for not promoting or rewarding him. Whatever the circumstances, he should study hard, try to make progress, be courageous in struggle and make ceaseless efforts to raise the level of his political consciousness and his understanding of Marxism-Leninism, so as to be able to contribute more to the Party and the revolution. On their side, all Party organizations and comrades in responsible positions, in dealing with the problems of Party members, should see how they work, live and study, and enable them to work better for the Party, ceaselessly develop themselves and raise their level in the course of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

In particular, attention should be paid to comrades who are really selfless and who serve the people well. Only so, through combined attention and effort by both sides can the interests of the Party be well served.

VII. EXAMPLES OF WRONG IDEOLOGY IN THE PARTY

In the light of what has been said, we can see that if an understanding of communism and a correct correlation between personal and Party interests are taken as the standard for evaluating Party members and cadres, many measure up to it and can serve as models, but some do not yet measure up to this standard and still have various wrong ideas to some degree or other. It may not be amiss if I outline these wrong ideas for our comrades' attention.

What are the fundamentally wrong ideas to be found among comrades in our Party?

First. The people joining our Party not only differ in class origin and personal class status but also carry with them aims and motives of every description. Many, of course, join the Party in order to bring about communism and attain the great goal of the emancipation of the proletariat and all mankind, but some do so for other reasons and with other aims. For example, some comrades of peasant background used to think that communism meant "expropriation of local tyrants and distribution of the land." When they first joined, they had no understanding of the real meaning of communism. Today, quite a number of people join the Party chiefly because it is resolute in resisting Japan and advocates the National United Front Against Japan. Others join our ranks because they admire the Communist Party for its good reputation or because they realize in a vague way that it can save China. Still others are seeking a future for themselves, chiefly because they have no other way out — they have no fixed occupation, are out of work, lack the means to study, or want to escape from family bondage or forced marriage, etc. A few even join because they count on the Party to get their taxes reduced, or because they hope to "make their mark" some day, or because their relatives or friends have brought them in, etc. Naturally, such comrades do not have a clear-cut and stable communist world outlook, do not understand the greatness of the communist cause and the difficulties besetting it, and lack a firm proletarian standpoint. Naturally, too, some of them will waver or change somewhat in certain circumstances at

certain critical turning points. Since they bring all sorts of ideas with them into the Party, it is most important that they should be educated and should train and temper themselves. Otherwise, they cannot become revolutionary fighters of the proletariat.

Nevertheless, there is no terrible problem here. After all, it is not a bad thing that people turn to the Communist Party, enter it seeking a way out of their predicament and approve of its policy. They are not mistaken in coming to us. We welcome them—everyone except for enemy agents, traitors, careerists and ambitious climbers. Provided they accept and are ready to abide by the Party's Programme and Constitution, work in one of the Party organizations and pay membership dues, they may be admitted into the Communist Party. As for deepening their study and understanding of communism and the Party's Programme and Constitution, they can do so after joining the Party, and can temper and train themselves in revolutionary struggle on the basis of what they learn; in this way they have every possibility of becoming very good Communists. Indeed, for most people it is impossible to have a profound understanding of communism and the Party's Programme and Constitution before joining the Party. That is why we only prescribe acceptance, and not a thorough understanding, of the Party's Programme and Constitution as a condition for admission. Although many people do not have a thorough understanding of communism before joining, it is possible for them to become active fighters in the communist and revolutionary movements of the time. They can become politically conscious Communists provided they study hard after joining the Party. Furthermore, our Party Constitution stipulates that members are free to withdraw from the Party (there is no freedom of admission). Any member is free to notify the Party that he is withdrawing if he lacks a profound belief in communism, or cannot live a strict Party life, or for any other reason, and the Party gives him the freedom to withdraw. It will do nothing against him, unless he gives away Party secrets or engages in wrecking activities against the Party after he leaves. As for careerists and spies who have wormed their way into the Party, of course they have to be expelled. Only thus can we preserve the purity of our Party.

Second. Fairly strong individualism and selfishness are still to be found in some members of our Party.

The individualism expresses itself as follows. Some people habitually place their personal interests above those of the Party when it comes to practical matters; they are preoccupied with personal gain and loss and always calculate in terms of personal interests; they

abuse the public trust, turning their Party work to private advantage of one kind or another; or they attack comrades they dislike and wreak private vengeance, on high-sounding pretexts of principle or Party interests. When it comes to status, material benefits and other questions affecting everyday life, they invariably try to get more than others, compare themselves with those at the top, diligently strive after greater personal benefits and crow when they get them. But when it comes to work, they like to compare themselves with those who are less capable. When there are hardships to bear, they make themselves scarce. In times of danger they want to run away. When it comes to orderlies, they always want more. Their living quarters must be of the best, and they want to show off and to bask in the Party's glory. They want to grab all the good things of life, but when it comes to the "unpleasant things," they think these are for others. The heads of such people are stuffed with the ideology of the exploiting classes. They believe that "Every man is for himself, or Heaven and Earth will destroy him," "Man is a selfish animal," and "No one in the world is genuinely unselfish, unless he is a simpleton or an idiot." They even use such exploiting class rubbish to justify their own selfishness and individualism. There are such people in our Party.

This type of self-seeking individualism often manifests itself inside the Party in unprincipled quarrelling, factional struggle, sectarianism and departmentalism; it manifests itself in disrespect for and wilful violation of Party discipline. Most unprincipled struggles originate in personal interests. Those who go in for factional struggle and are given to sectarianism usually place their own individual interests, or the interests of a small minority, above those of the Party. Often, in their unprincipled factional struggles they deliberately undermine Party organization and discipline, making unprincipled and sometimes calculated attacks on certain people, while contracting unprincipled friendships to avoid giving offence, to cover up for one another, to sing each other's praises, etc.

Departmentalism within the Party arises chiefly because some comrades only see the interests of the part, *i.e.*, the work of their own department or locality, and fail to see the interests of the whole, *i.e.*, the interests of the entire Party and the work of other departments and localities. Politically and ideologically, this resembles the guild outlook. Not all comrades who make the mistake of departmentalism are necessarily prompted by individualism, but people with an individualist ideology usually make the mistake of departmentalism.

Third. Conceit, the idea of individualistic heroism, ostentatiousness, etc. are still to be found, to a greater or lesser extent, in the minds of quite a few Party comrades.

The first consideration of people with such notions is their position in the Party. They like to show off and to have people sing their praises and flatter them. They are ambitious, they like to cut a dash, to claim credit for themselves and to get into the limelight, and they like to keep everything in their own hands and lack a democratic style of work. They are extremely vain, and are unwilling to immerse themselves in hard work or do routine or technical jobs. They are arrogant, and whenever they accomplish something they throw their weight about, become overbearing and try to domineer, and they do not treat others as equals in a modest and friendly way. They are complacent, talk down to and lecture people and order others about, and they are always trying to tread on people's necks; they do not learn modestly from others, particularly from the masses, and do not accept even well-grounded opinions and criticisms. They can bear promotion but not demotion, they can bear fair weather but not foul, and they cannot bear being misunderstood or wronged. As their baneful yearning for fame has not yet been uprooted, they try to dress themselves up as "great men" and "heroes" in the communist movement, and stop at nothing to gratify their desire. When they fail to achieve this object, or when they are misunderstood or wronged, there is a danger that they will vacillate. Quite a number of people have vacillated and left our Party for such reasons in the course of its history. Exploiting class ideas still linger in the minds of such people, who fail to understand the greatness of the cause of communism and who lack the communist breadth of vision.

Communists must not be in the least complacent or arrogant. Granted that some comrades are very capable, have done some good work and have to their credit considerable achievements, which may be reckoned "great" and on which they might well preen themselves (for example, our army commanders who have led thousands and tens of thousands of men in battle and won victories, or the leaders of our Party and mass work in various places who have brought about fairly significant changes in the situation). Yet after all, how great are these achievements compared with the communist cause as a whole? And for people with a communist world outlook, what is here worth preening oneself about in these achievements?

For a Communist to do his work properly and well is no more than this duty. He should guard against complacency and arrogance and

do his best to make no mistakes, or as few as possible.

What is there in personal position for a Communist to bother about? No one's position is higher than an emperor's, and yet what is an emperor compared with a fighter in the cause of communism? Is he not just a "drop in the ocean" as Comrade Stalin put it? So what is there in personal position worth bothering or bragging about?

Yes, we need countless communist heroes and many mass leaders of great prestige in our Party and in the communist movement. At present, we really have too few of them and have yet to train and temper large numbers of good communist revolutionary leaders and heroes in all fields. This is indeed very important for our cause and must not be neglected. Whoever takes it lightly is ignorant of how to advance the cause of communism. Its advancement requires that we should greatly enhance the revolutionary spirit of enterprise among our Party members and bring their vitality into full play. We have to admit that so far we have not done enough in this respect. This is shown, for instance, by the fact that some Party members do not study hard and have little interest in politics and theory. Therefore, while we are opposed to individualistic heroism and to ostentatiousness, we are certainly not opposed to a spirit of enterprise in the Party members. The desire to make progress in the interests of the people is a most precious quality in a Communist. But the communist, proletarian, spirit of enterprise is entirely different from the individualist "spirit of enterprise." The former means seeking the truth, upholding it and fighting for it with the greatest effectiveness. It is progressive and opens up unlimited prospects of development, while the latter offers no prospects even for the individual. For people with an individualist ideology are usually driven by their personal interests into deliberately brushing aside, covering up or distorting the truth.

Our comrades must understand that genuine leaders and heroes in the communist movement are never individualistic, nor are they ever self-styled or self-appointed. Anyone who styles himself a leader or reaches after leadership can never become a leader in our Party. The rank and file of our Party will not make leaders of people who are prone to conceit, individualistic heroism, ostentatiousness, personal ambition and vanity. No member of our Party has any right to demand that the rank and file should support or keep him as a leader. Only those who are entirely selfless and devoted to the Party, only those with an excellent communist morality and fine communist qualities, who have grasped the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism, who have considerable practical ability, who can direct

Party work correctly and who study hard and make constant progress, can win the trust of the Party and the confidence and support of the rank and file, and so become leaders and heroes in the communist movement.

Our comrades must also understand that a member, or a leader and hero, whoever he may be, can only do part of the work, can only carry part of the responsibility, in the communist movement. The communist cause is an undertaking which requires the collective efforts of tens of millions of people over a long period of time, and which cannot be encompassed by any one individual alone. Even such great men as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin could only perform part of the work needed by the communist cause. The cause for which they worked requires the joint efforts and sustained labour of tens of millions of us. We ordinary Communists are also doing part of the work of the communist cause and carrying part of the responsibility. Of course, our part is much smaller than that of Marx, Engels, Lenin or Stalin. Nevertheless, we all have a *part*. Big or small, it is all part of the great cause. Therefore, if only we do our part of the work well, we can consider that we have done our duty. Naturally, we should try our best to do more, but if we cannot and can only do a little, that is also useful and just as honourable. In any case, we should at least not hamper the progress of the communist cause, but should do our part, whether big or small, and perform our work well, be it heavy or light; that is the correct attitude for every member of our Party. Comrades who are unwilling to undertake technical work think that it stifles their talents, that it prevents them from becoming famous (actually it does not, as witness the technical worker Stakhanov) and from giving full play to their abilities and that it kills some of the enterprising spirit which all Communists should have. This view is wrong. Technical work occupies a very important place in our Party work, and comrades engaged in it are doing their share in the communist cause no less than comrades engaged in other jobs. The proper attitude for a Communist is to do whatever work the Party requires of him and do it happily and well, whether it suits his inclinations or not.

Naturally, in assigning work to members, the Party organization and the responsible Party comrades should, as far as possible, take their individual inclinations and aptitudes into consideration, develop their strong points and stimulate their zeal to go forward. However, no Communist must refuse a Party assignment on the grounds of personal preference.

Fourth. A small number of comrades are deeply imbued with the ideology of the exploiting classes. They are usually unscrupulous in dealing with comrades and in handling problems inside the Party, and are utterly devoid of the great and sincere proletarian communist spirit of mutual help and solidarity.

People with this ideology always want to climb over the heads of others in the Party and, to this end, resort to attacking others and doing them harm. They are jealous of those more capable than themselves. They always try to pull down those who are moving ahead of them. They cannot bear playing second fiddle and think only of themselves and never of others. When other comrades are suffering difficulties or setbacks, they gloat or secretly rejoice and have no comradely sympathy at all. They even scheme to injure comrades, "drop stones on one who has fallen into a well," and take advantage of comrades' weaknesses and difficulties to attack and harm them. They "crawl through any crack" and exploit and exacerbate any weakness in Party organization and work for their personal advantage. They love to stir up trouble in the Party, speak ill of others behind their backs and engage in intrigues in order to sow dissension between comrades. They love to join in any unprincipled dispute that may occur in the Party and take great interest in unprincipled quarrels. They are especially active in stirring up and aggravating such quarrels when the Party is in difficulties. In short, they are thoroughly crooked and lack all integrity. Would it not be absurd to describe such people as being able to grasp the Marxist-Leninist theory and method and to give expression to proletarian ideology? It is only too clear that all they express is the ideology of the declining exploiting classes.

All exploiters must do harm to other people in order to expand. To increase their wealth, or to avoid bankruptcy in an economic crisis, bigger capitalists must squeeze many smaller capitalists out of existence and drive countless workers to starvation. To enrich themselves, landlords must exploit peasants and deprive many of them of their land. In order to expand, fascist Germany, Italy and Japan must devastate other countries; they have subjugated Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Abyssinia and are committing aggression against China. Exploiters always harm and ruin other people as a necessary precondition for their own expansion; their happiness is founded on the suffering of others. Among the exploiters, therefore, genuine firm unity, genuine mutual help, and genuine human sympathy are impossible; they inevitably engage in intrigues and underhand activities

in order to ruin others. Yet they have to lie and pose as saints and pillars of justice before the people. Such are the distinguishing characteristics of all declining exploiting classes. These may be models of "fine" ethical conduct for the exploiters, but they are most criminal from the point of view of the proletariat and the masses.

The proletariat is absolutely different from any exploiting class. It does not exploit others but is itself exploited. There is no conflict of basic interests within its ranks or between it and the other oppressed and exploited working people. So far from needing to harm other working people or impede their development for the sake of its own development and emancipation, the proletariat must forge the closest unity with them in common struggle. If the proletariat is to emancipate itself, it must at the same time emancipate all other working people and emancipate all mankind. There can be no such thing as the separate emancipation of a single worker or section of workers. The proletariat must carry the cause of the emancipation of humanity through to the end, fighting step by step for the liberation of all mankind, and there can be no giving up or compromising half-way.

As a result of this objective position occupied by the proletariat, the ideology of the politically conscious workers is the diametrical opposite of that of the exploiters. Communists are vanguard fighters of the proletariat, who arm themselves with Marxism-Leninism and are ruthless towards the people's enemies but never towards the toilers, their class brothers and comrades. They differentiate clearly and sharply between the attitudes and methods to be adopted against the enemy and those to be adopted towards their comrades and friends. They cherish great and sincere friendship, warmth and sympathy for other members of their own class and for all oppressed and exploited working people, towards whom they show a fine spirit of mutual help, firm unity and genuine equality. They are absolutely opposed to privileges of any kind for anyone, consider it impermissible to think in terms of privileges for themselves, and would deem it unthinkable, and indeed a disgrace, to occupy a privileged position among the people. If they themselves are to develop and improve their own status, they must develop others and improve the status of all the working people at the same time. They are anxious not to fall behind, whether ideologically or politically or in their work, and they have a sturdy spirit of enterprise, but at the same time they esteem, cherish and support those who are ahead of them in these respects and, without any jealousy, do their best to learn from them. They are deeply concerned with the sufferings and privations of their own class

and of all working people, they are concerned with all the struggles of the working people for emancipation anywhere in the world, regarding every victory or defeat for the working people anywhere as their own victory or defeat, and therefore displaying the greatest solidarity. They consider it wrong to be indifferent to the struggle of the working and oppressed people for liberation, and criminal to gloat over their setbacks. They cherish their own comrades and brothers, whose weaknesses and mistakes they criticize frankly and sincerely (and this shows genuine affection); in matters of principle they never gloss over and accommodate, let alone encourage, mistakes (to accommodate or even to encourage others' mistakes does not betoken genuine affection for one's comrades). They do everything possible to help comrades overcome weaknesses and correct mistakes and never exploit or aggravate these weaknesses and mistakes to get comrades into trouble, let alone cause the mistakes to develop beyond correction. Not harbouring any desire to settle old scores, they can return good for evil to their own comrades and brothers and help them straighten themselves out. They can be strict with themselves and lenient with others. The stand they take is firm, strict and principled, their attitude is frank, upright and responsible, they do not give way on matters of principle, they do not tolerate anyone who harms the Party, they do not permit anyone to insult them and are particularly contemptuous of adulation and flattery as contrary to all principle. They oppose all unprincipled struggles; they do not let themselves become involved in such struggles, and are not so swayed or affected by irresponsible or casual criticism made behind their backs as to depart from principle, become incapable of thinking calmly or lose their composure. Such are the proletarian qualities of mind every Party member must learn to acquire and foster. The great founders of Marxism-Leninism epitomize these proletarian qualities in the most concentrated, exemplary and concrete form. These qualities represent everything of integrity in present-day society. Indeed it is the Communist Party that represents human integrity. We must foster and enhance such proletarian integrity and overcome all that is crooked and evil.

Fifth. Pettiness, fussing over trifles and ignoring the general interest are faults still prevalent among some Party members. These comrades lack the stature and breadth of vision of Communists and are blind to the bigger things; they relish only the immediate and the petty. They do not take much interest in the great problems and events in the Party and the revolution, but are always fussing over the

merest trifles about which they enter into ponderous and endless arguments and become highly disturbed. Such people are also easily led by the nose when they receive some small favour or kindness. They have the petty-mindedness characteristic of small rural producers.

There are other people who do not seem to have a clear-cut and definite attitude in their Party life, people who shift and hedge. They are actually of two kinds; for one kind the question is one of understanding, and for the other, of moral character. The latter are always opportunistic in their personal behaviour, curry favour with all sides and try to please everybody. They tailor their words to the person and the circumstances, tack with the wind and show no principle whatsoever. Such are their characteristics. Sometimes they wait and see what will suit the occasion, like the bat in *Aesop's Fables*,* and then move over to the winning side. Such double-faced creatures, who are neither fish nor fowl, are not altogether unknown in our ranks. They have the traits of the old-fashioned merchant. In addition, there are some individuals who, unable to resist the lure of the old society's exploiting classes, with their glittering world, their money and their women, begin to waver, go wrong and eventually betray the Party and the revolution.

Finally, the ideology of some of our Party comrades often reflects the impetuosity and vacillation of the petty bourgeoisie and the destructiveness of the *lumpen*-proletariat and certain bankrupt peasants, but I shall not go into this question here.

To sum up, our Party represents the great and powerful proletarian communist ideology, but it must be noted that all kinds of non-proletarian ideology—including even the ideology of the declining exploiting classes—are still reflected to a greater or lesser degree in the minds of certain comrades. At times such ideology is dormant in the Party, revealing itself only in insignificant matters of everyday life; but at other times it becomes active, systematically revealing itself in a whole variety of questions of Party principle, in major political questions and in problems of inner-Party struggle. Certain sections or links in the Party organization may come to be dominated

*See "The Bat and the Weasels", *Aesop's Fables*. A bat once fell down and was caught by a weasel. He begged the weasel to spare his life. The weasel said, "I hate birds. I will not let you go." The bat said, "I am not a bird but a mouse," and was set free. Some time later, the bat again fell to the ground and was caught by another weasel. He begged the weasel not to kill him. The weasel said he hated mice. The bat argued he was not a mouse but a bat, and so he was set free a second time. The bat thus saved his life twice by changing his name.

and corroded by such erroneous ideology, and in extreme cases it may even temporarily dominate key links in the Party leadership, as in the periods when people like Chen Tu-hsiu and Chang Kuo-tao were in control. In normal periods, however, it is held in check by the correct proletarian ideology. These are all manifestations within the Party of the struggle between proletarian and non-proletarian ideology. Similarly with some individual Party members. At times what is wrong in their ideology lies dormant and under control, but at other times it may grow and even dominate their actions. This is a manifestation among individual Party members of the contradiction and struggle between proletarian and non-proletarian ideology. For our Party members, ideological self-cultivation means that they must consciously use the proletarian ideology and the communist world outlook to overcome and eliminate all the various kinds of incorrect, non-proletarian ideology.

VIII. THE SOURCE OF WRONG IDEOLOGY IN THE PARTY

The Communist Party, representing the brightest and the most progressive aspects of contemporary human society, is the bearer and disseminator of Marxism-Leninism, the acme of human thought. The most politically conscious, progressive and developed people in the world are gathered in the Communist Parties, the people with the highest sense of morality and justice who fight unswervingly against all the forces of darkness and for the bright future and final emancipation of mankind. The Communist Party of China is one of the best Communist Parties in the world. Guided by our leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our Party is armed with the powerful weapon of Marxist-Leninist theory and, at the same time, is carrying forward the fine traditions of the progressive thinkers and revolutionaries in Chinese history. It represents the most progressive and the brightest aspects of Chinese society, and the finest sons and daughters of the Chinese nation are gathered within its organized ranks. It has been fighting the forces of darkness in Chinese society for a long time, has gone through an arduous process of tempering and has accumulated rich experience in revolutionary struggle. In all this we Communists can justly take pride. There is every ground for absolute confidence that we shall finally be successful and victorious. However, we cannot say yet that everything in our organization is perfect, or that there are no shortcomings and faults. Nor can we say that our ranks are free

from unsound or even bad elements, who may be quite capable of any nastiness. In other words, our glorious Party contains some undesirable phenomena, some dark spots, which I have already enumerated.

Now when a family acquires an ugly son-in-law or daughter-in-law, it cannot always keep him or her away from the guests. Even if we wanted to do so by taking the attitude of trying to "conceal the family shame," it would be impossible to hide such unpleasantness. The masses of the people are in constant contact with our Party, sympathizers come here to visit us and people who look up to us, including many young men and women, come here to study or to join our Party. When they arrive, besides the progressive, fine and attractive things and "members of the family," they will naturally see the ugly sons- or daughters-in-law who might publicly say or do something unpleasant or make a spectacle of themselves, to the perplexity of our guests and new Party members. The newcomers may ask, "Does not the Communist Party stand for all that is just? Are not Communists the finest people? Why are there still such bad people and ugly things in the Communist Party? How strange!" Before joining the Party, some young comrades were bitterly dissatisfied with existing society, saw no way out and turned to the Communist Party as to a beacon of light. They thought that everything would be satisfactory and would work out well once they joined. Yet after doing so, or after arriving in our revolutionary base area, they find there are shortcomings and mistakes in the Party, too, and in real life not everything is satisfactory (much that would satisfy them would not be in the interests of the revolution and the Party), and so they feel that reality is not entirely as they pictured it, and some begin to have doubts and feel puzzled. They ask, "Why are such things to be found in the Communist Party as well?" Before coming to Yen-an or before enrolling in the Anti-Japanese Military and Political University, some people imagined Yen-an and the University would live up to their dreams, but after their arrival and enrolment they do not find everything to their satisfaction and are perplexed. They ask, "How can such things happen even in Yen-an and the Anti-Japanese University?" And failing to find answers, some even become pessimistic and disheartened.

Their questions should alert our Party members and cadres and be a lesson to them so that they will give serious attention to guiding and taking good care of all new Party members and all who are moving in our direction and to ensuring that they are not adversely affected.

But, quite apart from this, we should explain things clearly to comrades inside and outside the Party.

Why are there still such undesirable things in our splendid Party? The reason, I think, is rather simple. Our Party has not fallen from the skies, but has grown out of Chinese society. In general, our Party consists of the finest sons and daughters of our country, the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat, but they come from all strata of the old society, and in China today there still exist exploiting classes and the influence of these classes—selfishness, intrigue, bureaucracy and various other kinds of filth. We have many excellent Party members who are not easily affected by such influences. But is it so strange that certain members unavoidably bring some of the filth of the old society with them into our Party or reflect it there? Is it so strange that a person who has just crawled out of the mud is covered with slime? Of course not. It is only to be expected. It would be strange, and indeed incredible, if the ranks of the Communist Party were absolutely free from such filth. It may be said that so long as such filth exists in society, so long as classes and exploiting class influences exist in society, there is bound to be some filth in the Communist Party. It is precisely because there is such filth in society, and in the Party, that it is the duty of the Communist Party to change existing society, and it is necessary for Communists to remould, cultivate and temper themselves. In addition to carrying on a struggle in society at large against everything evil and backward, it is imperative for us to carry on a struggle inside the Party against every social evil and backward influence as mirrored in the Party by vacillating and unsteady elements. This is the source of inner-Party contradiction and struggle. Through struggle, both inside and outside the Party, we seek to change society and gradually rid it of its evils and backwardness, and at the same time seek to perfect our Party and remould our Party members, and to resolve our inner-Party contradictions, so that our Party and its membership will become healthier and stronger.

Stalin said:

The source of the contradictions within the proletarian parties lies in two circumstances.

What are these circumstances?

They are, firstly, the pressure exerted by the bourgeoisie and bourgeois ideology on the proletariat and its party in the conditions of the class struggle—a pressure to which the least stable strata of the proletariat, and, hence, the least stable

strata of the proletarian party, not infrequently succumb. It must not be thought that the proletariat is completely isolated from society, that it stands outside society. The proletariat is a part of society, connected with its diverse strata by numerous threads. But the party is a part of the proletariat. Hence the Party cannot be exempt from connections with, and from the influence of, the diverse sections of bourgeois society. The pressure of the bourgeoisie and its ideology on the proletariat and its party finds expression in the fact that bourgeois ideas, manners, customs and sentiments not infrequently penetrate the proletariat and its party through definite strata of the proletariat that are in one way or another connected with bourgeois society.

They are, secondly, the heterogeneity of the working class, the existence of different strata within the working class. . . .

One stratum is the main mass of the proletariat, its core, its permanent part, the mass of "pure-blooded" proletarians, who have long broken off connection with the capitalist class. This stratum of the proletariat is the most reliable bulwark of Marxism.

The second stratum consists of newcomers from non-proletarian classes — from the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie or the intelligentsia. These are former members of other classes who have only recently merged with the proletariat and have brought with them into the working class their customs, their habits, their waverings and their vacillations. This stratum constitutes the most favourable soil for all sorts of anarchists, semi-anarchist and "ultra-Left" groups.

The third stratum, lastly, consists of the labour aristocracy, the upper stratum of the working class, the most well-to-do portion of the proletariat, with its propensity for compromise with the bourgeoisie, its predominant inclination to adapt itself to the powers that be, and its anxiety to "get on in life." This stratum constitutes the most favourable soil for outright reformists and opportunists.*

Here we see the source of the various kinds of non-proletarian ideology and of the various errors, shortcomings and other undesirable phenomena that exist in our proletarian party. Here, indeed, is the source of the various contradictions that are present in our Party.

*"The Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern", J.V. Stalin, *Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954, Vol. IX, pp. 9-11.

IX. ATTITUDES TOWARDS WRONG IDEOLOGY IN THE PARTY AND TOWARDS INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE

The influences exerted by the exploiting classes and by the petty bourgeoisie, the existence of different strata within the working class and the differences in the class background of our Party members give rise among them to different ideas, to certain differences in viewpoints, habits and sentiments, in world outlook and moral values, and differences in the way they look at and think about things in general and the problems of the revolution in particular.

Some people in our Party are able to view things in their development and interrelationship, but others habitually view them statically and in isolation. The former are able to grasp matters comprehensively and objectively and hence to draw correct conclusions which can serve us as correct guides to action. As for the latter, some of them only see or overemphasize one side of a thing, while others only see or overemphasize another side; both fail to view problems comprehensively and objectively in accordance with the laws of the development and interrelationship of objective phenomena, and both take a one-sided, subjective view of problems. Hence, they are unable to arrive at correct conclusions or chart the right course for our actions.

The differences among Party members in their approach to problems lead to different ways of handling problems, to divergences and controversies in views and opinions, and to inner-Party struggle. Under the pressure of the exploiting classes and their ideology, the divergences and controversies are bound to become especially acute at turning points in the revolution, or when the struggle grows in intensity and hardships mount.

Therefore, the crux of the matter is not whether there are differences of thought and opinion within the Party, since such differences always exist. The crux of the matter is how to resolve contradictions, settle differences and overcome all kinds of incorrect, non-proletarian thinking. Obviously, it is only through inner-Party struggle that such contradictions can be resolved, differences settled and incorrect thinking overcome. As Engels put it, "In the long run the contradictions are never slurred over, but always fought out."*

*See *Marx-Engels Archives*, Book I, p. 371, quoted in J.V. Stalin, *Works*, Eng. ed., Moscow, 1954, Vol. IX, p. 9.

Different people hold different views and take different attitudes with regard to shortcomings, mistakes and other undesirable phenomena in our Party.

People of one kind do not or will not see shortcomings, mistakes and other undesirable phenomena in our Party, but blindly believe that there is scarcely anything wrong in it; hence they relax their vigilance and slacken their struggle against these phenomena. People of another kind see nothing, or hardly anything, except these undesirable phenomena and fail to see how correct and glorious our Party is; hence they become pessimistic and lose confidence, or they become alarmed and bewildered in the face of such phenomena. The views of both are wrong and one-sided. Our view is different. On the one hand, we know that our Party is the political party of the proletariat, the most progressive and revolutionary party in China. On the other, we know clearly that there are still shortcomings, mistakes and other undesirable phenomena, major or minor, in our Party. Moreover, we clearly understand their source and how to correct and gradually eliminate them, and we are making constant efforts to temper ourselves, improve our work, and wage the necessary struggles in order to promote the progress of the Party and the revolution.

Since people differ in their class stand and their views, they take different attitudes towards what is undesirable in our Party. One attitude is that of alien class and hostile elements who have wormed their way into our Party. A second attitude is that of Party members who lack a firm proletarian stand and have a wrong way of thinking. A third is that of Party members who firmly uphold the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The alien class and hostile elements who have wormed their way into the Party are glad of its shortcomings, mistakes and other such undesirable phenomena. Gleefully seeing their opportunity, they use every possible means to exploit and magnify some of these undesirable phenomena for the purpose of wrecking our Party. Sometimes they even make a pretence of opposing certain mistakes and supporting the Party line in order to cause an opposite kind of mistake to be committed.

People with the second type of attitude fall into the following distinct categories:

1. Some Party members sympathize with and accept certain erroneous ideas, or follow the bad example of certain people in the Party, so as to further their personal ends and desires. They consider the existence of certain shortcomings and mistakes in the Party to be

to their advantage and therefore, whether intentionally or unintentionally, aggravate these failings and exploit them. This is the attitude of careerists or bad characters in the Party.

2. Some Party members do nothing about the shortcomings, mistakes and other undesirable phenomena in the Party and allow them to grow. They just muddle along and are unwilling to fight these evils. They fear inner-Party struggle and self-criticism, considering them harmful to the Party, or they are insensitive or shut their eyes to the undesirable things, or they are perfunctory and compromising in the struggle against them. This is the attitude taken by Communists who have a weak sense of duty towards the Party, or are extremely liberalistic, or are guilty of bureaucracy.

3. The attitude of some Party members towards these shortcomings and mistakes and towards those comrades who have some incorrect ideas is one of "bitter hatred and gall." They lightly sever all relations with comrades who have committed some mistake and whom they attempt to expel from the Party outright. If they fail in this and meet rebuffs, they give up and become pessimistic and downhearted, or they keep aloof, "preserve their purity" and even put a great distance between themselves and the Party. This extreme attitude is also shown in some comrades' mechanical conception of inner-Party struggle and self-criticism. People with this attitude believe that inner-Party struggle must be launched under any and all circumstances — the more frequently and bitterly, the better. They magnify every trifle into a matter of "principle" and brand every tiny fault with such labels as political opportunism. They do not carry on inner-Party struggle properly and specifically in accordance with objective needs and objective laws of development, but instead "struggle" mechanically, subjectively and violently, regardless of the consequences. This is the attitude taken by Party members who do not understand the source of inner-Party contradictions, who lack skill in dealing with inner-Party differences and who have a mechanical conception of inner-Party struggle. For a time, this extreme attitude towards inner-Party struggle was exploited by the "Left" opportunists in the Party. They intensified mechanical and excessive struggles to the point of deliberately hunting for "targets of struggle" within the Party, deliberately creating inner-Party struggles and punishing comrades by abusing Party disciplinary measures, and even employing against them measures applicable to struggles outside the Party; and it was by such "struggles" and "disciplinary measures" that they tried to push the work ahead.

The attitude we should adopt is the proletarian, Marxist-Leninist one. Contrary to the erroneous attitudes described above, we advocate the following:

1. First of all, get to know the various phenomena, ideas, views and opinions in the Party and distinguish those which are correct and beneficial to the interests of the Party and the revolution from those which are not, or, in case of a dispute in which both sides are wrong, perceive this and be able to point to the correct view or opinion. After sober analysis and consideration, decide on a clear-cut attitude and take a correct stand. Do not follow blindly or drift with the tide.

2. Profit by every good example, promote and spread a spirit of integrity in the Party and vigorously support all correct views and opinions. Do not follow any bad examples or be influenced by any wrong ideas.

3. Do not take a liberalistic attitude or flinch from any necessary inner-Party struggle. Carry on an irreconcilable struggle in the Party against ideas and views which are wrong in principle and against all other undesirable phenomena, so that we can constantly overcome them; they should never be allowed to develop unchecked to the detriment of the Party and the revolution.

4. Do not take a mechanical and extreme attitude. Properly combine irreconcilability and clarity in matters of principle with flexibility and patient persuasion in methods of struggle; in the course of prolonged struggles, educate, criticize, temper and remould comrades who have committed errors but who are not incorrigible. Such inner-Party ideological struggles on matters of principle as are necessary at different periods should be waged in a concrete and proper way; inner-Party struggles should not be waged indiscriminately, subjectively, mechanically or on shadowy pretexts. Do not become "struggle addicts."

5. Strengthen the unity and discipline of the Party, and enhance its prestige, through inner-Party struggle. Organizational penalties, ranging all the way to expulsion, should be applied to incorrigible elements in the Party. We should regard it as our supreme duty to safeguard the Party's unity, preserve the purity of its ideology and consolidate its organization.

Such is the attitude of all good Communists in the Party and indeed the only correct Marxist-Leninist attitude.

It is not strange that our enemies should seek to make use of our every shortcoming and mistake to undermine our Party. Besides

constantly sharpening our vigilance, we should do everything possible to give the enemy as little opportunity as possible to exploit shortcomings and mistakes in the Party whenever they occur; this is the duty of every comrade who cherishes the Party. If a Party member ignores this consideration in inner-Party struggle, if he only seeks to vent his feelings, or goes to the length of joining up with bad elements instead of rejecting their assistance, or even makes use of outside forces to help him attain some private ends within the Party, he will be committing an unpardonable political mistake and breach of discipline.

Members of our Party should be the embodiment of correct ideology and should follow good examples in the Party; they should not follow but should oppose wrong ideas and bad examples. But what actually happens is that some comrades, who are generally correct in their ideology and follow good examples, sometimes reflect certain wrong ideas and follow certain bad examples. Other comrades seem to find it easy to learn from the bad but hard to learn from the good, and this merits our serious attention. When mistakes occur in the Party, they are apt to encourage or aggravate them, intentionally or unintentionally. In inner-Party struggles they are apt to take the wrong side or go along with whichever side is currently in vogue, irrespective of right and wrong. These comrades will hardly make progress unless they receive strict criticism and rigorous tempering.

Of course, comrades who adopt a liberalistic or bureaucratic attitude towards shortcomings, mistakes and other undesirable phenomena inside the Party are also wrong. This, I think, should be quite clear to you as students of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. For in the Party Building course which you have studied, the necessity of self-criticism and ideological struggle within the Party is clearly and thoroughly discussed; you can go into it again, and I need not dwell on the matter further. However, I do want to point out that quite a few comrades have this liberalistic attitude. We often do not have enough really responsible and sincere criticism and self-criticism conducted in keeping with the Party's organizational principles, for the purpose of exposing, correcting and eliminating the undesirable phenomena in the Party, and more particularly we do not have enough criticism from below and self-criticism, both of which should be greatly encouraged. On the other hand there is quite a lot of criticism that is irresponsible and not in keeping with the Party's organizational principles, of talking behind people's backs and gossip about this or that person or thing. Both are manifestations of liberalism in the

Party. They show that some comrades are insufficiently mature politically and are not courageous enough in revolutionary struggle; they also indicate that inner-Party democracy has not been properly developed. Some comrades dare not dispense with face-saving, and fear to offend others lest they themselves incur complaints and counter-criticism. They would rather leave the shortcomings and mistakes alone, taking the attitude of "getting by" and "the less trouble the better," but at the same time they talk about comrades behind their backs. All of this harms the Party and does it no good. Irresponsible criticism and talk are not likely to help overcome the shortcomings and mistakes in the Party but will lead to unprincipled disputes and disunity. We stand for inner-Party criticism and self-criticism which is responsible and beneficial to the Party, and is in keeping with its organizational principles.

Shortcomings and mistakes exist in the Party and so do incorrect non-proletarian ideas, any of which may at certain times develop into a trend, giving rise to differences of principle and impairing the Party's unity of action. Hence, it is impossible to educate the Party, the proletariat and the masses correctly if we do not unfold criticism and self-criticism, constantly expose and correct shortcomings and mistakes, overcome wrong ideas and conduct inner-Party struggle to resolve inner-Party differences, but instead take a compromising attitude and follow a "middle" line, or try to muddle through in inner-Party struggle.

Liberalism in inner-Party struggle is manifested in yet another way. Thus when a dispute breaks out in the Party, many comrades put aside their work and indulge in aimless debate for days and months on end or let themselves go without restraint; as a result, the unity of the Party becomes looser, Party discipline is weakened, the Party's prestige is impaired, and our militant Party organizations turn into debating societies. Such things have occurred more than once in certain Party organizations. They have absolutely nothing in common with the kind of criticism and self-criticism we advocate. We need criticism and self-criticism, not in order to impair the Party's prestige, undermine its discipline and weaken its leadership, but in order to promote the Party's prestige, consolidate its discipline and strengthen its leadership.

Hence, it is wrong to adopt a liberalistic or a bureaucratic attitude towards the various shortcomings and mistakes in the Party. In order to fight against all undesirable phenomena and resolve differences, we must promote criticism and self-criticism and conduct inner-Party

struggle correctly. Only thus can the Party be strengthened, grow and advance.

Comrades who take an extreme attitude in inner-Party struggle are also wrong.

The extreme attitude is the exact antithesis of the liberalistic attitude. It arises because these comrades fail to understand that wrong ideas in the Party have deep social roots and cannot possibly be eliminated at one stroke. At various times and in varying degrees, many of our Party comrades may reflect certain incorrect ideas existing in society and may commit some mistakes in their work under the influence of non-proletarian ideologies; no comrade can entirely avoid this. If the Party were to refuse to retain or tolerate all comrades who reflect non-proletarian ideologies in some degree, or who have committed some mistakes and yet are not incorrigible, and were to reject them categorically and even expel them, then the tasks of educating the comrades and consolidating the Party's organization would be non-existent. Were our Party to follow such an extreme policy, the comrades taking that attitude would eventually have to be expelled themselves. In particular, these comrades fail to understand that the achievement of communism involves the tremendous and difficult task of transforming all mankind into the selfless citizenry of a communist society, the task of converting men with their many weaknesses into communists with a high level of culture through a long process of tempering and education in the course of struggle. If they did understand this, then they would understand that our Party has the important and constant duty of educating and remoulding people who are already members but whose ideology is not wholly proletarian.

Naturally, the education and remoulding of such Party members is a most arduous task requiring prolonged and patient effort. Yet if we are unwilling to tackle this difficult task and shrink from it, how can we talk about changing the world and all mankind? Since we are determined to undertake, and not to shrink from, the unprecedentedly arduous task of changing the world and all mankind, what other task in the world today can daunt us? Party members who have the communist world outlook are dauntless, fear no difficulty or hardship, and understand the process of development is tortuous. Comrades who take an extreme attitude do not understand that the achievement of communism is an arduous and tortuous task, they fear difficulties and crave a straight road, they want to eliminate everything unpleasant at one stroke and leap immediately into the world of

their ideals. Thinking and acting in this way, they inevitably run their heads against a brick wall. And after banging and bruising their heads, they quite often become disheartened and lose their confidence in the future of communism. Thus they swing between extremes, from "Left" to Right, thereby fully revealing the essence of their non-proletarian ideology. It is regrettable that this erroneous, extreme attitude towards inner-Party shortcomings and mistakes should still be found to a greater or lesser extent among quite a few comrades, although it is harmful to the Party, to other comrades and to themselves.

Inner-Party struggle is necessary not because we are subjectively addicted to struggle or partial to dispute, but because inner-Party differences of principle do arise in the growth of the Party and in the proletarian struggle. When they occur, "contradictions can be overcome only by means of a struggle for definite principles, for definite aims of the struggle, for definite methods of waging the struggle leading to the desired aim."* Compromise is of no avail here. This means that when a dispute has developed into one of principle capable of solution only through struggle, we should unflinchingly wage inner-Party struggle in order to solve it. It does not mean that we should make a big fuss over small matters, conduct inner-Party struggle with stony faces and never compromise even on routine and on questions of a purely practical nature. "One can, and should, agree to any compromise with dissenters in the Party on questions of current policy, on questions of a purely practical nature."**

When opportunist ideas and differences of principle arise in the Party, we must, of course, wage struggles to overcome those ideas and errors of principle. This definitely does not mean that when there are no differences of principle and no opportunist ideas in the Party, we should deliberately magnify into "differences of principle" divergences of opinion among comrades on questions of a purely practical nature.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "... the Party must on the one hand wage a serious struggle against erroneous thinking, and must on the other hand give the comrades who have committed errors ample opportunity to wake up to their errors. This being the case, excessive struggle is obviously not appropriate."***

*"The Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I.", J.V. Stalin, *Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954, Vol. IX, p. 4.

***Ibid.*

***"On Contradiction", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I.

It is necessary to make severe criticisms of, or even to apply organizational penalties to, those comrades who, after committing opportunist mistakes or other mistakes of principle, turn a deaf ear to persuasion and Party criticism, wilfully and obstinately cling to their errors and resist Party policy, or are double-faced in their attitude. But if these comrades do not cling to their mistakes but are willing to correct them and give up their previous point of view after sober discussion, persuasion and criticism, or if they coolly ponder over their mistakes or soberly discuss them with other comrades, we should welcome every small sign of progress on their part and not subject them to penalties indiscriminately. In criticism and inner-Party struggle, it is not true that the more stony-faced we are the better, or that the more comrades we punish the better; our highest aim is to educate the erring comrades to the best effect, help them correct their mistakes, educate the entire membership and consolidate the Party.

The "Left" opportunists were clearly wrong in their attitude towards inner-Party struggle. According to these almost hysterical people, any peace in the Party was intolerable — even peace based on complete unanimity on matters of principle and on the Party line. Even in the absence of any differences of principle in the Party, they deliberately hunted out targets, dubbed some comrades "opportunist," and set them up as "straw men" to shoot at in inner-Party struggle. They thought that such erroneous struggle and such shooting at "straw men" were the magic formula for developing the Party and achieving victory in the revolutionary fight of the proletariat. They considered that to stir up trouble out of nothing or deliberately concoct inner-Party struggle was the only "Bolshevik" way. Of course, this is not serious and earnest inner-Party struggle; rather is it a mockery of the Party and a perversion of inner-Party struggle, which is a most serious matter, into a frivolous game. The advocates of such action are not Bolsheviks at all but are either people who are well-nigh incorrigible, or careerists exploiting the name of "Bolshevik."

We have been discussing the attitude to be adopted towards shortcomings, mistakes and other undesirable phenomena in the Party. It is by combating all that is bad inside and outside the Party that we change the world and mankind, and at the same time perfect the Party and remould ourselves. Inner-Party struggle is the reflection within the Party of the existing contradictions in society between classes and between the old and the new. The Party tempers, develops and consolidates itself in the class struggle outside the Party

(i.e., in the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the people) and simultaneously becomes consolidated and united through struggle inside the Party, and it is therefore able to give more systematic, correct and effective leadership to the revolutionary struggle of the masses. Hence it would be utterly wrong, advantageous to the enemy, contrary to the laws of development of the class struggle and incompatible with our basic thesis of the transformation of the world and mankind through struggle, if we were to adopt a liberal attitude towards shortcomings, mistakes and other undesirable phenomena in the Party by glossing over internal differences of principle, covering up inner-Party contradictions, evading inner-Party struggle and just muddling along. Similarly, it would be wrong to isolate the struggle inside the Party from the class struggle outside the Party or the revolutionary movement of the masses, and thus turn inner-Party struggle into empty talk. In fact it is impossible to temper, develop and consolidate the Party in isolation from the revolutionary struggle of the masses. However, it would be equally wrong and contrary to the laws of development of the Party, if we were to carry matters to the other extreme and adopt an extreme attitude towards all comrades who have shortcomings or have committed errors but who are not irredeemable, or if we were to fail to distinguish between them and the enemy, conducting mechanical and excessive inner-Party struggles against them and wilfully fabricating such struggles. We should not break with comrades who have committed errors but who are nevertheless loyal, but we should show concern and sympathy for them, persuade and educate them, and help them temper and reform themselves in struggle. We should not castigate or expel them unless they persist in their mistakes and prove incorrigible.

Although there are still some shortcomings and mistakes, some isolated minor evils in our Party, we are fully confident that with the advance of the working-class movement we can and will get rid of them through the great revolutionary struggles of the masses. The history of nearly two decades of struggle and glorious progress by the Chinese Communist Party, and the world-wide development of the working-class movement, thoroughly convince us of this.

Inner-Party struggle is an indispensable component of the revolutionary struggle as a whole. Our comrades should therefore temper and cultivate themselves both in struggles outside the Party and in the struggle on two fronts inside the Party. Among many Party comrades, however, there is still no genuinely profound appreciation of such inner-Party struggle, and there is insufficient tempering and

self-cultivation. This is manifested not only in the frequent unprincipled struggles carried on by some comrades but also in the fact that certain comrades, including even some with a fairly long history of militant struggle, cannot stand being criticized or misjudged. When fighting the counter-revolutionaries, they never waver, complain, or feel dejected, however ruthless the struggle, however bitter the conditions, and however vicious the enemy's blows. Yet in inner-Party struggle they cannot stand being criticized, attacked, misjudged or wronged, or tolerate even a single unpleasant word. Or they suspect people of making pointed allusions to them, and so they complain and feel very dejected. We really must give this kind of thing our attention.

It must be stated that on the whole these comrades are very good because they wage resolute struggle against the counter-revolutionaries and look upon the Party as a most affectionate mother. After going out to fight hard battles against the counter-revolutionaries, they should receive encouragement, consolation and caresses, and not blows and wrongs, when they return to their great mother's embrace. It is only natural for them to expect such treatment. However, they fail to take one point into account, or fully into account — that our Party still has shortcomings and faults, and that there are inner-Party struggles which every comrade must take part in. Our Party criticizes and combats shortcomings and faults not because it is unfeeling but because such action is unavoidable in the course of the revolutionary struggle. It is necessary for comrades in the course of inner-Party struggle to receive well-founded criticism, for this is helpful to them, to the other comrades and to the whole Party. On the other hand, it is also unavoidable that at times some comrades will receive ill-founded criticisms, or get attacked on certain matters, or will even be wrongly judged and disciplined. Failing to allow for this, they become shocked and feel most miserable and dejected whenever it occurs.

In this connection, it is my opinion that every Party member should pay attention to uniting with his comrades, be sincere and open, refrain from hurting others by thoughtless or sarcastic remarks, and, in particular, refrain from irresponsibly criticizing comrades behind their backs. The proper attitude to any comrade's mistakes is sincerely to remonstrate with him and criticize him to his face, out of concern for the comrade and a desire to be of help. All of us, and especially those in more responsible positions, must bear this in mind.

On the other hand, it is my opinion that comrades should be morally prepared for inner-Party struggle, should open-mindedly accept all well-grounded criticism and be able to endure misunderstandings or attacks, or even unfairness and injustice; in particular, they should not get provoked or excited over irresponsible and unjustified criticism or rumours. As far as irresponsible misjudgement and criticism are concerned—that is, excluding properly conducted criticism among comrades or through the Party organization—one can try to clear the matter up or offer some explanation when necessary, but if that does not help, one might just as well let others say what they please, provided there is nothing wrong in one's thinking and behaviour. Let us remember the Chinese sayings: "Who never gossips about others behind their backs or is never the subject of gossip?" and "Never mind the storm, just sit tight in the fishing boat." No one in this world can entirely avoid being misunderstood, but misunderstandings can always be cleared up sooner or later. We should be able to endure misunderstandings and should never allow ourselves to be dragged into unprincipled struggle; at the same time we should always be vigilant and keep watch over our own thoughts and actions.

That is to say, we should take care not to use words that wound other comrades, and should be able to stand injurious language from others.

We are radically opposed to unprincipled disputes in the Party. Since they are unprincipled, they are useless and harmful to the Party, and there is generally little of right or wrong, or good or bad, about them. In such unprincipled struggles, therefore, there is no point in passing judgement as to who is right and who is wrong, or estimating who is better and who is worse, because that is impossible. All we can do is radically to oppose struggles of that kind and ask the comrades involved unconditionally to stop them and get back to principles. This is the policy we should adopt towards unprincipled disputes and struggles. But what should be done if unprincipled disputes do arise and if many of them get tangled up with struggles over principle? What should be done if such disputes knock at our door and we get dragged into them? All we can do in that case is, again, to put the stress on the questions of principle and avoid stressing those not involving any principle. Basing ourselves on the policy outlined here, we should handle such unprincipled disputes strictly and ourselves stand firm on principle from beginning to end, refusing to be dragged into the unprincipled disputes. When someone does something wrong to you, do not throw back something wrong at him. Always

stand by the right to oppose the wrong. Some of our comrades find it very difficult to act in this way, which shows why special attention to self-tempering and self-cultivation is necessary.

Let me now briefly sum up the points discussed.

The aim of ideological self-cultivation by members of the Communist Party is to temper themselves to become staunch and utterly devoted members and cadres of the Party who make constant progress and serve as examples for others. What is required of us is the following:

1. To build up our communist world outlook and a firm Party and proletarian class standpoint through the study of Marxism-Leninism and participation in revolutionary struggle.

2. To examine our own thinking and behaviour, to correct all erroneous ideas and at the same time to judge questions and judge other comrades on the basis of our communist world outlook and our firm Party and proletarian class standpoint.

3. Always to adopt a correct attitude and appropriate methods in the struggle against erroneous ideology in the Party, and especially against erroneous ideology which affects the current revolutionary struggle.

4. To keep a firm control over ourselves in thought, speech and action, and especially to take a firm standpoint and adhere to correct principles with regard to political ideas, statements and activities which are related to the current revolutionary struggle. In addition, it is as well to be careful even over "trifles" (in one's personal life, attitude, etc.). But as for making demands on other comrades, apart from matters of principle and major political questions, we should not be too severe or fault-finding over "trifles."

In my opinion, the above is what we mean, fundamentally, when we talk about ideological self-cultivation by members of the Communist Party.

ON OPEN AND SECRET WORK

September 1939

1. THE CREATION OF THE PARTY'S OPEN AND SECRET WORK

Our Party is a political party representing the most progressive class in history — the proletariat. The classes and forces which have lost their significance of progressiveness and become obstructions to social progress are our class and Party enemies. Here, the struggle against them is unavoidable and irreconcilable. One party in the struggle comprises our Party and the proletariat allied with peasants and all other groups and people who desire progress, and the other, the reactionary forces at home and abroad that obstruct progress. Following are the most fundamental conditions that create the struggle: (1) On our side: we uphold, expound and advocate all the truths because we are the most progressive class and political party, and we energetically seek social progress. There is no need for us to conceal these truths from the masses and deceive them. The higher the masses' consciousness is raised, the more advantageous it is to our cause. For this reason we have consistently spread our truthful views as extensively as possible among the masses. This is the political advantage that the history of social progress has given us. However, we are not yet at an advantage in point of strength. Politically, the masses are not only without rights but also under oppression. They are unorganized and are far from sufficient in cultural level and in degree of consciousness (2) On the side of the enemy: they do not uphold, expound and advocate the truths because they are the backward forces that obstruct progress. They must conceal the truths before the masses and deceive them. The higher the masses' consciousness is raised, the

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more difficult it will be for them to remain in existence. Hence they must hide their truthful views and put forth a set of false ideas to deceive the masses (in this respect the enemy must do secret work). This is the political disadvantage that the history of social progress has given them. However they are at an advantage in point of strength. They are vastly superior to us, politically, militarily, economically and culturally.

In view of the foregoing conditions, we can openly carry out our activities to explore what is advantageous to us and openly uphold, expound and execute our views. On the other hand, the enemies are strong enough to stop our activities and force us to carry on our work clandestinely or do it underground. In this way it creates the necessity for our Party to do secret work. Such a necessity is forced upon us by the enemy, an enemy strong enough to do so. So far as we are concerned, we are not subjectively pleased to do such secret work; we are compelled to adopt such a way of doing our work. Hence Party activities should be carried out as openly as possible. Only in case of necessity would we conduct our activities secretly.

Our Party exists and develops for the purpose of finally subjugating and extinguishing the enemy. So long as the enemy is alive, our Party's secret work will be carried on. The ordinary law governing the struggle between the enemy and ourselves is for one party to inflict upon the other the greatest injury and eliminate it and to exist and develop itself to the fullest extent. For the enemy or ourselves to achieve this object, it will be necessary for one party, first of all, to find out the other party's conditions and intentions (the more the better) but to keep its own conditions and intentions from being known to the enemy (the less the better). To attain this end, it will be necessary for us to examine the opposite party and camouflage ourselves. The fulfilment of such a task is a prerequisite of the outcome of every battle — victory or defeat. For this reason, so long as the enemy exists, a part of the Party's work must be done in secrecy. This explains why the Party's secret work is of a long-term nature and why the Party work is divided into two categories: the open and the secret. Since the open and the secret tasks are parts of the Party work as a whole and are for the purpose of attaining the same end, they are therefore inseparably connected and must be coordinated. Only when the enemy abroad has already or almost ceased to exist would the Party's secret work be no longer required.

2. THE OPEN AND SECRET WORK AT VARIOUS DIFFERENT PERIODS

Owing to the fact that the struggle between the Party's and the enemy's forces is uneven at various places, develops through different stages and goes through different periods of progress and retrogression, the Party's open and secret work is connected and coordinated in different ways at different stages and in different periods. In general, we can review it in the following three periods:

1. The period when the Party was carrying on underground work: This is the period when the Party is illegally suppressed. During this period, the Party's existence and organization and its work are illegal and need to be kept secret. Precisely during this period, the Party should pay special attention to the possible utilization of the legality and semilegality of the objective existence of certain departments for the purpose of carrying on its activities so as to establish, maintain and consolidate itself and form its ties with the masses. In this period, illegal struggle and secret work are the main activities of the Party.

2. The period when the Party is recognized as an open and legal political party: This is the period when the Party is not in possession of political power, yet it receives legal protection. During this period, the Party's existence and organization and a part of its work are legal and open, while the rest is illegal and secret. In this period, legal and open activities are the main aspects of the Party work.

3. The period when the Party is the ruling political party. In this period, the Party's existence and organization and its work are all legal. However, due to the fact that its enemy at home and abroad are still alive and the Party is still encircled by them, the work of certain departments still needs to be carried on in secrecy. The nature of such secret work is fundamentally different from that in the above-mentioned first and second periods; it is entirely legal and is directed by the regime.

In view of the Chinese Communist Party's special tasks and special environments and in view of the special factors in various quarters at present, the Party's open and secret work today are related in three different ways:

1. In the areas controlled by Japanese imperialism and Chinese collaborators the Party is an utmost secret political party, and Party's main work consists of illegal activities. Opportunities are few when

the Party can carry on its work openly and legally, but it is all the more important for it to seize them whenever they present themselves.

2. In areas controlled by our friendly political party in which there are some people who can cooperate with us and others who cannot officially cooperate with us, taking into consideration the different periods when cooperation is possible or impossible, our Party's task and slogan is to defeat Japanese imperialism. They are the slogan and task that our friendly party allegedly uphold. Implementation of such a task and slogan should be legal, but due to lack of understanding on the part of the friendly party and in mutual anticipation of a possible split in the future, our Party has not yet been able to gain a legal status, and our Party's organization, departments and newspapers have only enjoyed a very limited scope of legality for their work. Such peculiar circumstances have given rise to the requirement of our special working form in areas under the control of our friendly party and to the special relationships between our open and secret work there. The special feature here is that there is a broad scope of legality in each of our Party's departments that we can take advantage of. Still, there is a strict degree of restriction which is shown in the fact that we cannot carry on our activities in the name of the Party and as members of the Party.

3. In areas where our Party's forces are predominant (as the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region), our Party and its work are legal and open. Nevertheless, as a result of the encirclement of opposing forces outside and the existence of an internal enemy, certain Party departments still have to carry on work in secrecy.

Conditions are changing all the time. The relationships between open and secret work are also undergoing changes. We will refer to them later.

3. THE DIVISION BETWEEN AND CHANGES IN OPEN AND SECRET WORK

In a certain period of history, the tactical tasks of the Party and the revolutionary class remain unchanged, but the Party's strategy is subject to constant change. That is to say, after the Party and the revolutionary class have attained a concrete form and set on the road for certain tactical tasks, changes may take place because the Party and the revolutionary class have come up with different conditions and terms, internally and externally, at different periods and in different areas. This explains why in order to attain a de-

signed tactical objective, the Party and the revolutionary class may demand extreme flexibility and oppose stereotypes and formalism with regard to the form of activities in order to cope with the complexities and changeability in organization, work and struggle at different periods and in different areas. They demand "conformity to time and environment."

The open and the secret work are two forms of Party work; two ways of doing one thing. When we come to a decision as to which form we should adopt, we are required to make a concrete analysis of all the conditions and terms, internal and external, at the time and on the spot before deciding which Party work should be carried on openly and which, secretly. In general (only a generality), the legality and illegality of the Party's and the revolutionary class' form of activities provide the standard and measurement for determining whether the form should be open or secret. That is to say, all legal activities can be carried out openly, while illegal activities should not be openly set in motion, that is, they should be carried out secretly (attention must be given to the fact that legality referred to here is based on both written and unwritten laws).

After we have thoroughly familiarized ourselves with the local conditions of our Party and the revolutionary class at the time and with the various laws imposed by the ruling party, we can then decide what are the laws that we can take advantage of in carrying out the Party and revolutionary class activities. What are the working organizations and forms of struggle that can be carried on openly and what must be conducted secretly? What activities would the ruling party's law allow? What are the legal forms we can adopt? What activities are there that the law does not permit and therefore illegal ways of carrying them out must be adopted?

The criterion for the legality of the oppressed Party's and revolutionary class' activities is not unchangeable. This is because (1) the ruling party's laws are used to oppress and restrict the ruled, not the ruling party itself. The ruling party may promulgate or abolish certain laws any time to meet its needs and will; (2) the strength of the oppressed class in the struggle, the comparative strength of both parties to struggle and the inter-relationships between the social classes may also expand or contract the scope of legality of the masses' activities. In general, when the masses' strength is reduced and when the masses are being defeated, the scope of legality of their activities will narrow. Conversely, when the revolutionary forces are strong and are forging ahead, the scope of legality is enlarged. Hence the

Party and the revolutionary class pay constant attention to the striving for the expansion of the scope of legality for their position and for some of their activities whenever it is possible. To the ruling party, however, the reverse is true, that is, the stronger the revolutionary forces become, the greater will be the threat to their interests and the more they want to restrict and suppress the revolution (the present Fascist conditions do not show the greatness of the bourgeoisie's strength) The changes in the situation of the struggle between the enemy and ourselves and the progress or regression of the Party and the revolutionary class often bring abrupt changes to the scope of legality of the Party's and the masses' activities. This, in turn, causes changeability in the nature of the Party's work, that is, whether it should be carried on openly or secretly. Some or all Party departments carrying on Party activities have often brought secret work out into the open, or vice versa.

Such interchangeability often takes place also with individual legal and illegal struggles waged by the masses. They may start a struggle by a legal method, but in the course of it they may have to use illegal methods to continue it. Such illegal struggles may force the ruling party to recognize the illegal ways of struggling as legal.

In general, the activities of the Party and the revolutionary masses change from secret into open when the surrounding circumstances are favourable to them and from open into secret when the circumstances are unfavourable. Hence it is easy to change the secret activities into the open, but it is difficult when the change is made the other way round.

The Party should make assessments of the whole situation of the class struggle, of what new tasks the Party may, in the near future, propose to perform and what changes may take place in the circumstances and then see what activities can be carried out in the open and which can only be undertaken in secrecy. Due preparations should be made so that the changes may take place in a planned and orderly manner. Such assessments and preparations are of great importance to Party work for they can help the Party avoid or minimize the loss of opportunities and the loss in work, organization and even human lives, resulting from unpreparedness.

4. HOW CAN AN ILLEGAL PARTY TAKE ADVANTAGE OF LEGAL FACTORS IN ITS FAVOUR?

An illegal party can still make use of objectively legal factors to carry on its activities in the open. During the reactionary period,

the Party and its members lost their legal status. However, when they could successfully conceal their identities as members of the Chinese Communist Party, the members were free to participate in all sorts of legal activities. If the Party could make full and appropriate use of the possibility of the members' participation in the open or semi-open social activities, many such objective possibilities were open to us even when the Party is an absolutely secret organization. At such time, the Party and its organization must operate in utter secrecy. The majority of its members must, however, individually take as great a part as possible in the open social and political activities. In this way, the Party could still go into the midst of all such activities through its members, form contacts with the broad masses and gain control of the open and legal social bodies and organs and their publications. This is a matter of great importance to the Party operating in secrecy because (1) each of such bodies and organs and publications can become the Party's important link with and bastion among the masses; (2) only in this way can the Party keep itself in close contact with the vast majority of the masses and educate them; and (3) only in this way can the Party preserve and consolidate its secret organizations and keep on building up its rear organizations among the masses. This can prevent the reactionary forces from completely extinguishing the revolutionary workers' illegal organs. Only those secret parties which bury themselves in back-rooms would be easily eliminated by the enemy.

To take advantage of the possible legal factor is mainly to send members to join the legally-established social and political bodies and organs. It does not matter if such bodies and organs are monopolized by the reactionary party. At the same time, the Party should, through its individual members, set up various grey social bodies and organs and carry on all kinds of activities by various means in such bodies and organs, such as uniting and educating the masses, upholding their interests as extensively as it is legally possible and guiding them in actions.

Comrades working in such legally-established social bodies and organs must patiently and permanently maintain their appearance as regular staff members; they must never expose any of their relationships with the Party. They must retain their control of such bodies and organs and their legal entities up to the necessary moment. For this reason, these comrades must (1) adopt suitable forms to participate in such bodies and organs. (2) They must appear appropriate in status and look. Their working manner, attitude, language, working

style, clothing and mode of living must conform to their assumed status and look. They must appear as ordinary people like other staff members without jeopardizing the practical interests of the Party and the revolution. (3) They must carry on their work, guide the masses in their struggles and execute Party organizations' directives in an open manner that conforms to the circumstances but within the limit of legality (as for instance, making no illegal demands, putting up no illegal slogans and distributing no illegal propaganda materials). They must not follow the Party's procedure of work while working in such public social bodies and organs. (4) They must be good at utilizing the contradictions among the various factions of the reactionary party to attain our objectives and good at using proper ways to oppose the reactionary leaders in such bodies and organs, and at the same time, be good at cultivating friendly feelings towards themselves. (5) They must be faithful to these public bodies and organs in the execution of their original tasks (so long as these tasks do no harm to the practical interests of the revolution) and do all they can to uphold the legal status of these public bodies and organs. (6) They must maintain their necessary connections with the Party's secret organizations. They do not, in general, do the work of such secret organizations concurrently. They can only let a very few people know their relations with the Party and keep their connections with the Party at a minimum.

Utilizing members' legal participation in such public bodies and organs, the members and the Party organizations can camouflage themselves among the masses and in all public bodies and organs, carry on the Party work in a legal manner and at the same time, protect the work of the Party's secret organizations. The scope of such open work done in a legal manner should be enlarged as much as possible, and such work should be made open and legal to the fullest extent (of course, the possibilities of doing semi-open work should be fully utilized). It is because if more of the Party's departmental work can be done in this way, the less secret departments will the Party have to set up and the smaller the scope of such secret department work will be. It follows that the Party may curtail the personnel and expenses necessary for such secret work departments and it will be easier to organize such secret work departments on a smaller scale. Only by enlarging the scope of open work can the Party reduce the scope of its secret work. Conversely, if the scope of the open work is reduced, then the secret work will have to be expanded. So far as

a secret party is concerned, such a situation would help the enemy and the secret agents.

The public bodies and organs in which Party members participate as staff members have their own systems of organization and different posts. The Party members work in these public bodies and organs at different posts. There is therefore coordination in work between the higher and lower levels and coordination in higher-level legal struggle and lower-level illegal struggle. In general, comrades responsible for the open work at higher levels must cover and aid the comrades working at the lower levels and those working in secrecy; the latter should unite and mobilize the masses to cover and aid the comrades at the higher levels (in the case of a state in which there is a parliament, then there will be the coordination between struggles inside and outside the parliament). Such coordination is attained through the Party's secret relations and organizations. Such coordination, however, must not exceed the limitations permitted by the surrounding circumstances and must be carried out tactfully, for exceeding the limitations would affect certain comrades' positions and the existence of the public body and organ to which they are attached.

5. THE LAW GOVERNING SECRET WORK

When the Party is an underground party, all its members are secret members of the Party and maintain secret relations with the Party's leading organs. Apart from members participating in the work of open and legal public bodies and organs and among the masses, certain members must be devoted solely to the Party's secret work, to the establishment of the Party's secret organs and to the building of the Party's secret organizations (such as secret publications, transport and communications and the Party's leading organs). There must be specialized personnel to do the secret work (mainly the revolutionary careerists). Such work should not be done concurrently by Party members who are responsible for the open work. At the same time, the form in which the Party's secret work is done is quite different from that in which its open work is performed. The form of the open work among the masses should never duplicate that of the secret work. Those doing secret work should not, in general, reveal their identities to the masses and should not direct the masses' struggles but bury themselves in such secret work on a long-term basis. The open and secret work should be clearly demarcated with respect to

personnel and form but closely related through certain channels. These are matters of great importance. Any duplication or confusion would pose a serious threat to an underground party, for it might destroy its secret work and secret organs as well as open work and open organs.

The law governing the Party's secret work, the contacts between the Party's secret organs and their personnel and their contacts with the open public organs and their personnel should be carried out according to certain regulations. The implementation of such regulations should be ensured through strict discipline. In view of the existence of enemies and spies in Party organizations, any negligence in the conduct of secret work may cause serious losses to the Party. Only strict discipline will guarantee the complete implementation of regulations and satisfactory performance of secret work.

The regulations governing secret work include generally the following items: (1) Every Party member or cadre should only know what he must know, not what he may know. It is not permissible for him to disclose Party secrets to comrades not supposed to know them or to inquire about secret things. (2) Detailed regulations must be drawn up to govern the relationships between every Party organization or member and the higher and lower level organizations or other Party members. Apart from prescribed relations, no horizontal relations will be permitted. (3) Certain codes, substitute names, marks, time and other techniques must be prescribed. (4) No participant in any conference will be allowed to disclose any item on the agenda for discussion at conferences held by Party organizations at various levels except those that must be made known according to regulations. (5) In written reports and other documents for transmission no names of persons, places and figures are allowed to appear. No name lists of Party members and cadres should be kept. When certain records must be kept, names should be replaced with marks. (6) In general, secret Party documents are unnecessary. When they are found to be necessary, they should not reveal the identities of secret workers and should be burned after perusal. In the Party's publications and propaganda materials, Party secrets must never be exposed. (7) The Party's secret documents for transmission should be short and brief as a matter of principle. Verbiage and complexity should be discouraged so as to avoid unnecessary exposure of Party members. (8) Every Party member should retain his individual legal status by all means, let as few people know this Party membership as possible,

and reveal his family conditions and his personal qualifications to as few people as possible. (9) The forms of the Party's secret work must not be made known, as a rule, within the Party.

A strict line of demarcation must be drawn between the open and secret work, yet they should be coordinated according to strict regulations. All the regulations governing secret work should be strictly enforced, and alertness within the Party must be kept at the highest degree. This will make it difficult for the enemy's spies to carry on their activities. In this way, if sabotage is unfortunately carried out in the Party, the destruction will not be overall but partial.

The object of secret work is to preserve and consolidate the Party during the reactionary period, to keep the concrete work of various departments of the Party from the ears, eyes and attention of the reactionary forces and to make preparations for successful revolutionary attacks. Hence, so far as secret work is concerned, empty "revolutionary" shouts which have no practical meaning at all must never be made (verbal or written), for such shouts would only spur the reactionary forces to alertness, heighten their attentiveness, undermine the secret work and carry no revolutionary significance. We must never equate such empty cries devoid of content and practical meaning, with propaganda work which must be carried out at any time to publicize our political views. The former should be opposed, while the latter is necessary so long as it does not undermine practical secret work.

In directing the comrades who do open work, the Party's secret organizations must take their respective positions and difficulties into consideration. They should only give them tasks that they can take up, and fulfil and prescribe the ways of performing them that can be adopted. The Party's secret organizations must refrain from assigning to these comrades tasks and ways of performing the tasks that the circumstances do not allow to be fulfilled according to designated ways. The greatest difficulty that confronts these comrades is the contradiction between their designated illegal work and their legal appearance and the indispensable connection between their open status and the Party's secret organizations. Hence, there must be a limit to what they can do in fulfilling the illegal tasks assigned to them by the Party and performed within the scope of their legal positions. Any task that is aimed at too high an objective can never be fulfilled by them in their legal positions.

When a party exists in utmost secrecy, it should shift its centre of work to factories, workshops and its own secret branches in the

rural areas. It should place as many comrades as possible who are capable of giving guidance in such branches so as to make the branches as independent of leadership from the higher secret leading organs as possible. In this way, it will be easier to fulfil the task of preserving and consolidating the Party and developing its work.

6. THE TWO BATTLELINE STRUGGLE ON THIS QUESTION

When the revolution develops to a serious stage and the Party organizations have started to operate underground, they are confronted with the task of preserving and consolidating the Party in the absence of new revolutionary upsurge. The demarcation between open and secret work must be strictly observed. At such a time, two incorrect tendencies often develop in the Party: one is the rightist cancellation ideology — legalism and the other, the leftist cancellation ideology — illegalism.

What is legalism? Those who advocate legalism hold that during the period when the Party is under suppression, no illegal struggles and activities should be carried on; only legal struggle and activities should be conducted. They confine Party activities and the mass revolutionary struggles to the scope of legality permitted by the hostile forces and advocate abandoning and rejecting underground work and illegal struggles. They are so frightened by the hostile forces' terrorist policy as to become their captives. Even when they carry on underground work, they do so for the purpose of securing legal status for the Party. Of course, during the period of white terrorism, legalization of the working class' political party is impossible; it is an utterly illusory idea. To an underground party, this is a cancellation ideology, for at a time when the principal forms of struggle by the party and the revolutionary class are illegal, rejection of underground work and illegal struggle is tantamount to cancellation of the Party's work and the Party itself.

Such legalists do not understand that although the Party's struggle has failed to guide the revolution to victory, the revolutionary tasks have been left unfulfilled and the Party has gone underground, the Party's original tasks, program and fundamental revolutionary slogans should never be given up or neglected. The only thing to do at such a time is to change the form of work, the ways and concrete road to fulfil these tasks, program and fundamental slogans. The legalists, however, are unwilling to alter the Party's form of work and carry on underground work, but they are willing to give up or

neglect the Party's program and slogans in order to conform to the reactionary forces' laws. This is abandonment of the revolution. Hence they become advocates of the cancellation of the revolution.

What is the leftist cancellation ideology — illegalism? It is the reverse and the other extreme of legalism. The advocates of this ideology believe that all the work of an underground party should be carried out in secrecy in any circumstances and that all Party members' activities be conducted underground. They are of the opinion that in this period to conduct legal struggles is impossible. They hold that it would be "opportunism, legalism" if the Party, under certain conditions, adopts the legal forms of carrying on its struggles; if certain Party members join or organize legal public bodies and publications, they maintain, it will be the form of struggle that obscures class ideology. Even if they too join or organize certain legal but grey public bodies, they would do so only to sabotage such bodies or make them illegal, secret bodies. They oppose the utilization of legal bodies, work in the open and legal forms of struggling and advocate confining the Party's and the revolutionary class' work and activities to a very narrow and secret scope. Thus they would alienate the Party from the masses, deprive the Party's underground organizations and organs of the cover of public organs and mass organizations and render it easy for the enemy to sabotage the Party. Hence, this is another form of cancellation of the revolution and becomes the leftist cancellation ideology.

Those who advocate leftist cancellation ideology do not understand that when the Party goes underground on a long-term basis, its fundamental revolutionary task does not change, but the way of carrying on its work and the concrete method and way of fulfilling its task must be changed. They do not change the Party's form of struggle and method of working; instead, they insist on adopting a kind of secret and illegal form of struggle. They oppose the open and legal public bodies which become the Party's extremely important branches and bastions during the reactionary period. Apart from undermining Party work, they cannot fulfil any of the Party's revolutionary tasks. Hence they are the leftist cancellation faction.

In his article on "The Enlarged Conference of the Proletarian Magazine's Editorial Committee" written during the reactionary period, Lenin said, "Our task is, at present, to preserve and consolidate the Russian Socialist Democratic Workers' Party. To carry out this task, there is one point that we should bear in mind, that is, we

must struggle against the two cancellation factions, the right and the left. The rightist cancellation faction said that they did not want the illegal Russian Socialist Democratic Workers' Party. The Party's action centre should be only an entirely or almost entirely legal centre of activities. On the other hand, the leftist cancellation faction carries this to the other extreme. In their opinion, the Party can never carry out its action in a legal way. Under any circumstances, the Party's actions should be carried out in an underground or illegal manner. In their opinion, all Party work should be kept secret. Regardless of whether rightist or leftist, the cancellation factions of the Russian Socialist Democratic Workers' Party come to the same conclusion—cancellation of the party under the present historical conditions, both factions lack planned and appropriate coordination between legal and illegal work. It is unthinkable to not preserve and consolidate the Russian Socialist Democratic Workers' Party" (*Lenin's Works*, Vol. XIV in Russian, page 93).

"To preserve and consolidate the Russian Socialist Democratic Workers' Party is the fundamental task. Everything else must be subservient to it. Only after we attain the object of consolidation of the Party can we do anything in a legal manner in the interest of the Party" (*Ibid*, page 95). In carrying out the two battleline struggle for the preservation and consolidation of the Party, Lenin opposed both the rightist and the leftist cancellation factions. Fundamentally, the rightist cancellation faction wanted no underground party. In that case it will be basically impossible to speak of preserving and consolidating the Party during the reactionary period. In this period, the revolutionary workers' party could only be an illegal one. Since they do not want an underground or illegal party, it will be useless to take advantage of the possibility of carrying on Party work in a legal manner for the benefit of the Party. The leftist cancellation faction fundamentally negates the task of preserving and consolidating the Party during the reactionary period. Therefore they do nothing to avail themselves of the possibility of doing Party work in a legal way. Since they do not take advantage of such possibilities, it will be impossible to preserve and consolidate the Party.

Irrespective of whether they are the leftist or the rightist cancellation faction, they are bent on confining the activities of the revolutionary class and its political party to a definite scope and to one formula. They do not understand that in order to fulfil their own tasks, the revolutionary class and its political party must, without exception, apply all forms of struggle and explore all fields of social

activities and be prepared to shift from one form to another as dictated by circumstances. The rightist faction asserts that the revolutionary class and its political party cannot carry on their activities in an illegal and secret manner; they can only do so in a legal and open manner. The leftist faction maintains that the revolutionary class and its political party cannot conduct their activities in a legal form; they can only do so in an illegal and secret manner. Both factions wish to confine the conduct of activities to a fixed form. Hence they both became cancellation factions during the reactionary period. Opposing them both, Lenin said, "First, the revolutionary class must be good at applying all forms (without exception in the least) in carrying on its activities, and, secondly, it must be prepared all the time to replace rapidly and abruptly one form with another." However, neither the left nor the right should ever think like "naive leftists."

Owing to the fact that the Russian left and right factions persisted in holding fast to their mistaken ideas, Lenin not only expelled the right cancellation elements but also rid the Party of the left elements. In his book *Leftist Naivety Illness*, Lenin, summing up the experience of the Bolshevik Party, believed that expulsion of the left and right cancellation factionists was an indispensable condition for winning victory in the preservation and consolidation of the Party during the reactionary period. Lenin said, "How the Bolshevik Party attained this (that is, preservation and consolidation — Liu) was due to ruthless exposure and expulsion of those revolutionists who paid only lip-service, these people did not want to understand the necessity of retreat and how to retreat. They did not understand the necessity of learning how to carry on open work in the most reactionary meetings, workers and employees' unions, cooperatives and insurance societies." "If they did not assume the responsibilities of maintaining coordination between the open and the secret forms of work in the most violent struggles of the Bolshevik Party and taking part in the most reactionary parliament and various organizations (as insurance and savings societies) restricted by reactionary laws, then they could not have preserved the nucleus of the proletarian revolution between 1908 and 1914, to say nothing about consolidation and development." (*Leftist Naivety Illness*)

7. THE EXPERIENCE AND LESSONS OF THE CHINESE PARTY ON THIS QUESTION

Apart from guerrilla warfare, the Chinese Party had also gone through a long underground work period, and it had acquired a great

deal of experience on this question. China has also put forth the program of doing open and secret work and opposed legalism and the cancellation faction. Yet in our Chinese Party the two mistaken ideologies of right cancellation and left cancellation had likewise emerged.

The right cancellation ideology's representative was Chen Tu-hsiu's cancellation faction and certain legalist Marxists. They believed that after the defeat of the great revolution in 1927, the bourgeoisie in China had scored a "victory" and the democratic revolution of the bourgeoisie had ended. They thought that the old revolutionary task had been completed, opposition to capitalism and feudalism was no longer a major revolutionary task and that China would enter the period of long-term peaceful development of capitalism. They were of the opinion that during such a period the proletariat should join the legal struggle mainly through participation in the reactionary People's Congress in order to become an opposing party in the Congress. In opposing an illegal form of struggle, they went so far as to disapprove the revolutionary guerrilla warfare at that time. There were the legalist Marxists who opposed all illegal struggles and secret work. They would carry on some work by writing within the scope permitted by law. Our Party expelled these cancellation faction elements from it. Among them were many who had turned into vicious counter-revolutionaries.

On the other hand, certain comrades of our Party committed left cancellation ideological mistakes due to the rashness and stereotype of the Party's petty bourgeois elements and incorrect assessment of the revolutionary situation and the comparative strength of classes. It was also due to the inadequacy of the ideological struggle against such a left cancellation idea, enabling such mistakes to go on uncorrected for a long time. All these mistakes caused serious losses to the Party. Where had such left cancellation ideology displayed itself? It was displayed in the following aspects:

1. When the Party went underground, the fundamental task of preserving and consolidating the Party was not proposed; in fact it was negated. The necessity of preserving and building up revolutionary strength was never stressed; in fact it was ignored. Before the masses took revolutionary action, the necessity of making serious assessments of the relative forces in the struggle and the interrelationships between various classes was not recognized.

2. The left cancellation faction opposed all legal forms of struggle and all open forms of doing work. They believed that those forms

constituted "legalism" and that the Party should adopt illegal forms of struggle, do their work in secrecy and that under any conditions all the Party's actions could only be done in an illegal manner. They opposed the utilization of the possibility that Party work could be done in a legal manner. Within the Party they opposed the legalist struggle. However, what they opposed was not real legalism but the possibility that the Party could take advantage of working in a legal way.

3. The left cancellation faction held that faced with white terror, it was impossible to carry on the struggle in a legal manner. They thought that very few opportunities to conduct Party activities in a legal way would present themselves. These few opportunities were not worth giving serious attention. They did not know that the fewer the opportunities, the more the underground party should utilize them. They did not understand what Lenin said, ". . . At present, we should talk about how to make use of the present possibilities of conducting Party actions in a legal manner rather than dwell on such possibilities in the Party's other departments. That would be more beneficial to the Party." (*Lenin's Works*, Vol. XIV, page 95)

4. In fact they opposed the articles of the Factory Law and Trade Union Law that were promulgated by the government at that time and were favourable to the Party, negated the fact that these articles represented the rewards (however small, but they were very important to the working class then) earned by workers through their long bloody struggles and put up slogans of "opposing the Factory Law and carrying out the Soviet Labour Law." They were unaware that the practice (note! practice but not propaganda) of the Soviet Labour Law in large cities at that time was a comic slogan devoid of substance. They also voted against organizing open workers' organizations when it was possible. In their opinion, such open organizations would be "neither yellow nor red middle-of-road trade unions or the third kind of trade union." Hence they did not seize the opportunity. They did not trust the working class for fear that the worker masses would blur their own class consciousness once they started struggles in a legal way and organized and joined legal workers' organizations. They failed to comprehend what Lenin said, "When the proletariat join legal organs, they bring their own class consciousness, openly protect labourers' interests and democratic demands and move toward unity of strength and the development of the whole movement . . . Every step in the development of capitalism educates, unites and increases its own grave-digger ranks and heightens the workers' indignation" (*Lenin's Works*, Vol. XIV, page 250).

5. Mechanically and mistakenly, they applied talks on "the program and slogan of degrading the Party through participation in open public bodies" to legal mass bodies and publications. They called on these legal bodies and publications to adopt illegal programs and slogans similar to those of the Party's and carry on their work in the attitude, language, style and forms used by the Party. They wanted these legal mass bodies to turn into a second party. Furthermore, they resolved that all the open and legal grey mass bodies should become illegal red trade unions. It is obvious that the left cancellation faction did not understand the distinction between the Party and the mass bodies, between open and secret work.

6. The left cancellation faction obliterated the distinction between open and secret work, confused open with secret work and equated the two kinds of work, calling on those responsible for underground organs to hold posts in public organs and to work in the public bodies in the morning and then in the underground organs in the afternoon. They made many public organized mass bodies conceal their identities and activities and duplicate the Party's work form. In this way, underground organs expanded without restraint, and genuine public and legal organs vanished entirely. They published the Party's secret activities in the Party's publications. This facilitated the work of enemy spies and collaborators and gave the enemy numerous opportunities to undermine the Party. After the complete cancellation of open work and concealment of the mass bodies, the Party's secret work became an "open secret." In this way, open and secret work and the Party's mass movements were similarly destroyed.

7. They compared secret work not with open work but with mass work. They said, "Only after mass movements are successfully launched can secret work be carried out satisfactorily." They had never given any thought to the question of how, under the conditions prevailing then, the mass movements could be successfully launched. They did not realize that although secret work was closely related to mass movements, they were, after all, two different matters. They developed separately; the two were not one and the same. If the Party's secret work was not successfully carried out, the failure could, in certain circumstances, undermine the public mass work. Likewise, when the public mass work developed to a certain degree, its success could also undermine secret work. For the sake of preserving the Party's strength and its secret bastions in the midst of the masses, mass work had to be restricted.

From the foregoing we can see that although the Chinese and the Russian left and right cancellation factions had their respective special features, they also had many things in common. What was uncommon was that the Chinese Communist Party failed to overcome the left cancellation ideology promptly. This should be taken as a serious lesson. As Lenin said, such a mistake makes it impossible for the revolutionary party to reserve its nucleus. This was one of the main reasons why the Party in the white areas suffered very great sacrifices.

The Chinese left cancellation ideology also opposed legalism and the right cancellation faction, but (1) they voted against legalism from an incorrect standpoint and (2) hence opposed not only legalism but also the actions and ideas of coordinating open public work with secret work. In addition to various erroneous actions, the left cancellation faction not only could not really oppose legalism, they actually helped legalism and the right cancellation faction by giving it various pretexts to attack and slander the Party. Such extremely left ideology, under certain circumstances, turned to be extremely right ideology. At later stages, they even went so far as to assert that it was impossible to preserve and consolidate the Party in face of the confrontation of two political powers and white terrorism, and that the destruction of most of the Party organizations in the white areas and the very great sacrifices were irreducible, unavoidable and created as a result of objective difficulties. For the same reason, they asserted that they could not be held responsible for their mistakes. This was, of course, a kind of extremely right ideology. The nature of the rightism was exposed at a time when the Party members urgently called for extensive and brutal armed struggles. At such a time, those who were originally extreme leftists showed that they did not have sufficient determination and courage to decide on and lead the really extensive mass revolutionary struggles. This took place in the Party work after the War of Resistance broke out.

8. A FEW CONCLUDING WORDS

Utilization of possible legal participation in open public bodies and correct coordination of open with secret work are of very great and decisive significance to an underground party. Any mistake committed in principle on this question will not only render it impossible for the party to prepare effectively for the revolution but also make it impossible to preserve and consolidate the party. In the Chinese Communist Party there are still many comrades who have

made inadequate assessments of the importance of this question. They have often looked upon this question of a decisive nature as merely a technical question. The Party in China has paid a great price in blood for this question. Even today, the importance of this question is still irreducible in the Party. Every cadre must carefully study it not only for the sake of understanding the lesson learned in the past but mainly for the reason of conducting the work hereafter more satisfactorily. We have not been able to see many documents on the systematic study of this question. Therefore, it is worth our effort to make a systematic study of it in principle and in substance.

THE CURRENT SITUATION AND OUR TASKS IN THE CENTRAL KIANGSU AREA

March 20, 1941

[To responsible comrades of Central Kiangsu Area Party Committee and the First Division of the New Fourth Army.]

Comrade Chen Pi-hsien,

Please circulate this letter among Comrades Su Yü, Liu Yen and Kuan Wen-wei.

I have received your letter.

At present the situation has undergone a great change in the north Kiangsu area, especially in the area south of Tungtai where you are, since Li Chang-kiang surrendered to the enemy, who then began to launch a large-scale mopping-up operation. The army units under Han Teh-chin were attacked and put to rout by the enemy troops and the bogus troops. This is the result of their persistent anti-Communist policy. The forces of the enemy and national traitors are now very close to your area. The enemy and national traitors are trying to occupy the whole north Kiangsu area and turn it into a puppet area; therefore, at present, the one and only direct task for you and the people of the north Kiangsu area

This letter was addressed to responsible comrades of the Party and army units in the central Kiangsu area. It was dated March 20, 1941 and published in *Kiang-Huai Jih-pao* (江淮日報, *Yangtze and Huai River Daily*). Liu Shao-ch'i was then Secretary of Central China Bureau and a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and concurrently Political Commissar of the New Fourth Army. This text is translated from *Liu Shao-ch'i Chu-tso Chi* (劉少奇著作集, *A Collection of the Works of Liu Shao-ch'i*), Vol. I, compiled by the Publication Committee of Liu Shao-ch'i's Works and published by San I Book Store, Kyoto, 1952.

is to defend the democratic base for resisting the Japanese in north Kiangsu and to wage struggles against the enemy and national traitors in their attempt to turn north Kiangsu into a puppet area. It is entirely different from the past situation when you had to carry out the task of resisting the Japanese and, at the same time, also had to handle frictions with Han Teh-chin. Your present task is only the most simple, most direct and most important task of resisting the Japanese. This is a point which we must pay attention to in our work of leadership. In all fields, we must lay still greater stress on the slogan of resisting the Japanese and opposing the national traitors.

Due to this change in the situation since Li Chang-kiang surrendered to the enemy and the enemy started his mopping-up operation, and due further to the merciless oppression and deception by a policy of conciliation of the enemy toward the masses, the following two changes of sentiments have taken place among the masses. One is that the people have enhanced their consciousness against the Japanese. In defending their native place and protecting their homes, livestock, lives and property, they ask for arms to resist the Japanese and eliminate the national traitors. This is a progressive and revolutionary sentiment. Against the attacks of the enemy troops or the bogus troops, and in our victory over Li Chang-kiang during the counter-mopping-up operation of our forces, its influence has been felt. This is the proof that this great tendency has emerged. In the upsurge of this anti-Japanese sentiment, a sector of the masses has determined to resist Japan and overthrow the enemy. They have determined to arm themselves, resist the Japanese and defend their native land. At present, the only problem is who is to lead, organize and arm them? Next, it may be seen that among some people there is a sentiment of becoming obedient subjects, becoming slaves and surrendering themselves to become traitors. This also has become apparent. Except a very few national traitors, the great majority of them should not be those who welcome the enemy and the national traitors in their heart! It is also because they wish to protect their lives and property and live in peace. They offer no resistance against the enemy and the national traitors, welcome gladly the enemy, become obedient subjects, surrender themselves to the enemy, seek the pleasure of the enemy by such means as organizing local peace maintenance committees and hope that the enemy will not beat people, burn houses and kill the local inhabitants so that lives and property may be safe.

For instance, in Yencheng county, perhaps some local gentlemen, or down to village heads and constables, collected contributions from the masses to buy grain, pigs, chickens and eggs and sent them to the enemy troops or bogus troops, went long long way to give them welcome, prepared feasts for them, and helped them in doing various labour and services. In this way, they fell into the trap of the enemy to become his guide and secret agent, and even become responsible persons of peace maintenance committees. There have been many such instances in Yencheng county, especially in districts under the domination of Han Teh-chin. All this was caused entirely by Han Teh-chin's past evil rule and slavish education and was also encouraged by such a policy of inducing people to surrender themselves to the enemy as casting away one's personality and integrity. It is also the social foundation of Wang Ching-wei's so-called "peace for national salvation," the basis of capitulationists at home, and, in northern Kiangsu, the attitude of capitulationists which has actually appeared. It has already lost the self-respect and self-confidence of the great Chinese people. It is a backward, shameful and slavish sentiment which should be strictly forbidden and attacked!

In addition to the foregoing two sentiments, there is another sentiment of vacillation and fear, which is being intensified among the people. There are also some scoundrels who are trying to take advantage of this confusion to make a fortune and organize armed forces. Their intention of occupying some places by violence is also becoming increasingly strong. These scoundrels sometimes make contact with the anti-Japanese government under the slogan of resisting the Japanese and, at other times, make contact with the enemy troops and the national traitors under the anti-Communist slogan. To attain their objective of becoming high officials and rich, they are now very active.

Up to the present, we have made very great efforts in our struggle against the attacks of and friction with Han Teh-chin. In addition to saving ourselves, we have only the objective of resisting the Japanese. We should strive for the sacred right of every Chinese to resist the Japanese. We should exert our utmost efforts to resist the Japanese. Today, we still cannot say that we need not make efforts to handle friction with the anti-Communist diehards. From the west, the great anti-Communist army is attacking us; Han Teh-chin and his remnant followers are also trying by all and every

means to undermine us. To resist them, we are compelled to use our armed force. It is even more so particularly in the north. However, in your area, generally speaking, you have already played the role of persisting in the war of resistance behind the enemy line. To win our final victory from the enemy, you have reached the stage when you can at any time concentrate your forces to resist the Japanese attacks or establish bases of anti-Japanese democracy. All this becomes today the direct task of all of you. You have, of course, caught up with the situation; however, it is your duty to maintain full vigilance. Therefore, in the future, to carry out and accomplish this task, you not only have to exert your utmost efforts but also must, while concentrating full attention upon attacking the enemy forces and national traitors, arouse millions of the masses, organize them and arm them so that they will, together with you, attack the enemy forces and the national traitors.

You must do your best to organize and lead the first anti-Japanese sentiment existing among the people and must also make great effort resolutely to prevent the second capitulationist sentiment. For this, we have to put forth the following slogans:

No surrender even at the sacrifice of our lives!

Never become national traitors!

Never become homeless slaves!

Carry the War of Resistance Against Japan through to the end!

Only by resisting the Japanese can we protect our motherland and our lives and property!

Surrender cannot save our motherland and our lives and property!

To be national traitors is the greatest humiliation in the history of mankind!

To be national traitors is to betray our ancestors and exterminate our posterity!

Resisting Japan for national salvation is the sacred mission of all Chinese!

Those who sacrificed themselves for the country and people are forever remembered as the national heroes in history!

All people, arm yourselves, protect the motherland, North Kiangsu and the base for fighting the Japanese!

All people, arm yourselves, crush the enemy in his mopping-up operation and seize back our lost lands!

Those who have money, contribute your money; those who have abilities do your part to fight for the final victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan!

In addition to the foregoing slogans, we can include some local slogans and carry all these slogans widely among the people. By explaining these slogans to the people, we can raise as far as possible people's enthusiasm for resisting the Japanese and opposing the national traitors. Then, having raised people's enthusiasm, we quickly can absorb them into various anti-Japanese organizations.

To enhance anti-Japanese and patriotic enthusiasm among the people, it will not be adequate to rely simply on the general and superficial agitation. Furthermore, we must achieve the following things:

(1) Conduct extensive and deep national education among the people.

(2) Give praise to heroic deeds, especially local heroic deeds, during the war of resistance, and give them as much publicity as possible; and attack the shameful deeds of decadent people who turned themselves into national traitors.

(3) Our forces and armed mass organizations must carry out anti-Japanese activities heroically, resolutely and successfully.

(4) Properly improve the living of the labouring people, lighten the burden of the people, but by so doing do not commit mistakes of extreme Left deviation.

(5) Correctly carry out Party policy for the war of resistance; all anti-Japanese armed units must have fine discipline.

(6) Organizationally raise the growing enthusiasm of the masses, with the purpose of conducting various concrete and continuous anti-Japanese activities.

To give play to the anti-Japanese enthusiasm and activism of the millions of people and organize them is your present basic work and central work. We think that you must study and examine these problems in depth.

To conduct extensive and deep national education among the people, we must answer in detail the following questions among the people. In the past, under the reactionary rule of Han Teh-chin, many of the following questions were not yet answered wholly and clearly among the people. We should not consider that the people have the same degree of national consciousness as we do. Among our cadres and activists, these questions have long been answered

and should be clear enough. However, among the people, they are still important basic questions for which clear answers have not yet been given.

1. SHOULD WE FIGHT THE ENEMY?

This question is the question of whether or not we should wage the war of resistance and is the question whether we should fight or seek peace. As far as we are concerned, it is the question of whether or not we should fight. This is a very important basic issue which will decide almost everything. Should we answer this question with the affirmative 'to fight', then all measures adopted for the war of resistance, such as the anti-Japanese united front, bases, armed organizations and rations for the armed forces, would be matters of sheer necessity. Should we answer this question with the negative, 'not to fight', then all these measures would become quite unnecessary. Therefore, we first must give an answer to this question. Our answer is war. However, some people gave the answer: "No war." Others gave the answer: "It's better not to fight at present." These people are none other than the Japanese aggressors, the Wang Ching-wei's clique, the pro-Japanese clique, the capitulationists and the lowly slaves who waved the Japanese flag to welcome the Japanese invaders. These people are trying by all and every means to spread among the masses of people their reasons why no war should be waged against the Japanese. They assert: "As we cannot defeat the Japanese in war, we should seek peace with Japan instead of making war against Japan. The fighting has been going on for so long; it is quite enough. If we continue to fight the Japanese, it will give an opportunity to the people of the Western countries to destroy China. If we open war against Japan, we will simply destroy ourselves." According to their arguments, it is disadvantageous to make war against Japan. We should not take any action to resist the Japanese even when they invade our country. We should seek peace, surrender, sell out our country, welcome the Japanese aggressors and become national traitors. Otherwise, there is no way out. Wang Ching-wei, the most shameful national traitor of mankind, thinks that it is a rational and most glorious thing for him to become a national traitor and sell out his country. Those who welcome the Japanese troops of aggression to save their own lives and property also think that we should not make war against the Japanese enemy and there is no way other

than capitulation for survival. As regards such "theories" of the enemy, national traitors and capitulationists and their slavish mentality, we must retort them deeply and fully among the people, try by all means to arouse the broad masses in an anti-Japanese movement and thoroughly purge and eliminate such slavish sentiments.

All Chinese people of any political party, any army unit and any position in enemy-occupied areas can take only one of the following three paths: (1) fight against the enemy, (2) surrender to the enemy or (3) run away. There is no fourth path to take.

Therefore, all people behind the enemy lines must choose one of the three alternatives. Which one of the three alternatives is the best? We dare to make this answer to the people: it is best to take the first path and make war; neither surrendering nor running away is good. Why? Because, there is no other place for you to run away to; anywhere you go, there is no safety. Next, as a matter of fact, you cannot run away. (Of course, it is correct to hide oneself for the time being when the enemy attacks, to avoid unnecessary loss and damage.) It is even worse to surrender than to run away. Once you have surrendered to the enemy, you become a slave, having lost the national spirit of a Chinese. There is also the danger of being forced by the enemy to be a national traitor. Your life and property will be held entirely in the hands of the enemy. You will be at his mercy. Therefore, we must explain to the people all the merciless brutalities of the enemy and tell them the sufferings of a slave under the Japanese. (For instance, ten households were permitted to use only one kitchen knife, and similar stories.) Moreover, we must explain to the people the innumerable instances of arson, massacre, raping and plundering committed by the enemy and the merciless killing of people by the national traitors, to illustrate that under no circumstances should one become a national traitor or a slave under the Japanese. Furthermore, we must prove to the people that should they surrender themselves, become national traitors and the obedient subjects of the enemy, there will be no security for their lives and property and, on the contrary, there will be even greater danger. Especially during the war of resistance and after its victory, they will have no protection whatsoever for their lives and property. Therefore, they should be told that those who have become national traitors or the obedient subjects of the enemy must wake up quickly and that those who have not done so must never become national traitors or subjects of the enemy.

What should one do after having chosen the path of war? To engage oneself in war, there are many hardships and dangers. There is the danger of losing one's life and property. However, only by smashing the enemy's mopping-up operation can we safeguard the lives and property of the people, prevent the enemy from freely dealing with our lives and property and handle our lives and property by ourselves. Therefore, in the war against the enemy and when we have defeated the enemy, it is then possible to safeguard our lives and property. Should we fail to fight and China be subdued, Japan would turn China into her colony. At that time, nobody could have any means to protect his life and property.

It also is necessary to tell the people the kind of sinister conciliation policy which the enemy has adopted in some areas today to win over the people. The birth of such a policy to win over the people did not come from the fact that Chinese people are capitulating everywhere, but results from the fact that they are putting up strong resistance everywhere against the enemy. If we did not resist the Japanese, it is unthinkable that the enemy could make such concessions to the Chinese people.

At present the enemy is still employing the policy of winning over Chinese people; however, should China finally fail in her war of resistance, the enemy certainly would give up this policy and suppress the Chinese people mercilessly. We cannot be mistaken in this. It is necessary for us to explain it to the people. Next, in our war of resistance, the Chinese people may suffer some sacrifices and losses. However, this will be unavoidable and is glorious. It also is necessary to explain this point to the people. Trying to avoid sacrifices and losses means giving up the war of resistance to surrender to the enemy and giving welcome to the enemy. This is, of course, wrong and also most shameful.

Anyway, we can never consider capitulation for saving our lives and property as a correct action. We never will accept any ground for capitulation. We are of the opinion that we can never surrender even at the sacrifice of our lives and property. Those who think about capitulation are completely mistaken. No matter how much we may feel the necessity of capitulation, we still cannot do so. Therefore, to boost our national morale among the people, it is necessary to denounce those who paid money to and waved flags to welcome the enemy troops. The government must openly give them warning. The ringleaders of the capitulationists must be punished. National traitors who helped the enemy and opposed

and undermined the war of resistance must be severely punished. The government and the army should not ignore them. According to the actual policy of the government, we cannot treat all those who surrendered to the enemy to save their lives and property as national traitors and punish them accordingly. We should have, at the beginning, given them national education.

Therefore, we come to the conclusion that we should fight the Japanese. We must wage war against Japan even we do not want to. Only by fighting the Japanese can we survive. Fighting the Japanese is the sacred duty of all Chinese people. So long as we are Chinese people, under no circumstances can we refuse to fight the Japanese. We can never surrender ourselves to the Japanese.

2. WHO SHOULD FIGHT THE JAPANESE?

This is a problem among the people who have admitted that we must fight the Japanese. They are also for the War of Resistance Against Japan. However, they think that somebody else should fight the Japanese and that they themselves need not do the fighting. Fighting is the business of the army, not the business of the people. Though they are for the war, they think that some other people, namely the army, should do the fighting instead of themselves. Some people have come forward to give support; however, they themselves show no determination to fight the Japanese and make sacrifices for the war. Therefore, who should fight the Japanese has become a problem. It is an important problem among the people. We must solve this problem for them. We must do our best to strengthen the determination of the people to resist the Japanese and make heroic sacrifices for the war. Only on this basis can we mobilize the broad masses of people, organize them and make them resolutely take part in the War of Resistance Against Japan. Otherwise, we can never accomplish this task.

At present, among the people it is reported that some people request that "you (the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army) go attack and take such and such a place." If what is asked for cannot be achieved, people will be displeased and refuse to hand over their grain for the public granary. Of course, they are urging our troops to attack the enemy; and, our troops also will naturally attack the enemy. However, there is a problem, that is, those who made the request are wrong in their viewpoint. They think that fighting the war is the business only of the troops and is

not the business of the people, including themselves. To this problem, we must give an answer.

The troops naturally must fight the enemy, but the people also must arm themselves and fight the enemy. Fighting the enemy is the inescapable duty of all Chinese people. We must properly explain to the people that we must be united into one to wage our war of resistance against the Japanese. Only by fighting the enemy can China win the war and safeguard everything. Otherwise, when we go to fight, you stay behind; when you go to fight, they stay behind. While we are fighting, you go to welcome the enemy troops. Under such circumstances, we can never defeat the Japanese and can never crush the attacks of the enemy. We will lose everything to the enemy. We cannot always retreat. Only by uniting ourselves into one and arming ourselves to fight the enemy, with all people resisting the enemy in unified cooperation, can we bring forth our greatest strength and defeat the enemy and can we safeguard all what we have.

All efforts of making use of opportunities or running away are mistaken. Only when all people are determined to fight the enemy and sacrifice themselves can we then save our own lives and families and can we avoid even greater sacrifices and prevent the enemy from trampling on us. On this ground, we must call upon all the people to join the self-protection forces. This is the second question to which we must give our answer.

3. CAN WE WIN THE WAR AGAINST THE ENEMY? CAN CHINA WIN HER WAR AGAINST JAPAN?

This is the third question to which we must make an answer. It is also a very complex problem.

At present, most people are thinking in the following way:

In the war of resistance, on all occasions our troops could not win any battle and were defeated by the enemy in many places. How could such self-protection forces and guerrilla bands, armed and trained from these very poor and weak people, resist the enemy and win the war? Against the Japanese army, they have no chance to gain victory. Such thoughts illustrate that the people do not realize the greatness of their own strength; that is the basic reason why among the people the enthusiasm for resisting the Japanese has not been fully aroused. There are also some basic problems. Can China win the war against Japan? On what basis can China win

final victory? When can China defeat Japan? We have not yet given our clear answers to these questions to the people. Many people, such as those who think that China will be subdued, believe that China will never win her final victory over Japan. Therefore, they are against the war of resistance and think that we should seek peace from Japan. This is a basic problem concerning our national self-confidence.

We must make the following explanations to the people: The self-protection and guerrilla forces organized by the people, after being armed and trained, despite their low quality, will be able to defeat the enemy. Therefore, we must elucidate in detail our guerrilla tactics and the mass guerrilla warfare to the people. We must explain and teach those people who are active in fighting the Japanese the tactics of guerrilla warfare, with which they can defeat the enemy. At the same time, we must also enumerate the heroic deeds of our troops in the past and the guerrilla forces in North China and the guerrilla bands of the masses in their various engagements with the enemy and how they captured enemies alive. We must give our answer to this question to the people. Our explanation must be precise, comprehensive and adequate.

On the problem of whether or not we can win the war against Japan, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has, in his "On Protracted War" and "On The New Stage", made his most detailed and most scientific answer. On the basis of these two articles, we must compile even more popular textbooks (for peasants and primary and secondary school students), bring them to the masses, explain and discuss them and answer various questions of the masses on any doubt about our victory of the war of resistance and the lack of self-confidence.

4. HOW TO FIGHT THE JAPANESE AND WIN VICTORY?

On this question, as far as our whole country is concerned, there are two diametrical policies, the one our Party has explicitly announced and the other the Kuomintang diehards have carried out. In the north Kiangsu area alone, there are two different methods of fighting the Japanese, the one adopted by Han Teh-chin and the other adopted by us. On these matters, there is detailed explanation in the two articles, "On Protracted War" and "On The New Stage". We also must carefully explain to the people that only when our policy and method are carried out, can we win the victory of the war of resistance. Otherwise, if the policy and method of

the diehards are followed, there will be no possibility to win victory. If we failed to carry out democratic transformation, improve the living of the people, arouse the anti-Japanese enthusiasm of the people throughout the country, and consolidate the anti-Japanese national united front, we could not win victory in our War of Resistance Against Japan. Therefore, we must severely criticize all policies and methods carried out by the Kuomintang diehards and point out what harm these policies and methods will do to the war of resistance and that they will bring about disastrous failure. At the same time, we must mobilize the masses to join the anti-Japanese units, organize guerrilla and self-protection forces, organize various anti-Japanese bodies and take part in the various construction of the anti-Japanese government, such as keeping watch over the enemy, standing on sentry, catching traitors and handing over public grain. We must explain to the people that only by doing so can we sustain our resistance behind the enemy lines, achieve final victory, consolidate our anti-Japanese bases, smash the attacks of the enemy forces and the national traitors and protect the lives and property of our people behind the enemy lines.

These foregoing questions must be carefully explained to the people and to new recruits in the armed units; moreover, they should be included in the national education so that they can be discussed in depth. Perhaps, there are still some more important problems which should be explained and discussed. Nevertheless, the foregoing points are the most basic problems. Once the people carefully take into consideration these problems and firmly establish their own standpoint and attitude, then they naturally will greatly enhance their anti-Japanese sentiments and determination, national consciousness and national self-respect and self-confidence. Moreover, they will not waver so easily! It will lay an ideological foundation among the people for persisting in a protracted war of resistance. Consequently, we must conduct extensive and deep national education among all government organs, armed units, Party organizations, mass organizations and all cultural and educational organs, all organizational workers of mass movements, school teachers and staff members and all patriotic persons, as well as among the broad masses of the people in the north Kiangsu area. Among all schools and popular evening schools, and among all organizations and all people, we also must promote this national education by writing or orally, by means of books, drama, singing, speeches and holding meetings. National education must be conducted among army units,

especially among local troops and new recruits. The higher level organs must carry out constant supervision and inspection and exercise leadership over the implementation of national education.

First of all, various places should hold meetings to mobilize cadres, compile proper material and textbooks, make the utmost efforts to enhance the national consciousness, self-respect and self-confidence of the people in north Kiangsu, especially of the armed forces in North Kiangsu. On the political premise of persisting in a protracted war of resistance behind the enemy lines, this is the condition which we must create at present.

In various places, it is necessary to severely criticize concrete cases of the lack of national integrity and national self-respect and self-confidence. We cannot but oppose them. We must prohibit and penalize acts of collaboration by means of administrative measures. As a means of education, it is necessary to publish the names of national traitors in various places. As regards those who have surrendered themselves to the enemy and those organizers who have forced people to flatter the enemy at mass rallies held by the enemy, we must expose their misdeeds and shameful actions and post their names on the walls to educate the people so that all people will know that such deeds are erroneous. As regards those who performed heroic deeds and as regards those who sacrificed themselves or were victims in the fighting against the Japanese, we must give them encouragement and, at meetings and among the masses, give them commendation, consolation and comfort. We must praise them on the red notice-board, erect monuments and hold memorial meetings for them so that the people will realize that these persons and deeds are correct and they are national heroes. With these concrete facts, we must educate the masses and arouse their heroic spirit to sacrifice themselves and fight the enemy for the masses, for our nation and country.

Only by popularizing this national education penetratingly, elevating the anti-Japanese enthusiasm of the people and arousing their national consciousness and national self-respect and self-confidence, can we carry out all our anti-Japanese activities smoothly and gain the support and participation of the broad masses. Otherwise, there is no way to bring the people's thinking into line with our thinking, and we can never cooperate with each other.

Conducting this education among the armed units is also a premise to strengthening and expanding them. (Among the armed units, it is also necessary to lay stress on Communist education.)

At present, our armed forces have many new recruits who have come from the populace or from the Kuomintang army units. In our armed forces, the pay is low, nobody can act as an official, the officers and men are on equal footing, living is difficult, combat is frequent, training is arduous, and there is no opportunity to make money. However, in troops besides our forces, not only is the pay high, can they act as officials, the living better and combat and training less frequent, but also there are opportunities to become rich! From these aspects alone, it may be said that it is only natural that our armed forces cannot develop while the others can. It is only natural that nobody will join us to become officers and men! However, not only do all our officers and men have a high degree of national consciousness and class consciousness, thanks to our deep and extensive national education and class education, but also we do everything conscientiously without taking care of personal interests. We have no corruption, always pay attention to improving the supplies to our armed units, have won every battle, maintain fine discipline, receive the support of the masses and have a bright and brilliant future for development. Therefore, no matter what hardships our officers and men have undergone in living and how great are the sacrifices they have made, our armed forces can just as well develop and continuously strengthen themselves. Many people wish to join our ranks and refuse to go to the Kuomintang units. With the upsurge of national consciousness among the people, it is certain that more anti-Japanese elements will come to join our armed forces. Therefore, we say that this education serves as an inexhaustible source for the expansion of our armed forces.

Some people have said that at present troops not under our Party not only are paid well but also live well, while our armed units not only have no money but also live under more difficult conditions (needless to say, it is necessary to improve these conditions); therefore, many people are not willing to take part in activities of our forces! Comrades, such remarks refer only to one aspect of the matter. We must see its other aspect. After all, who are those unwilling to take part in activities of our forces? Probably they joined the armed forces not for fighting the Japanese but for good pay and better living! If these people, after joining our forces, still did not change themselves, they also could not do well. However, those who have joined in the fighting for the War of Resistance Against Japan will not be concerned about their pay and their living conditions! This is the basis of our armed forces

for strengthening themselves and expanding. Therefore, among our armed forces and among the masses, we must proceed from this aspect and make efforts to intensify national education and class education. (Of course, at the same time, we also must pay attention to improving the necessary living conditions of our armed forces.)

We should pay equal attention to anti-Japanese armed organizations of the masses in various localities.

In the last six months, though you have made achievements in this respect by organizing local armed forces in your area, your achievements cannot be considered as very great. Meanwhile, many local forces which have fighting power and can fight the enemy also have not been organized. Consequently, our main forces and our activities in the bases have been confronted with many difficulties. It was because our main forces had, prematurely and in too great a number, incorporated local armed forces into our regular units. Next, it was also because we could not give full play to the anti-Japanese enthusiasm of the masses and had not done sufficient work to organize the masses. To organize most of the local anti-Japanese armed forces and make them fight the enemy, protect our bases and gradually become our regular units, we must do the following necessary things:

First, we should never hastily incorporate local forces into our main units. It is better to send more cadres or, if necessary, also to incorporate part of our main force into the local units to strengthen them. When they have increased their fighting power and have won confidence among the people, then you may put them on the regular basis and turn them into a main force. Both our main forces and the local units are expected to achieve this point.

Secondly, you should conduct deep and extensive national education among the people and enhance their anti-Japanese activism. You should immediately organize hundreds of thousands of people who are not detached from work of production but truly fight the Japanese into self-protection forces and youth model contingents and organize in various places more independent battalions, companies and units which are detached from the work of production.

This is also a rich source for replenishing our main forces. You should promote this work with foresight.

At present, our method of developing local armed organizations for expanding armed forces in our occupied areas is just a provisional, necessary but not very satisfactory method. In the expan-

sion of our forces, we allow the local people to do the job of organizing local armed forces; however, among these local people, there are probably some improper people in the locality! Though they are also expanding their forces and organizing armed units, they have no intention of resisting the Japanese for national salvation. They only use the slogan of resisting Japan for national salvation to become officials and get rich, to swindle people and to work for their personal interests and establish their individual influence. Therefore, recently among new recruits and some local units which we have accepted for expanding our forces, we have frequently found instances of swindling outside people, violating discipline and carrying out personal revenge. They are creating a very bad impression on the masses. For this reason, we have to dispense with such a method. If they basically are not interested in resisting Japan for national salvation and have joined us simply under this pretext to become officials and get rich or carry out personal revenge, they cannot but violate our discipline. (No matter how nicely they talk.) Basically, they should not be allowed to expand the forces and organize armed units. Genuine local anti-Japanese armed units should be organized and commanded by people who are truly determined to resist the Japanese for national salvation. However, this is possible only when we have enhanced the national consciousness and anti-Japanese enthusiasm of the people. There first must be extensive mass enthusiasm for resisting Japan for national salvation and defending our motherland against Japanese aggression before more anti-Japanese fighters can come forward and join our units, before we can organize genuine local anti-Japanese armed units and before we can put self-protection forces of hundreds of thousands of people on an organized basis to form a mass movement with consciousness. Even if enforced with compulsion, there can never be anything like the corvee corps!

Should our armed forces have successfully and positively attacked the enemy troops or the puppet troops, we could all the more arouse the anti-Japanese enthusiasm of the people, and further enhance their enthusiasm. Therefore, all our armed units must carry out positive activities against the Japanese. Especially, they must give the enemy a severe blow when he launches an attack. Otherwise, not only can our armed forces not expand and strengthen themselves, but also we cannot enhance the anti-Japanese enthusiasm of the people and maintain our strength. So long as we can determinedly and bravely resist the Japanese, we will be able to make

progress and grow strong in our successful struggle. This is the law of development for our army. If we go against this law, we can never make progress and survive. Of course, we do not intend to do anything impossible; however, we must make a long-term plan for the war of resistance. Moreover, we must give a positive blow to the enemy troops and the puppet troops. Only with our positive actions against the Japanese can we enhance the anti-Japanese enthusiasm of the people. With higher anti-Japanese enthusiasm, the masses can then co-operate with our armed forces to resist the Japanese. These two factors promote each other.

It also is true with improving the living of the poor working people. This improvement of living is also an important precondition for the war of resistance. A suitable improvement in the living of the people will greatly enhance the anti-Japanese enthusiasm of the people. We must closely integrate the work of improving the living of the masses with the work of national education and the work of boosting the anti-Japanese enthusiasm of the masses. You should pay attention to the work of relieving peasants and poor people who have no means of living. You should mobilize them to wage struggles against wealthy people and grain-holders to obtain loans at low interest and act as their guarantors for repayment of loans before the summer harvest. As regards lands on mortgage, you must try to reduce their interest or try to return them to the mortgagors. You must make necessary preparations for carrying out a general movement for the reduction of rents after the summer harvest. All this work must be accomplished conscientiously. Moreover, in these activities, you should promote the organization of trade unions, peasants' associations, youth bodies and women's bodies and make them genuine organizations of the broad masses.

At present, in all activities in your area, the central task is to enhance the anti-Japanese enthusiasm of the people. We are of the opinion that we can perform all our work smoothly only after we have enhanced the anti-Japanese enthusiasm of the people. In enhancing the anti-Japanese enthusiasm of the people, we should not simply correct our past mistakes passively but must carry out more extensively and deeply national education. Our armed units must carry out positive actions against the Japanese forces. We must improve positively the living of the poor working people. If you can make a success of these activities, you will be able to make the greatest progress in your work. I hope that all this can be carried out after you have made your full discussion. I also hope

that they will be discussed among the cadres, particularly among the local cadres.

As regards other problems, I will write about them in detail in my next letter. Finally, I have to give you my salute for the War of Resistance Against Japan and the revolution!

THE CLASS CHARACTER OF MAN

June 1941

In a class society, man's class character forms the very nature and substance of man.

In a class society all human beings exist as human beings of a particular class. Therefore, the social character of man is determined by his class status. As the class status of one person is different from that of another, so is his social character. In the past, Mencius, Kautze, Hsuntze* and others had argued 'whether human nature was good or evil' without ever achieving any result. This was because they did not understand or deliberately wanted to cover up the class differences in the social character of man. In a class society men's ideas of good and evil are different. What is regarded as good by the exploiters is regarded as evil by the exploited, and vice versa. Naturally, to discuss the question as to whether human nature is good or evil without taking into consideration the relationship of classes will get nowhere. Likewise, if we do not adopt the proletarian standpoint we cannot judge how good or how bad certain people are, still less can we judge the party spirit of these people.

The class character of man is determined by his class status. That is to say, if a given group of people have for a long time held the status of a given class, i.e., a given position in social production, and have for a long time produced, lived and struggled in a given

This article by Liu Shao-ch'i, reiterating some basic Marxist-Leninist tenets, was taken from the Appendix of *How To Be A Good Communist*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1st edition, October 1951, pp. 113-120.

* All the three were leading Confucian scholars of the latter part of Chou Dynasty (1122-255 B.C.). They held different views with regard to human nature. Mencius was of the opinion that human nature was primarily good, Hsuntze regarded it as evil while Kautze thought that it was likely to change.

manner they will create their particular mode of life, and their particular interests, demands, psychologies, ideas, customs, viewpoints, manners and relations with other groups of people and things, etc. All these are different from, or contrary to, those created by other groups of people. In this manner the particular characteristics of men, their particular class character, are formed.

As men of different classes in society have different interests, demands, ideas and customs, so they have different ways of looking at, and different policies in dealing with, everything in society and history — such as politics, economics, culture, etc. The ruling classes enact laws and systems in accordance with their interests, demands and viewpoints. As a result, all political, economic and cultural systems in society become tools of the ruling classes and all are permeated with a class character.

In a class society all ideas, utterances, behaviour, social systems and doctrines of men are permeated with a class character, representing the particular interests and demands of certain classes. From the different demands, doctrines, ideas, utterances and behaviour of men, we can find out their different class character.

For example, the method of production of natural agricultural economy and handicraft industry is the basis of feudal society. In such production the feudal lords are in a position to exploit the surplus labour of the peasants. They do not work but rely upon land rent and corvée as a means of living. Therefore they want to get hold of more land and to possess it permanently. They demand that the peasants pay more land rent and contribute more unpaid services, and recognise as justified their right of trampling on and exploiting the peasants, thus giving rise to their feudal sectionalism, swallowing-up of others, extravagance, laziness, cruelty and social rank. Such are the characteristics of the feudal class.

The method of machine production in modern industry is the basis of capitalist society. In such production the bourgeoisie own the means of production and all the products with which to exploit the surplus labour of the proletariat. Their livelihood is dependent upon the surplus value created by the workers. Such being the case, they want free buying and selling of commodities and of labour power, and free competition. They use economic means to destroy their competitors and to create for themselves an economic and political monopoly. They claim the inviolability of their private property and demand that the workers give their surplus labour in greater quantity (longer working hours and speed-up) and in better

quality (better and more experienced skill) for less pay. They also want the workers to recognise as justified their right to become rich and to monopolise the wealth of society, thus giving rise to their competition, monopoly, extravagance and the centralised and mechanical character of their organisation. Such are the characteristics of the bourgeoisie.

Take the case of the peasants. The peasants have for a long time been tied to the land and have been engaged in production in a form that is scattered, independent, simple, self-sufficing and with little mutual co-operation. Their way of life is simple and individualistic and they bear the burden of land rent and unpaid services, etc. Thus, the ground is prepared for their lax ways, conservatism, narrow-mindedness, backwardness, outlook as of private owners, revolt against the feudal lords and their demand for political equality, etc. Such are the characteristics of the peasantry.

The proletariat are concentrated in big industries, carrying on production with a minute division of labour; all their actions are governed by machines and mutual-dependence; they are wage-labourers who sell their labour power and who do not possess any means of production; they rely on wages as a means of livelihood and their basic interests do not conflict with those of other toilers. Hence the ground is prepared for their great solidarity, mutual co-operation, sense of organisation and discipline, progressively outlook and demand for public ownership of property, revolt against all exploiters, militancy, tenacity, etc. Such are the characteristics of the proletariat.

All exploiting classes deceive and oppress the exploited and fight among themselves for the surplus products or surplus value of the exploited, thus giving rise to their deceitfulness, oppression of man and mutual plundering. Many wars in history were caused by the exploiting classes fighting among themselves over the seizure and division of the surplus products and surplus value produced by the exploited.

A feature common to all exploiters is that they build their happiness upon the sufferings of other people. Sacrificing the happiness of all mankind or the great majority of the people, subjecting them to hunger, cold and humiliation in order to provide special privileges and special enjoyment for an individual or for a small number of people — such is the foundation of the 'noble character', 'greatness' and 'respectability' and moral basis of all exploiters.

The reverse is the case with the proletariat and the Communists. They want to build their happiness upon the basis of sharing their happiness with all others. In the struggle for the emancipation of the broad masses of the working people and of all mankind, they seek to emancipate themselves and eliminate the special privileges of the small number of people. Such is the foundation of the noble character, greatness, respectability and the moral basis of the Communists.

Such are the various class characteristics of men in a class society. These class characteristics are gradually formed as a result of the specific position of men who engage for a long time in production, their specific relations of production and specific way of life. They become a kind of nature of men. This nature is social in character.

Party spirit is the highest crystallisation of such class characteristics of men. Therefore men possess party spirit of various kinds: The party spirit of the feudal class, the bourgeoisie, the proletariat, etc.

The Party spirit of a Communist is the highest crystallisation of the class character, the substance and the interests of the proletariat. The steeling and cultivation of a Communist in the Party spirit is the remoulding of his substance.

The Communist Party should develop the many great and progressive characteristics of the proletariat to the highest level. Every Communist should remould himself in accordance with these characteristics and equip himself with these excellent characteristics. This is the remoulding of substance. All Party members who do not come from the ranks of the industrial workers possess non-proletarian characteristics, and therefore need all the more to be remoulded.

Nor are the characteristics of the proletariat unchangeable. It was in the course of the birth and growth of the proletariat that the characteristics of the proletariat took shape, grew and finally gave rise to Marxism-Leninism. During the period of Socialist transformation in the future and the period when Socialism is passing into Communism, the proletariat will continuously change society and the substance of mankind, and, at the same time, its own substance and characteristics. In Communist society class distinctions between men will die out and so will the class characteristics of men. Then the common character of mankind, namely common human nature, will be formed. This represents the entire process of the remoulding of the substance of mankind.

However, in the history of the world only the Communists and Marxists recognise their own Party spirit and class character as well as those of all other people and of all historical and social matters. This is also due to the fact that the special class status of the proletariat enables the Communists to openly recognise and declare this truth. The declaration of this truth does no harm to the proletariat but deals a serious blow to the exploiting classes for their treachery is exposed and they will be placed in a more difficult position to uphold the interests of a small number of people. None of the other parties or classes admit their party spirit and class character and they try to describe themselves as if they were 'super-party' or 'super-class'. As a matter of fact, behind this nonsense about 'super-party', and 'super-class', are hidden as many vested interests as there are exploiting classes. Before the exploited they dare not admit their party spirit and class character. Because of their illusions and ignorance the petty-bourgeoisie accept this fallacy of 'super-party', 'super-class'.

The petty-bourgeoisie is characterised by its indulgence in illusions and by its fear of serious practice and struggle.

ON INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE

July 1941

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Comrades!

We have recently raised in the Party the problem of strengthening our work in steeling the Party spirit of our members. I have heard that the Central Committee has also adopted a decision on this subject, and we hope to receive it shortly. In order to strengthen our work in steeling the Party spirit of our members, we are going to launch a concrete ideological struggle within the Party against the various undesirable phenomena which run counter to the Party spirit. But what is the correct way for us to conduct this ideological struggle within the Party, and what would be an incorrect way? This is the very question I want to discuss.

Everyone knows that our Party is a proletarian party, a party that leads the struggles of the broad masses. If the Party is to fulfil the historical tasks it has shouldered, it must fight against the enemies of the revolution at various periods, and must unite with the various revolutionary strata and classes.

Right from the day of its birth, our Party has never for a single moment lived in any environment but that of serious struggle. The Party and the proletariat have constantly lived inside the encirclement of various non-proletarian classes — the big bourgeoisie, the

This is a series of lectures delivered by Liu Shao-ch'i in July 1941 at the Party School for Central China. Liu, at that time, was a member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The text is taken from *On Inner-Party Struggle*, Foreign Languages Press, February 1951, pp. 1-70.

petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry and even the remnants of feudal forces. All these classes, when they are struggling against the proletariat or when they are co-operating with it, utilise the unstable elements within the Party and the proletariat to penetrate into the heart of the Party and the proletariat and constantly influence the Party and the proletariat in ideology, in living habits, in theory and in action. This is the origin of all kinds of erroneous and undesirable tendencies within the Party. It is the social basis of all kinds of opportunism within the Party, and it is also the source of inner-Party struggles.

Inner-Party struggles are a reflection of the class struggles outside the Party.

From the very day of its inception, our Party has struggled not only against the enemies outside the Party but also against all kinds of hostile and non-proletarian influences inside the Party. These two kinds of struggle are different but both are necessary and have a common class substance. If our Party did not carry on the latter type of struggle, if it did not struggle constantly within the Party against all undesirable tendencies, if it did not constantly purge the Party of every type of non-proletarian ideology and overcome both 'Left' and Right opportunism, then such non-proletarian ideology and such 'Left' and Right opportunism might gain ground in the Party and influence or even dominate our Party. This would make it impossible for the Party to consolidate and develop itself or to preserve its independence. This would endanger the Party and lead to its degeneration. Such non-proletarian ideology and 'Left' or Right opportunism can corrupt our Party, or certain sections of it, and can even transform the character of our Party or sections of it into that of a non-proletarian organisation. For example, it was in this manner that the Social-Democratic parties in Europe were corrupted by bourgeois ideology and transformed into political parties of a bourgeois type, thus becoming the main social pillars of the bourgeoisie.

Therefore, such inner-Party struggle is absolutely necessary and cannot be avoided. Any idea of trying to avoid inner-Party struggle, or of refraining from criticizing others' mistakes so that they will not criticize one's own errors, is totally wrong.

Inner-Party struggles consist principally of ideological struggles. Their content is made up of the divergencies and antagonisms arising in matters of ideology and principle. The divergencies and antagonisms among our comrades on matters of ideology and principle can

develop into political splits within the Party, and, under certain circumstances, even into inevitable organisational splits; but, in character and content, such divergencies and antagonisms are basically ideological struggles.

Consequently, any inner-Party struggle not involving divergencies in matters of ideology and principle and any conflict among Party members not based on divergencies in matters of principle is a type of unprincipled struggle, a struggle without content. This kind of struggle without principle or content is utterly unnecessary within the Party. It is detrimental and not beneficial to the Party. Every Party member should strictly avoid such struggles.

Inner-Party struggle is absolutely indispensable to protecting the purity and independence of the Party, to guaranteeing that the Party's activities constantly proceed along lines which represent the highest interests of the proletariat, and to preserving the Party's basic proletarian character. With this object in view, inner-Party struggles must be conducted from two sides, or on two fronts. This is because the enemy's ideology influences the Party from two directions, attacking the Party from both the Right and the 'Left'. This is expressed in the Party by Right or 'Left' opportunism.

Therefore, our inner-Party struggle must be directed simultaneously against both Right opportunism and 'Left' opportunism, against these two aspects so that our Party can preserve its definite proletarian character. If we fail to do this, if we merely carry on a one-sided struggle, or if we slacken our vigilance and our struggle against either side, then the enemy not only can but assuredly will attack our Party from that very side which we have neglected. In that case, it will be impossible to preserve the Party's purity and independence or to consolidate the Party. It is, therefore, in the course of ceaseless inner-Party struggle on two fronts that our Party consolidates and develops itself.

Comrade Stalin said:

The question here is that contradictions can be overcome only by means of struggle for this or that principle, for defining the goal of this or that struggle, for choosing this or that method of struggle that may lead to the goal. We can and we must come to agreement with those within the Party who differ with us on questions of current policy, on questions of a purely practical character. But if these questions involve differences over principle, then no agreement, no "middle" line can save the cause. There is and there can be no "middle" line on

questions of principle. The work of the Party must be based either on these or those principles. The "middle" line on questions of principle is a "line" that muddles up one's head, a "line" that covers up differences, a "line" of ideological degeneration of the Party, a "line" of ideological death of the Party. It is not our policy to pursue such a "middle" line. It is the policy of a party that is declining and degenerating from day to day. Such a policy cannot but transform the party into an empty bureaucratic organ, standing isolated from the working people and becoming a puppet unable to do anything. Such a road cannot be our road.

He added:

Our Party has been strengthened on the basis of overcoming the contradictions within the Party.

This explains the essential nature of inner-Party struggle.

Much has already appeared in the works of Lenin and Stalin in regard to the essential nature of inner-Party struggle and as to why liberatism and conciliationism in the Party are no good. You comrades can read these and I shall not say more here on this subject.

The problem I now want to talk about is how to conduct inner-Party struggle. To us this is still a new problem. It is absolutely essential that everybody now studies this problem. I do not at this time propose to speak on the problem comprehensively. I will merely present my views, based on my personal observations regarding the historical experiences of the Chinese Communist Party. I invite all comrades to discuss whether or not these views are correct.

THE SPECIAL CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY WAS FOUNDED AND THE DEVIATIONS THAT HAVE ARISEN IN ITS INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE

Comrades!

What did Marx and Engels do for the world proletariat?

Marx and Engels provided the proletariat with a consolidated and complete ideological and theoretical system. Not only that,

they also built an independent organisation for the proletariat and led the mass struggles of the proletariat. They created the First International and later organised the Second International as well as the Social-Democratic parties and trade unions in the various European countries. They educated and showed the working class how to organise themselves and how to carry on struggles.

During the period of the Second International (the period before the First World War), the Social-Democratic parties in the various countries carried on widespread organisational work among the workers, extensively broadened the movement for organising the working class, and attained enormous successes in the field of organisation. Since this was the period of "peaceful" development of capitalism and the organisations of the working class were formed in such a period of peace, the distinction between the Party and the trade unions was not yet very clear.

Especially after the death of Marx and Engels, the Second International, led by Kautsky and company, adopted an impermissible line of conciliation toward opportunism within the Party, with the result that opportunism corroded the various parties of the Second International. By the time of the imperialist era, the era of proletarian revolution, these parties and trade unions revealed their inability to shoulder the revolutionary tasks which the proletariat ought to shoulder in the new period. Consequently, they could not but go bankrupt and decay in the course of the First World War.

Lenin's era was different from that of Marx and Engels. It was an imperialist era, the era of moribund capitalism. It was the era of proletarian revolution. This period demanded that the proletariat build a strong, militant party, a party which was completely consolidated and united, ideologically, politically, organisationally and in action and which had close ties with the proletarian masses. Only by relying on such a party would it be possible to carry on successfully the extremely serious revolutionary struggles. Therefore, in addition to restoring and developing the doctrines of Marx and Engels in all their aspects, Lenin particularly created a complete doctrine concerning the establishment of proletarian revolutionary parties. The system of theories concerning the building-up of our Party was in the main created by Lenin. This doctrine on Party-building was absolutely inseparable from the strategy and tactics of leading the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

What were the conditions in the period when Lenin founded

the revolutionary party of the proletariat?

At that time, on the one hand, the imperialist war was approaching and the proletariat was confronted with the urgent task of overthrowing the bourgeoisie, seizing state power, and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the other hand, the Social-Democratic parties of the Second International with the extensive organisations were not yet conscious of the need to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. They neither wanted nor dared to prepare for a revolutionary offensive by the proletariat. Therefore, the parties of the Second International were loosely organised and faction-ridden and could not conduct any serious struggle. As a result, they completely failed to meet the revolutionary demands of the proletariat at the time.

The Social-Democratic parties of the various countries at that time not only fell theoretically and politically into the mire of Right opportunism (for instance, their theory of collaboration between Labour and Capital, their theory of the peaceful development of capitalism into socialism, their viewpoint that the proletariat could seize power by parliamentary struggles without going through a revolution, and that therefore there was no need for creating strategy and tactics of proletarian revolution, etc.), but they were also thoroughly Right opportunists on the question of party organisation. The parties of the Second International and the Mensheviks in Russia advocated liberalism in Party organisation. They advocated reducing the proletarian party to an ordinary workers' organisation and held the view that no closely-welded organisation or strict discipline was necessary in the Party. They advocated an unprincipled peace within the Party and tolerated the existence of divergent ideological and organisational factions within the Party and so on. To the parties of the Second International, party unity and discipline, self-criticism and struggle within the party were inconceivable and entirely unnecessary. Such were some of the principal concrete manifestations of Right opportunism of the parties of the Second International on the question of organisation.

At that time, there were also the Economists in Russia and the Syndicalists in Europe (France, for example) who contended that the working class did not need a party organisation, who refused to organise parties of the working class or subordinated the parties of the working class to the trade unions, who advocated "independence of the trade unions", and who denied the party's leadership

in the trade unions.

At that time, on the one hand, the militant tasks of the proletarian revolution demanded that there should be a strong fighting party to lead the broad masses and to carry out such tasks. On the other hand, the parties of the Second International with their millions of party and trade union members, were utterly impotent and incapable of fighting. Moreover, their organisational backwardness and laxity were backed up by all kinds of opportunist views about organisation. These were the actual and important conditions when Lenin started to build the Bolshevik Party.

Under the above-mentioned conditions, in order to build up a Party capable of leading the proletarian revolution, a Party which was completely united ideologically, politically and organisationally, Lenin could not but muster all forces to oppose the ideological and political opportunism of the parties of the Second International, particularly their opportunism on the question of party organisation. It was on the question of organisation — the conditions for joining the Party — that differences first arose between Lenin's Bolshevik Party and the Mensheviks.

Lenin's Bolshevik doctrine on party-building was worked out in the course of the struggle against Right opportunism regarding organisation in the parties of the Second International, as well as during the struggle against the theory of the Economists and Syndicalists that working class political parties were unnecessary. Therefore, Lenin's doctrine on party-building was full of polemics against the various Right opportunist views on organisation, against liberalism and conciliationism, against reducing the proletarian party to an ordinary workers' organisation, against unprincipled peace within the Party, against factional organisations and activities inside the Party, and so forth. Lenin, in the fight against Right opportunism on the question of organisation, definitely laid down that the Party is the most advanced, best organised and best disciplined detachment composed of the most conscious, courageous and progressive elements of the proletariat and is the highest form of class organisation of the proletariat. The proletariat has, in addition to the Party, other organisations such as trade unions, cooperative societies, cultural and educational bodies, or even the government, army, etc. Yet of all these proletarian organisations, the Party is the highest form, capable of politically directing all other organisations.

Thus, Lenin drew a definite line of demarcation between the Party and other organisations of the working class. Moreover, he laid down that the principle of Party organisation should be democratic centralism, and that the Party should have a united, iron discipline. These principles of party organisation were framed by Lenin in the course of struggle against Right opportunism of the parties of the Second International on the question of organisation. They constitute the main content of Lenin's party-building doctrine.

It was principally in the fight against Right, rather than 'Left' opportunism with regard to party organisation, that Lenin built up the Party. That was decidedly the situation before the October Revolution. At that time 'Left' opportunism regarding party organisation had either not yet come into being, or had not been fully developed into systematic opportunism. That explains why Lenin's party-building doctrine was replete with polemics against Right opportunism, that is, against abandoning strict organisation and discipline, against unprincipled peace within the party, against denial of inner-Party struggle and fear of self-criticism, against liberalism and conciliationism inside the Party, against the theory of independence of trade unions, etc. These polemics resulted from the actual conditions existing at the time when Lenin built the Party.

But if we take note of the actual conditions under which the Communist Party of China was built up, we will see that these conditions were entirely different from those which confronted Lenin before the October Revolution.

First, the Chinese Party was built up after the October Revolution when the Russian Bolsheviks had already won victory and set a living example for us. That was why from the very beginning our Party was built in accordance with Lenin's principles and under the guidance of the Communist International.

Secondly, the Chinese Party, from its founding up to the present time, has never been influenced by the Second International of the European Social-Democratic parties, either ideologically or organisationally.

Thirdly, China, unlike Europe, has never witnessed a period of "peaceful" development of capitalism in which the working class was allowed to participate in peaceful parliamentary struggles. Nor did China have a labour aristocracy as was the case in Europe.

Fourthly, petty bourgeois elements and peasants made up a considerable proportion of the Chinese Party's membership, which

also included some idlers.* Herein lies the social basis of 'Left' and Right opportunism inside the Chinese Party.

Because of these four conditions we have subjectively followed Lenin's principles and path from the very beginning in building the Chinese Party. The majority of our Party members can recite from memory most of the organisational principles of the Bolshevik Party. Furthermore, the traditions and conventions of Social-Democracy have never existed in our Party. Thus, we have been able to proceed along many straight paths. From the very inception of our Party we have conducted self-criticism and ideological struggle, laid down the system of democratic centralism and maintained strict organisation and discipline. We did not tolerate the existence of factions and we were violently opposed to liberalism, economism, and the independence of trade unions, etc. Therefore, systematic Right opportunist theories on organisation have never been openly advocated in our Party. Ideas that it is not necessary to have self-criticism, inner-Party struggle, strict organisation and discipline, a working-class political party, or that trade unions should be completely independent, have had no chance to develop openly in our Party.

The ideological struggle in our Party is still inadequate. However, this is not due to the existence within the Party of any systematic theory against inner-Party struggle. Rather, this is due to our inability to discover divergencies in matters of principle because of our low theoretical level or due to the fact that individual responsible comrades employed extraordinary methods to suppress self-criticism.

But the special conditions and circumstances prevailing at the time when our Chinese Party was founded gave rise to two kinds of influences. One was favourable, enabling us from the very start to build a Communist Party of the Leninist type. Subjectively, we strictly adhered to the principles laid down by Lenin. From the very outset, our Party has carried out strict self-criticism and inner-Party struggle. This accounted for the rapid progress of our Party and served as a motive force to spur our Party forward.

But the other influence frequently led our comrades to another

* Workers, peasants and other people, who have lost their jobs or their land as the result of the oppression and exploitation by the reactionary government or the landlord and compradore-capitalist classes, and who have resorted to improper methods as their main means of livelihood are referred to as idlers.

extreme, to another kind of mistake — the mistake of carrying inner-Party struggles too far, of struggling too intensely without any restraints whatsoever. This resulted in another deviation, a 'Left' deviation.

Many comrades had a mechanical and erroneous understanding of Lenin's principles and turned them into absolute dogmas. They believed that the Party's highly centralised organisation negated inner-Party democracy; that the need for inner-Party struggle negated peace within the Party; that the political leadership of the Party — the highest form of class organisation of the proletariat — in other mass organisations of the proletariat negated the independence of trade unions and other organisations of the workers and toiling masses; and that unified, iron discipline meant the obliteration of the individual personality, initiative and creativeness of Party members.

Many comrades mechanically memorised the principles of Lenin, considering inner-Party struggle to be necessary and regarding liberalism and conciliationism as undesirable. However, they applied these principles mechanically and dogmatically. They thought that inner-Party struggles should and must be uncompromisingly carried on regardless of the time, circumstances and issues involved, and that the more bitterly such struggles were conducted, the better. These comrades thought that the more vehement and sharp the form of inner-Party struggle and criticism, the better. They felt that the sharper the controversies between Party comrades, the better. If this was not the case, then they thought that errors of liberalism and conciliationism were being committed.

In order to prove that they themselves were free from liberal or conciliatory tendencies, that they were "100 per cent Bolsheviks", they carried on unprincipled struggles within the Party, irrespective of the actual conditions of time and circumstances. Thus, these people became "rowdies" without any standpoint in inner-Party struggles, "struggle specialists" with no regard for principle, or "professional brawlers" given to fighting. They conducted struggle for the sake of struggle. This is disgraceful within the ranks of the proletariat. And of course it does not prove that they were "100 per cent Bolsheviks". On the contrary, it only served to prove that they had insulted Bolshevism and utilised the terminology and method of Bolsheviks to practise opportunism inside the Party.

Many comrades did not understand that our inner-Party struggle is a struggle over principle, a struggle for this or that principle, for

defining the goal of this or that struggle, for choosing this or that method of struggle that may lead to the goal.

These comrades did not understand that on questions of current policy, on questions of a purely practical character we can and must come to agreement with those within the Party who differ with us. They did not know or understand that on issues involving principle, on questions of defining the goal of our struggles and of choosing the methods of struggle needed to reach such goal they should wage an uncompromising struggle against those in the Party who hold divergent opinions; but on questions of current policy, on questions of a purely practical character, they should come to agreement with those within the Party who hold divergent opinions instead of carrying on an irreconcilable struggle against them, so long as such questions do not involve any difference over principle.

This is precisely the traditional style of work in the Party of Lenin and Stalin, which, however, many of our comrades have not yet acquired. They conducted uncompromising struggles over issues on which they should have come to agreement. As a result, there was not a single issue they would not fight over, there was never a time when they would not fight and there was not a single person against whom they would not fight. They struggled against all who differed with them, enforcing absolute conformity. They made no concessions on anything and would not compromise under any circumstances. They regarded every contradiction as an irreconcilable fight and thought that fight is everything. This constituted their absolutism.

Many comrades did not understand what is principle, what problems involve principle and what are the Party's strategic and tactical lines. Nor did they know how to conduct a struggle by grasping the point of difference over principles, strategic plans and tactical lines. Their theoretical level was still exceedingly low and their political experience was limited. They were not yet able to grasp issues of great magnitude and fight over such issues. However, they rigidly committed to memory the fact that there must be inner-Party struggle and that it is wrong not to wage struggles. So even though they were unable to grasp the important issues and raise problems from the standpoint of the principles involved, nevertheless they still wanted to fight. Since they could only lay their hands on individual phenomena, on individual problems, and since they carried on meaningless and unprincipled struggles and controversies inside the Party against those who hold different views, they therefore

created among the comrades disunity, mutual antagonism and organisational splits. Such evil phenomena actually existed in our inner-Party struggle.

The above is one kind of deviation in the Chinese Party's inner-Party struggles, an exceedingly grave deviation in the Chinese Party (although such deviations also exist in the Parties of other countries). It constitutes inner-Party struggle carried on with too much intensity and without any restraint, which leads to another extreme — that of 'Left' opportunism in inner-Party struggle, and 'Left' opportunism on the question of Party organisation. (It negates democracy within the Party, negates inner-Party peace based on unity in matters of principle, negates the relative independence of trade unions and other mass organisations, negates the personality, initiative and creativeness of Party members.) This deviation was caused by the special environment and conditions of the Chinese Party.

Here I want to mention the fact that many Chinese comrades have not taken notice of Lenin's principled struggle against 'Left' opportunism after the October Revolution. Following the October Revolution, a faction of 'Left-Wing' Communists emerged within the Russian Party. This group opposed the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty and later there was the dispute on the trade union question. Before the October Revolution, there was a group of Otzovists inside the Bolshevik Party with 'Leftist' appearances, but this group was quickly defeated and the situation did not become so serious as that caused by 'Left-Wing' Communism at the time of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty, although Lenin also defeated the latter before long.

But 'Left-Wing' Communism again emerged in the countries in Western Europe. It raised the slogan of "no compromise", it opposed participation in parliaments. It opposed all legal struggles and necessary alliances with the Left wing of the Social-Democratic parties. These were the circumstances under which Lenin wrote in April, 1920, his book *'Left-Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder* to correct such trends.

After the victory of the October Revolution those who previously did not believe that the proletariat could seize power were now faced with the living fact. This fact dealt a fatal blow to Right opportunism.

It was under these conditions that 'Left' opportunism was born, which contended that the revolution need not proceed along any circuitous paths but could gain victory overnight.

Such sentiments also existed in the Chinese Party and at certain

periods have even been the dominant sentiments. People committing such mistakes completely disregarded the importance of Lenin's book *'Left-Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder*. Politically, they were against making any zigzags and against waiting. They maintained that a vanguard minority could launch an adventurist offensive regardless of the fact that the broad masses had not yet caught up with them. They accused others who opposed this of "Right opportunism".

Right and 'Left' opportunism on organisational questions results from Right and 'Left' deviations on political questions. Since the Chinese Party has committed Right and 'Left' political errors in certain periods, it has also committed these errors in organisational matters. Especially during the Civil War period,* our 'Left' adventurist errors were accountable for the excessively heated inner-Party struggles that took place on questions of organisation.

Consequently, there exist three kinds of deviations — if they can be classified in this manner — on the question of inner-Party struggle within the Chinese Party. The first is liberalism and conciliationism within the Party; the second is mechanical and excessive inner-Party struggle and 'Left' opportunism in organisational matters and in inner-Party struggle; the third is unprincipled disputes and struggles within the Party.

These three kinds of deviations do not differ very much as far as their substance is concerned, because unprincipled disputes and struggles, excessive struggles and liberalism within the Party are not Marxist-Leninist. They are all manifestations of opposition to Marxism-Leninism. They are classified into the above three categories only by their outward forms.

Such were the special conditions under which the Chinese Communist Party was founded, and the deviations that have arisen in its inner-Party struggle.

THE MANIFESTATIONS OF MECHANICAL AND EXCESSIVE INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE

COMRADES!

Today I am not going to discuss the deviation of liberalism,

* 1927-1936.

which is the first of the afore-mentioned three kinds of deviations in inner-Party struggle. Although I do not think that at present the deviation of liberalism inside the Party is not serious or that to fight liberalism is unimportant, although I do not believe that our comrades are thoroughly clear about the tendency of liberalism and its manifestations in various concrete problems, — rather I believe that many comrades are still not thoroughly clear — yet I am not going to speak on this subject today. I shall talk about it some other time when I have the chance. Here I merely want to point out that the tendency of liberalism inside the Party has somewhat developed recently and in many cases has become a principal tendency in inner-Party struggle and that ideological struggle inside the Party has not been sufficiently developed. For this reason, many erroneous tendencies and undesirable phenomena have not been effectively corrected in due time and Party discipline has gradually slackened. This is very bad. This is because our Party has recently taken in large numbers of intellectuals and new Party members who have been strongly imbued with the ideology of bourgeois liberalism, and who have not yet been steeled ideologically, politically or organisationally by the iron discipline of the proletariat. Meanwhile, many comrades who in the past committed 'Left' mistakes and stood for excessive inner-Party struggle have now turned the other way round and committed the Right mistake of liberalism. In the circumstances of a long period of the United Front, the possibility that the bourgeoisie would exercise influence within the Party has also increased. The covert counter-revolutionary elements in the Party have resorted to every means to develop and support liberalism inside the Party. As a result the tendency of liberalism has developed in the Party. This tendency should be strongly opposed in our struggle to strengthen our work in steeling the Party spirit. For example, some comrades kept silent about other comrades' mistakes for fear of retaliation. They would not point out the mistakes of their intimate friends in order to conceal each other's mistakes. They would not speak to one's face but would carry on a lot of irresponsible talk behind one's back. They indulged in irresponsible talk behind one's back. They indulged in irresponsible criticism, gave vent to their grumbles and engaged in gossiping, etc. Such phenomena are quite prevalent inside the Party. Moreover, an especially serious phenomenon has developed recently inside the Party. A certain group of persons fear that others would report their shortcomings and mistakes to the Party or to their superiors.

They are terribly afraid lest others should bring up charges against them. On the one hand, they cannot help committing mistakes which they themselves know to be mistakes; they deliberately commit mistakes although they are aware of them. But on the other hand, they want to prevent other Party members from reporting their own mistakes to the Party or to their superiors and from criticizing them at the meetings. They have done some wrong and improper things and committed mistakes but they are unwilling to expose their mistakes in order to have their mistakes and shortcomings corrected. They conceal their sickness and are reluctant to have their sickness cured. They do not appreciate the truth that only by exposing their mistakes can such mistakes be corrected. They want to cover up their mistakes and hide them as if these mistakes were something more precious than any treasure on earth. For this reason, they not only try to forbid others to look squarely at their mistakes but also try to force others to hold their tongues and forbid them to report their mistakes to the Party or to their superiors, thus depriving others of the right to criticize and speak within the Party through absolutely proper organisational channels. They intimidate other comrades by saying, "If you dare to report to the superiors I will make you sorry. I will beat you up — you sycophant." They hate vehemently those comrades who have reported to the superiors and spoken about their mistakes. They take it to heart and think of retaliation. These phenomena are the evil indications of having lost completely the spirit of a Party member. They try to sever the connection between the leading bodies of the Party and the rank and file of the Party membership in order that they may do mischief and evil inside the Party. Such phenomena should be strictly prohibited.

When any Party member has seen other Party members commit mistakes or other things harmful to the Party, he must submit reports thereon to the Party and to their superiors. It is incorrect not to make such reports and it is entirely correct to make reports. To prevent others from reporting to the Party and to the superiors about one's mistakes is absolutely unlawful and will never be tolerated in the Party. Of course, the leading body of the Party upon receiving such reports should thoroughly look into the facts and carefully handle the case and should refrain from making any hasty judgement merely on the basis of one-sided versions of the story.

We have already decided that ideological struggle inside the Party should now be properly set going. Therefore, we must oppose liberalism. In certain Party organisations where particularly serious

mistakes of liberalism have been committed, we should conduct, on the basis of facts, a concrete struggle against liberalism in order to overcome such mistakes. Several years ago, Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote an article against liberalism in which he enumerated eleven manifestations of liberalism inside the Party. His article still holds true to this day and you should carefully study it and try to correct and fight liberalism in accordance with this article. At the same time, liberalism will also be fully discussed in the course on Party building. This is why I don't want to deal with this subject today. What I am going to talk about is the second and third deviations because so far nobody has ever systematically discussed within the Party these two deviations.

What are the manifestations of mechanical and excessive inner-Party struggle? They are as follows:

First, in local Party organisations and in Party organisations in the army, the so-called "struggle meetings" are regularly held. Even in non-Party organisations such as government organs and mass organisations, "struggle meetings" are also regularly held. Such "struggle meetings" are arranged in advance. They are not held for the main purpose of reviewing work. They are held for the purpose of attacking a certain person. Instead of conducting first of all a struggle over the "points at issue", the struggle is directed "against the person". In other words, this struggle is not conducted mainly against certain incorrect ideologies and principles, but against a certain person. The purpose of the so-called "struggle against a certain Li or a certain Chang" is to deal a blow to a certain comrade who has committed mistakes. The "struggle meeting" is, in essence, a meeting called to put a certain comrade on trial. It is not aimed chiefly at solving problems ideologically but at solving certain problems organisationally. Its purpose is to drive into submission some trouble-makers or some comrades who dare to stick to their dissident opinions — such opinions not necessarily being wrong. Moreover, at every "struggle meeting", organisational conclusions are invariably drawn about the majority of the persons against whom the struggle has been waged. Quite obviously, such a form of struggle is not correct.

Why is it not correct?

First of all, the very term "struggle meeting" is incorrect. It makes no sense at all. Since there are so-called "struggle meetings", are there also any so-called "non-struggle meetings"? It will cause ideological confusion if we consider that there are certain meetings

which are specifically devoted to conducting struggle and there are other meetings at which there is no struggle at all. Here it proves that many comrades do not understand the absolute character and the universal character of the struggle. They mechanically divorce struggle from education.

The aim of inner-Party struggle is to educate the Party and the comrades who have committed mistakes. Therefore, inner-Party struggle is in itself a kind of indispensable education within the Party. Education within the Party is also a kind of inner-Party struggle, a relatively mild struggle. Therefore, education and struggle cannot be viewed separately. Struggle is a kind of education and education is a kind of struggle. Any mechanical separation of the two is incorrect.

Furthermore, such "struggle meetings" are a concrete manifestation within the Party of sectarianism and of the erroneous policy of attacking cadres and comrades. They are aimed at attacking the comrades against whom the struggle is waged rather than helping, educating and rescuing the comrades who have committed mistakes. They are chiefly for the purpose of struggle against the person while divergence and antagonism in ideology are overlooked. Hence, such "struggle meetings" often fail to really strengthen the unity within the Party ideologically, politically, organisationally and in action. On the contrary, they often deepen the differences over ideology, politics, organisation and action inside the Party. They intensify the disunity and unprincipled disputes inside the Party. They help the growth of sectarianism inside the Party. It is all the more incorrect to hold such "struggle meetings" in non-Party organisations.

Secondly, the mechanical and excessive inner-Party struggle also manifests itself in the following ways. Some comrades hold the view that the more bitter the inner-Party struggle, the better. To them, the more seriously the problem is brought up, the better; the more fault-finding, the better; the more high-sounding terms used, the better; the more name-calling, the better; the sharper the criticism, the better; the more severe and the more rude the manner and the attitude, the better; the louder the voice, the better; the longer the fact, the better; the oftener the teeth are bared, the better. In acting in this way they regard themselves as "revolutionary as revolutionary could be". In inner-Party struggle and self-criticism, they pay no attention to appropriateness or moderation and do not stop at appropriate limits. They conduct the struggle without any restraint. Quite obviously, that is entirely incorrect.

Thirdly, some comrades still do not understand that inner-Party struggle is essentially an ideological struggle. Nor do they understand that only by achieving ideological unity can unity inside the Party be maintained and strengthened politically, organisationally and in action and that problems must be solved from the angle of ideology and principle before they can be solved from the angle of organisation and action. It is, however, no easy matter to achieve unity on the question of ideology and principle and to solve problems from the angle of ideology and principle. Nor is it an easy matter to overcome and correct the incorrect principles held by others, to reform others' ideology and to correct others' longheld principles, viewpoints, and prejudices. This cannot be done simply in a few words or through a simple "struggle meeting". Nor can it be achieved simply by high-handed means or compulsory measures. This can only be achieved through painstaking persuasion and education, through various kinds of complicated struggles and through a considerable period of education, struggle and practice in revolution. Some comrades do not appreciate the essence of inner-Party struggle in this light. Instead, they simplify, mechanise and vulgarise inner-Party struggle. They consider inner-Party struggle as a kind of contradiction in organisation or in form, or they consider it as fighting, cursing, quarrelling or wrangling. They do not look for real unity and do not solve problems on the basis of principle and ideology. They think that differences over ideology and principle within the Party can be settled by such simple, mechanical and vulgar methods. Quite obviously, that is entirely incorrect.

These comrades do not preserve or achieve unity within the Party by overcoming differences over principle and ideology within the Party and by correcting certain incorrect tendencies and phenomena. On the contrary, they attempt to preserve or achieve unity within the Party by simple organisational means or by high-handed measures, by a policy of attack, by a system of punishment in dealing with Party members. As a result, they bring about various erroneous and excessive inner-Party struggles. Therefore, instead of carefully and considerably persuading comrades on the basis of principle and ideology, they suppress and bully comrades by resorting to simple organisational means, hostile methods and even administrative measures. They draw at random organisational conclusions about comrades and mete out organisational punishments to comrades. Moreover, they ruthlessly punish comrades inside the Party from the bourgeois viewpoint of equality before the law — that is,

they mete out the heaviest punishment as provided in the Party Constitution without taking into consideration what kind of Party members the offenders are and whether or not the offenders have admitted or corrected their mistakes. In this way the system of punishment inside the Party is abused. They often employ the means of conducting struggles in order to start and push forward work. They purposely look for "targets of struggle" (comrades inside the Party) and conduct the struggle against them as representatives of opportunism. They sacrifice and attack this one comrade or these few comrades, "killing the rooster to frighten the dog" as the Chinese saying goes, in order to make other Party cadres work hard and fulfil the task. They deliberately collect information about the shortcomings and mistakes of the target of struggle and jot down mechanically and piece-meal his not too appropriate words and deeds. Then they view in isolation such shortcomings and mistakes and his not too appropriate words and deeds and regard all these as representing the whole make-up of the comrade. They magnify the individual shortcomings and mistakes of this comrade and develop these into a system of opportunism, create an extremely unfavourable impression about this comrade among comrades in the Party and incite their hatred for opportunism in struggling against this comrade. Then, "everybody can inflict blows on a dead tiger". The psychology of revenge on the part of some persons begins to gain ground and they expose all the shortcomings and mistakes of this comrade and arbitrarily raise these shortcomings and mistakes to the level of principle. They even fabricate some story and on the basis of subjective suspicion and completely groundless rumours, accuse the comrade of various crimes. They will not stop until they drive him into mental confusion. With this done, they are still reluctant to allow the comrade who has been attacked to make any defence. If he makes any defence they would accuse him of deliberately defending his mistakes or of admitting mistakes with reservations. Then they would deal him further blows. They do not allow the comrade being attacked to reserve his opinions on condition of submission to the Party organisation and do not allow him to appeal to the superiors but insist upon his admitting his mistakes on the spot. In case the comrade being attacked has admitted all his mistakes, then they do not bother whether the problem pertaining to principle or ideology has been solved or not. So it occurred inside the Party that in the course of the struggle certain comrades admitted more mistakes than they had committed. In order to avoid

attacks, they thought that they had better accept all the accusations. Although they admitted all the mistakes, as a matter of fact they still did not know what it was all about. Here it proves that such methods of struggle cannot cultivate the firmness of a Communist in sticking to the truth.

Fourthly, the methods of struggle inside the Party are mixed up with the methods of struggle outside the Party. Some comrades mechanically apply the methods of inner-Party struggle to non-Party mass organisations and employ the methods of inner-Party struggle in conducting struggles against non-Party cadres and the masses. On the other hand, some comrades employ the methods of struggle outside the Party and the methods of struggle against the enemy and against alien elements in conducting struggle against comrades inside the Party. They adopt measures used in handling the enemy and alien elements to deal with comrades inside the Party. They employ all kinds of provocation, estrangement and conspiracy. They apply all kinds of administrative measures such as surveillance, arrest, trial, imprisonment, etc. in inner-Party struggle. For example, the 'Left' mistake committed by some comrades in the hunting down of traitors is largely due to the fact that they have not drawn a strict line between the struggle inside the Party and the struggle outside the Party and that they have mixed up the ideological struggle inside the Party with the campaign to hunt down traitors. Often there are enemy spies hiding inside the Party. But we must rely upon facts in conducting struggle against these hidden spies, expose them and expel them from the Party. But that is entirely different from the struggle waged for the purpose of educating Party members who have committed mistakes. A clear line of demarcation ought to be drawn between these two. The struggle inside the Party and the struggle outside the Party are closely related but their respective methods and forms of struggle must differ.

There are still some comrades (in fact, they can no longer be called comrades) who openly rely upon and make use of the forces outside the Party to conduct inner-Party struggle and to blackmail and intimidate the Party. For instance, relying upon their partial achievements, their troops and rifles, their prestige among the masses and their relations with a certain section of the United Front, some people conduct a struggle against the Party and the higher organisations. They compel the higher organisation and the Party to accept their demands and opinions. They adopt an independent attitude toward the Party and declare their independence of the Party. Or

they avail themselves of the newspapers, magazines and various conferences outside the Party and even those of the bourgeoisie and the enemy to criticize the Party and to conduct a struggle against the higher Party organisations and certain comrades and cadres. Quite obviously, this is a mistake which is as serious as that of another group of persons who, relying upon the influence of the Party, coerce, command and oppress the masses and blackmail and impose exactions upon persons outside the Party. These persons conduct struggles against the Party from a non-Party standpoint. Therefore, although they are Communists in name, they have completely departed from the standpoint of the Party and have become enemies of the Party.

Fifth, many problems in our Party are settled at meetings or through meetings. This is good. But in various organisations many meetings are held without preparation or previous investigation and study. Thus many divergent opinions are expressed and disputes often take place in the course of the meetings. Inasmuch as the conclusions of all meetings are invariably made by the responsible comrades and the conclusions made at such meetings are equivalent to decisions, many defects often occur. I have noticed that controversies at some meetings eventually awaited decision by the instructor or the secretary of a Party branch or some other responsible comrade. But the responsible comrade himself was not sure at all and was entirely unclear about the question. But since the problem was so pressing, he had to make a conclusion anyway; otherwise he could not be a responsible comrade any longer. This responsible comrade had to make a conclusion and in some cases he was greatly embarrassed and sweated all over. He rashly made the conclusion and his conclusion amounted to a decision. Things were decided in accordance with this conclusion and of course many mistakes were bound to happen. Some comrades, when they do not feel sure enough to make a decision about a problem, are not willing to say that they are not sure and that they need time to consider and study the problem or to refer the problem to the higher authorities. However, they pretend that they themselves are already sure in order to save face and maintain their positions. They casually make a decision which often turns out to be incorrect. Such things should also be corrected.

In dealing with all problems, all of our comrades should assume the attitude: "If you know a thing, just say you know it; if you do not know, say so," and should not "claim to know what one really

does not know". The problems inside the Party cannot be settled in an arbitrary manner. All meetings should reach conclusions. But matters which cannot be decided or problems which are still doubtful or have not yet been cleared up should not be decided casually. Matters decided must be matters of which one feels quite sure. Matters of which one is not sure may be reserved for further consideration or may be referred to the higher authorities. The conclusion at a meeting may not necessarily be made by the most responsible comrade who attends the meeting. Whoever makes the report may make the conclusion after discussion. But the conclusion made by this comrade may not necessarily be equivalent to a decision. The decision made at the meeting may be different from the conclusion made by this comrade. This is also the case with the style of work in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B).

The above are some important manifestations of mechanical and excessive inner-Party struggle.

What I have mentioned above are of course some examples of the worst type. That does not mean that our present and past inner-Party struggle is universally so. But such forms of inner-Party struggle are actually in existence and in a certain period they occupied a dominant position and became the main form of inner-Party struggle.

What results have these incorrect and inappropriate forms of inner-Party struggle produced inside the Party? They have produced the following bad results:

First, they have given encouragement to the patriarchy inside the Party. Under such forms of inner-Party struggle, individual leaders and leading bodies oppress many Party members to such an extent that the latter dare not speak up or criticize, thus contributing to the arbitrary manner of an individual or a few persons inside the Party.

Secondly, on the other hand, they have given encouragement to the tendency of ultra-democracy and the development of liberalism inside the Party. Many Party members in ordinary times dare not speak up or criticize and superficially peace and unity prevail inside the Party. But when the contradictions can no longer be concealed and when the situation has become serious and mistakes are exposed, then they begin to engage in wild criticism and struggle, resulting in antagonism, splits and organisational chaos inside the Party which are almost beyond remedy. This is the opposite side of patriarchy inside the Party.

Thirdly, they have prevented the correct establishment of Party life based on democratic centralism with the result that democratic life inside the Party is irregular, abnormal or extremely lacking.

Fourthly, they have impeded the development of Party members' enthusiasm, initiative and creative power and weakened their sense of responsibility toward the Party and their work, with the result that some comrades dare not assume responsibility with enthusiasm, or work or create with a free hand. They have led comrades not to bother to consider and study problems and situations carefully but have encouraged their working style of attending to their work perfunctorily and merely echoing others' words.

Fifthly, they have helped the development of sectarianism and unprincipled factional struggle inside the Party. They have given rise to the psychology of fearing criticism and struggle inside the Party and cultivated the conservative psychology of "minding one's own business" among some comrades, the psychology of "the less work, the better".

Sixthly, they have afforded more opportunities for the trotskyite spies and counter-revolutionary elements to undermine our Party and have furnished more pretexts for counter-revolution to attack our Party. The trotskyite spies particularly take advantage of contradictions inside the Party and any not too correct inner-Party struggles to carry on their work of undermining the Party and to win over those elements who have been attacked and who are dissatisfied with the Party. The counter-revolution takes advantage of the struggle against opportunism to conduct propaganda and provocation, and to influence sympathisers outside the Party and unreliable elements inside the Party in order to carry out a policy of estrangement and to undermine the solidarity and unity inside the Party.

The above-mentioned bad results have occurred inside the Party and some of them still remain to be eliminated.

Such mechanical and excessive forms of inner-Party struggle have created abnormal conditions in Party life for a considerable length of time and have caused great losses to the Party. Although they have been corrected in the higher leading bodies of our Party and have ceased to be dominant forms of struggle at present in the Party as a whole, yet in certain organisations at the middle and lower levels and in certain individual organisations, these forms of struggle have not yet been corrected and have continued to exist quite prevalently in varying degrees. As a result life in these organisations is still abnormal. Therefore, we must call serious

attention to this deviation so that we may thoroughly eliminate it from our organisation and so that our comrades may not repeat these mistakes and may correctly and steadily conduct the ideological struggle inside the Party and advance the Party.

UNPRINCIPLED STRUGGLE WITHIN THE PARTY

COMRADES!

Now I am going to discuss another deviation in inner-Party struggles — the unprincipled struggle within the Party. Such a phenomenon is particularly prevalent and serious in the Chinese Party. Although there exists a so-called "idle-gossip tendency" in the Parties of foreign countries, I do not think the situation is so serious as it is in the Chinese Party. So we must make our comrades fully aware of such a phenomenon and take the necessary steps to cope with it; otherwise the hindrance to the Party's unity and work will be too great.

What are unprincipled disputes and unprincipled struggles within the Party?

I hold the view that the following disputes and struggles are unprincipled, that is, they constitute a departure from the common position and principles representing the revolutionary interests of our Party and of the proletariat.

First, some comrades do not raise questions or conduct a struggle against other comrades from the position of the Party or on the basis of the interests of the whole Party, but raise questions and conduct struggles against other comrades within the Party from the standpoint of their personal interests or clique interests. That is to say, their position in conducting inner-Party struggles is not correct. Therefore, their viewpoints, policies and methods in relation to questions are not correct either. They favour or advocate any measures so long as such measures are beneficial to themselves or to a few people. They oppose or reject any measures that are not beneficial to themselves or to the few. Whether or not such measures are beneficial to the Party or to the revolution they do not care, or else they push such measures aside as a matter of secondary importance. So what these people oppose or advocate is entirely unprincipled, a departure from the principles of the Party and the

revolution. In other words, their principle is not the principle of the Party and the revolution, but the principle of their personal interests. Should every one take his own interests as his principle, then his principle and interests would certainly conflict with those of others and they would be bound to struggle against one another.

For instance, some of you quarrelled or struggled with each other about orderlies, horses, food, clothing, medical treatment, promotion, etc. Such questions fall into the category of personal and unprincipled questions. Comrades do not suggest general principles as to how orderlies, horses, food, clothing and medical treatment should be distributed so that the Party may benefit and do not ask the Party or the school to adopt these principles, but raise questions such as: Why don't they give me an orderly or a horse? Why don't they give me medical treatment? Why don't they promote me? Why don't they give me good food and clothing? Everything is centred on "me" and everything proceeds from the position of "me" and in such a manner disputes are created and struggles are carried on within the Party. Therefore, as long as they personally are satisfied, even if things are otherwise unreasonably arranged, they care not a whit. This is one kind of unprincipled struggle.

Let us take another example. Some comrades are opposed to extravagance. Some comrades oppose extravagance from the standpoint of the interests of the Party or from the position of the Party. They point out instances of extravagance which violate the principle of austerity and criticize and oppose them. They also submit proposals regarding economy and ask the Party to adopt them. This is correct.

But there are other comrades who do not oppose extravagance from the standpoint of the interests of the Party or from the position of the Party. They raise such questions as: Some have squandered so much money, some have had such good food, some have had such good clothing, some have. . . . Well, why shouldn't I eat like that, spend money like that, and have clothing like that? Is it because I am not old enough a veteran or is it because I have rendered no service to the Party? So he stands up and fights under the slogan of anti-extravagance. The reason is simply that he has not yet had a chance to squander like others. This is also a kind of unprincipled struggle.

Take another example. In East Anhwei, government personnel

were given a small salary*. So some comrades asked to be sent to work in the government organisations, with the aim that they might get a salary. When they were not allowed to go they launched a struggle under the slogan of opposing government personnel having salaries. Furthermore they did not make any suggestions in principle as to how the living allowances of government personnel should be fixed and then discuss them. This is also a kind of unprincipled struggle.

Secondly, some comrades stir up disputes and conduct struggles within the Party not for the purpose of making Party affairs better, but for the purpose of making them worse, or for ulterior purposes. Such purposes are incorrect. It is also a kind of unprincipled struggle. For instance, in order to cut a figure, to maintain personal position, to save face, or even to revenge themselves on others, some comrades, disregarding the situation and conditions at the time, arouse disputes and conduct struggles against other comrades within the Party, disrupting their work and plans, and undermining order and unity in the Party. This also belongs to this category of unprincipled struggle.

Thirdly, some comrades do not raise questions on the basis of principle, asking the Party to adopt or to give up something, but bring up questions and conduct struggles on the basis of personal sentiment, pleasure or displeasure. They curse and get mad at people because they want to have a momentary fit of gratification and give vent to their ill feelings and grudges. This is also a kind of unprincipled struggle. There are some other comrades who, owing to their limited experience and their low theoretical level, are unable to raise questions and argue on the basis of principle. They engage in absolutely irreconcilable disputes with other comrades over issues which are of an isolated, piecemeal and purely practical nature, issues of current policy having nothing to do with principle, instead of over issues involving general principle. Therefore, this is also a kind of unprincipled struggle which should not be insisted upon.

For example, some comrades hold differing views with regard to certain battles, certain actions, certain forms of struggle or certain methods of organisation. They stick to their own views and argue endlessly without touching the general principle of tactics and

* At the time of the anti-Japanese war government personnel in the Liberated Areas were provided with all daily necessities. Except for some pocket money, they had no salaries. — Editor's note.

strategic planning, the general policy of action and the form of struggle and of organisation in general, etc. Their questions are incorrectly brought up, so usually no correct conclusion can be drawn, or any of the differing views could be correct, and fruitless, idle talk is often the result.

Fourthly, inner-Party struggle is conducted by fair means or foul without going through the prescribed organisational procedure. Instances are: To win over or attack comrades in an unprincipled way inside the Party; to stir up trouble and cause dissension among the comrades; to plan conspiracies against and set traps for other comrades; to say nothing in one's presence, but indulge in backbiting; to make irresponsible criticisms against the Party; to gossip; to devote oneself to rumour-mongering; to tell lies and to spread libels against other comrades, etc.

The struggles mentioned above are unprincipled struggles. Besides, there are some comrades who mix into principled struggle certain elements of unprincipled struggle or carry on unprincipled struggles under the banner of principled struggles. There are others who are particularly interested in the dispute between a certain person and another, and in the abnormal relationship between one and another, but who are not interested in the sum and substance of their quarrel.

All such unprincipled struggles within the Party are not good and they are detrimental to the Party.

Comrades may ask: What is principle? What are the questions of a purely practical character which have nothing to do with principle? What are the questions of current policy? Why on these questions should I not stick to my views and why should I compromise in every way with other people who differ with me?

Comrades! These are questions that really should be straightened out.

What is principle?

Viewed purely from the angle of theory, what is meant by principle is the general laws governing the development of things. Particular things are governed by particular laws of development. Similar things are governed on the whole by similar laws of development. What we mean by the question of principle is a question of method which we use in viewing and handling problems in accordance with the general laws governing the development of things. If our general laws governing the observation and handling of problems are wrong, if our position, standpoint and method are

wrong, errors will certainly occur in our observation of and dealing with questions. If we understand wrongly the laws governing the development of certain problems then the method with which we handle such problems will certainly be wrong. Therefore, we should not treat a question of principle lightly. If errors occur in principle, then not only individual errors, but also errors of a systematic and persistent nature, affecting a series of practical problems, will occur.

What are the problems of current policy which have nothing to do with principle, and what are the problems of a purely practical character?

Most of these problems are individual problems, problems of daily routine and daily life. For instance, to mobilise and organise the masses is a problem of principle, and on this we all agree. The task of mobilising and organising the masses must be concentrated and led by mass organisations and the Army should also help and take part in such a task. All these are questions of principle on which we all agree. That is to say we hold no different opinions with regard to principle. But some of our comrades are of the opinion that the civil transportation corps and the civil transportation department of the Army should be suspended temporarily and the personnel should be dispatched to work in mass organisations. Some other comrades hold that the civil transportation corps should not be suspended. Some comrades suggest that a mass organisation should be divided into four departments, while others suggest it be divided into five departments. All these problems are problems of a purely practical character. None of them are problems of principle.

As another example, at present the general principle of strategy of our War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression behind the enemy lines is a strategy of dispersed guerrilla warfare. In case there are no divergent views among us regarding this point, it means we have no divergent views regarding the principle of strategy. Suppose there is a certain commander who, forced by circumstances, or because of a particularly advantageous circumstance, fights a battle of mobile warfare resulting in either victory or defeat. This is an individual practical problem which has nothing to do with the question of principle. Even if one or two of these battles are mistakes, these mistakes are still individual mistakes, so long as the commander does not hold it as a principle to wage mobile warfare behind the enemy lines. Perhaps owing to a specific situation he may even fight a not too bad battle. Therefore, we should not persist in our own views and endlessly argue over such individual, purely practical

questions.

As another example, our Army, equipped as it is today, should not in principle attack the strong positions and the major cities of the enemy. If we have no divergent views on this principle, then it would be an individual practical question having nothing to do with principle, should we, in a special situation, or because of a special necessity, launch an offensive and take a certain enemy position or city.

However, if you say that since we have taken this stronghold or that city, we may launch attacks right away on all enemy strongholds and cities, there the question of principle arises. During the civil war period, some comrades advocated attacks on big cities and directed the Red Army to attack certain major cities. It was a practical problem which concerned principle, because their attacks on big cities were motivated by their advocacy that in principle the Red Army should attack big cities. On such a practical problem which involved principle, we should not make a compromise regarding principle. We should still advocate in principle that no attacks on big cities should be launched.

There are often several solutions for concrete and practical problems. There are often several actually possible roads to take from one place to another. These ways and roads have their respective merits and demerits so far as the situations confronting us at the time are concerned. Some ways and roads are the most advantageous to us but they are risky, so, to play safe, we had better take the less advantageous ways and roads.

Therefore, if divergent views occur over such concrete and purely practical issues, so long as these views do not involve principle, we should try our best to compromise, to make concessions, to accept and subscribe to others' views. "Be good at compromising", then matters can be smoothly dealt with, and questions promptly settled. We should not always persist in our views, always ask others to give up their views, to acquiesce, and to deal with matters in accordance with our views. If so, we would only delay the settlement of issues, obstruct the progress of work, sharpen the disputes and strengthen the tendency to idle talk in the Party, and obstruct unity among the comrades. That is why we should make all possible compromises with Party members holding different views concerning questions of a purely practical character.

Now we know what are questions of current policy which have nothing to do with principle and what are questions of a purely

practical character. They are questions which have nothing to do with the objective of struggle and the form of struggle with which to attain the objective, which do not involve strategy and tactics, which have no concern with our general position and our position in relation to specific issues. The foregoing examples are questions of this kind.

To sum up, our general guiding principle in dealing with all issues is in the interests of the struggle of the Party and the proletariat. Everything must be subordinated to this general principle. All standpoints, opinions and actions against this general principle must be opposed. The various principles are divided into big principles and small principles. The law is that the part is subordinated to the whole, the immediate interests to the long-range interests, the small principles to the big principles. No conciliation or compromise can be made in regard to differences over principle. We must thrash out the questions in order to reach agreement. However, on all issues which have nothing to do with principle we should not be doggedly uncompromising and we should not struggle and argue too emphatically, otherwise our work would be impeded and unity impaired.

I once heard a comrade say that as long as his political stand in inner-Party struggle was "correct" it would not matter, or it was of secondary importance, if he committed some organisational mistakes. So he held that in inner-Party struggle it was permissible to struggle against his opponents by various means incompatible with organisational discipline. Such an argument and viewpoint were obviously incorrect, because he regarded the correct political line and the correct organisational line as things contradicting each other. He did not know that to disrupt the order and organisation within the Party is to commit the gravest error in principle. It is particularly so to-day. To impair the unity and solidarity within the Party is to best help the enemy, to most severely damage the interests of the Party and the proletariat, and to commit an error which is more serious than any other error committed in principle.

On this point, as well as on many other questions of principle, all our comrades should try their best to compare and to differentiate the various questions of principle in relation to the degree of their influence upon the interests of the Party at the time. In accordance with the law that the small principles should be subordinated to the big principles, the part to the whole, we will decide on what questions of principle we should not persist and should make tem-

porary concessions and on what questions of principle we should persist and make no concessions.

To uphold inner-Party solidarity and unity we should sometimes make a temporary compromise with other people within the Party who hold divergent views regarding certain questions of principle which are relatively not so important or so urgent; we should not bring up such questions of principle for the time being, and argue persistently over them. Instead, we should lay our emphasis upon the urgent questions which are of great consequence at the time. Of course, this is by no means a compromise in principle and a middle line, but is a compromise in actual action and is a submission to majority decision.

The foregoing are questions of unprincipled struggle within the Party.

Where do the inner-Party unprincipled struggle and the mechanical, excessive struggle come from? What are their origins? They originate from the following:

First, the theoretical level of our comrades within the Party is in general very low and their experiences in many respects are not yet sufficient. For a long time the leadership and centre of the whole Party did not actually come into being, while up to now in different localities very few leaderships and centres of the Party have actually come into being.

Secondly, there are many petty-bourgeois elements in the Party. The impetuosity, the frenzy of the petty-bourgeoisie, the revengefulness of the peasant petty-bourgeoisie constantly influenced inner-Party struggles.

Thirdly, the democratic life within the Party is abnormal. The style of discussing questions mutually and objectively among the comrades has not yet been established. The style of judging and dealing with questions rudely and subjectively still exists to a serious extent.

Fourthly, opportunists have wormed themselves into the Party and certain opportunist psychology exists in the minds of part of our comrades. To show how well they have been 'bolshevised', they often try deliberately to be 'Left', thinking that 'Left' is better than Right. Or they attack others so as to raise their own prestige.

Fifthly, trotskyite traitors and counter-revolutionary elements have smuggled themselves into the Party, and they seek to undermine the Party by taking advantage of inner-Party struggle. These treacherous trotskyites often, under the cover of the Party banner,

deliberately attack certain comrades. After that, one of the treacherous trotskyites would be sent to contact the comrade being attacked, trying to draw him into their gang as a spy.

Such are the origins of the various deviations in inner-Party struggle.

From the very beginning our Party has had severe self-criticism and inner-Party struggles. This is entirely necessary and very good. In our inner-Party struggle a great deal has been correctly and appropriately carried out. Therefore, our Party has in many cases made achievements in inner-Party struggles and has to some extent raised the theoretical level of our Party. There is no denying that these criticisms and inner-Party struggles are the force which pushes our Party forward on the road of progress. Our Party cannot do without them. However, we can not deny that in the long historical development of our Party, in our inner-Party struggle of the past, there existed the afore-mentioned typical deviations and errors, and in many cases inner-Party struggle was not conducted in a correct manner. As a result, we paid dearly for our inner-Party struggles. Therefore, what we should do today is to profit by past errors, to see to it that we have not paid high prices in vain, and to seek a great progress of the Party by studying the historical lessons of the inner-Party struggles of the past.

To obtain greater achievements in inner-Party struggle and to achieve greater progress of the Party at less cost and pain — that is the policy for the present and future inner-Party struggle, which we should lay down by studying the historical lessons of the inner-Party struggle of the Chinese Party. For this purpose, it is necessary that we thoroughly set right the various deviations and mistakes in past inner-Party struggles, and that we conduct inner-Party struggles effectively and properly.

HOW TO CONDUCT INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE

COMRADES!

Now the question is very clear. It is how to conduct inner-Party struggle correctly and appropriately.

On this question, the Communist Parties of the U.S.S.R. and many other countries have much experience and so has the Chinese Party. Lenin and Stalin have issued many instructions and so has

the Central Committee of our Party. Our comrades must make a careful study of these experiences and instructions, which will also be discussed when we come to the question of Party-building. Today I will not touch upon them. I will bring up for the reference of our comrades only the following points, on the basis of the experience of the inner-Party struggle of the Chinese Party.

First of all, comrades must understand that inner-Party struggle is a matter of the greatest seriousness and responsibility. We must conduct it with the strictest and most responsible attitude and should never conduct it carelessly. In carrying out inner-Party struggle we must first fully adopt the correct stand of the Party, the unselfish stand of serving the interests of the Party, of doing better work, and of helping other comrades to correct their mistakes and to gain a better understanding of the problems. We ourselves must be clear about the facts and problems by making a systematic investigation and study. At the same time, we must carry on systematic, well-prepared and well-led inner-Party struggles.

Comrades must understand that only by first taking the correct stand oneself can one rectify the incorrect stand of others. Only by behaving properly oneself can one correct the misbehaviour of others. The old saying has it: "One must first correct oneself before one can correct others."

Only when one oneself does not vacillate, can one help the vacillating elements to overcome their vacillations.

Only when one oneself is armed with correct principles and theories, can one overcome the incorrect principles and theories of others.

Only when one oneself has a clear understanding of the question of principle, can one help to clear up confusion of others. Only when one oneself has collected much actual data on specific problems and studied more systematically such problems can one be of much help to other comrades and to the Party.

If a comrade does not do this, if he himself in the first place does not adopt the correct position and has not mastered the correct principles, if he has not viewed the objective situation according to principles, or has not systematically studied the problems, or even if he has some particular shortcomings and is not clear enough himself about certain points, he will not be able to overcome what is incorrect in others, in the course of the inner-Party struggle. If in spite of all these he persists in carrying on the struggle in a head-strong fashion he will in all probability end up in the wrong way.

Only objective hard facts, only experiences tested in practice and only truth can triumph over all.

Our self-criticism and inner-Party struggle are not intended to weaken the Party's organisation, solidarity, discipline and prestige or to obstruct the progress of its work. On the contrary, they are intended to strengthen our Party's organisation and solidarity, enhance its discipline and prestige, and accelerate the progress of its work. Thus, inner-Party struggle must not be allowed to follow its own course and lead to ultra-democracy. Inside the Party, neither patriarchy nor ultra-democracy is allowed. These are the two extremes of abnormal life within the Party.

Inner-Party struggle must be conducted with the greatest sense of responsibility to the Party and to the revolution.

Secondly, comrades must understand that inner-Party struggle is basically a struggle between different ideologies and principles inside the Party. It represents antagonism between different ideologies and principles inside the Party. It is imperatively necessary to draw a clear line with regard to ideology and principle. But with regard to organization, the form of struggle, the manner of speaking and criticizing, comrades must be as little antagonistic as possible, must try their best to discuss or to argue over matters in a calm way, and must try their best not to adopt organisational measures and not to draw organisational conclusions.

In conducting inner-Party struggle comrades must try their best to assume a sincere, frank and positive educational attitude in order to achieve unity in ideology and principle. Only in cases where we have no alternative, when it is deemed imperative, may we adopt militant forms of struggle and apply organisational measures. All Party organisations, within appropriate limits, have full right to draw organisational conclusions in regard to any Party member who persists in his errors. The application of Party disciplinary measures and the adoption of organisational measures are entirely necessary under certain circumstances. Such measures, however, cannot be used casually or indiscriminately. Party discipline cannot be upheld simply by the excessive punishment of comrades by Party organisations. The upholding of Party discipline and Party unity does not in the main depend on the punishment of comrades, (if they have to be upheld in such a manner it signifies a crisis in the Party), but rather on the actual unity of the Party in ideology and principle, and on the consciousness of the vast majority of the Party members. When we are eventually fully clear regarding ideology and principle,

it is very easy for us to draw organisational conclusions, if necessary. It does not take us a minute to expel Party members or announce voluntary withdrawal from the Party.

With regard to different ideologies and principles, comrades' persistence, opposition and arguments cannot be separated from their obedience to the Party organisation, to the majority and to the higher authority, otherwise, there would be no Party unity and no unity in action. Comrades should never, because of their insistence on principle, oppose the Party organisationally, disobey the majority and the higher authority and begin to take independent action. Such would constitute a violation of the fundamental discipline of the Party.

What we should adopt as the correct method in conducting inner-Party struggle is this: Militancy in the fight over principles and ideologies and the least possible militancy with regard to organisation and forms of struggle. Many comrades committed mistakes because on the one hand there was no fight or clear-cut difference with regard to ideologies and principles, but on the other hand, there was excessive fighting with regard to organisation and forms of struggle. They argued so much that their faces became red, they cursed so much that they called each other all kinds of names and they fought so much that they avoided meeting each other. Profound hatred developed among them. But strangely enough, no clear-cut differences over principle or ideology were found among them.

Thirdly, criticisms directed against Party organisations or against comrades and their work must be appropriate and well-regulated. Bolshevik self-criticism is conducted according to the Bolshevik yardstick. Excessive criticism, the exaggeration of others' errors and indiscriminate name-calling are all incorrect. The case is not that the more bitter the inner-Party struggle, the better; but that inner-Party struggle should be conducted within proper limits and that appropriateness should be observed. Both over-shooting the target or falling short of it are undesirable.

In pointing out or criticizing the errors of others, comrades must grasp the key points and stress the most important issues. Comrades must explain problems to others in a systematic way and with clarity so that problems may be solved. Comrades should not pile up piece-meal various errors of others and many seemingly true facts, and simply expose them. This will make people think that you are deliberately finding fault with them, attacking them,

and dealing them blows.

When you are appraising and criticizing a certain comrade, you should not only point out his shortcomings and errors as if they were everything about him but should also give credit for his accomplishments, meritorious services, good points and those of his views which are correct. Even if only a part or even only a tiny part of his opinion is correct, you should point it out for him and not leave it unmentioned. Only in so doing, can you make a full appraisal and criticism of him, help him improve himself and convince him.

This is the method which we should adopt in inner-Party struggles; appropriate criticism, appropriate attitude and appropriate method as against "over-shooting or falling short of the target."

Fourthly, the holding of struggle meetings, either inside or outside the Party, should in general be stopped. The various defects and errors should be pointed out in the course of summing up and reviewing work. We should first deal with "the case" and then with "the person". We must first make clear the facts, the points at issue, the nature, the seriousness, and the cause of the errors and defects, and only then point out who are responsible for these defects and errors, and whose is the major responsibility and whose is the minor responsibility.

We should not begin by inquiring as to who is responsible for these mistakes and errors. So long as a comrade commits an error unintentionally and is fully aware of it, and is correcting it, we should receive him with open arms and should no longer be fastidious about it. In conducting inner-Party struggles, it is not our policy to deal blows at our cadres and comrades, or attack others or to deal them blows. For such a policy would be in substance the same as the policy of applying the whip and the repressive policy of the exploiting class in dealing with the working people. Our policy is the mutual assistance and mutual examination between cadres.

For particularly mischievous comrades who frequently violate decisions, discipline and Communist ethics, it is not impermissible, but sometimes even essential, to hold some specific trial meetings when it is found impossible to reason with them in matters of principle. But it would be wrong to make such a practice a general one.

Fifthly, every opportunity to appeal must be given to comrades who have been criticized or punished. As a rule, a comrade should be personally notified of all records or organisational conclusions that may be made about him, and these should be made in his

presence. If he does not agree, then after discussion, the case may be referred to a higher authority. (In the case of anyone who expresses dissatisfaction after having been punished the Party organisation concerned must refer the case to a higher authority even if the comrade himself does not want to make an appeal.) No Party organisation can prevent any comrade who has been punished from appealing to a higher authority. No Party member can be deprived of his right to appeal. No Party organisation can withhold any appeal.

On questions of ideology or principle the Party member concerned may appeal directly to a higher Party committee or even to the Central Committee by going over the head of the Party organisation to which he belongs. However, the comrade should first fully explain his views, his reasons and his differences and make all these clear to his Party organisation, before he makes his appeal to a higher authority. He should not keep his mouth shut in his Party organisation while indulging in irresponsible talk with a higher Party organisation in an attempt to deceive and fool the higher Party organisation. Once an appeal has been made, the final decision rests with the higher Party organisation, which may cancel, reduce or increase the disciplinary measures taken against a comrade by a Party committee of a lower level.

On questions of ideology or principle, if agreement cannot be finally reached within the Party organisation after discussion, the matter may be settled by a majority decision. After that, the minority who still hold different opinions may have the right to reserve their opinions on condition that they absolutely abide by the decision of the majority in respect to organisational matters and in their activities.

When a Party committee of a higher level or a leading organ is asked by a certain number of comrades, or Party committees of a lower level, to hold a suitable meeting for the purpose of examining the work, the Party committee of a higher level should, whenever possible, call such a meeting to review its work.

Sixthly, a clear line should be drawn and a proper link should be established between struggles waged inside the Party and those waged outside the Party. A struggle waged outside the Party must not adopt the same forms as are used in inner-Party struggle, nor vice versa. Particular care should be exercised to avoid taking advantage of outside forces and conditions in waging struggles against the Party or of intimidating the Party. All Party members must

take great care to maintain sharp vigilance lest the hidden trotskyites and counter-revolutionary elements should take advantage of the conflicts and struggles inside the Party to carry on their subversive activities. In conducting inner-Party struggles Party members must not allow themselves to be utilised by these elements. This can be done by strictly observing Party discipline and by carrying on the inner-Party struggle correctly.

Inside the Party, only open struggles and ideological struggles are allowed. No form of struggle which violates the Party Constitution or Party discipline will be allowed.

Seventhly, in order to prevent unprincipled disputes within the Party, it is necessary to lay down the following measures:

- (1) Party members who disagree with the Party's leading body or any Party organisation should submit their views and criticism to the appropriate Party organisation and should not talk about it casually among the masses.
- (2) Party members who disagree with other Party members or certain responsible Party members, may criticize them in their presence or in certain specific Party organisations and should not talk about it casually.
- (3) Party members or Party committees of a lower level who disagree with a Party committee of a higher level, may bring the issue to the Party committee of a higher level, or ask it to call a meeting to study the matter, or should refer the matter to a Party committee of a still higher level, but they should not talk about it casually or inform Party committees of a still lower level about the matter.
- (4) When Party members discover any other Party member doing something wrong and acting in a manner detrimental to the interests of the Party they must report such activities to the appropriate Party organisation and should not attempt to cover up the matter or attempt to mutually shield each other.
- (5) Party members should promote an upright style of work and oppose anything of a deceitful nature, oppose any kind of deceitful talk and actions and should severely condemn all those who indulge in idle talk, gossiping, prying into other's secrets and the spreading of rumours. The leading bodies of the Party must from time to time issue instructions forbidding Party members to talk about certain specific matters.

- (6) The leading bodies at all levels must from time to time summon those comrades who indulge in idle talk and unprincipled disputes and talk with them, correct them and warn them, or subject them to discipline in other ways.
- (7) Party committees at all levels must respect the opinions set forth by Party members. They should frequently convene meetings to discuss questions and review their work, and provide Party members with ample opportunity to express their opinions.

Unprincipled disputes should in general be forbidden and no judgement should be passed on them, because it is impossible to judge who is right and who is wrong in such unprincipled disputes.

When we try to settle unprincipled disputes among the comrades we should never simply start to tackle the dispute itself, but should review and sum up their work and set forth in a positive way and from the standpoint of principle their future perspectives, programme of work, the line to follow, plans, etc. In the course of the summing up of their work, and setting forth their future perspectives, programme of work, the line to follow and plans, we can criticize the incorrect views of certain comrades, and then ask them if they still hold different views. If they do, then it is a dispute in principle. Thus, an unprincipled dispute will be raised to the level of a principled dispute. If they do not have any dispute in principle, then they will be asked to rally together around this summing up of work, these future perspectives and this programme of work, and to struggle together for the fulfilment of the perspectives and programme and to give up all unprincipled disputes. Unprincipled disputes should be settled through the summing up of past work, and the defining of present objectives, and the advancement of the current work. Otherwise, unprincipled disputes cannot be settled.

We should never play the role of a judge in trying to settle an unprincipled dispute, because it is impossible of judgement and settlement. If a judgement is not appropriate, both sides to the dispute would feel dissatisfied and the dispute would continue.

Issues such as that a certain comrade does not fully trust another or still suspects another, etc. should in general not be brought up for discussion, because discussion on such issues will be of no avail. Such issues can be settled, and a particular comrade can be proved trustworthy and can be cleared of suspicion only in the course of his work, his struggle and his practice.

If comrades introduce into their principled struggles certain

unprincipled elements we should only lay emphasis on the discussion of the principled question and should not lay emphasis on the unprincipled elements, otherwise the principled question will be overshadowed.

If a comrade carries on an unprincipled struggle under the cloak of a principled struggle we must point out that he is correct in principle on certain points, and we should not deny such principles because he is making use of them but we should appropriately point out that his position and methods are wrong, and in this way prevent a principled struggle from being turned into an unprincipled struggle.

All in all, inner-Party struggle is fundamentally a form of struggle and controversy over ideology and principles. Inside the Party everything must submit to reason, everything must be reasoned out and everything must have some reason for it, otherwise it will not do. We can do anything without difficulty if we have reasoned it out.

Inside the Party we must cultivate the practice of submitting to reason. The yardstick for determining whether this or that reason is sound is: the interests of the Party and the interests of the proletarian struggle; the subordination of the interests of the part to those of the whole, and the subordination of the immediate interests to long-range interests. All reasons and viewpoints are sound when they are beneficial to the interests of the Party, to the interests of the proletarian struggle, to the long-range interests of the Party as a whole, and to the long-range interests of the proletarian struggle as a whole, otherwise they are not sound. Any struggle that does not submit to reason or that has no reason for it is an unprincipled struggle. Anything that does not submit to reason or that cannot be reasoned out must be wrong and in such cases, no correct conclusions can be drawn and no ultimate solution can be found. If we still fail to reach agreement after having reasoned it out, then it will be clear who is violating the interests of the Party and the interests of the proletarian struggle. It would then become necessary to draw organisational conclusions in the case of those comrades who persist in their errors, and the point at issue can be solved without difficulty.

In order to enable us to reason things out it is essential to have inner-Party democracy and to straighten out problems by calm and dispassionate discussion. It is most essential for us to study humbly, to raise the theoretical level of the comrades, to have a clear of the situation, to make a thorough investigation of the case

and to study problems carefully. We can never reason things out if we are careless, subjective, parrot-like, divorced from practice, making no thorough investigation of the case, etc.

If we do not submit to reason, or if we fail to reason things out, then we will have to resort to force, tricks, the power granted by the Party, and even deceit, for the solution of problems. In that case, inner-Party democracy will no longer be necessary, for inner-Party democracy requires that we all reason things out so that we may take concerted action.

What I mean by "reason" here, of course, is not empty and seemingly true reason, but real facts and the real truth that have been tested by practice. Certain intellectuals are given to idle talk and to indulgence in misleading reasons. They can talk a great deal without basing themselves on facts. They can talk about everything under the sun. Theirs is empty talk, Party jargon and of no use whatsoever but is harmful to the Party and the revolution. Therefore, in promoting the practice of submitting to reason, it is necessary to oppose empty talk and Party jargon, and to advocate objective and materialistic reasons which proceed from reality and are intended for practice. That is to say, "our theories are materialistic".

Everything must submit to reason! It would not do if it didn't! It would not do either if we reason incorrectly! It would be even more undesirable if we indulge in empty talk! Of course this is a rather difficult job. But only in this way, can we become qualified as Bolsheviks.

Bolsheviks submit to reason and they are supporters of truth. They are a kind of men who clearly understand reason and deal with others in real earnest in accordance with reason. They are not unreasonable and irrational struggle-specialists!

Comrades! These are some methods I suggest as to how to conduct inner-Party struggles.

I am of the opinion that our comrades should adopt these methods in conducting inner-Party struggles, in opposing the various kinds of incorrect tendencies inside the Party and in examining the Party spirit of every Party member, and especially that of the cadres, so that our Party may be still further consolidated ideologically and organisationally. This is our aim.

TRAINING IN ORGANIZATION AND DISCIPLINE

I. THE RELATIONS BETWEEN PARTY MEMBERS AND THE PARTY, PARTY MEMBERS AND FELLOW MEMBERS

The Party members' training in organization reflects the relations between individual members and the Party, Party members and their fellow members. What stand, manner and attitude that Party members should take in dealing with their fellow members constitutes the training in organization. Let us explain first the Party's organizational structure.

A. The Party Is a Structure of Contradictions.

What is the Party's organizational structure? Like everything else, it is a structure of contradictions, an object out of the unity of contradictions. It is a new object created from the combination of two opposing objects. Natural science tells us that in this world every object is created this way. The world has so far discovered 94 atoms; each has come into being as a result of the combination of positive and negative electrons. The positive and negative electrons are opposing objects which, once integrated, turn into a new thing. For example, gold is made of one positive and seven nega-

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tive electrons; mercury, of one positive and eight negative electrons. Different objects have been created in this world out of electrons combined in different numbers and different movements. There must be two opposing and contradictory objects combined in order to create a new object.

Combination does not equate adding-up; it does not bring about a total sum, nor does it represent an "X" symbol. Adding up things of the same nature will increase the quantity but will not change the quality. For instance, when a cow is grouped together with another, they will still be cows. A pint of rice will remain as rice when another pint is added to it. However, when an ox is put together with a cow, new relations are established between them. A man and a woman can form the relations that exist between a husband and a wife. Every object must be created out of the unity of contradictions.

Our Communist Party is formed of different members, and its basic structure is its branches. Three Party members may set up a Party branch or a Party group. However a Party branch or group does not simply symbolize the relations between one member and two other members; one member plus two others will be three. This is nothing more than a mathematical addition. Three members grouped together do not form a Party structure (organization). How can an organization be established? One of the three members must become a branch secretary or group head, and the remaining two, its component members. The combination of the branch secretary or group head with the two component members constitutes a unity of contradictions or a unity of the leader and the led. Only when there is an organization of unity can strength emerge. Such an organization of unity is the Party — this is the basic organizational structure of the Party.

The formation of the whole Party consists of the Party's leading organs at various levels and the whole body of Party members; it is the unity of the Party's Central Committee and its various departments, organs and branches, the unity of Party leaders, cadres and the mass of Party members, or the unity of higher-level and lower-level organizations. Therefore, our Party structure is not a mixed object, nor is it a simple total sum of several hundred thousand Party members without a definite form of organization. It is a unity of several hundred thousand members, effected according to a definite organizational form and rules; it is a unity of contradictions, containing leaders and the led, the Party leadership and Party

members, the Party's higher-level and lower-level organizations. Such a Party organization enables the Party to acquire a strong fighting strength, without which it would be a "group of roughs", an undisciplined mob.

The Party is neither a joint association, nor a joint organization of local Party organs. It is a complete body of a collective nature, comprising different Party members and different departments. This collective body is different from a joint organization.

Democratic centralism is the Party's concrete form of unity, reflecting how the Party unites the broad masses of members with its leaders, its various departments with the Central Committee and its lower-level with its higher-level organizations. The most concrete expression of such form of unity is the rules governing the Party branches as specified in the Party's Constitution. How can we attain the objective of the unity of the Party to mould the several hundred thousand Party members into a unified body? The unity of the Party lies in ideological unity emanating from Marxism. Such ideological unity is the most fundamental matter, without which it would be impossible to form the Party and maintain its unity. Hence, whenever there is difference of opinion in ideology and principle, it will be imperative to initiate struggles with a view to regaining unity. Should there be a few members persisting in their erroneous conception and principles with no intention to abandon them, they will have to be expelled in the end (like Trotsky). If such members form the majority, they will inevitably have to split with us and form a party of their own (like Lenin who left the Social Democratic Party and founded the Communist Party).

Ideological unity among members brings about the unity in organization, action and discipline. This is the concrete form of unity in the Party. It will be impossible to express, attach and consolidate ideological unity unless there is unity in organization, action and principle. The unification of the Communist Party has been attained from unity in ideology plus unity in organization, action and discipline.

Democratic centralism is the concrete form of Party's solidarity, reflecting Party's organizational relations and determining the relations between Party's leaders and the led, group heads and members of the groups, branch secretaries and various component members of the branches, higher-level and lower-level organs, the Central Committee and the entire body of Party members. The aim of democratic centralism is to ensure the Party's unity in ideology and

its unification in organization. Ideological unity precedes unification in organization; the latter, on the other hand, helps, moves and, in a certain degree, consolidates the unity in ideology. Democratic centralism guarantees the Party's unity in ideology and organization. This is the meaning of democratic centralism.

The principle of democratic centralism calls for obedience of the minority to the majority, individuals to the organization, the lower level to the higher level and the whole Party to the Central Committee. In addition, there is the disciplinary restraint, requiring every member to act in accordance with organizational principles. Violation of such principles will incur disciplinary penalty to dissident members. Discipline is enforced through compulsion. All disciplinary measures are formulated to determine the relations between Party members and to ensure and maintain the unification of the Party. Only with such an understanding of fundamental organizational principles can we proceed to discuss Party members' training in organization.

B. How Should the Relations Between Party Members and the Party, Party Members and Fellow Members Be Determined?

Our Party has several hundred thousand members; each member is only one of the several hundred thousands. Only when the several hundred thousand members are united can the Party be established. Hence the relations between Party members and the Party are those between individual elements (units) and the whole body, like cells to the human body. Party members are different in ability and sex, holding different posts. It is because the Party is composed of different members that it must have different departments.

Let us discuss the relationship between cells and the human body. Healthy development of cells brings healthy development to the body. The healthy development of the human body can, in turn, strengthen cells. Generally speaking, the whole determines the conditions of the parts. Living cells can never be found in a dead body. The analogy between human body and the Party is not entirely correct. First of all, a human body can never grow another brain once its brain is removed. On the other hand, the Party will not cease to exist if the leaders are arrested by the enemy. After one Central Committee is dissolved, another may be elected to take its place. Secondly, each individual cell in a human body

cannot function more than it can, but an enthusiastic and hard-working Party member can do more than one man's work. He can even drive the whole Party and many other Party members forward. Each member should, therefore, become a positive and active factor in the Party. He should play a positive role and exert a driving force. He should never play a pessimistic role. All the work of the Party and its victories are accomplished and won through the efforts of its members. The Party can never march forward without each individual member exerting his or her utmost effort.

At the same time it must be understood that irrespective of his ability, work and role, each member is no more than one of the several hundred thousands. He is one element in Lenin's party structure of contradictions. He should come into the Party and lead and drive it forward. He should never stand on the outside or ride over the Party to lead it. Lenin and Stalin led and drove the party from within; they played their roles as party members inside the party.

Speaking in concrete terms, the relations between Party members and the Party are those between members and their fellow members, members and leaders, the higher levels and lower levels, the Central Committee and branch secretaries or group heads. That is to say, if you want to be a good member of the Party, you must make a success of your work when you are an ordinary member, a group head, or a branch secretary and even when you are a member of the Central Committee. You should be able to lead and to be led; it is insufficient if you are only able to lead but unable to be led.

One man bragged to me of his success as a man. Yet, he quarreled violently with his father, his wife, his brother and his friends. I asked him, "You are somebody's son, husband, brother or friend. How can you be a good man when you have failed to become a good son, a good husband, a good brother and a good friend?" As a matter of fact, it was purely abstract thinking when he said he had been successful as a man. One cannot become a good man if one does not try to be one. The same principle applies to a Party member. There are leaders and the led. Regardless of whether he is a leader or one of the led, he is one of the Party members. Every Party member should, in accordance with his actual position in the Party, establish correct relations with his fellow members, with the Party's leading organs or with the led.

Such relations are established according to the principles of

democratic centralism. In other words, the leading organs of the Party, elected by the majority of the Party members should make decisions on the Party's programme. The leading organs should deliver reports to members. This is democracy. Members must, in turn, obey the leading organs. This is centralism. Here the relations between Party members and its leadership are: the members elect the leaders and obey them. On the one hand, the leaders must follow the directions given by the members and on the other, they must direct the members. There is no one in the Party, who does not accept the directives of the Party's leading organs. If a leader rejects the Party's or Party members' directions and yet wishes to lead the Party, he would cease to be a leader. However the Party must have a leadership. Only with a leadership can it remain as an organized body. The Party's higher-level leaders are voted into office by the lower-level cadres who must, in turn, listen to the leaders they have elected. This is the unity of contradictions as called for in the system of democratic centralism. Hence it is imperative for a Party member to establish his relations with the higher and lower-level colleagues and those of his level so as to achieve unity in the Party, increase the fighting strength of the Party and expedite the Party work. Such is the training in organization that Party members should receive.

A Party member must play an active role in the Party and play it as extensively as possible. How extensively should he play his role?

Generally speaking, the Party makes decisions for its members. However, if a member is capable, he can, at a certain time and under certain conditions, play a decisive role for the Party or for one of its departments on a specific matter. In the old days people in China disputed as to whether "a hero creates a situation" or "a situation creates a hero". As a general rule, a hero cannot create a situation, for no individual can change the course of history which follows its own law of development. Yet, in an actual revolutionary struggle or with regard to a certain fact, some leaders (heroes) can determine its success or cause its failure. Take, for instance, the October Revolution. It could have failed, had there been no Lenin. The October Revolution triumphed because there was Lenin and the Bolshevik Party and because it took place at that time and under those conditions. Without Lenin the proletarian revolution was certain to break out and end in victory, though it might have taken place at a time other than October, 1917. The Chinese great

revolution might not have ended in failure had there been Lenin. The present-day events are taking place in the same pattern. Often, the success or failure in our Party work has to do with the ability of a Party member in that district. The Southern Anhwei incident provided an example. Had we sent some one else, such a tremendous loss could perhaps have been avoided. In such places individuals often play a decisive role. This is clearly discernible in our armed forces. An able Party member often makes a success of an armed unit. A Party member well trained in theory, organization and politics can raise the level of efficiency of his fellow members of the same department and push the work one step forward. Marx and Engels created a proletarian party wrecked later by the opportunist leaders of the Second International. Afterwards emerged Lenin who established the Bolshevik Party, opposed the Second International and led the October Revolution to victory.

Of course, one must hold a fairly important position in order to play his role. An ordinary member can play only a small role, while a leader can do a greater part. What position one holds is not a matter of great importance. If a member is really capable but holds no important post, it is certain that he will have it tomorrow or day after tomorrow. The Party will promote him. A Party member, however, cannot ask for an important post from the Party simply because he wishes to play a leading role in it.

Democracy and Centralism are two contradictory conceptions. The contradiction between these two terms in wording and meaning reflect exactly the contradictions in objective facts. It shows that the Party is a structure of contradictions. The Party's democratic centralism reflects the contradictory relations between Party members and the Party and the relations between the higher level and the lower level. "Democracy is the means, and centralism, the end". This way of saying is wrong because it does not explain the relations between democracy and centralism and the unity of contradictions between democracy and centralism. The objective of the Party is to achieve its solidarity and unity and increase its fighting strength. The whole system of democratic centralism provides the way to the objective of unity. Democracy or centralism alone will not guide the Party to solidarity and unity. Unity implies not just centralism but democratic centralism. Without democracy there can be no centralism; without centralism there can be no real unity. If centralism alone can be taken to mean unity, then democracy would denote splittism. This is what the conservative, stubborn elements

in China say. Centralism alone would turn a government into one of despotism. Patriarchism would then prevail in the Party. Patriarchism does not provide the foundation of a correct structure for the Party; the correct structure will be one of democratic centralism.

A Party member, irrespective of whether he is a member of the Central Committee, a secretary of a provincial Party committee or a secretary of a Party branch inevitably comes into contact with others in the Party and establishes relations between higher and lower levels. A lower-level cadre must obey his superiors but at the same time, he supervises their work (every Party leader must accept Party members' supervision, and every Party member has the right to supervise others). If his superior is weak, a lower-level cadre should help him. This is also contradictory. A superior directs his subordinates and at the same time listens to them. He should discuss everything with everybody. This is democracy in practice. If a lower-level cadre is found to be wrong in his view, the superior should correct it. Members of the same level should respect, help, learn from and emulate one another. If a colleague of the same rank is found to have committed a mistake, a cadre should report the matter to his superior. In a word, each and every Party member should stand on the side of the Party and take advantage of his position to play an active role in his dealings with other members. He should adopt proper methods to carry out struggles within the Party. Only in this way can Party's unity be achieved so as to be able to struggle against the class enemy. Only by uniting Party members and treating comrades in such an attitude can one be considered a righteous man in the Party. If one nurtures desires for personal gains, hits others by whatever means at one's disposal or even tries to set up small factions within the Party, one will be looked upon as an undesirable person. The Party will not tolerate what he does.

Mutual supervision and criticism among Party members are to help one another and bring about Party solidarity and unity. Mutual supervision and criticism should be carried out in a sincere, honest and open manner. They should be directed toward specific persons and by concrete methods. They should be made on the basis of facts and from an objective point of view. Abstract criticism should never be made. To attain sincerity and straightforwardness, Party members are expected to express their opinions candidly and in the face of their fellow members. Many comrades fear lest they offend others, incur blames from their superiors or hurt themselves

by leveling candid criticisms against their colleagues. This is a sign of weakness. You may arouse his indignation and invite his blows and revenge if you criticize your superior. This has happened before. Chang Kuo-tao was an example. Party members should uphold righteousness and entertain no fear of offending others. They should persist in truth. It does not matter if, for the sake of guarding truth, they should suffer blows, injustice or opposition from fellow members criticized. Facts will eventually be known to others. Party members should, on the one hand, refrain from doing anything in violation of truth and righteousness and, on the other expose things that others have done against truth and righteousness. Of course, the way of exposing them should be considered from the standpoint of attaining the greatest effect from the exposure. We must not attack others, but when we are attacked, we should never have any fear from upholding truth.

The foregoing are the basic points to bear in mind when we begin our lessons on the training in organization.

II. IMPLEMENTATION OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

A. Collective Leadership and Democratic Centralism.

As stated in the foregoing, the concrete form of the Party's organizational structure is democratic centralism. The Party is built on an organizational system. There are the leaders and the led. The leadership of the Party is not an individual but a collective one. Hence the Party must practise democracy in order to realize collective leadership, for collective leadership represents the experience and intellect of the whole Party. It collects the best opinion from the whole Party and adopts the best plan to arrive at a resolution and form a programme.

Irrespective of his position, every member of the Party has an opportunity to express his opinion if he is up to a certain intellectual level and is able to understand the law of revolution. If his opinion is partly correct, then the correct part will be adopted to form a part of the Party's programme. In this way he takes part in the collective leadership of the Party. This shows that any member has an opportunity to participate in the Party's collective leadership, a leadership over the Party and the revolution.

The Party leadership is manifold and concrete; for instance, leading a war, a workers' and peasants' movement, a political power

or printing or medical work. Aside from fixed strategy and tactics, all other phases of Party leadership are concrete, and the leadership over every part of its practical work has his own course to follow. Therefore the Party needs practical leaders conversant with various phases of the Party work. This leads to the point that under the collective leadership there must be a system of individual responsibility. Yet, the leadership over each phase of the Party's practical work forms part of the general collective leadership. If the leadership over each phase of the work is good, the work of the Party is well done. We can conclude that collective leadership and individual responsibility are compatible.

Our Party programme on strategy and tactics has been fixed. This is the consensus of opinion of the comrades of the whole Party, arrived at after studying the Chinese society according to the Marxist-Leninist fundamental principles. It is a concrete application of the tenets of Marxism-Leninism in China (if any one has fresh opinion, he may still express it). This is the foundation of the Party's collective leadership.

Democratic centralism must be practised also for the purpose of effecting unity in thought and will. That is to say, everyone should take part in discussions and express his opinion.

Good ideas will be adopted. Those whose ideas are unacceptable are persuaded to give them up. The significance of democratic centralism lies in the fact that everyone's ideas and strength are centralized and organized to become a unified idea and strength. The fundamental principle of democratic centralism is: the minority must obey the majority, the lower-level obeys the upper-level, individuals obey the organization, and the whole Party obeys the Central Committee. Before a problem has found its solution, everyone can express his opinion. After a resolution is adopted, it must be carried out. Even if you disapprove of it, you must accept the resolution. Democracy and centralism are united. Without democracy, there will be no centralism; without centralism there can be no democracy. If the minority disobeys the majority, the interests of the majority will be harmed by the minority and the majority will be made to obey the minority. This will be contrary to the principles of democracy.

B. The Wrong Understanding of Democratic Centralism Within the Party.

The fundamental principles of democratic centralism are easy

to comprehend and recite. However, only when one truly adheres to these principles in practice can one be said to have understood them and be considered a Bolshevik.

The experiences and lessons received by the Chinese Communist Party tell us that many people do not really understand what democratic centralism is. The fundamental principles of democratic centralism are absolute and unconditional, but many people think that they are relative and conditional.

So far as I know, these people have put up the following conditions for their obedience:

The first group of people declare that they will obey their superiors and the majority, provided their superiors and the majority are, first of all, correct in principles and politics. If they are wrong politically, they cannot obey them. Their condition for obedience is that the superiors, the majority and the Central Committee are correct. It is wrong for them to put up such a condition, for it destroys the system of democratic centralism. The principles of democratic centralism specify that once a decision is made by the majority, the higher-level leadership or the Central Committee, it must be carried out even if the decision is wrong. It is at such a time that discipline must be observed; discipline demands obedience to the majority, the superiors or the Central Committee, regardless of whether the decision made by them is right or wrong.

Why is obedience demanded even if a decision is wrong. The reasons are:

First, it is only a matter of your personal opinion that the higher-level leadership or the Central Committee have been wrong. Whether they are really wrong is a thing to be verified. If you disobey because you think that they have been wrong and another member follows your example, there will be no Party to speak of; all we can do under such circumstances is to dissolve our organization. In that case, who is correct is not clarified. The past Party renegades, Li Li-san, Lu Chang-lun and Chang Kuo-tao opposed the Central Committee on the pretext, "The Central Committee is wrong; I am right". They set up a separate Central Committee, causing division of the Party. However, facts proved afterwards that they were wrong, not the Central Committee.

Secondly, conceding that the majority, the higher-level authorities or the Central Committee were wrong, you should carry out the wrong decision first; otherwise, you will cause a split in the organization, disunity in action and curtailment of the Party's strength. We

have already arrived at definite conclusions on such fundamental questions in the Chinese revolution as those regarding the nature of the Chinese society and the nature and force of the revolution. The questions on which you think you are right and the higher levels or the majority were wrong are, in general, not the fundamental revolutionary questions but questions concerning local matters or departmental work. In general, it is wrong for members of the Communist Party to bring about a split in the Party on account of differences in opinion on local or minor questions. Furthermore, even if your opinion is correct, you have to obey your superiors in order to put your ideas into practice. Leaving the majority and the Party, it will be impossible for you to persuade the majority and the Party of the correctness of your opinion and to carry out your ideas.

Generally speaking, the views of the majority are more correct than those of a few. Of course, there are cases in which the minority are correct, while the majority are wrong. For instance, during the Sian Incident, if the matter was brought to the Party for discussion and given to vote, the majority might have reached a wrong decision. How can the majority be wrong, while the minority be right? This is because only a few wise, talented and far-sighted people can discern the development of the objective matters and the progress of history. In such cases, the truth is on the side of the few; what the majority advocate may not be the truth. What should the few do under such circumstances? They should still abide by the decision made by the majority so as to preserve the unity in organization and action. The few who are right should persist in their own view and tell everybody that although the majority were wrong, we still obey them, but we have to make it clear that their decision was wrong and will lead to failure. In this way, the split in the Party is avoided, but in principle, the few people hold their own opinion. In every step of the practical work they should explain that the majority were wrong and that they are going to win them over to their side. If they fail to get the wrong decision corrected in one year, they should carry on their effort of persuasion for two, five or ten years. It would be a great achievement when they finally succeed in getting the majority to share their opinion. But, if they lose patience at the beginning, disobey the majority and split with the Party, they will never be able to save the Party. Therefore, even if the majority, the higher-level authorities or the Central Committee were wrong and you were right, you must not act independently but obey them. You can appeal to your superiors, but you must do so

according to fixed organizational procedure. If you do not follow it, you will no doubt bring about a split in the Party and lose the Party altogether.

Lu Chang-lun, Li Li-san, Chang Kuo-tao and Chen Tu-hsiu opposed the Central Committee and destroyed the unity of the Party on the pretext that Lenin disobeyed the Second International and set up the Third International. This was utterly wrong. History has never repeated itself. It would be very risky to follow historical precedents doggedly. It was right for Lenin to establish the Third International. It would be wrong for any member of the Communist Party to do so today. First of all, that was Lenin; this is you. Secondly, what Lenin opposed was the Second International; what you oppose today is the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of the Third International. The Second International had sectarian groups and lacked the spirit of Marxism. The Second International was a non-revolutionary and non-combatant party. On the contrary, the Third International, founded in accordance with Lenin's principles, is entirely different. It has its own guiding principles and its own strategy and tactics. If you attempt to split with such a party, it will be tantamount to splitting with Leninism and revolution.

In a word, since the Third International was founded, it would be all wrong to employ the same methods of denouncing the Second International to oppose the Third International. It is wrong for some comrades to disobey the organization on the ground that their superiors have misled them. Such an action would destroy the Party's system of democratic centralism and negate the absoluteness of the fundamental principles of democratic centralism. It would seem that these comrades regard these principles as something relative and conditional. The action will not ensure the unity of the Party. Unconditional obedience may appear to be arbitrary. But, to organize several hundred thousand Party members and maintain the unity of the Party, what else can we do if we do not employ arbitrary methods.

Some people quoted Lenin as saying, "If there is division in opinion on principles and ideology, it will be impossible to preserve organizational unity." They use Lenin's words as a pretext for leaving the organization and acting independently. They must realize that Lenin was right, but they misquoted him. What Lenin meant was that in case of a split in Party's lines and ideology, organizational unity can never be preserved. Lenin did not mean

that organizational unity should not or needed not be preserved. On the contrary, even when disunity in ideology appears, obedience is still demanded. They must realize that organizational split will cause a greater loss to the Party. Preserving Party's unity is an absolute necessity. The greatest offence to the Party today is splitting. The severest punishment should be meted out to those who split with the Party's organization. Lenin's dissension from the Second International in ideology and principle is a thing of the long past. He did not break up with the Second International immediately. Instead, he argued with the organization for over a decade. His split with the Second International did not take place until the outbreak of the First Imperialist War and the Second International's betrayal of the proletariat. The Second International joined the War and declared its own bankruptcy. Facts of the past decade testified to the correctness of Lenin's words. Lenin founded the Third International only after victory over the October Revolution. Today some people act differently. They split with the Party and act independently as soon as they find themselves disagreeing with the organization in view. This is absolutely intolerable. Even if you have differences with the majority or your superiors in principle and you are right, you still have to obey the organization and refrain from acting independently in order to preserve unity. By demanding obedience to the majority even if they were wrong, it does not mean that you are called on to follow others blindly. If you really have a different view in mind, you can appeal to the higher-level leadership and put it up for discussion. This is permitted by the Party.

The second group of people put up a different condition. They say that they would obey the organization or the higher level only if the higher-level authorities are capable, good in public speaking and high in intellectual standards. That is to say, the ability of the higher-level authorities becomes a condition for obedience.

Whether one is capable or not depends on individual ways of looking at one's ability. Some people consider the ability to speak and write as a mark of one's great capability at work. This is a superficial way of measuring it. A cadre's ability should be tested in a struggle or in a difficult environment. A cadre who can persist in struggle under the most difficult conditions is a capable worker.

Next, it is fundamentally incorrect to make the ability of a superior a condition for obedience to him. Your superior may be a person less capable than you. It must be understood that assignment of work cannot be satisfactory in every case. Even if a leader

is less capable than the led, obedience of the latter to the former is still required, for he represents the organization. This is primary. Next, we must not lose sight of the fact that our Party's leadership is a collective one. When responsible personnel are weak, it is incumbent upon cadres of lower level to give due assistance to strengthen the leadership. If your view is good and is accepted today, it would mean that you are taking part in the leadership. Since you are capable, you should assist the leading comrades and leading organs in all sincerity. This is absolutely necessary. If you deliberately refrain from giving assistance and instead, mischievously hamper their work, their leadership will be poor even if they are quite capable. With help from everybody, a responsible cadre can make a success of his work. Party members should be permeated with the spirit of mutual help. Without it, the leading personnel will fail to provide good leadership, you yourself will not be able to do your work satisfactorily, and the cause of revolution will not succeed. If you have a better way of accomplishing things, you should bring it to the attention of the Party. If you are really capable, the Party will certainly promote you to a higher rank; it will never keep you at a lower level for long. While a cadre thinks that he is capable, whether he is really a capable person is a question. In the same way, when you think that your superior is weak in ability to work, whether he is really an incapable cadre is also questionable. Whether you are more capable than your superior is all the more questionable. Perhaps you are less capable than your superior when you are given the post of leadership. Each person has his own attainment. Perhaps you can speak and write well, but when it comes to practical work, you may not be able to do it as well as you speak and write. A person may fight a good battle, but he may not be a good choice for the policy-making work. One person may be highly conscientious in Party work, but he may not be a capable person. One may be capable at work but poor in ideology. This shows that each is a person of his own attainments.

It will be manifestation of personal heroism if one respects and obeys another simply because he is a capable person. The Party does not tolerate heroism to exist among members. Today we obey not individuals but the organization. We cannot assign every Party member to a kind of work that he is really capable of doing; we cannot do so like the "Deified Monkey". While we are short of cadres, we will have to do the best we can. While there is work to be done without cadres better qualified to do it than those we have

at our disposal, we are left no alternative but to let them do it. However, we cannot say that all our cadres are unqualified for their posts. In general, we have done our work as well as others and perhaps better. As a matter of fact, no organ can function satisfactorily if it depends on a single leading cadre; no task can be fulfilled perfectly if it is done by a single person. To build collective leadership we must help one another. We cannot expect leading cadres to be almighty, and get disappointed when one task is not fulfilled to our satisfaction. Hence it is utterly wrong for members to make leading cadres' ability as a condition for obedience.

The third group of people take responsible cadres' qualifications as a condition of their obedience. They would disobey those who have not joined the Party for long, are not well-qualified and are not known to many members of the Party. Hence university students refuse to obey middle school students, and old Party members are unwilling to accept orders from the new. These are instances of obedience not to organization but to individuals. It is inevitable that we shall recruit new cadres while the Party work is developing. Defiance to new cadres hampers their promotion. It is wrong for one to emulate another's qualifications; one should emulate the merits of work done by others. If responsible cadres are non-Party people, Party members should, first of all, accept their authority. Only in this way can they make a success of their work.

The fourth group of people condition their obedience on the standing of their superiors. Comrades sent by a higher-level department would disobey the responsible cadres of a lower level. Naturally cadres sent by higher levels are given special power and are authorized to direct or even reform the work of the lower level. Generally speaking, responsible cadres sent from the higher level to the lower level to work should follow the instructions of the lower-level authorities; violation of such practice would create special personages in the Party, enhance personal power and weaken the authority of the organization. A high-level leading cadre should become a model in the practice of democratic centralism. A comrade sent by a county Party committee to work in a Party branch should follow the decision of the branch. If a comrade from the higher level does not abide by the decision of the lower level, then the responsible cadres of the latter can never get their work done. Democratic centralism of the Party is not a system of who leads whom. It calls for collective leadership which means that one

leads the other and vice versa. Any leader of the Party should carry out his leadership on the condition that he follows the majority and practises democratic centralism. In our Party no individual has any prerogative. The Party does not permit him to lead in any name other than that of the organization. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the leader of the whole Party; yet he obeys the Party.

There is another group of people who condition their obedience on the attitude of the leading cadres. Before they decide whether they should obey the leading cadres, they would ask first whether the cadres assume a good attitude towards them, whether they are their good friends and whether they have ever been involved in disputes among themselves. This is all wrong. They will wreck the Party leadership. We can never condition our obedience on attitude and sentiments. If we lay a firm grip to principles and do our work well, we do not have to worry about others' attitude. We obey the Party, the Central Committee and the truth, not individuals. Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung have done good work and represented the truth. Hence we obey them. If we condition our obedience on a leading cadre's attitude, we still obey individuals from the standpoint of personal interests, not from the standpoint of the Party. This will create an alliance among individuals but will not consolidate the solidarity of the Party. Such an attitude would only destroy Party's unity and objectively help our enemy.

In a word, conditional obedience is incorrect; obedience must be unconditional and absolute. The principles of democratic centralism must be thoroughly implemented. If we say one thing and do another, we become dual-faced people, accepting authority overtly but opposing it covertly. Some people say, "Party struggles pay special attention to the question of principles and the question of politics. If it is right in principle and in politics, organizational form is a question of secondary importance, a question not to be reckoned with". This way of saying it is wrong. The organizational form is a big and important question involving principles. A wrong form of organization may break the solidarity and unity of the Party. To ensure and consolidate the solidarity and unity of the Party, we must first lay a firm grip to the organizational principles.

Members of the Communist Party must have the spirit of dealing not with men but with matters and with facts as they are. However, in our Party there are such cases whereby some one hides a person's mistake because he is his friend or deals a heavy blow at a person whenever an opportunity presents itself because he is

his enemy. Such is a case of dealing with men, not with matters, allowing personal sentiments to cover up truth; this is intolerable. We the Party members uphold truth. If it is truth that a person advocates, we should support him even though he is not on good terms with us. If it is not truth that he promotes, we should oppose him even if he is a good friend. Party members should all the more obey the organization. Whoever is the responsible person and the leader of the organization should be obeyed even though he is unfriendly to us.

In a word, we must oppose the liberalism of defying the majority, the organization, the superiors and the Central Committee. When a Party member has a different view, he may appeal to the higher level according to fixed procedure. However, before the higher level gives approval to such an appeal, he should still abide by the original decision.

On the other hand, the Party organs at various levels should encourage appeals to a level higher than the immediate upper one and assist the lower-level Party members to make such appeals especially with reference to questions pertaining to matters of punishment. If a Party member thinks he has been denied justice in the punishment, there is no question that he should be allowed to appeal. Some responsible cadres are afraid of being falsely accused in such appeals. Hence they oppose appeals to a level higher than the one of theirs. This is wrong. They should know that their superiors would never base their judgement on false accusations. Furthermore, the accused can also appeal if they think that the accusations were false. False accusations are punishable. It would be wrong if a Party member does not bring his dissenting view to the higher level but disturbs the order of the organization by trying to have his opinion expressed at the lower level.

We advocate absolute obedience to the organization but allow appeals and encourage arguments on principles. It must be understood that appeals must be made in accordance with fixed procedure and to a definite department. Arguments should never be carried to the extent of breaking organizational principles.

C. Two Exceptions and Flexible Execution of Orders.

The following two circumstances should be regarded as exceptions to the rule of absolute obedience to the organization:

1. The rule may be disregarded when the higher-level authori-

ties are found to have shown anti-Party conduct. For instance, in opposing the Central Committee, Chang Kuo-tao established a separate and independent Northwest Central Bureau. Party members should have then risen to oppose Chang and support the Central Committee. Many of the Chang-led Fourth Front Army comrades have been retained to work for the Party up to this day. They are excellent comrades. However they committed the offence that when Chang Kuo-tao was setting up his own "Central Committee", they failed to raise opposition against him.

2. When a higher-level organ or its responsible personnel is found to be betraying the Party or serving as enemy's agents (must be substantiated by evidence), Party members should take the responsibility of reporting the matter to the Central Committee and wait for the Central Committee to deal with it. At the same time they should heighten their vigilance.

In carrying out the higher-level's directives and programme, Party members should exercise flexibility. They should make their decisions on the basis of actual conditions prevailing at the time. Changing conditions may even warrant change of programme. Lower-level cadres should take the initiative to implement directives in a flexible way. Flexible implementation of higher-level directives is, on the contrary, the best form of obedience.

For instance, you are ordered to attack the enemy at a certain place, but the enemy has already withdrawn. Of course, there is no battle to fight. This is not a case of defiance of a higher-level order. Knowing that the enemy has evacuated the place, soldiers still open fire as ordered. It will amount to a mechanical execution of an order. For another instance, after a strike has been decided upon, it is found that the Capitalists have made all necessary arrangements to counter the strike. It is evident that the strike, if carried out as planned is doomed to failure. A decision should then be made to call off the strike. This does not constitute a question involving principle or programme; it is a question concerning concrete action, which should be solved according to conditions prevailing at that time and in that place.

Implementation of democratic centralism is absolute and unconditional. However, absolute and unconditional obedience does not constitute an act against the principles of democracy. On the contrary, it is a democratic gesture. Only the extremely liberalistic thinking of disobedience is a gesture against the principles of democracy, for it would demand the whole Party to follow factions

and the majority to listen to the minority.

III. THE PRINCIPLES GUIDING PARTY SUPERIORS AND RESPONSIBLE PERSONNEL ON HOW TO IMPLEMENT DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

The foregoing has touched one phase of the democratic centralism system. It has outlined the principles on how you should implement democratic centralism when you are an ordinary Party member, a lower-level cadre or one of the minority.

What we are going to talk about is another phase of the question; the principles on how to implement democratic centralism when you are a responsible person in the Party, representing one of its leading organs.

The two phases must be integrated in order to present the whole system of democratic centralism.

When you are leading a Party organ and working for the Party, what are the principles on democratic centralism that you should pay attention to in order to effect the unity of the Party and make it possible for the Party to function efficiently? To explain the question, let us discuss a leader's responsibilities first.

A. The Leader's Responsibilities.

It is true that the Party's leadership is a collective one, but we cannot just say in general terms that it is a collective leadership without going further afield. In the leadership there must be one or two persons taking direct responsibilities. Their responsibilities are as follows:

First, leaders should be familiar with the actual conditions of the district or with the work that they are responsible for and also the relationships between their work and the work of other departments.

Secondly, they should be familiar with the Party's tasks, programme and line on strategy and tactics and carry them out in their departments and in the local organs.

Thirdly, they should be able to estimate the time required, size up the situation, grasp the central link, decide what steps to take and point out the future after the tasks are fulfilled. They should be able to foresee the future if they fail to carry out the tasks.

Fourthly, they should be able to unite, train and prepare cadres

for the work to be done. They should first familiarize them with the conditions, working programme and prospects of their work. In other words, they must let cadres know how to carry out their work and then make due preparations for them to work. This is what Comrade Mao Tse-tung has referred to: give directions and use cadres. The leaders' responsibility is to know how to use cadres.

Fifthly, leaders must inspect and supervise cadres, learn from experiences, listen to cadres and the masses, rectify shortcomings and revise plans.

Sixthly, they should grasp changes in the situation and the progress of work, make prompt and proper changes in the organization and fighting methods, and map out new plans and make new preparations for cadres to work.

Changes in the situation may emerge from several directions. They may be due to changes in local conditions. Heavy losses may be incurred if they fail to make changes in their work. For instance, when we were in Yencheng, we took bold steps in our work, but after the enemy and the puppet regime were wiped out, we entered a period of quiet and hard work. At the same time, our slogans changed from reduction in the rates of rent and interest to attacks on the Japanese and traitors. Changes may also be due to changes in the national situation. We must alter our working methods in conformity with the changed conditions.

For instance, the change in the Kuomintang-Communist co-operation brought about fundamental changes in the situation of the whole country. The changes, of course, affected our bases. Hence we must make a proper estimate of the effect of such changes. For another instance, the outbreak of war between Germany and the Soviet Union more or less cast influences on us. They are not direct and noticeable. We must not overestimate or underestimate the effect of the changes on us. Our staff should make a prompt estimate of any possible effect. After the changes have taken place, we must immediately make proper adjustments in our working plan and combatant tactics. We should not overestimate or underestimate the effect of such changes.

Besides, the progress or regress in our work will cause changes in our combatant tasks and working methods. With the progress of our work our first plan is fulfilled. We should immediately plan our next step. If, however, we were frustrated in our original plan, then we should lose no time in making arrangements for our retreat.

Changes in the situation may be favourable or adverse. Adverse

changes make it more difficult for us to carry on our work. Leaders should make a proper estimate of the situation and follow it with adjustments in our working methods and slogans. Leaders who fail to grasp the turning point are not good leaders.

B. Leaders' Qualifications.

Irrespective of what levels they are working at, only those who measure up to the above-mentioned standards are considered qualified for carrying out the duties and responsibilities attached to their posts. Examining our leading personnel according to these standards, we will find that many come up to them, but most of them do not. To be able to rise to these standards, they must have the following qualifications.

First, a leading cadre must make objective and intensive investigation and study. Failing to make such investigation and study, he will not be able to understand the local conditions, the relationship between his part of work and the rest, and the position that his part of work occupies in the entire programme.

Secondly, he must understand the Party's strategy and tactics, programme and line and link them with the local conditions not in a subjective but an objective manner. That is to say, he must implement the Party line in his own field of work.

Thirdly, he must have knowledge of the law of social development and revolutionary movement. He must acquire his knowledge from his practical work. Study of books is, of course, essential. He must follow the correct method of study, that is, the Marxist-Leninist knowledge and method — dialectics.

Fourthly, he must stand on the side of the Party and be a model for all cadres. He must win them over by persuasion in principle, unite them and understand them, so that cadres will receive help and direction from him. If he fails to give help to cadres at a lower-level, then he has not fulfilled his duties. He must understand cadres' thinking, will, ability and their good and bad characteristics. In a word, he must know cadres' nature and quality. Only after a leader knows cadres can he make proper preparations for them. To place a right man in a right post, a leader must know the man.

Fifthly, a leader must have the undaunted spirit of bearing responsibilities, taking up his work, putting up tasks to fulfil and mapping out a plan. In doing his work, he must have courage. Chimedroffe (季米特洛夫) said, "Cadres who are afraid of assum-

ing responsibilities are not our cadres." When conditions change, he must change slogans, lay down new tasks and formulate new plans.

"Give directions; use cadres" (Mao Tse-tung's words) include all the remarks made in the foregoing.

C. How to Unite Cadres.

How are Party leaders going to unite cadres? This is a very important question. If we are unable to unite cadres, we cannot consolidate the unity of the Party, unfold our work and fulfil our tasks triumphantly. To be a good leader, he must be good at uniting cadres.

Many capable feudal emperors appeared in the Chinese history, such as Liu Pang, Hsiang Yü, Liu Pei, Tsao Ts'ao, Chao K'uang-yin, and Chu Hung-wu. All these people founded their empires from victories in guerrilla warfare. In the beginning many heroes took part in such guerrilla wars; only the one who unified the country became the "destined Son of Heaven". Their successes were attributable to two common conditions: first, a policy that was comparatively suitable to the masses, and secondly, their ability to unite cadres and deal with people magnanimously. For instance, Liu Pang was able to use men and won over Chang Liang and Han Hsin with the result that he succeeded. On the other hand, Hsiang Yü was brave but not scheming, not knowing how to use men. In the end, he lost his life and failed in his undertaking. Tsao Ts'ao and Liu Pei were tactful in dealing with men and uniting them and were therefore successful in their causes. The Chinese people as a whole are in the habit of being magnanimous; they are never harsh toward others. In history those who were unable to unite men and treat the people generously never were successful in their undertakings.

Conditions in China today have changed very thoroughly. History has never witnessed a revolutionary and anti-Japanese China before. Our Party policy of uniting cadres naturally differs from the feudal emperors' methods of uniting or getting able men into their clutches. However, the traditions of the Chinese people and the characteristics of China's historical development should not be ignored.

Party leaders should never be cruel, scornful or harsh to the functionaries. Such treatment is bad; it will break the solidarity of

cadres. We should be generous and helpful to them. We should not harm them but assume a good attitude toward them. We should absorb all kinds of men with talent into our Party. To attain this end, we cannot use a wooden frame to measure the qualities of all kinds of cadres, nor can we call on all cadres to measure up to a stereotyped set of demands. There is an ancient saying in China, "Be good at being together with people". That is to say, we should be good at using the special qualities in a man and at working together with others. Leaders who can unite cadres can build their own prestige in the Party and can fulfil assigned tasks. At the same time, Party leaders should be able to unite not only cadres within the Party but also functionaries outside the Party.

In uniting cadres, Party leaders should pay attention to the following points:

1. Party leaders themselves should be exemplary in all respects and be models to cadres — they should maintain a correct stand, make progress in study and work, and take proper actions.

2. Party leaders should achieve unity with cadres in ideology but excel them in theories, knowledge and work. They should be more capable than cadres.

3. They must help cadres without hampering their work. They must not do the work themselves; instead, they should give cadres a free hand in handling their jobs.

4. Leaders should protect cadres, make use of their special talent, rectify their shortcomings (help them correct their mistakes), deal with them in sincerity and straightforwardness and give them due respect.

Party leaders who carry the above four points into effect will be successful in their effort to unify cadres. Those who can organize all cadres into one body will be able to achieve solidarity among all Party members and all the people. They will thus make a complete success of the revolutionary work.

D. Party Leaders and Superiors Should Pay Special Attention to the Following Principles of Democratic Centralism For the Purpose of Achieving Solidarity and Unity in the Party.

First, Party leaders or leading cadres of higher levels should first obey the majority — the majority of committee members and Party members.

Secondly, Party's leading organs should be set up in accordance

with fixed procedure; they should be established by election, with the approval or on the order of the higher-level departments. They should make periodic reports to the Party members belonging to such organs and request them to examine their reports.

Thirdly, attention must be paid to the development of self-criticism and discussion and to the criticisms leveled against the leading organs.

Fourthly, due respect must be given to lower-level organizations and Party members' personal rights and obligations. Such respect will enable them to build prestige and make it easier for them to carry out their work. Without the respect of the higher level, the lower-level organizations cannot win respect from others. For instance, if the Party gives no respect to the government, the government will not have it from the masses. In this way the Party weakens itself. Any Party member and leader should respect and obey all government laws and systems.

Fifthly, Party leaders should do more persuasion work, maintain a good attitude toward comrades, adopt good methods in dealing with them, and listen to their views in humility and with serious attention.

In a word, Party leaders and higher-level authorities should be more democratic in dealing with cadres and more attentive to their own attitude, manner, and way of life. Those who are the led and the lower-level cadres should have the spirit of obeying truth and principles; they should not pay attention only to leaders' attitude, manner and way of life. Only in this way can the contradictions between the leaders and the led be dissolved and work be carried on unaffected. Every Party member should know that in dealing with the lower-level comrades and others they must be aware of their own attitude and manner. In their dealings with the Party members, he should not pay attention to the attitude and manner of the lower-level comrades but to whether or not the principles they uphold are correct. A Party member should be careful with regard to his own attitude, but he should overlook others' bad attitude. One's own bad attitude would lead to unprincipled disputes and impair Party's solidarity.

Party leaders' contravention of the system of democratic centralism and the above-mentioned points constitutes an act of violation of the Party discipline (because violation of democratic centralism is an offence against the Party discipline). Leaders should give Party members right to enjoy the privileges of democracy and liberty.

Before a question is decided, Party members have the right to express their views and make criticisms. After a decision has been reached on a question by the majority upon conclusion of discussion, the Party's responsible persons should first abide by it. It should be carried into effect unconditionally, even if one of them does not agree to the decision or resolution. Only when leaders themselves abide by the decision can they expect others to observe it. It will be an act of violating the democratic spirit if leaders fail to call a meeting to give Party members the right to express their opinions (only through a legally-established organization) on a question for decision, thus constituting an action of disregarding others' views.

E. Several Manifestations of Responsible Personnel's Violation of Principles of Democratic Centralism.

Many of the Party leaders at various levels have not been able to implement the above-mentioned principles of democratic centralism. On the contrary, they have been mistaken in the implementation of the principles. Summing up, there are the following wrong inclinations among them.

The first group of people think that Party's leading organs and responsible persons are exempt from the rule of abiding by resolutions and obeying the majority. They contend that resolutions and disciplinary requirements are drafted by themselves. Since they are one level higher than others, they do not have to abide by them. This is the privileged-class thinking counter to the democratic spirit. No one in our Party has any right to claim a special position for himself. The Party's responsible persons and leading organs should first respect and carry out their own decisions. They should be the exemplary people for abiding by resolutions and obeying the majority.

The second group of people hold that if the leader of a Party committee (secretary) dissents from the majority in the discussion of a question, he does not have to accept the view of the majority; instead, he may act independently and arbitrarily. This is a mistaken viewpoint counter to the principles of democratic centralism.

The third group of people are those who do not permit lower-level Party members to discuss leading organs' resolutions, refuse to let everybody express his view and do not allow lower-level cadres to criticize leading organs. It will be a good thing if the lower-level cadres or any Party member would take the responsibility to level

criticisms straight at leading organs according to fixed procedure (only when lower-level cadres or Party members disregard leading organs' prestige and criticize them recklessly would they be stopped from making such criticisms). It is wrong for any leading organ to suppress lower-level criticisms and stop others from expressing their views during discussion. There is this ancient saying in China, "Among a wise man's thousand considerations, there must be one that proves wrong; among a fool's thousand considerations, there must be one that proves right". Our cadres and our Party members are not fools; we should all the more consult them and listen to their views in order to arrive at more satisfactory and correct opinion. The colloquial saying, "Three poor shoemakers can pool their resourcefulness together to become Chukuo Liang [Liu Pei's Chief-of-Staff and later his Prime Minister when he ruled one of the Three Kingdoms]," means exactly what we have just said. It will be a manifestation of weak Party-consciousness if a cadre or Party member thinks that he is right, does his work carelessly and indulges in subjectivism. In the revolutionary movement, there are many problems that come up without warning. Often, such problems make it impossible for even an able leader to find solutions. In the end it is the masses who provide the solutions. The best way of tackling a problem is to adopt the masses' majority view and let the masses revise it in the course of practical work. This is what is meant by the saying, "Collective thinking broadens the benefit [of knowledge] and creates great wisdom". For instance, the Soviet Union is the best form of government for proletarian dictatorship, but it did not come out of Lenin's brain; it was a creation of the rising workers of St. Petersburg. One who looks upon the masses with contempt, refuses to listen to the masses' or others' views attentively and thinks that he is clever and right is a great fool. If a Party member has a dissenting view or a doubt, we must not suppress it but let him express his view or doubt fully; suppression of it would lead to bad results. A leader's vision will be limited if he observes a problem downward from the top; only the masses who look at a problem from the bottom upward can give the leader a full view of the problem.

The fourth group of people expect the lower-level cadres to raise the prestige of the higher-level authorities but do nothing to enhance the prestige of the lower-level cadres and despise them. In practical work, they interfere with lower levels excessively, making it impossible for the lower-level cadres to build up their own prestige

and continue their work. This is also wrong, as this way of treating lower-level cadres counters the principles of democratic centralism.

The fifth group of people demand from the Party responsible positions and power of leadership or permission to let them style themselves leaders. This is an utterly wrong viewpoint to hold. The Party needs leaders in all fields of its activities. Furthermore, it needs leaders of the masses in such fields, for the masses' leaders with prestige will play decisive roles of a definite degree in the revolutionary movement. However, leaders are not appointed by the Party, nor self-styled; they can never demand appointments from the Party. Leaders of the revolutionary ranks are trained and created out of the mass struggles and revolutionary movement. Their leadership is built on their loyalty to the Party, courage in bearing responsibilities, training in Marxism-Leninism and ability to work. Although the Party's responsible comrades may sometimes be appointed by higher-level authorities (depending on circumstances at the time), this does not mean that once they are given the posts, they may call themselves leaders. On the contrary, they should be grateful to the Party for the trust it has placed in them, work energetically and build up their prestige among the masses so as to become leaders really loved and supported by the people. Many of our leading comrades are leaders *de jure* but not leaders *de facto*; that is, they are not the real leaders of the people.

Lastly, there are certain leading comrades who take a bad attitude toward cadres, lack patience or fail to deal with different cadres in different ways. As a result, they cause dissatisfaction among the cadres. However, dissatisfaction among the cadres is partly attributable to their own low intellectual levels, at which they are unqualified to raise questions on principles. Instead, they turn their attention to the attitude of the leading comrades. Perhaps the way of dealing with cadres and the attitude on the part of our leading comrades are really bad. Some comrades try to explain their bad temper as a matter of human nature beyond control and correction. In fact, one's temper has very little to do with human nature. It is formed mainly on the basis of one's class consciousness. It has to do with one's family environment, social training, etc. We can say that a man's personality, temperament and attitude are determined by the society. For instance, the temper that drives a man to beat and scold people at the slightest provocation is a question of ideological concept and a reflection of the thinking of the privileged class. A comrade may have a fairly good temper during ordinary

time, but once he assumes responsible work, his temper rises and turns bad. Such attitude is obviously due to incorrect ideology. It is wrong for one to deal with matters not according to objective law but according to subjective will. This is a manifestation of subjectivism or weak Party consciousness. Such a comrade needs further training. Ancients were traditionally known to have said, "The enagement of [Chou] Wen Huang brought peace to the empire". If this were true, it would not be a bad thing to be out of temper. Unfortunately, when they are out of temper, our comrades not only fail to solve problems but cause disturbances affecting solidarity and work. Enagement in this case brings not peace but disorder to the nation. This is intolerable.

Leading cadres' private lives and attitudes should be placed under the supervision of other Party members. Leading comrades should listen to Party members' views. In a word, Party leaders and higher-level organs should pay more attention to democracy; comrades led by others and lower-level organs should obey the leaders and the higher-level authorities more often. This is the correct way of implementing democratic centralism. The unity between the higher and lower-level comrades, leaders and the led will lead to solidarity of the Party. Anything done to the contrary will only deepen the contradictions and cause a split in the Party to its detriment.

F. Whether Party Members Have the Spirit of Observing Discipline Can Best Be Detected Under the Following Circumstances and Conditions.

First, when a leader is found to be inferior to you in politics, culture, ability and qualifications, you can still obey and help him.

Secondly, when a leader and the majority are known to have made mistakes, you can still obey him and the majority and bring your view to the attention of the higher level.

Thirdly, when you and the higher-level authorities are found to have developed differences of opinion in principle and arguments in views, you can still obey the organization and respect the higher level; when serious ideological struggles are going on in the Party, you can still hold yourself upright and fight against temptations of erroneous ideas.

Fourthly, you can practise the virtue of "recompensing injury with kindness" by protecting and helping some one in times of

difficulties and danger, who has once opposed you and borne grudges against you.

Fifthly, in times of difficulty, danger and threat to your life, you can still show discipline. In that case, you are a good Party member, for you can easily violate discipline under such circumstances.

G. That You Are Capable of Carrying Out Correct Leadership Can Be Best Proved Under the Following Circumstances and Conditions.

First, when the great majority are mistaken in politics and principles, you can resolutely uphold your principles and persuade the great majority of your correctness.

Secondly, when you arrive at a new place of work and the lower-level cadres have no confidence in you, you can build up your own prestige and win their confidence in you in leadership, work and struggles.

Thirdly, when the lower-level and other comrades criticize and oppose you (irrespective of whether they are correct or not), you can still excuse and respect them.

Fourthly, when the Party organization in your locality is loosened and discipline unobserved, you can restore order and discipline and tighten up the organization.

Fifthly, when there are mischievous trouble-makers under you, you can guide them to work; you have ways of leading disobedient subordinates and educating them through persuasion.

Sixthly, there is no one in your department who has no heart in his work.

You are a good and correct leader when you can meet the foregoing requirements.

H. Several Exemplary Instances in the Practice of Leadership

Let me cite a few exemplary instances in the practice of leadership.

The first was Karl Marx. Everybody knows that on the eve of the uprising of the proletariat in Paris in 1871, Marx expressed his disapproval of the French proletariat rising at that time, for on the basis of his analysis of the objective conditions, he was of the opinion that an uprising at that time was going to fail. However, after the Parisian workers started it, he not only did not oppose it; he was extremely jubilant and gave the workers many valuable

directions. After the masses started the uprising, it was the duty of the leader to refrain from opposing it but to lead it so as to win a victory or to minimize the losses in case of failure.

The second instance was Lenin. Lenin was the founder of the Bolshevik Party, but he never failed to observe the principles of democratic centralism. His views always received the support of the majority, for he had all the time stood on the side of the majority. Once, however, he joined the minority. It was at the time when the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty was signed. At that time, the revolution had won victory, and the proletarian political power was not quite consolidated. Internally, the counter-revolutionaries were wriggling for action; externally, the German Imperialist army invaded Russia, threatening the Soviet national security. Lenin proposed to sign a peace treaty with the German Imperialism and make certain concessions to gain a breathing spell so as to consolidate the revolutionary power, build a worker-peasant red army, suppress the counter-revolutionaries within the country and resist armed intervention from abroad. However, the great majority of the members of the Central Committee disagreed with him. Truth was obviously on his side. Moreover, Lenin was the founder and leader of the party as well as the Head of State. Yet, he did not act independently and sign the treaty. On the contrary, he subjugated himself to the great majority of the Central Committee members (against the truth). He carried on education by persuasion. A few months later, the German army penetrated into Russia still deeper, and the Soviet political power was further endangered. At this time, Lenin again proposed to the party the signing of a peace treaty. This time, the great majority of the Party believed that Lenin's view was truth and voted for the signing of a peace treaty with Germany. At that time, however German Imperialism occupied more territory of the Soviet Union and put up harsher terms. That is to say, the losses suffered by the revolution became greater. Upon the insistence of Lenin, the party accepted the terms. It was proved afterwards that the policy that Lenin advocated was entirely correct, for the Soviet political power was consolidated from the breathing spell that the peace treaty provided. The outburst of the German revolution abrogated the peace treaty and enabled the Soviet Union to recover the ceded territory. Had Lenin acted independently against the great majority of the Central Committee members and the principles of democratic centralism, he would have lost the opportunity of winning over the Central Committee majority by persuasion and brought

about a split in the party and irreparable losses to the revolution.

Many such instances can be found. I myself met similar conditions. It was at the time when the Party was in its initial stage. I was commissioned by the Party to start a workers' movement at a place. I recruited many new Party members there, set up a workers' branch and organized a trade union. The workers' enthusiasm to struggle was surging high. The great majority of workers and Party members under the branch advocated the call of a strike. However, on the basis of an analysis of the objective conditions, a strike called at that time would be doomed to failure. Therefore I did not agree to it. The comrades of the branch and workers disagreed with me and went ahead to set up a strike committee of which I was elected chairman. I was asked to call the strike. What should I do? The strike, if called in compliance with the wish of the great majority was to fail for certain. Failure of it would inevitably cause great damage to the workers' movement. What would have happened had I acted according to my personal opinion? I would have violated democratic centralism and the organizational principles and created a situation whereby I would have isolated myself from the branch and the mass of workers. Hence, I decided to call the strike according to the wish of everybody and actively and energetically lead it. Before the strike was called, I declared that it was going to fail and that since the majority wanted to call it, I could only comply with their wish. The strike ended in a disaster as I predicted. Fortunately, as it was under my command, I took precaution, and the losses were not great. Afterwards, recalling my earlier estimate of possible consequences, most comrades had greater confidence in me. In this incident I set a good example of obedience to the organization for all the comrades. I made it clear to them that every Party member should obey the organization.

IV. THE UNITY BETWEEN "WILLINGNESS" AND "COMPULSION"

Willingness and compulsion are contradictory and yet united; willingness is tantamount to compulsion and vice versa. Many disputes have risen in our Party from lack of understanding of this question. For instance, some comrades often bargain for work assignments. They would say, "I am not willing to do this work. If I am compelled to do it, I shall be miserable". Of course, such comrades are few. Most comrades are very enthusiastic and crea-

tive, take initiative in their work and work energetically. It is wrong for some comrades to look for a kind of work that would suit their personalities and the development of them in disregard of revolutionary needs. There are all kinds of work to be done for the cause of revolution. Party members have their respective personalities and talents. Certain work may suit certain comrades and help them develop their talents. There are cases like these. In making work assignments, the leading cadres of Party's organizational departments should give due consideration to these questions. They should give various cadres the work that is suitable to them and try to assign such work to certain Party members that will bring out and develop their talents. At the same time, the Party members to whom work is assigned may express their views to the Party's leading organs; they should do so. In a revolutionary struggle there is work of primary importance and work of secondary importance. The Party cannot base its assignments of work entirely on the personal wishes of the cadres but rather on the importance of the work and the necessity of having it done. Consequently, the work given to cadres may not be what they wish to do, but it is the work that must be urgently done.

For example, the Party may find it necessary to intensify an armed struggle and need men to lead the fighting. The Party then calls on members to do military work and learn how to fight. For another example, when the Soviet Union was implementing her new economic policy, she needed a large number of merchants. Therefore she called on many Party members to learn how to trade.

In such circumstances the Party cannot give consideration to members' personal wishes. It will simply call on them to do the work assigned more or less under compulsion.

Next, it must be understood that all the revolutionary work is concrete; there is nothing abstract in revolutionary work. Our Party is a revolutionary party constantly doing practical work and making movements. All its practical work is concrete and definite and also troublesome. Nothing is light and smooth in revolutionary work. Some comrades, especially those who do technical work ask for shift of posts because they have done the same work too long. We have here the supply, medical, communications, educational, organizational and staff work to do. These are practical revolutionary tasks. Some comrades are unwilling to do them because they think that they are unsuitable to them. They resent trifles and troubles. They crave for recognition by trying to excel others so as to satisfy their sense

of vanity.

Why are some comrades discontent with practical revolutionary work? From analyses we find three reasons:

First, they do not understand that all revolutionary work is concrete, and all concrete work is necessarily trifling and troublesome.

Secondly, misguided by personal heroism, they disregard the needs of the Party and revolution but concern themselves with whether they have a future and whether they can distinguish themselves through public recognition.

Thirdly, lack of sufficient understanding on the part of the Party, the army and Party organs of certain working departments and lack of sufficient attention given to technical work have caused an unsettled state of mind among the technician comrades.

Many comrades among our army ranks have asked for shift of posts; very few army and department heads (regimental commanders, political commissars and directors), however, have made similar requests. Many comrades wish to be made heads of army commands; they are not content with posts of deputy heads. For example, some are unwilling to serve as battalion chiefs-of-staff but willing to be regimental commanders. This is a kind of thinking as described by the saying, "Willing to be chickens' mouths, but unwilling to be oxen's tails". This is also a manifestation of a craving for army rank. These comrades are troubled by personal heroism; they are anxious to make a show of themselves and fulfil their ambition of directing others. They must know that revolutionary work is manifold and that every phase of the revolutionary work is a necessary part of the whole. For instance, to medical, supply, telecommunication, and confidential secretarial work is all concrete work, of which no part can be omitted. If no one is willing to do it, somebody has to do it under compulsion. Revolutionary work is concrete; there is nothing abstract in revolution.

Some comrades demand leadership work and want to be heroes. In fact, all work has its leading role, for it is performed under the direction of the Party, and Party leadership is a collective one. If you have a creative nature, and you can make a success of a task, discover the law of development for this task, make an invention in technology or start a technological revolution. You will render a great help to the Party and revolution. Is this not a leading role that you have played? Technical work also creates heroes. For example, Stakhanov (斯達哈諾夫) was an ordinary coal mine worker. He became a hero in his ordinary work of coal digging.

In history we find Watt who invented steam engine from his observation of the steam from boiling water that thrust open the kettle lid and Newton who discovered gravity from the drop of an apple. They all became heroes in science. Marx discovered the law of development for the Capitalist society from his ordinary, common commodity research. They created miracles out of ordinary work that nobody was willing to do.

Every phase of the revolutionary work has its leading role. This is what Comrade Stalin meant by raising the organizational leadership to the level of political leadership. In other words, we should enhance the importance of every little trifling work to the level of a political task. The Party exercises general political leadership in initiating ideas and employing cadres. The Party, however, lays down its political line and strategy any tactics on the basis of collective views or the summary of most members' experience and lessons. Any member of the Party can advance his view towards the summary. Comrades engaged in technical work have the right to express their views. No one exercises general leadership by formulating policy and designating tasks without doing practical work. Furthermore, general leadership is also practical and troublesome work. For instance, I have to make reports and speeches, read telegrams and solve problems; these are also troublesome but practical tasks in my work. Every comrade can seek political development of his work. All he has to do is to do his part and take the responsibility to do it well. At the same time, he should do his part in conjunction with the whole programme. I hope every comrade will do as Lenin had said, "Do more daily trifling and troublesome work but utter less smart words."

Technical work gives one the brightest future. After the enemy is wiped out and no more fighting is to be done, technical work will become the central task. After the October Revolution, the Soviet Union put out the slogan that technology was to decide everything. While the new economic policy was being carried out, Lenin issued the call for Party members to become merchants and shopkeepers. When we build a new China, we want everybody to take part in the state administration. Technical work will then assume the primary importance. The military commanders of today will go to factories to work at that time. Technology will decide everything. Hence we say that technical work has the best future. Any contemptible concept of technology is a mistaken one.

Now, let me talk about the unity between willingness and

compulsion.

Every movement of a man carries a meaning. His movement is directed by his thinking. A man moves freely, and yet he often makes his movement under compulsion. For example, a peasant farms under scorching sun, toiling in sweat. He does not do it of his own volition but under compulsion. He will be extremely glad to enjoy a cool breeze and sleep at home, but under the pressure of hunger and cold, he cannot but toil all day. At the same time, he does the farm work voluntarily; no one is there to compel him to work.

For another example, participating in the production campaign launched in northern Shensi, school students and government comrades were mobilized to dig earth and carry loads on their shoulders. Some girl comrades hurt their shoulders. To relieve the pain they used pillows as cushions. Everybody was happy, laughing and singing. They were compelled to cultivate wasteland in order to increase production, yet everybody was willing and able to fulfil the task.

For a further instance, we want to make revolution. Generally speaking, we are carrying out revolution under compulsion, for none of us is willing to get beheaded and shed blood. However, for the sake of liberating the people we have to undertake revolution.

In actual fighting those who charge the enemy have to face the supreme sacrifice, but revolutionary fighters are willing to make the sacrifice.

This explains that willingness and compulsion are contradictory, yet united. Peasants farm their land, and workers do their labour, all under compulsion. At the same time, they are willing to do their respective jobs. We carry on the cause of revolution involuntarily, yet we do it voluntarily.

Progressive Party members accept work assignments without comment; they do not say whether they are willing or unwilling, delighted or depressed about the assignments. What kind of work one is expected to do is decided not by subjective desires or interests but by objective demands. One should ask whether the work is important or not; one should never say that one is willing or unwilling to do it. I should do the essential and important work called for in revolution, if I can. I will do it energetically. Willingness and compulsion, while contradictory, produce the same good results; they constitute a unity of contradictions. They are united on the basis of self-consciousness. When it is cold, one wears clothes;

when hungry, one eats food. One dresses and eats because one is urged to do so, but since one does these things out of self-consciousness, it is safe to say that one does them willingly. On the contrary, if you are not doing them out of self-consciousness, then it can be said that you do them under compulsion.

Our Party discipline is also observed voluntarily. Everyone is aware of its importance and of its necessity to the revolution. If violation of Party discipline is not punished, the Party's solidarity and unity can never be maintained. With a full knowledge of these reasons, every one consciously observes Party discipline. The enlightened Party members should first observe discipline themselves to set examples. In enforcing discipline, we should be liberal with others but strict with ourselves. This is what was meant by our ancients when they said, "Making liberal demands upon oneself but small demands on others" and "be strict with oneself but liberal with others". Hence we should raise the consciousness of the Party members in particular. When a member's consciousness is high, he will feel happy about his work. In such cases, there will be very little compulsiveness in the performance of one's work. In this way the work can be easily developed and successfully carried out. In a word, the Party's work should be built on the foundation of members' consciousness.

V. LIBERTY AND INEVITABILITY

Some people do not join the Party because they are afraid of the Party discipline and loss of liberty once they become members of the Party. Some people who have already joined the Party ask for liberty. Such thoughts reflect the petty bourgeoisie's subjective love for liberty. There can be no such liberty in reality. Objectively, a Party member cannot have liberty. Engels said, "Liberty means understanding of the nature of inevitability." That is to say, you have liberty once you understand the nature of inevitability. Subjective liberty is non-existent. Only by understanding the nature of inevitability, grasping the objective law and moving within the limits of fixed regulations can a member have liberty. Otherwise, he cannot have it. One has only limited liberty. Liberty follows the understanding of the inevitability or necessity of the development of things and movements within the limits of fixed regulations. There can be no liberty beyond these limits. Farmers have the liberty to grow wheat because they are familiar with the law of

growth of the wheat and do everything within the sphere of the law, that is, when the seeds should be sown, what soil suits the wheat growth and how much water and fertilizer would be needed. They have the liberty because they know the answers to these questions. Since mankind has understood the theories of air aeroplanes have been manufactured. Only when one knows all about bicycle riding can one ride a bicycle. When a person understands the law of swimming, he has the liberty to swim. The Yellow River flows from west to east, but because its course is blocked by high mountains, it makes nine turns from north to south and again from west to east. The Yellow River has no liberty to follow a stright flow of water. The Chinese revolution must have gone through the stage of democratic revolution before it could come to that of Socialist revolution and then to the Communist society. This is the inevitability of the development of the Chinese revolution. When we understand it, we have the liberty to carry out the revolution. Trotsky did not understand this law of inevitability and advocated skipping the stage of democratic revolution; so he had no liberty to carry on revolution. The Japanese Imperialism set out to destroy China. Facing the Chinese people's resistance and the guerrilla war behind its lines, the Japanese lost their liberty to carry on their aggression.

This shows that unless we move within the limits of objective law, we shall not have our liberty. We the members of the Communist Party should be more intelligent than others because we have come to know dialectics and can understand the law of inevitability. We do what we can vigorously; so we have liberty. Since we know more about the law of inevitability, we have greater liberty. We are familiar with the law of social development and inevitability, and we carry out revolution accordingly. This is our liberty. The movements of the bourgeoisie counter the law of inevitability of historical development; therefore, they have never had liberty. Comrade Mao Tse-tung ("On Protracted War") grasped the law of inevitability. We understand the law and act accordingly; so we have liberty. Those who advocate the theory of quick victories and the theory of national destruction are mistaken; hence they have no liberty. Those who do not know how to grasp the objective law of development can never have their demand for liberty met. We the revolutionaries should strive vigorously for what can be attained and stop trying to accomplish what cannot be realized.

The revolutionary movement has its law of inevitability, but we cannot negate subjective initiative. Although subjective initiative

cannot alter the objective law of historical development, subjective efforts can expedite the success of revolution, shorten the course of revolution and minimize the sacrifices in the revolutionary struggles. Therefore subjective initiative is also necessary.

VI. THE PARTY'S POLICY ON CADRES AND CADRES' ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PARTY

Comrade Chen Yun made a report in Yen-an on the Party's policy towards cadres. The report was an excellent one. I shall not go into the details of it here. However, some comrades who listened to the report began mischievously ignoring work assignments on the pretext that they were following the Party's policy on cadres. This came as a result of the cadres' misunderstanding of the policy. They misinterpreted it and made it appear as the cadres' policy towards the Party. This is a one-sided and mechanical interpretation of the policy.

The Party's policy towards cadres it aimed at understanding cadres in substance so as to protect them, give them suitable jobs, help them patiently, deal with them sincerely and straightforwardly and listen to their views constantly. This is the Party's policy towards cadres, and this is one side of it. The other side of it has to do with how Party members and cadres should deal with the Party and what attitude they should take towards the Party. This is the important side of it. Some comrades, while dealing with cadres as their leaders, would entirely forget Party policy, but when they turn round to deal with the Party and their superiors, they dwell on the Party's policy towards cadres and make it a means to exact the most from the Party for themselves. Such deliberate misinterpretation would lead to bad results. They forget their own standing in the Party and the relations between the higher and the lower levels in the organization.

When you are a higher-level authority in charge of cadres, you should solicit more views from cadres and pay greater attention to the implementation of the Party's policy. When you are a lower-level cadre receiving an appointment from the Party, you should refrain from bargaining for better terms but accept it without hesitation. Only in this way can the unity between the higher and lower levels of the Party be attained and the Party's cadre policy be correctly carried out.

VII. THE QUESTION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN WORKER-PEASANT CADRES AND INTELLECTUAL CADRES OR BETWEEN OLD AND NEW CADRES

For the benefit of the revolution and the Party, we call on the worker-peasant cadres and the intellectual cadres to unite closely. There should be no friction or quarrels between them. It is imperative that the new and old cadres should help one another and that "the worker-peasant cadres should turn into intellectual cadres" and "intellectual cadres turn into worker-peasant cadres". This is a slogan issued by the Central Committee, and we must resolutely carry it out. The worker-peasant cadres have gained rich practical experience through training from long revolutionary struggles. On the other hand, their intellectual level is low. Their vision is blurred to matters of far-reaching consequences, and they are prone to insist on narrow empirical theories. Intellectuals have attained high levels in learning. They may be full of enthusiasm and vitality and visualize things far and great, but they lack practical experience and the training from serious revolutionary struggles. Owing to their petty bourgeoisie origin, they are inclined toward subjective exaggeration and making insufficient estimates of the significance of practice. We should bring the worker-peasant and intellectual cadres together and instil the idea of mutual help into their minds. They should overlook one another's weaknesses, rectify one another's shortcomings and learn from one another. The intellectual cadres must not look upon worker-peasant cadres with contempt because of their low cultural levels, and the latter should not look down on the former for their lack of experience and for their vague talk.

For instance, intellectuals have no combat experience. They are not to be blamed for showing fear when they appear on the battle field for the first time. The worker-peasant cadres should not look at the intellectuals contemptuously for this reason. Intellectuals should help worker-peasant cadres to learn to read and write, and the worker-peasant cadres should assist the intellectual cadres in acquiring experience in practical work. It will be a great help and benefit to the Party when the worker-peasant cadres raise their cultural levels and the intellectuals gain the experience in practical work. Veteran cadres should not persist in their limited experience but should strive to learn book knowledge and theories, deal with others with humility and aim at progress. Intellectuals

should do away with their inclination toward subjective exaggeration and give up their contemptuous concept of practice. While reading deep theoretical books, intellectuals could easily exaggerate the importance of book knowledge. They do not understand that general knowledge, legal prescriptions and law are one-sided and fragmentary and are therefore insufficient when they are applied to practical life. Any concrete matter has its own peculiar nature that general legal prescriptions do not include. A university graduate cannot have a rich store of knowledge. Whatever is written in books is some one else's knowledge. Book reading does not necessarily give the readers a real grasp of knowledge. Mankind has two kinds of knowledge: the experience man gained from his struggles with nature, called Natural Science and the experience acquired by man from his struggles with human classes, called Social Science. Workers and peasants have reaped their experience from their struggles with nature as well as with society. Hence they have knowledge from practice, while intellectuals have knowledge from books that has not been put to practice. It is wrong for them to look on workers and peasants with contempt and say that they have no knowledge. Intellectuals are brain workers keeping themselves apart from physical labourers and production; they lack knowledge from practice. The worker-peasant cadres and intellectual cadres are not on good terms because both have shortcomings and incorrect viewpoints; intellectuals have more shortcomings than the workers and peasants. In case they break into "clashes", the veteran cadres should take the responsibility to stop them because they have had greater experience and more education from the Party. The worker-peasant elements often say to intellectuals, "You can talk smoothly, but when you come to combat, you will show your ugly faces." Intellectuals would say, "You are ignorant; I do not respect you." There should never be such barriers between them.

Intellectuals often look far into the future but fail to see things near them. They should "stand high but with humility" and "see from near to far". They should unite the far with the near, the present with the future. Intellectuals should hold firmly the viewpoint that workers and peasants are not to be despised. They should believe that there are many wise and capable men and innumerable men of talent among workers and peasants. It was because of being suppressed and exploited by the ruling classes that they had no opportunity to display their abilities and talents. In the present-day Soviet Union a countless number of scientists, pro-

fessors and men of talent has emerged from among workers and peasants. Our Party is a revolutionary and combatant political party. Revolution is a bloody undertaking. It is impossible to carry out revolution with hands in white gloves. Intellectuals should possess a spirit for labour and do things with labourers' rough and heavy hands.

Finally, I have a few words to say to our comrades. A sincere and straightforward honest man will never fail in the end. Members of the Communist Party should be prepared to encounter bitterness at the beginning and enjoy happiness afterwards. This is also the spirit as symbolized in the words of Emperors Jao and Shun, "Worry before the people do; be happy after the people are happy". Many people are sly trouble-makers; they are dishonest but expert in "taking advantage of loop-holes". With "long arms", they can reach out and get hold of things: they gain prestige and benefits wherever they go. Such people will eventually be taken to task and made to suffer. Those who toil hard at present are honest people. They may suffer the lack of things for the time being, but they will find that their efforts will be crowned with success in the end. People will find out that they are good comrades. Our Party members should learn from good examples, not from bad ones.

Every member of the Party should train himself according to what has been said in the foregoing, become an upright man and play an active role in the Party. The Party will then be able to achieve solidarity and unity, build itself into a good party and guard the revolutionary victories.

WHAT WE ARE DOING BEHIND THE ENEMY LINES

June 3, 1941

Members of the Council!

Today, Yencheng county holds its second council meeting. I come to attend the meeting on behalf of comrades of the Chinese Communist Party and comrades of the New Fourth Army, and I wish to express my sincere respects to all of you.

From what I can see at this meeting, I have the feeling that the anti-Japanese democratic politics, which we have demanded, cannot but be carried out throughout China. In comparison with its inauguration, Yencheng county's second council meeting is greatly different. The number of council members attending this meeting is more than double that of the first meeting. It includes also many people who did not attend the first meeting. Moreover, those who are present at this meeting, include leaders of all circles and representatives of all strata and all political parties in Yencheng county, from big landlords and rich men to the poorest worker-peasant delegates, from monks of Buddhist associations to Communists, from old people of 70 and 80 to youth delegates below 20, as well as Kuomintang senior members who had served before in Han Teh-chin's units and have returned here, working personnel from Chungking who have come to north Kiangsu, and people of all

This is a speech delivered by Liu Shao-ch'i at the council meeting of Yencheng county, centre of the Northern Kiangsu Liberated Area. Liu Shao-ch'i was then secretary of the Central China Bureau of the CCP Central Committee, and concurrently Political Commissar of the New Fourth Army. This text is translated from *Liu Shao-ch'i Chu-tso Chi* (劉少奇著作集, *A Collection of the Works of Liu Shao-ch'i*), Vol. I, compiled by the Publication Committee of Liu Shao-ch'i's Works and published by San I Book Store, Kyoto, 1952.

circles with or without party affiliation, male and female delegates of different professions from various districts, that is, people of all description. Nevertheless, under one common goal, that is, with the common purpose of resisting Japan and for democratism, we are united as one, harmoniously and together discussing all the important problems. Moreover, during the discussion, we have seen enthusiasm and earnestness that greatly moved the people. Therefore, there is absolutely no doubt that Yencheng county has made great strides in democratic politics. As far as this instance alone is concerned, it may illustrate that anti-Japanese democratic politics adapts itself to the national conditions and people's wishes in China, and that it must be promoted throughout the country and put into practice in the whole of China. To save China and enable her to attain independence and freedom and become rich and powerful is the one and only road to take, all other roads will lead her to nowhere. Not only innumerable facts in the history of China can testify to this truth, but even this instance of the Yencheng second council meeting proves it.

I remember, only a few months ago some people were spreading the following rumours: The Communists and the New Fourth Army killed people and burned down houses in the northern part of Kiangsu province. They confiscated property and took away women, murdered rich people for their money and made trouble with the common people. In northern areas of Kiangsu province, the Communist forces have been defeated and put to rout.

However, today's event can prove whether or not these reports were true. The true facts are contrary to what these people have said and thought. Today, in Yencheng county, the leaders and representatives of all circles and strata have forged close ties with us in a certain democratic form. Not only have instances of mutual trust increased in number day by day, but also organizationally a genuine and perfect anti-Japanese national united front has been established from the highest form of power organs to the lowest level of mass organizations. Moreover, it is so not only in Yencheng alone but also in the northern areas of Kiangsu province and in all bases behind the enemy lines in central China and everywhere else. Such facts prove one thing, that is, those who have been defeated and put to rout are not the Party, the army and the people who resisted the Japanese and persisted in democratism, but are, on the contrary, people who persistently opposed democratism and resistance to Japanese and spread various rumours.

You, members of the council! Though we are working in cooperation with the Kuomintang, there have been many disputes between the two sides. Moreover, we have been fighting each other for more than ten years. Why should we fight? For what were we fighting? I believe, the people of China need to have a complete understanding on this matter. With full understanding of this matter, the people, as masters of the country, can make a definite choice between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party to conclude this dispute of over ten years. Today I wish to make a simple explanation of this problem to you as representatives of the people. Though there have been many disputes between the Kuomintang and ourselves, mainly there is disagreement on only two basic problems.

The first problem is: Should China be completely independent? Should China become a completely independent state? Or is it also possible to be not completely independent? Will it do to be subservient in a certain degree to certain imperialist countries? Will it do just to maintain this colonial and semi-colonial status of China? The second problem is: Should China undergo democratic transformation? Should China become a completely democratic country so that her people can have all rights of freedom? Or should China remain in her semi-feudalist state and, under the dictatorship of one political party, deprive the people of all rights of freedom? On these two problems, our answer is very clear-cut. For a long time, we have advocated the following: Complete independence for China, getting rid of all bondage and oppression which various imperialist countries have placed on China, changing her semi-colonial status and turning her into a completely independent state. China should undergo a complete democratic transformation. To safeguard all democratic rights of the people, get rid of all bondage and oppression of feudal forces and change China's semi-feudalist backwardness, we must turn our country into a completely democratic state. Therefore, since "September 18" (meaning the Mukden Incident), we have advocated the War of Resistance Against Japan and advocated the defense of the Northeast and China. Since the Lukou (Marco Polo) Bridge Incident, we have continued to advocate unity and war of resistance. At present, we are still advocating carrying the war of resistance through to the end and opposing compromise and making peace with Japan. We advocated the formation of an anti-Japanese united front, the practice of democratic politics and the mobilization of our total population of 450 million by relying mainly

on our own efforts. (At the same time, we should also do our best to get support from foreign countries and win final victory by carrying the war of resistance through to the end. Moreover, we oppose the dictatorship of one political party which relies for its existence on foreign support and the oppression of the people, and we demand the abolition of one-party dictatorship.) All this illustrates that there is absolutely nothing ambiguous.

However, recently the important leaders of the Kuomintang have given their answers to the two foregoing basic problems, which are basically different from, and even in opposition to, what we have advocated. They believe that it will do even if China has no complete independence; within certain limits, it will do even if China is subservient to some imperialist countries; and, it will also do even if China continues to maintain her semi-colonial status. Only when imperialism launches its large-scale offensive and endangers the existence of their one-party dictatorship, will they get up and resist. Nevertheless, all the time they will be ready to stop fighting immediately under certain conditions and compromise with imperialism. At the same time, they also advocate that China should not undergo democratic transformation, thus depriving the people of all rights of freedom, continuing to maintain her semi-feudalist state and persisting in the dictatorship of one party forever. Therefore, since the "September 18" Incident, they adopted the policy of "non-resistance." In both wars of resistance against the Japanese in the Shanghai-Wusung area and in eastern Hopei province, they stopped to make advance. After the Lukou Bridge Incident, the Japanese launched a large-scale offensive which not only threatened the existence of China but also threatened their rule. Therefore, they got up to resist the Japanese. However, they have been always ready to make peace with the Japanese under certain conditions, by declaring openly that only when "the status quo prior to the Lukou Bridge Incident is restored," will it be possible to attach the condition of not mentioning the territory of northeastern China lost to the Japanese. They rejected the united front, opposed democratic politics, ignored self-reliance and relied solely on foreign aid, particularly depending on the British and American imperialists. Throughout the country, they have taken actions against the Communist Party, against the people and against the progressive elements, and maintained their backward and dark political rule. From all this, it can be seen clearly what are all the policies of Kuomintang. No matter how they camouflaged themselves, these facts have become well known

to the people.

All disputes between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in recent years have centred on these two foregoing problems and are intertwined with these two problems. They are related to the survival of the Chinese nation and related to the form and system of government in China and the living of the people in the whole country. They are entirely problems of principle and are certainly not disputes on the ground of personal grievances or the power and status of a few persons. Therefore, it is necessary to explain the truth of this issue, on which the people have to make a choice and, moreover, pass their judgment.

Some people said: "The Kuomintang and the Communist Party are in dispute, because the former believes in the Three People's Principles and the latter in Communism. It is a conflict between two doctrines which can not tolerate each other." This is a wrong statement which is entirely groundless. Some anti-Communist Kuomintang members said the same thing for the purpose of obscuring the difference in principle between the two parties on current political problems, and, moreover, to try to conceal the truth by means of this camouflage.

Ideologically, the Three People's Principles is different from Communism. They have different philosophical bases. However, if the Three People's Principles is taken as a political program to solve current problems of our country, then basically it will be in conformity with the lowest political program which we Communists will take to solve current problems of China. We entirely agree with the three basic political principles of national independence, people's rights of freedom and people's welfare in living, which Dr. Sun Yat-sen set down. This is basically in conformity with the political platform which our Communist Party has put forward since its founding. Consequently, we are willing to strive for the complete realization of the Three People's Principles. We are not pretending and also not cheating others. We will do what we have been determined to do. What is the reason? Because, the complete realization of the Three People's Principles is basically the realization of the lowest program of the Communist Party. Should the Communist Party sincerely wish to realize its own program, naturally it would sincerely hope for the realization of the Three People's Principles. Therefore, on the problem of realizing the Three People's Principles, there should not be too serious disputes between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang; and it is possible to

have complete cooperation. Should the Kuomintang also sincerely wish to realize the Three People's Principles in political, economic and cultural fields, they would work entirely in cooperation with the Communist Party.

Therefore, the dispute between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party is definitely not a dispute between the former trying to realize the Three People's Principles and the latter trying to realize Communism. This is not the issue. Long time ago, we declared that under her present political, economic and cultural conditions, China could not enforce the system of Communism, but she should carry out the Three People's Principles (i.e. New Democratism), and, moreover, she could carry out the Three People's Principles. To our regret, at present the leaders of the Kuomintang cannot see any bright prospect for Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles. They are not faithful to the Three People's Principles and do not wish to carry out the Three People's Principles. They go against Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles. They are advancing in the direction opposite to the Three People's Principles. They are senselessly repeating by mouth or on posters some empty slogans of the Three People's Principles and pretending in appearance to be the faithful sons and grandsons of Dr. Sun Yat-sen; however, their political conduct and all that they have done are entirely different things and in complete contravention of the Three People's Principles. They are exceedingly artful and cunning, engaged in double dealings and actually waging struggles against the Three People's Principles under the signboard of the Three People's Principles. For instance, the will of the late Kuomintang leader Dr. Sun says that "the National Congress must be held in the shortest period." Here, it says "the shortest period" which is neither the "longest period" nor "an ordinary short period." Nevertheless, up to the present, they not only have not called the National Congress but also have used all and every means to oppose the people's movement for demanding the convocation of the National Congress. In Dr. Sun's will, it says "to arouse the masses of people," but they have done their best to suppress the enthusiasm of the people and bring pressure to bear upon those who are arousing the masses of the people. Particularly, they tried by all and every means to oppose and undermine what we were doing here in Yencheng county, which was entirely to carry out the Three People's Principles. This is the focus of the problem. Therefore, the centre of the disputes between the Kuomintang and ourselves is the problem of whether or not our country should at

once carry out the Three People's Principles; it certainly is not the problem of whether or not our country should carry out Communism. At present, the problem is that we Communists wish to carry out the Three People's Principles while the Kuomintang not only refuses to carry out the Three People's Principles but also opposes the implementation of the Three People's Principles. The crux of the problem lies here. Who is right, and who is wrong? The people should pass judgment on the Kuomintang and the Communist Party.

Suppose the Kuomintang itself could sincerely carry out Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles, and others were not opposed to the implementation of the Three People's Principles; then, there would be no problem at all to achieve cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. All the disputes and conflicts could be solved immediately. Whether in the past and at present or in the future, the Communist Party always carries out faithfully what it has solemnly promised. It has promised to strive for the complete implementation of the Three People's Principles. However, to our regret, today the Kuomintang is not carrying out its promise made to the Communist Party, the promise of safeguarding the legal status of the Communist Party in the whole country. At the same time, it also does not adhere to its own belief in the Three People's Principles. This is the basic cause of all disputes and friction between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party.

Today, we Communists still can take the responsibility to declare: "We will strive for the complete implementation of the Three People's Principles. We hope all the members of the Kuomintang also can strive for the complete implementation of the Three People's Principles." Our declaration is solemn and sincere. In our actions in the immediate future, we will not give up or change this declaration of ours. Even though some Kuomintang members are not willing to carry out the Three People's Principles, we also will not change this declaration of ours. We are determined to carry out, together with all faithful followers of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Three People's Principles to the letter.

Our attitude, as explained in the foregoing, also has clearly answered the question of "what we are doing behind the enemy lines in the northern part of Kiangsu province and in central China and other places." (Some people have asked us this question.) Our usual reply is as follows: "We do only two things, resist the Japanese and carry out the Three People's Principles." In other

words, we are carrying out the Three People's Principles and striving for the complete implementation of the Three People's Principles. In still other words, we are striving for the complete independence of our Chinese nation and the complete liberation of our Chinese people and striving for the New Chinese Democratic Republic, that is, the true Republic of China. Therefore, the anti-Japanese democratic government organized by the people here should be distinguished from that government which is not anti-Japanese and not democratic. This anti-Japanese democratic government has the character of an anti-Japanese national united front, an allied political power of anti-Japanese people of all strata. All those who are for resistance against Japan or for democratism may join this government. This government is neither the dictatorship of a class or a political party of the bourgeoisie, nor the dictatorship of one political party of the Communist Party. Our anti-Japanese democratic government is based on the one-third system, that is, the number of Communist members in the government will not, at the most, exceed one-third of the total. Such a government is unprecedented in the past history of the world. It is only the product from the current unusual historical circumstances in China. However, it is entirely realistic and correct. Only this government can defeat the Japanese aggressors and liberate the Chinese nation. This government protects the interests of anti-Japanese people of all strata, from landlords and capitalists to workers and peasants, reflects the voice and demands of people of all strata and, together with representatives of people of all strata, stands under the great anti-Japanese democratic goal to jointly manage and handle all affairs of the government. Finally, this government will be re-elected and reorganized by people of all strata as trusted representatives of the people of all strata. We call this kind of politics as the new democratic politics, also the politics of the Three People's Principles.

In the economy of our area, we are actually carrying out the reduction of rents and interests and prohibiting excessive rents on land and excessive profits from high-interest loans; in other words, it is basically the economy of new democratism without feudalism exploitation. In the culture and education of our area, we have made progress on a new basis. Our cultural association has recently decided to promote cultural and educational enterprises which are of a new democratic character, also of the character of the Three People's Principles. If we popularize such politics, economy and culture throughout the country, then our country will become a new

democratic New China, and a New China of the Three People's Principles. What we should do here is to do a good job of such new democratic politics, economy and culture; in other words, we should properly develop Yencheng, the northern part of Kiangsu province and the bases in other localities to create a new Yencheng and a new northern part of Kiangsu province. This Yencheng and this northern part of Kiangsu province will enable us to carry out more effectively our war of resistance behind the enemy lines and give an even greater blow to the enemy.

In the past, at present and in the future, we can always testify with facts to our sincerity in carrying out the Three People's Principles. However, the Kuomintang refuses to acknowledge our sincerity. It is indeed unthinkable, but it is true.

In short, all this is what we have to do behind the enemy lines.

All this we must necessarily do, and must necessarily do well. In doing all this, we are not going to excesses.

Another rumour is that the Communists, in addition to the Three People's Principles, are also carrying out socialism and communism. In other words, they must "carry out Communism." It can't be wrong, can it? It's wrong! We are not carrying out Communism.

We are Communists. We believe in communism and socialism. We are working in cooperation with the Kuomintang and are willing to strive for the complete implementation of the Three People's Principles; however, not only will we never give up our belief in communism and socialism, but also we can never change our belief. Nevertheless, as far as the present is concerned, we are taking socialism and communism only as an ideal, a goal ahead and in the future, an ideological system and a method for handling things, treating people and disciplining ourselves. Though we believe in them, study them, propagate them and pursue them, we do not intend immediately to take communism and socialism as the present political or socio-economic system or the law of our country and carry it out at once in the country. Why? Because, under present circumstances, China cannot yet enforce such a system. It is different with the Three People's Principles. We not only believe in, study and propagate the Three People's Principles as an ideal, a future and a goal, but also, furthermore, take it as the present form and system of government of China, that is, as the present political and socio-economic system and as the basis of all laws. The Three People's Principles must be carried out immediately in our country. That is to say, we must at once transform China into a republic of

the Three People's Principles. Why? Because, under the present circumstances, China not only is completely capable of carrying out this system but also must do it from necessity. At present, even we can transform China into a socialist republic, such as the Soviet Union, enforce the socialist system and give to the people the rights of speech, public gathering and organization, publication, residence and privacy of correspondence, as well as election and being elected. It still is not possible to gain further rights such as those of work, rest and general education, and there still is no means to prohibit exploitation and oppression among the people. Because China still is not independent and her production is backward and capitalism has not developed, it is wrong to introduce the systems of socialism and communism in China. We should not take this road. At present, in our country, not only should we not oppose or prohibit capitalism, on the contrary, we also should make greater efforts to promote capitalism. We now have reduced rents on land and lowered interest rates for peasants, which provides the conditions for the development of capitalism. We still will employ other means to help private capitalist enterprises to develop. Therefore, we say that at present, in addition to carrying out the Three People's Principles, resisting the Japanese and practicing democratism, it is not necessary for us to have to do anything more. Not only should we not carry out socialism and communism, but also we will never "communize property."

From all this, we can see that those who have accused us of introducing Communism are only people who purposely spread rumours against us and try to slander us.

People who oppose us in the Kuomintang even have said: "As you (Communists) have declared that you are willing to strive for the complete realization of the Three People's Principles, then you should give up your belief in Communism, should cast away Communism. If you, on the one hand, propagandize that you cannot give up your belief in Communism and, on the other hand, also declare that you believe in the Three People's Principles and are willing to strive for the complete realization of the Three People's Principles, it is evidently a lie and a lack of sincerity. We, the Kuomintang, cannot possibly work in cooperation with you in this way." These people purposely place the Three People's Principles and Communism in absolutely antagonistic positions and treat them as two entirely uncompromising entities. They purposely use such an argument and explain: "The cause of disputes between the

Kuomintang and the Communist Party and their unsuccessful co-operation is that the Communist Party refuses to give up its belief in Communism, and it is not because the Kuomintang refuses to carry out the Three People's Principles. All faults and responsibilities lie on the side of the Communist Party and have nothing to do with the Kuomintang." Such an allegation is evidently putting right and wrong upside down and purposely ignoring the truth to cheat the people and incite some people who do not know the truth to rise against the Communist Party. At the same time, they try to cover up their guilt of refusing to carry out the Three People's Principles.

We have explained in detail: "The Chinese revolution must be carried out in two stages: the first stage is that of the Three People's Principles (our lowest program), and the second stage is that of socialism (our highest program). At present, the Chinese revolution is still in the first stage. This stage started from the Taiping Tien-kuo, through its peak period under Dr. Sun Yat-sen and has not yet been concluded till today. Gentlemen! In this stage, the Kuomintang says that we must carry out the Three People's Principles; we Communists also say that we must carry out the Three People's Principles. Gentlemen! The Kuomintang says that we cannot carry out Communism; we also say that we cannot carry out Communism. Why, then, can't the Kuomintang and the Communist parties work in cooperation? Why must they quarrel and come into conflict? Very clearly, it is not a question of the Communists refusing to give up Communism! Besides their belief in the Three People's Principles, does not the Kuomintang also permit belief in Christianity, Buddhism and all other faiths? Then, why is belief in Communism not allowed to exist? Many of the Kuomintang members believe in Christianity and Buddhism, in addition to the Three People's Principles. As they have not been accused of imposture and lack of sincerity, why then should the Communists be accused of lying and lacking sincerity when they believe in the ideal of Communism in addition to believing in and adhering to the Three People's Principles? Here the truth of the issue cannot be clearer! Those who have gone against Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles failed to sincerely believe in them, refused to energetically carry them out and played with them under impostors' masks are not the Communists but, on the contrary, those Kuomintang members who all along have been spreading rumours. These rumourmongers truly are not qualified to accuse others of lacking sincerity in carrying out the Three People's Principles. They spread rumours only to betray

their own impudence.

If, through the common efforts of our people, we won final victory in the war of resistance and, moreover, carried out the Three People's Principles, needless to say, China should continue to advance. Certainly she must continue to advance, and will never cease to move on! Should such time come, in what direction will China advance? Whither should China go? Dr. Sun Yat-sen gave the answer: "Advance towards Utopia, towards Socialism and Communism." We also have the same answer: "Advance towards Utopia, towards Socialism and Communism." By saying that China will advance towards a socialist republic, of course we do not mean that it is a matter for today, and, I am afraid, it cannot be a matter for the very near future. However, this future will certainly come.

What kind of concrete form and concrete course must we go through from the Three People's Principles to socialism? On this question, we cannot yet say anything definite. However, the most probable prospect is that the revolution will be carried out through peaceful evolution, that is, without bloodshed! When this moment comes, in other words, under the inspiration of the world situation, when China goes toward socialism, she cannot help but advance. Our country then should be a republic of the Three People's Principles, perfectly secure, rich and powerful, and all our people will be citizens who enjoy complete democratic freedom. Then it will be possible for the people to vote by ballot at the National Congress, or, according to laws promulgated by the state, to decide the problem of whether or not we should adopt the socialist system politically, economically and culturally in our country. Should we be able to solve this problem smoothly by means of such methods, naturally we would do so as far as possible. Because this will be the most satisfactory way which can avoid, and minimize sacrifices of bloodshed. As an example, just look at the land reform! We have stopped to carry out this land revolution. With regard to methods of land reform, we also advocate the method of peaceful solution in accordance only with laws promulgated by the state in order to carry out reform gradually and to avoid bloodshed that would result if the peasants took the direct action of seizing land. Why? Because today the latter method would prevent the people of all strata from uniting themselves to wage the war of resistance.

Should China adopt socialism when the Three People's Principles has been fully carried out? On this question, we are of the opinion that this decision should be made by the people.

The foregoing discussion answers the question of what we are doing here! We have been here for half a year already. We have consumed large quantities of "public grain" and caused inconvenience to the people everywhere. What we eat and wear comes from the people, yet we have done so little for the people and given them so little protection. We regret this very much and feel very sorry! Council members, please make your criticisms and give us guidance. We will be very grateful. Among our army units and Party members, we have many exceedingly fine people; however, there are also ones who are not so good and even bad. In particular, our army units have some new recruits, and those who have come over from the Han Teh-chin's units; they have not received adequate training. Therefore, they could have done things such as seizing people's belongings and causing trouble to them. However, we can assure you that we will never forgive these people. We oppose such conduct of theirs. As soon as people can point them out, we will stand on the side of the people and together deal with these bad elements who should be punished accordingly.

In this place, what we have done is still very little. There are so many things which should be done. Owing to objective difficulties and the shortage of hands, we have not done anything, and what we have begun to do is not done properly. However, anything that can be done, we will do our best to do. In this respect, we have already started. As far as the beginning of things is concerned, it is not too bad. This may fully prove that we are sincerely carrying out the Three People's Principles. From now on, it will be a very long time. We will certainly become one with the people here and do everything properly.

Our aim is nothing else but to build up successfully our bases of war of resistance in Yencheng, in the northern part of Kiangsu province, in various places of central China and throughout the country. It is a matter of great historical significance to build a new Yencheng, a new northern area of Kiangsu province and a New Democratic Republic of China. No matter who takes part in this enterprise and accomplishes it, he will be remembered by the people forever as a hero. Were not even people such as Yuan Shih-kai, Tuan Chi-jui, Tsao Kun and Wu Pei-fu for a time praised as heroes? However, at last they could not be counted as heroes. Because they not only failed to do these things but also interfered with them. We do these things neither for our personal interests nor for the interests of our Party nor to try to be heroes. We do

so for the interests of the people in the northern area of Kiangsu province, in central China and throughout the country. The Communists have no interests other than the common interest of the people. We are trying entirely to accomplish things in our country and have a very strong determination to achieve them. Consequently, we absolutely prohibit anybody from interfering with or undermining them. We must overcome such obstacles and sabotage. We will not mind whoever does these things so long as they do them well. These things do not necessarily have to be done by us, nor do we want to monopolize everything. If anyone, gentlemen, can come forward and do better than we can, then let him come quickly and do so.

As regards methods and organization in various fields, we have made a series of preparations. We will put them forward before you and the people. Should anyone say that our methods are not good, we will be willing to accept advice on related problems. Will these people please put forward their methods. If anybody's method is better than ours, then let us carry out his method. We can only follow him. If none of you have any proposal, or what is proposed is not good, then our method is to be carried out. If any dispute comes to pass among us, then let the people make the decision. Let the majority of them decide the case and put it to the test in practical life. If you do not do it, then we have to do it. In short, so long as you have your reasons, and there is truth in your method, we can only follow you. If you have no reasons, and what is in your method is not of any truth, we will still explain sincerely to you the truth. We Communists forever obey the truth and forever propagate the truth among the people. In doing this, though we often bring to ourselves some hardships and temporary disadvantages, we still have to continue to do so. We will never go against the truth or reject it.

If you think that we are making, or have made, mistakes, we ask you or the people to criticize us without any hesitation. Even when your criticism is not correct, or your method or attitude of criticism not quite proper, we do not mind. So long as you wish to have the thing done properly and do not intentionally spoil it or purposely spread rumours about us and slander us, we will not care about it in the least. Therefore, you should have no apprehension whatsoever. Please make your criticism freely. The New Fourth Army is supported by the people, that is, they are fed by the people. It is the people's army. The people have entirely their right to

criticize them, educate them, guide them and make them wage struggle for the welfare of the people. When we have committed mistakes, you should correct us. We also advocate that the people should criticize the government, should criticize any working personnel and any organ of the government. This then will be called democracy. By so doing, things can develop smoothly. By so doing, we can expose all mistakes made by every bad and corrupt element of the government and further correct them. As regards all criticism, we still follow the ancient maxim "do not reject the speaker on the ground of his statement, and do not reject the statement because of the speaker."

We hope, people of all strata will cooperate with us, no matter who they are, to which stratum they belong or how they treated us in the past. To defeat Japanese imperialism and Wang Ching-wei and for the smooth progress of all affairs in this locality, we are willing to advance hand in hand with all of them. All members of the Communist Party and all personnel of the New Fourth Army should, with this attitude, cooperate sincerely with the people of all strata. If this solemn and great cooperation can be achieved, we will be able to gain the freedom and liberation of the Chinese people even in the present period of immense difficulties.

However, if an arbitrary attitude is unreasonably taken against us to oppose stubbornly all that we have done, or to coerce us, intimidate us, oppress us and spread rumours against us, we still have to tell them: "It is not nice to do such things." We are not afraid of all these things. Can the rumours do us any harm? All rumours can only deceive the people for a certain time and finally will be exposed before the people. The rumourmongers can do harm only to themselves. We are not afraid of any kind of rumour. Can arbitrary action succeed? We do not follow everything. We have done everything after careful study and through many experiments. The thing we did was always considered by us as the best. In all matters, such as military affairs, politics, economy, culture, art and various new knowledge, we Communists have always carried out careful study and have acquired rich experience. We Communists not only have never believed in the arbitrary actions of others, but also basically do not believe in any arbitrary action of anybody. We have our own ability to study and make decision. Any arbitrary action is absolutely useless to us.

How about oppression and attack? To give support to the truth, we are not afraid of any kind of oppression and attack. We

have the spirit to sacrifice ourselves for the sake of truth. We have an unbending spirit to save the people and save the world.

Can anyone oppose the Communist Party? Who opposes the Communist Party? Whoever wishes to oppose the Communist Party may do so. But you have to take care of yourself! Do not bump your head against the wall in front of the people. In this place, we do not wish to oppose anybody except the Japanese imperialists and Wang Ching-wei. However, we are not afraid of anybody opposing us. Moreover, no matter how hard some people oppose Communists, they cannot succeed. But we still have no intention of opposing them. This may be proved by events in the past, even in the case of Han Teh-chin who murdered countless Communists and continuously attacked us. We have sent back all Kuomintang members who opposed us and officers and men under Han Teh-chin who were taken prisoner by us. We have never engaged in retaliation. Though we have been here for quite a long time, we have never executed persons who committed crimes. Even if we did, the number of people executed was exceedingly small. All our policies are intended to look after the interests of people of all strata. However, if some people are unreasonable and persist in opposing us, then we are going to break their neck because there is no alternative. In the past, in various places of the world and in China, there were too many people who opposed Communism. However, what happens today? Have not such people as Han Teh-chin or other pro-Japanese and anti-Communist leaders in China, and Japanese imperialists, Hitler and Mussolini, made utmost efforts to oppose Communism for a long time? Nevertheless, we were not afraid of them. Today facts have proved that they can never succeed. Therefore, today they cannot but lower their anti-Communist banner and cannot but make compromise by all means with the Communists and work in cooperation with the Communists. If today in this place there is still one anti-Communist fellow who wishes to try once more to oppose Communism, he will not gain anything except destroying himself! This is what we have to tell them first here.

Some people have spread the rumour that we are going to move out to some other place. I may tell these people that we will never leave this place. Even when we do go to other places, we will still come back.

Next, people have also spread the rumour that the Communists never show sympathy for others or give them face; therefore, people

cannot make friends with the Communists. Our reply to such a rumour is: As regards the sentiments of Communists, when it does not go against the truth and does not harm public interests for the sake of personal interests, the Communists always advocate the sincerest expression of personal feelings for one's family and friends, and of the spirit of mutual help and love. The Communists will never betray their friends.

All the misunderstanding and suspicion caused by various rumours can at present, I believe, be cleared up. Our attitude has always been very open, which can now also be understood! In the following, I wish to further explain some concrete problems. These problems, I am afraid, have already been carefully dealt with in the reports of responsible comrades of the government. I will now, therefore, just mention them briefly.

The first problem concerns the reduction of rent and interest, and the improvement of treatment of the workers.

To promulgate laws on the reduction of rent and interest and the improvement of the treatment of workers, the government has submitted its draft to the county council for discussion and approval. The reduction of rent on land is generally 25 percent, and the highest amount should not exceed 30 percent of the income of the peasant. In some places, the former should not exceed 40 percent of the latter. Other bad practices are also to be abolished or prohibited. However, the highest rate of reduction of land rent also should not exceed 25 percent. Furthermore, after the present reduction, there will be no further reduction in the future. The ownership of the land still belongs to the original landlords. As the land rent has been reduced, and the peasants have gained permanent right of tenancy, it is not necessary to touch the ownership of the landlords. Particularly in the case of poor landlords, such as widows and widowers, primary schoolteachers and those of free occupations who are not able to farm and must let out their land to others, we may give them, with the consent of peasants, special consideration and further lower the rate of rent reduction. The highest rate of interest is fixed at 1.5 percent monthly, and at 2 percent in some places. Any excess is prohibited. As regards the treatment of workers, due to the rise of commodity prices, wages should be suitably increased. Their daily working hours should never exceed the maximum of 10 hours. Furthermore, physical torture of workers is prohibited. We should also begin to improve the living conditions and food for the workers. On these matters,

the government has already promulgated laws in various places or is making preparations to promulgate them.

What is the attitude and opinion of our Communist Party on these problems? On this point, it is necessary to offer our explanation to the gentlemen of the county council.

First of all, we approve the reduction of land rent and interest rate and the improvement of the treatment of hired workers. Firstly, it is advantageous to the war of resistance, to democracy and to the mobilization of the masses for their participation in the war of resistance. Secondly, the present land rent and interest rate are truly too high, and the treatment of workers is indeed too poor. Not only are they unreasonable but they are also inhuman. Therefore, we have absolutely no reason to oppose any fair and rational reduction of rent and interest and the improvement of the treatment of the workers. Thirdly, these measures are advantageous to increasing production, maintaining social order and improving the people's living.

As you gentlemen should know, workers and peasants constitute 90 percent of the total population of China. Without their active participation, it would be unimaginable to win our final victory. At the same time, what we eat, wear and live in and all articles which we use daily, without exception, have been made by the industrial and agricultural labourers. In this human world, all things of whatever kind and variety are made by the hands of the labouring workers and peasants. The old saying goes: "Who is aware that every grain of cooked rice on the plate came from hard labour." The saying has significance. The world has been created by the working people. Without them, there would be no world. Therefore, the working people constitute the foundation of the state, the society and the human world and are our "parents of necessities of life" who feed us and feed the whole of mankind. Therefore, the labouring workers and peasants are the light of the world. They deserve our respect. However, since human labour was divided into mental and physical labour, people generally have overestimated mental labour and, moreover, exaggerated it. The mental workers — intellectuals — have been given much superior treatment and allowed to sit high above while the manual workers have been extremely oppressed and also looked down upon. The manual workers — the worker-peasant class — have been given poor and humiliating treatment and placed in the lowest position. It is very clear that this is a wrong view in human history. This mistake of the past

was made almost entirely by famous "ancient people" in the old history of the world. Nevertheless, as a matter of fact, physical labour is the foundation of mental labour, and the latter is adjunct to the former. In this world, without physical labour, those specialized in mental labour not only would have no means to obtain food and clothing but also would find it impossible to use their brain. Of course, all sciences and projects produced as a result of the specialized mental labour also activate physical labour. They can promote the development of physical labour, but they can also hamper the development of physical labour.

This wrong view of mankind in slighting physical labour has been in existence for as long as thousands of years; moreover, on the basis of this wrong view, wrong laws and regulations have been stipulated. The present systems of tenant-farming and wages also were formulated on the basis of this wrong view. In this way, all people doing manual labour in the world for thousands of years, and the workers and peasants today, have been placed under wrong laws and systems and always have received unfair, irrational and inhuman treatment. This is the greatest of all grievances in the human world and is the greatest "grievance of all ages" in history.

Gentlemen, please pay attention to the following fact! Throughout the year the peasants produce large quantities of grain with extremely hard labour. All foods and raw materials are produced and made by the peasants. However, as a result, the majority of peasants themselves have no foodgrain. Even they have some, the quantity is not enough for their living. Moreover, they have to eat the most coarse food. On the contrary, those who have never tilled the land and have never done any labour have unlimited supplies of foodgrain. The workers have built beautiful houses, woven the best cloths and made fine dresses. . . ; however, they themselves have no houses to live in, no dresses to wear, and have nothing. Meanwhile, they also will be looked down upon by the people. On the other hand, those who live in beautiful houses, wear fine dresses, eat well, enjoy all the happiness in the world and, moreover, are respected by others are people who have achieved nothing and made no contribution to human society. In addition, some of them always do bad things. Is not this a fact? Is it unfair? There is nothing else in the world which can be more unfair and more irrational!

The reason why the peasants and workers are so poor is that they are paying too high land rents and interests. Taxes are too heavy and wages too low. Landlords, capitalists, usurers and tax

offices can freely raise rents, interest rates and taxes, can prolong working hours and can reduce wages. The peasants and workers have no legal protection against them.

It is wrong to look down upon manual labour. The present systems of tenancy and wages are irrational and inhuman. Therefore, we hope that you gentlemen will support humanitarianism. Please do your best to improve as far as possible the present tenancy and wage system. We hope, you gentlemen will accept the demands of the workers and peasants and pass all the laws on the reduction of rents and interests and on the improvement of the treatment of workers. These laws set down the highest rent and interest rate and the longest working hours, and prohibit all illegal land rents and interest rates and labour not within the scope of the law. In other words, the exploitation of peasants and workers by the landlords and capitalists is fixed within certain limits. It is not possible to have no limits; otherwise, the workers and peasants would cause disturbances and bring about revolution. In the past, the uprisings of Huang Chao, Li Tzu-cheng and the Taiping Tien-kuo and others all were basically brought about in this way. In the present time, it would do too great harm to our war of resistance.

Gentlemen, what will be the result of the implementation of these laws? Will there be any bad effect? I can say that there will be only good effects, not any bad effects.

When these laws are put into force, the peasants and the workers will receive more income and improve their living. They will thus raise their consciousness of joining organizations and taking part in the war of resistance. They will be given more time for doing all this, so that they will have increasingly greater interest and enthusiasm for production. Thus, production will go up! What will the peasants do when they receive more income? Probably most peasants will do the following: First, they will buy more fertilizer and invest more labour in their land than they have ever done before. In this way, the demand for fertilizer will increase, and its price will go up. The land will be improved, and output will of course increase! Next, they will make new dresses and buy industrial products. Finally, they can send their children to school. In this way, the weavers and tailors and teachers of primary schools in rural areas all will have work to do. The increase in the purchasing power of peasants and workers will spur the development of industry and commerce. This will create favourable conditions for the development of capitalism. Therefore, the reduction of rent and in-

terest is equally advantageous to the increase of industrial and agricultural productive power.

Furthermore, following the reduction of land rent, the price of land will go down. Then there naturally will be fewer people to invest spare money in land. Following the reduction of interest, there will be also fewer people to engage in usury. However, at that time, profits from industrial and agricultural production will go up. In this way, all those who have spare money will be encouraged to invest in industrial and agricultural production, and nobody will invest his money in land or usury. Thus, in the society, fewer people will depend on land rent and interest for a living, and more people will live on industrial and agricultural production. This will elevate the productive power of the whole society and promote social progress. Furthermore, after land rents are reduced, more landlord families will divide a large family will become a number of small families which will take back their land to cultivate by themselves. The number of independent peasants will increase. There is no disadvantage, but every advantage because many landlords who did not work before will have become independent peasants or small householders and will have to take part in labour. Thus, more people will till the land, and the number of idlers will diminish. As far as the society is concerned and as far as the increase of production is concerned, it is very beneficial.

Once the workers and peasants lead a better life, there will be less cases of robbery and burglary. Poverty will gradually disappear. Consequently, social order can be easily maintained.

Therefore, the reduction of rent and interest and the improvement of the treatment of workers will bring about good effect in all fields. If there is, besides all this, any unfavourable consequence, it can only be the temporary decrease in income to the landlords. It is possible that for a certain period of time they more or less will have to lower their standard of living. Also, they may show their dissatisfaction with the anti-Japanese movement and the democratic campaign. However, this is something which we cannot help and is only temporary. After a short period, production must be increased so that the landlords, though receiving proportionately less rent on the land let to the peasants, possibly may collect greater quantities of grain as rental payment than ever before. As a result, the society progresses, social order is maintained and industry and commerce develop. Then, perhaps, the landlords can receive benefits much greater than his losses from rent reduction. If the

landlords can understand the importance of the war of resistance, the necessity of social progress and the justice of improving the treatment of workers and peasants, and if they have a little foresight, they should not have any dissatisfaction with the laws of the anti-Japanese democratic government on the reduction of rent and interest. Landlords who adhere to truth and have foresight should on their own initiative give support to these laws and make reasonable concessions to the workers and peasants in order to avoid any trouble from the reduction of rent and interest and assist the war of resistance.

On the other hand, I also must explain clearly the following points: Under the present circumstances, we cannot approve any excessive reduction of land rent over 25 percent; we also cannot agree to harm the landlords' ownership of land from the reduction of land rent or to introduce land reform. Next, we do not want to bring about a situation in which factories and commercial stores cannot continue to run their operation and business because of the excessive increase of wages and reduction of working hours and unduly high treatment of their employees and workers. We must protect the factories and stores in making profits within certain margin. Why? Because, if there is no profit, private industry and commerce cannot maintain themselves. At present, it still is not possible not to have private industry and commerce. It would be a mistake to carry out land reform at this moment. It is also wrong to harm the ownership of land of the landlords. The excessive reduction of land rent is also disadvantageous to the present united war of resistance. All workers and peasants also must understand their duty to the country and must know that in the present time of the war of resistance the highest principle of their current struggle is to rally the whole people to win victory from the war of resistance. It is also their greatest interest to strive for the independence and liberation of our country. Should we become slaves one day although as a result of the failure of the war of resistance, we could never talk about the liberation of workers and peasants. Such a situation is absolutely unthinkable. During the time of the war of resistance, to rally people of all strata in a common war of resistance to win final victory, the workers and peasants should make certain limitations on their economic demands. It is not good for them to make excessive demands without any limitation.

Either the workers and peasants or the landlords and capitalists should take the victory of the war of resistance and the independence

and freedom of our country and nation as the first consideration. At present, all of them should properly limit their desires and demands and fairly and rationally solve the problem of tenancy and disputes between workers and capitalists.

The foregoing explains our attitude towards the reduction of rent and interest and the improvement of the treatment of the workers.

The second problem concerns "public grain for national salvation" and land tax.

As you gentlemen all know, we have no other means except living on "public grain" from the people. We now are making preparations for the requisition of "public grain." Take Yencheng county as an example. In general we will collect five catties of public grain from every *mou* of land. As it will be carried out after the reduction of rent, we will not make it too hard on the landlords. But, in some areas, we will collect a little more from landlords who own more land. However, we do not intend to apply too high a progressive rate. We long have considered that after the requisition of public grain, the collection of land tax should be abolished; land tax and public grain should be combined. However, as we have not yet carefully surveyed land areas and completed the necessary procedures, a combined requisition cannot yet be introduced. At the time of autumn harvest this year, we may be able to combine the two. It is under preparation at present. Therefore, for the moment we still have to collect land tax separately twice. We regret this very much. Nevertheless, as a matter of fact, the people will not incur too great a loss even when they are taxed twice. At present, the currency has been depreciated, and the price of grain has gone up very high. In the past, one *mou* of land was taxed 60 cents, which could buy six or seven catties of grain. At present, one *mou* of land is taxed five catties of public grain, plus another 50 or 60 cents of land tax, amounting to, in general, a total levy of about six or seven catties of grain. I wish that you members of the county council and the people also will not forget this point.

We hope that you gentlemen will pass this government bill on the requisition of public grain and, moreover, explain the matter fully to the people.

The third problem concerns the collection of various taxes.

We already have abolished more than 20 kinds of irrational past taxes. In comparison with the past, the taxes which we are still levying now are generally light. However, all merchants are still

asking for further reduction of tax rates. As the working personnel of tax offices are not well trained, and there are a few bad elements and corrupt people in some offices, it is true that they have interfered with the interests of the merchants and made them feel the inconvenience. On this point, we are considering adopting remedial measures. But, we have to take another thing into consideration, that is, we cannot reduce the rates of some taxes; such reductions will either do harm to the people in northern Kiangsu or give advantage to the enemy. For instance, the import of luxuries and the export of daily necessities must be taxed more, and the export of certain commodities must be prohibited entirely or under payment of heavy taxes. We fix tax rates on definite policies. These policies ensure the supply of necessities to the anti-Japanese army-men and civilians in support of our economic struggle against the enemy. Therefore, we cannot say that the lower the tax rates the better and high rates are no good! The import and export of certain articles must be taxed at higher rates. The rates on the import and export of some other articles may be reduced, or they may be entirely exempted from taxes. I also have to explain this point to all members of the county council.

Furthermore, I must give you gentlemen the following assurance: Though we will collect some public grain and taxes from the people, we will use them for the cause of our war of resistance and for enterprises beneficial to the people. We can give you our guarantee that they will never be used for luxuries and comforts of individuals or a few people, or to make new dresses for ourselves and build houses and take concubines and so forth. Moreover, there will be absolutely no extravagance and waste. We have always thought that when we spend the money of the people, we must spend one cent as two. We ourselves and the working personnel of the present government live under considerable hardships. As a whole, we are exceedingly honest. All corrupt elements have been duly punished. In the future, should there be any corrupt person, of course he will be punished. We should give you gentlemen our assurance on this point. Please have faith in us! Naturally, the finance of governments in various places will be still open to the public and, moreover, will be submitted to their councils for examination.

The fourth problem concerns the current situation and measures against the "mopping-up operation" of the enemy.

(Abbreviated)

The foregoing consists of some problems which we have to explain to you.

I have talked too much. I am very grateful to you for listening to such a long speech. Whether or not what I have said is correct, I wish to hear your opinion.

Finally, I wish you gentlemen, members of the county council, good health!

LIQUIDATE THE MENSHEVIST IDEOLOGY WITHIN THE PARTY

July 1, 1943

It is twenty-two years since the birth of the Chinese Communist Party, the greatest and the most progressive party in the history of the Chinese nation. These have been great years. Many great changes have taken place in the world and in China during these twenty-two years.

Ever since its birth the Chinese Communist Party has conducted three great revolutions, three great revolutionary wars. The first Great Revolution and the Northern Expeditionary War, and the existing Anti-Japanese National Revolutionary War, have been conducted jointly with the Chinese Kuomintang, but the ten-year Agrarian Revolution and the war fought by the Chinese Soviet Regions were conducted under the sole leadership of our Party. As far as our Party is concerned, the three revolutionary wars have been conducted continuously right up to the present. For over ten years, many Communists have never laid down their arms. This very fact shows that armed struggle is the chief form of struggle and the chief form of organisation of the Chinese revolution. The existence and development of the Chinese Communist Party are inseparable from armed struggle.

In the three successive and uninterrupted nationwide revolutionary wars during these twenty-two years our Party has undergone severe trials in every respect. It has scored many victories and suffered many setbacks. It has till now followed an extremely circuitous and tortuous road. But still it has been able to stand stead-

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fast on the territory of the great Chinese Republic as an invincible force and has become one of the important decisive factors in China's political life and historical events.

Precisely because our Party has travelled along various circuitous roads and stood stiff tests in various fields, it has steeled itself to become particularly strong and has gained particularly rich experience in all aspects of the revolutionary struggle. It may be said that within these twenty-two years our Party has witnessed more important changes and accumulated more experience of the revolutionary struggle in various complicated forms (whether it be armed struggle or mass struggle, civil war or international war, legal struggle or illegal struggle, economic struggle or political struggle, struggles inside the Party or outside the Party) than any other Communist Party in the world.

And especially worthy of mention is the fact that in the long, strenuous and complicated twenty-two years of revolutionary struggle, it has finally been possible for our Party, the proletariat and the revolutionary people of our country to find their own leader in Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Our Comrade Mao Tse-tung is a resolute and great revolutionist who has undergone long tempering in the many strenuous and complicated revolutionary struggles of these twenty-two years, who has completely mastered the strategy and tactics of Marxism-Leninism and who possesses infinite loyalty to the cause of the liberation of the Chinese working class and the Chinese people.

Our Party has gained extremely rich experience in all aspects of revolutionary struggle, but such experience has not yet been very well summed up. It is still one of the most important tasks of our whole Party today to sum up adequately the experience of struggle of our Party in all its aspects in line with the general principles of Marxism and Leninism.

This is because a Marxist-Leninist summing up of such experience is a most important link in unifying, educating and advancing the entire Party and in winning victory for the Chinese revolution.

If our Party members really understood the historical experiences of our Party, they would gain infinite faith and courage and they would strongly push forward both their own work and that of our Party as a whole. They would be able to avoid many errors that have been committed in the past and to shorten by many times the course of their work and the revolution.

The experience of the Chinese revolution must be used to

educate the Chinese revolutionaries and the experience of the Chinese Communist Party must be used to educate the Chinese Communists; only in this way can more direct and practical results be achieved. If we cast aside the rich experience of the revolutionary struggle of China, if we despise the experience of the struggle of our Party in the great historical events of these twenty-two years, if we do not study such experiences carefully and learn from them, but merely confine our study to the experience of foreign revolutions farther away from us, then we shall be reversing the true order of things and we will have to traverse a much more tortuous road and suffer more setbacks.

During these twenty-two years, our Party's experience of struggle has been most rich and varied. I cannot now describe them in great detail. But of all these experiences, which is the most important? I consider the most important of all these experiences is that concerning the question as to what is a true Marxist, what is a true Bolshevik. Everybody knows that only Marxism can save China. In China there are many people who claim to be Marxists. But what is true Marxism and what is a true Marxist? What is pseudo-Marxism and what is a pseudo-Marxist? This has been a question which for many years has never been completely solved among the revolutionary masses of China and inside the Communist Party.

There is a difference between true and false Marxism, between true and false Marxists. This difference is not determined by subjective standards and claims by various individuals but by objective standards. If our Party members do not understand the objective standard which differentiates true from false Marxists, and unconsciously and blindly follow pseudo-Marxists in the revolution, nothing could be more dangerous. This lesson is the most painful of the many painful lessons our Party has learned.

In the past our Party has suffered many avoidable setbacks and failures, and travelled down many unnecessary byways. The most important reason for this is that pseudo-Marxists existed inside our Party and many Party members unconsciously and blindly followed them, so that such people came to occupy leading positions in certain organisations and certain movements, and even, at certain times, in the Party as a whole. In this way the revolutionary movement was led on to painful and difficult roads. This is a bitter experience against which all our Party members must be seriously warned.

The Chinese Communists are not inferior to the Communists

in any other country in their spirit of hard struggle, heroic sacrifice and their ability in propaganda and organisation. In the past we have excellently carried out various kinds of work. We have succeeded in organising hundreds of thousands and even millions of people, undertaking the Long March of 25,000 *li* (8,000 miles) and organising bases for resolutely continuing a war of resistance for six or seven years in the rear of the enemy under most difficult conditions and without any help, etc. The revolutionary and hard-working spirit of the Chinese Communists is highly admirable.

But for a long period, our ideological grounding in scientific Marxism and Leninism has been inadequate. What we suffered most in the course of our past history was that errors arose in the leadership of the revolutionary movement, which caused partial, sometimes even serious, avoidable harm to the movement. We must remember this historical lesson and completely solve this problem in the future.

It may be said that if we can guarantee not to commit any serious errors in matters of principle in the leadership of various aspects of the revolutionary movement, this would ensure victory for the Chinese revolution; because we have very good revolutionary spirit and the will to work hard, and the objective conditions of the Chinese revolution, in general, are also very good. It needs only the addition of correct Marxist-Leninist leadership for the revolution to advance surely towards victory step by step.

But how will it be possible to guarantee that our Party will not commit serious errors in matters of principle in the leadership of the various aspects of the revolutionary movement? This requires that: our Party members, above all our cadres, must be able to distinguish between true and false Marxism-Leninism and Marxist-Leninists; that in the revolutionary ranks and in the Party, the system of thought and the groupings of various kinds of pseudo-Marxists must be crushed; that the abundant historical experiences of our Party during these twenty-two years must be properly summed up; that our studies must be well developed to enhance our vigilance; that the guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung must permeate every link and every department of our work.

Ever since Marxism came into existence there have been true and false Marxists in the Marxist movement. The whole history of the Marxist movement is full of the struggle between these two Marxist groups. Similarly, in the Marxist movement in China, there have been two Marxist groups and in just the same way, the history

is full of struggles between these two groups. This must be thoroughly understood by all our Party members.

As early as twenty years ago, Stalin had correctly described these two Marxist groups. This is also true of China. Stalin said:

There are two groups of Marxists. Both work under the banner of Marxism and consider themselves 'genuine' Marxists. Nevertheless, they are by no means identical. More, a veritable gulf divides them, for their methods of work are diametrically opposed to each other.

The first group usually confines itself to an outward acceptance, to a ceremonial avowal of Marxism. Being unable or unwilling to grasp the essence of Marxism, being unable or unwilling to transfer it into reality, it converts the living and revolutionary principles of Marxism into lifeless and meaningless formulas.

It does not base its activities on experience, on what practical work teaches, but on quotations from Marx. It does not derive its instructions and directions from an analysis of actual realities, but from analogies and historical parallels. Discrepancy between word and deed is the chief malady of this group.

Hence that disillusionment and perpetual grudge against fate which time and again betrays it and leaves it "with its nose out of joint." This group is known as the Mensheviks (in Russia), or opportunists (in Europe). Comrade Tyszka (Yogisches) described this group very aptly at the London Congress when he said that it does not stand on but lies down on the Marxist view.

This second group, on the other hand, attaches prime importance not to the outward acceptance of Marxism, but to its realisation, its translation into reality. What this group chiefly concentrates its attention on is to determine the ways and means of realising Marxism that best answer the situation, and to change these ways and means as the situation changes.

It does not derive its directions and instructions from historical analogies and parallels, but from a study of surrounding conditions. It does not base its activities on quotations and maxims, but on practical experience, testing every step by experience, learning from its mistakes and teaching others how to build a new life.

This, in fact, explains why there is no discrepancy between

word and deed in the activities of this group, and why the teachings of Marx completely retain, their living, revolutionary force. To this group may be fully applied Marx's saying that Marxists cannot rest content with interpreting the world, but must go further and change it. This group is known as the Bolsheviks, the Communists.

The organiser and leader of this group is V.I. Lenin.

Stalin has put it very clearly here that both groups work under the banner of Marxism and consider themselves "genuine" Marxists, but their methods of work, that is, their ways of thinking, are diametrically opposed.

The first group are pseudo-Marxists. They are the Mensheviks and opportunists. They usually confine themselves to outward acceptance, to ceremonial avowal of Marxism, but are unable to grasp the essence of Marxism or translate it into reality. They convert it into formulas and dogmas. In their work, they do not base their activities on experience, on what practical work teaches, but on books. In deciding what instructions to give or what policies to pursue they do not draw upon these from an analysis of actual realities, but from books, from historical analogies or parallels.

There are discrepancies between their words and deeds. They talk Marxism, but what they actually do is entirely non-Marxist. The development of objective facts time and again betrays them, leaving them in despair and frustration.

The other group are genuine Marxists. They are Leninists and Bolsheviks. They apply Marxism and translate it into reality. They lay stress on finding ways and means of applying Marxism that best answer the situation and on changing these ways and means in accordance with changing conditions. In deciding what instructions to give or directions to pursue, they do not derive these from historical analogies or parallels, but from investigation and study of prevailing conditions. In their work, they do not base their activities on quotations and maxims, but on practical experience and test their every step by experience, learning from their mistakes and teaching others to advance their work.

There is no discrepancy between words and deeds in this group. They talk Marxism and what they do is also Marxist. They not only interpret the world, but lay greatest emphasis on changing the world. They always preserve the living, revolutionary force of Marxism.

These two kinds of Marxists have existed from the beginning in the Communist movement of China and in the Chinese Communist

Party. To the first kind, the pseudo-Marxists in China, belonged Chen Tu-hsiu, Peng Shu-chih, the trotskyites of China, the Li Li-san line, the 'Leftist' opportunism in the period of the Civil War, and dogmatism. All these are, in essence, the Menshevism or the Social Democracy of China.

The second kind, the genuine Marxists in China, comprises Comrade Mao Tse-tung and many other comrades who have allied around him. The line they have pursued and struggled for throughout the past years, and their methods of work, are, in essence, the Bolshevism of China.

Our comrades and cadres must understand and be more alert to the fact that there existed a Menshevist line and a Menshevist ideological system in the history of our Party. Through Chen Tu-hsiu, Peng Shu-chih and Li Li-san to the various subsequent kinds of opportunism and dogmatism, it assumed different forms in different periods and were not necessarily connected with each other in organisation but their substance, their methods of work and their way of thinking have been the same.

They have had a consistent system, politically and ideologically. The harm they have done the Party and the Chinese Revolution has been very serious. Apart from the trotskyite Chen Tu-hsiu clique which stemmed directly from the European trotskyites, other forms of Menshevism in China did not derive directly from the European Social Democrats or the Russian Mensheviks but grew indepently out of Chinese petty-bourgeois society in the particular conditions of China.

Therefore, compared with the European Social Democrats and the Russian Mensheviks the outward form of these individuals had many special characteristics. Menshevism in China appeared as "Anti-Menshevism", "Leninism", "Bolshevism", "the International Line", etc., in form and in words. Under the guise of such attractive outward forms and revolutionary expressions, the Mensheviks in practice conducted anti-Leninist, anti-Bolshevist struggles and publicised and practised Menshevism. And because of the low theoretical level of many of our Party members and cadres, who were not experienced enough to recognise the substance of Menshevism, they were frequently misled by the attractive outward forms and revolutionary phrases of the Mensheviks.

It has frequently been possible for the Mensheviks to win the support of many Party members and cadres for a time and to seize leading positions in the Party or in certain sections of the Party.

They particularly developed the sectarianism and individualism which are inherent in semi-feudal Chinese society of the petty-bourgeoisie and are associated with the sharp practice of gangsters in Chinese society. Thus, the harm they have done in the Party has been of a specially serious kind, particularly giving expression to superficiality and vulgarity, going to extremes and duplicity. This has been the main feature of Menshevism in China.

There has been no tradition of European Social Democracy in the Chinese Party, but there has existed a tradition of Chinese Menshevism.

It is impossible to identify these kinds of false Marxist-Leninists, false Bolsheviks, by their words and their general appearance. In speech, they may use more Marxist-Leninist expressions than anyone else; outwardly they may appear to be more revolutionary, more hard-working, more cordial and more friendly. What they fear most are the tests of reality, the examination of their work in a critical spirit.

It is therefore necessary to recognise these kinds of individuals and expose their true physiognomy in practice, by their work, by their method of understanding problems and tackling them, and by an examination of the result of their work. For, in fact, they are Marxist-Leninists in speech, but not in practical activity.

As a rule, their practical actions are not strictly guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism. When they carry out work, they usually base their activities on books, on quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, on passages from resolutions, on general ideas or theories and not on practical experiences or what practical work teaches.

In making decisions on problems and policies, they do not proceed from reality, or from investigation and research into actual prevailing conditions, but from formulas in books, from historical analogies or analogies from the Soviet Union; and Western European countries or from other parallels. In practice they are idealists. Thus, in actual work, they frequently commit errors and in the end are not able to work well. In practice, their results are bound to be contrary to their first intentions and their original verbal declarations. If you observe their working methods and subject their work and its results to critical examination, their true quality will be exposed. In his lecture on the "Rectification of Three Styles Campaign" Comrade Mao Tse-tung strongly criticized this kind of person.

But the danger of this kind of person lies in his use of numerous

Marxist-Leninist phrases, his coating of Bolshevism and his inborn duplicity. He can browbeat and mislead many worker and peasant comrades and immature young comrades; and even very mature comrades who are very experienced in work but immature in their ability to discriminate in theory, are frequently misled and captivated by them. Thus they can put the Party cause in serious jeopardy.

The past history of the Party has been a history full of the struggle between the Bolshevik line and the Menshevik line. In the history of our Party two lines and two traditions have existed. One is the line and tradition of Bolshevism, the other is the line and tradition of Menshevism. The former has been personified in Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and the latter in the various cliques of opportunists in the Party.

Fierce struggles have taken place between these two lines and two traditions over a long period, the content of which has been extremely rich. In these struggles, although the wrong line in the Party, the Menshevik line gained the upper hand and won temporary victories for several brief periods, in the majority of cases it was always defeated.

But although our Party has frequently overcome the wrong line in the course of the work, ideologically the Menshevik system has not been thoroughly overcome, thoroughly liquidated, or been given its final death blow. Thus, this kind of ideology, this kind of tradition, has still survived in the Party; and during certain periods and in certain circumstances, it may burst forth, putting our Party again in jeopardy.

Now is the time, ideologically, politically and practically to thoroughly liquidate the vestiges of Menshevism in the Party; to ably sum up the historical experiences of our Party, especially the experiences of struggles between these two lines, and to use them to educate our cadres and Party members.

Only in this way will it be possible to learn from the past, to cure the sickness and save the patient, to achieve unity and discipline in the ranks of our Party, to guarantee continuous and correct leadership throughout our whole Party and to lead the Chinese revolution to victory in the future. Otherwise, in the strenuous, complicated and great times ahead of us, we may not properly fulfil our historic mission as the advanced political Party.

The Menshevism in our Party is the reflection of petty-bourgeois ideology in the Party; it is a more developed form of expression of the latter and constitutes a certain ideological system. To eradicate

the ideology of Menshevism and its system in the Party, it is necessary to use proletarian ideology to drive out the petty-bourgeois ideology and enable our Party members to distinguish between proletarian and petty-bourgeois ideas in all their forms. We have done this kind of work and are still doing it in some places.

This is the "Rectification of Three Styles Campaign" advocated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung that has gone on since last year. This campaign of self-education and self-criticism in the Party is unprecedented in the history of the past twenty-two years. It has given our Party a unique impetus toward the Bolshevik road.

On the basis of this remoulding we should go further and sum up our rich historical experiences of these twenty-two years, liquidate thoroughly the vestiges of Menshevism in the ideological system of the Party and raise the Bolshevisation of our Party to an ever higher level. This is our central task today in the building up of our Party.

The history of the Chinese Party is the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism in China and also the history of struggle between Marxist-Leninists and the various cliques of opportunists in China. Objectively, this history has centred around Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The history of the various opportunist cliques in the Party could never make up the history of the Party. The Menshevik line and its tradition in the Party could never constitute the ideological system of the Party and its tradition. The history of our inner-Party struggle has been one of struggle against this kind of system and tradition and of how it was defeated and crushed.

In order to uproot the remnants of this tradition, it is extremely necessary to expose it. We should not cover it up or deny its existence. That would be harmful, and not beneficial to the Party.

All cadres and all Party members should carefully study the historical experiences of the Chinese Party during these twenty-two years, carefully study and learn Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings on the Chinese revolution and other questions, should arm themselves with the ideas of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and eradicate the ideology of Menshevism in the Party by the aid of the ideological system of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

However, our cadres and Party members should be alert to the following fact: during recent years the enemy has sent some secret agents to infiltrate into our Party. These persons, too, have appeared in the Party in the guise of Marxist-Leninists.

There is some difference between them and the pseudo-Marxist-

Leninists mentioned above. These are counter-revolutionary elements. With regard to these counter-revolutionary elements that worm into our Party, we must sift them out. This means that a line of demarcation must be drawn between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries in the Party.

But to eradicate the remnants of Menshevism in the Party means to draw a demarcation line between the proletariat and the petty-bourgeoisie. Both these two lines of demarcation must be clearly drawn but the methods used should be different. The former is drawn by the method of examining cadres and Party members and the latter by the method of remoulding and of summing up experiences.

The liquidation of petty-bourgeois ideology and its system in the Party by the aid of Marxism-Leninism and the sifting out of enemy agents in the Party are our two big immediate tasks in strengthening and elevating the Party. Their successful achievement will mean that we have prepared ourselves in ideology and in organisation; that we can meet the great and splendid period ahead with our positions completely consolidated and prepared.

Master scientific Marxism-Leninism, eradicate the remnants of opportunism inside the Party, and we will be invincible.

SPEECH AT THE MEETING OF FACTORY REPRESENTATIVES

May 20, 1944

In the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Area, we have established in recent years a new thing, namely, industry. Although the scale of our industry is still very small, its development made over the past few years is surprising. In 1935 there was only a repair shop with several tens of workers here, but now the number of workers has increased to more than ten thousand. After the present factory meeting, it is believed that there will be an even faster and bigger development.

Our New Democratic Government is one which protects the development of industry. The people, too, are in need of industrial development so that we can become entirely self-supporting in industrial goods. Nowadays, the big powers in the world are all industrialized nations. Following its first and second Five-Year Plans, the Soviet Union has made tremendous strides in its industry, turning itself from an agricultural nation into an industrialized country, thus enabling it to launch such a great war to eliminate German fascism. The reason why China is weak is because we have very little industry and China is not yet an industrial country. To turn China into a strong nation, it is necessary to make her an industrial country. Our future responsibility is to turn China from an agricultural country into an industrial nation. When the time comes we will have to establish many factories, build many railways and steamships, make a huge quantity of machineries, and we will

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need many factory managers, engineers, technicians, workers and labour heroes. Therefore, this new thing, industry, has a very bright future and also is a great goal toward which we should strive.

Many of our comrades, however, do not understand this and feel unhappy when they are called to do economic work or factory work, saying that there is no future in this line. To my mind, there is nothing more promising than this type of work. Many comrades, particularly those who have taken part in the Long March, like to be army officers so that they can be regiment or battalion commanders. Of course, today is still a time of war, and everyone of our comrades should learn to fight and we all should encourage and support those who have emerged heroes in the war. But, in the near future, when the war is over, what are those regiment and battalion commanders going to do? By that time, many comrades will have to lay down their guns and take up your line — do industrial, economic or cultural work. And by then you will have already become the “experienced” personnel and teachers. They will have to learn from you and you will be the leaders.

Will there be a time when industry, like war, is dropped out? As far as I can see, for a long time to come industry will not be abolished but, instead, will be greatly developed. Of the one and a half million people in the border areas, the majority are peasants. Only a little more than ten thousand are workers; but their future is the brightest. For several thousand years, the peasants up to this day still remain peasants, almost without any change. What about in the future? There will be fewer and fewer peasants. Because reclamation, plowing and harvesting will all be done by machine. Industrial technology will be universally applied to agriculture. By then the peasants will be the same as the workers, driving tractors and operating machines. The peasants in the border areas today are playing a tremendous role and their strength is great. But, as far as the chance of future development is concerned, they cannot keep on going the way they do now but will have to undergo changes. Only the proletariat and industry have the brightest future.

However, to achieve this it is necessary to start today from the actual existing conditions and advance step by step. For this reason, we must learn and think well, take factory operation as a course of study and adopt a solemn attitude toward it. For instance, how to organize labor power, how to manage factories, how to improve techniques, how to fix wages, etc., are all problems to be carefully studied. We should acquaint ourselves with this line and make

study a tradition for the workers of the whole factory; factory managers and engineers should study, workers and employees should study, and apprentices should study all the more. Mutual study is a motive force for the development of our cause. It should be realized that at present there are so many things which yet remain to be done, or which have been done but not well done, or which have been done in the wrong way. This is unavoidable when we start, but we must learn to master our work through our failures and errors, so that we know how to improve and avoid errors as we march forward.

In the course of study, every person, no matter who he is, must rid himself of misgivings and arrogance, otherwise he cannot learn well. That is, one must not think that "I come from the city and have already learned well enough," despising things rustic. If you do not learn and study well the task before your eyes you cannot perform it well. As to those comrades who have come from the villages, it is all the more necessary for them to study well. Otherwise, not only will they be unable to perform well what they have to do now, but they will find it difficult to cope with the future. The anti-Japanese war will emerge victorious and there is no doubt about it. But, after victory is gained and even in the course of gaining the victory, it can be imagined that things will undergo changes. Now we are working in the gullies and caves but in the future we will have to work in the cities. By that time there will be not only big factories for us to establish but also railways, trains and steamships for us to operate and manage. If we do not prepare ourselves well in performing the comparatively simple duties, how can we meet the much more complicated situation and stupendous tasks in the future? The factory representatives meeting today is held to spur industrial development in the border areas; it is also aimed at elevating our understanding. So long as we care to study, we can make a success of industry in the border areas, and in the not so distant future, we can undertake industry on a larger scale.

Since we see that the future of our industry is the brightest, those comrades who are engaged in this work should be determined to take this work as their life-long jobs and make it a real success. If you cannot do it well in one year, then three to five years, or even eight to ten years. We must have such an enterprising spirit and integrate it with our revolutionary spirit. Then there is nothing we cannot accomplish well.

As we are all aware, our factories are public-operated, not

owned by any capitalists. The capitalists operate factories to seek private profits. We establish factories for the benefit of the public and of the state not for the wealth of an individual. And, today, they are for defeating the Japanese.

The development of industry in the New Democratic Society is effected in two ways at the same time: private-operated and public-operated. We should help private individuals to operate more factories because by increased production our economy will benefit. Those enterprises which are beyond the private individuals or beyond their abilities must be operated by the public, that is, by the state. Ours is a country of the broad masses of the people, with the workers, peasants and soldiers as the chief components occupying the leading positions in the government. Public-operated industry is one which belongs to the workers, peasants and soldiers who labor. In our public-operated factories there are no capitalists, and therefore there can be no irreconcilable conflicts. In our factory management methods, we do not adopt such measures as those adopted by the capitalists. Our factory management policy should be cooperation with the workers by all possible means, relying on the activism of the workers; the workers should seek cooperation with the factory in every way possible. To run a factory well, it is essential to rely on the masses, on the high-degree of activism of the masses.

As stated by Comrade Teng Fa, those charged with factory management must keep the masses in view. This is very correct. But the worker-comrades also should have the masses in view. The cloth you weave and the clothes and shoes you make are all for the Eighth Route Army and the people to wear. The things you produce are all for the Eighth Route Army and the people to use. (The capitalists' factories are different; they do not care who wears or uses the things they produce; they only care for money — to get rich or to seek only profit.) If the cloth you weave is not good and does not stand any wear and tear, if the shoes you make are not durable and break or wear out the moment the Eighth Route Army charges forward, it means you are not acting for the masses. Since the consumers of our products are workers, peasants and soldiers and since we operate factories to serve the masses, we must be responsible to them and not seek after quantity while neglecting quality.

On the other hand, those who are in charge of factory management should, where possible, do a good job the workers' cultural

life and material life so that they can work with peace of mind. We should all think and act for the masses and have a sense of responsibility. In case of any difficulty we should discuss it together to seek the solution. Leadership should be centralized, with labour and responsibility divided. One should be responsible for one's own work, failing which one should be subjected to criticism. In this way, our factories will surely be well run.

Lenin said: "The principal role of the proletariat is organization. It can organize not only itself but also the small producers; it can transform the small producers. Not only can we organize political struggle and military struggle, but we can organize our economy, factories, labour power, market, etc. This is a branch of advanced learning. As from today we must start to learn it well, so that in the near future we can make ours an economically prosperous, industrial nation."

UNITE WITH THE BROAD MASSES OF WORKERS, PEASANTS AND SOLDIERS

December 9, 1944

Since the failure of the 1925-27 revolution, a dark reactionary period emerged in the Chinese history. Nine years later, apart from the armed revolutionary movement in rural areas, a nation-wide revolutionary movement resurged in urban areas. This referred to the Anti-Japan and National Salvation Movement brought about directly by the students' movement in Peiping on December 9, 1935. All these movements were carried out under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

The "December 9" Movement was a source of the Chinese students' revolutionary movement. From this movement to the "July 7 Incident" of 1937, the Anti-Japan and National Salvation Movement reached a new climax which has continued up to the present. Although the mass movement has met with obstacles in the Kuomintang-ruled areas as a result of the newly enforced Kuomintang reactionary policy, this is only a local phenomenon. Therefore, viewed from the angle of the situation of the Chinese revolutionary movement, the "December 9" Movement was a line of demarcation between the reactionary period and the revolutionary period in China. From then on, the reactionary forces gradually receded and a new revolutionary movement began to rise. Notwithstanding certain defects in the movement, it, together with the people's armed revolutionary movement, symbolized the outset of a new stage of

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revolutionary movement in Chinese history. What we are driving at now is still to effectuate the slogans adopted for the "December 9" Movement, namely, "United action against foreign aggression" and "Complete independence for China." We firmly believe that these slogans and demands shall be fruitful.

The historical experience of the "December 9" Movement and the road it traversed are what we should learn today. In the nineteen months from the "December 9" Movement of 1935 to "July 7 Incident" of 1937, there were difficulties in keeping this new revolutionary movement from being suppressed by the reactionary forces in the cities then under reactionary rule. However, the movement went on successfully due to a careful and correct policy followed. The revolutionary enthusiasm of the student masses as aroused by the "December 9" Movement and the accumulated revolutionary strength had no way of widespread development until the "July 7 Incident" in 1937 when the nation-wide War of Resistance unrolled. It was then that the revolutionary students in cities were able to unite with the broad masses of workers and peasants as well as the armed forces of workers and peasants — the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army. Many of those who took part in the "December 9" Movement now became military commanders on battlefields behind the enemy, political personnel, local administrators and directors of economic and cultural work. In the war defending the motherland today, they stand at various posts of great importance, carrying on struggles effectively for the realization of the hopes cherished since the "December 9" Movement. We believe that in the near future they will return to Peiping, Tientsin, Shanghai and other places as victors and masters shouting proudly the slogan, "Long live the independence of the Chinese people!" a slogan they used for the "December 9" Movement. Thus, it can be seen that victory cannot be achieved solely through student movement, which cannot last long under reactionary rule. The revolutionary young students must unite with the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers under the leadership of the Communist Party in order to achieve the revolutionary aims.

The road trod by the revolutionary students in the "December 9" Movement was an exemplary road. They, especially the students of Peiping, pointed out the road — to rural villages and to the revolutionary armed forces and unite with the people, especially the peasants, under the leadership of the Communist Party, to build revolutionary bases and carry on the war against Japan. This is the

correct road that all revolutionary youths should take in their struggle for national liberation during the national crisis.

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