



SELECTED WORKS  
OF  
LIU SHAOQI

Volume I

**WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!**





刘强

**SELECTED WORKS  
OF  
LIU SHAOQI**

**Volume I**

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## PUBLICATION NOTE

Comrade Liu Shaoqi was a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary and an outstanding leader of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China. Throughout the course of China's new-democratic revolution, socialist revolution and socialist construction, he consistently adhered to the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with concrete conditions in China. He made monumental contributions in the fields of Party building, the united front, armed struggle, the labour movement, work in the White areas, the establishment and building of the anti-Japanese democratic base areas behind enemy lines, economic development, the building of political power, culture and education, and foreign affairs. He also made brilliant contributions to the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought.

To meet the needs of readers in their study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the history of the Chinese revolution and construction led by the Party, and the life and thought of Comrade Liu Shaoqi, we have compiled and are now publishing the *Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi*, which consist of two volumes. The first volume includes works before and the second those after the founding of the People's Republic of China.

In the long years of revolutionary practice, Comrade Liu Shaoqi wrote many articles, documents, telegrams and letters and made numerous speeches. We include in these volumes the most important ones, many of which are published here for the first time.

Writings which were published during Comrade Liu Shaoqi's lifetime or which exist in manuscript are reproduced here in their original form with a minimum of changes in language or of corrections of errors of fact. Records of speeches have been edited. To assist our readers, editorial and explanatory notes have been provided. Each

editorial note is placed at the bottom of the page on which an article begins, while the explanatory notes come at the end of each volume.

Editorial Committee on Party  
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August 1981

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# THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE REVOLUTION AND OUR POLICY CONCERNING THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

*May 1926*

(1) In the past year the Chinese labour movement has made tremendous advances, taking an especially big stride forward during the May 30th Movement.<sup>1</sup> In the national revolution, the working class has shown itself capable of leading the people in mounting attacks on the imperialists and warlords. The massacres which have occurred in various places were all perpetrated during the suppression of strikes, and most of those killed or wounded were workers. In the May 30th anti-imperialist struggle, it was the workers who made the greatest sacrifices, had the most progressive programme, fought the most resolutely, and best demonstrated their enormous strength. The various kinds of struggles have proved amply the unalterable fact that in the national revolutionary movement the working class plays the leading role.

(2) Over the past year the labour movement has been subjected to oppression and assault by the warlords. During the May 30th Movement, the Fengtian and Zhili warlord cliques<sup>2</sup> were especially cruel in their attacks against the workers. These facts show clearly that the domestic warlords are the tools and running dogs of imperial-

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The Third National Labour Congress was held in Guangzhou from May 1 to 13, 1926. Liu Shaoqi acted as secretary-general of the Congress and was entrusted by the Presidium to deliver a report entitled "The Development of China's Labour Movement in the Past Year". It was divided into five parts: 1. The Significance of the Second Labour Congress and a General Review of China's Labour Movement Before and After the Second Congress; 2. The "May 30th Movement"; 3. The War Against the Fengtian Warlords; 4. The Present Situation in the Labour Movement Throughout the Country and Its Prospects; and 5. Conclusion and Our Policies. This is Part Five of the report, which was carried in Bulletin No. 11 issued by the Congress.

ism and that the imperialists and warlords will always remain enemies of the masses and the targets of the national revolution. These facts also prove that in order to win victory in the anti-imperialist movement it will be necessary to overthrow the warlords.

(3) Because the Chinese bourgeoisie<sup>3</sup> is oppressed by the imperialists and warlords, it is possible for it to participate in the national revolution, but when it does participate, it tends towards compromise and lacks thoroughness. Moreover, as soon as the proletariat rises up in revolution or demands improvements in its conditions, the bourgeoisie turns reactionary. The reactionary behaviour of the Shanghai bourgeoisie in the May 30th Movement should be a lesson to us. During certain periods of our struggle, namely, the periods when the clashes between the bourgeoisie and the imperialists are most fierce, our working class should co-operate with the bourgeoisie in common opposition to imperialism, in order to strengthen the anti-imperialist movement. But whenever the bourgeoisie shows a tendency to compromise or to oppress the workers' movement, the working class should strenuously oppose the bourgeoisie and prevent it from selling us out.

(4) The Chinese petty bourgeoisie, including small traders and students, has an important part to play in the national revolution. Over the past year of the anti-imperialist movement, the petty bourgeoisie has proven its strength and shown its ability to make revolution. The working class should take effective measures to unite with this group and build a united front. It should also encourage the Left-leaning sympathies of the petty bourgeoisie and help it overcome its deep-rooted vacillation and conservatism, so that it cannot be manipulated by the big bourgeoisie.

(5) The peasants are an important force in the national revolution. They are the natural allies of the working class. While carrying out the Chinese revolution, the Chinese working class should conscientiously guide and support them. Workers everywhere should help the peasants to organize peasant associations, give guidance on methods of struggle and render practical assistance in all their struggles. When deciding on its own forms of struggle, the working class should take the peasants' interests into account.

(6) The Chinese working class has made very great progress in its organization. Not only has the national membership of the trade unions been substantially increased, but the organization of the mem-

bership has also been improved. Everywhere the workers are calling for a united trade union organization. The movement aimed at forming united unions in Hongkong and Guangdong is one example. Another is the fact that, despite cruel oppression, 200,000 workers in Shanghai remained in secret organizations conducting sporadic struggles on different issues. This proves that the organization of the Chinese working class can no longer be destroyed by reactionary forces.

(7) As the economic organizations of the workers, the trade unions must be open. At present, Chinese trade unions are neither protected by the law nor recognized by society. To develop the labour movement, the Chinese working class must vigorously and openly develop a movement for trade union legislation. Even if it should fail to win the enactment of trade union laws, such a movement could lead the Chinese workers in the direction of political struggle. The Chinese labour movement is sure to grow in the course of this movement for trade union freedom.

(8) While it is true that the labour movement in the past year has been an anti-imperialist political struggle, the workers' economic demands are discernible in all aspects of the struggle. The abominable conditions of the Chinese worker are unrivalled in any other country in the world. Therefore, it should be the policy of the Chinese labour movement from now on to strengthen all aspects of the economic struggle. In no case should workers abandon their demands for economic improvements. They should fight for their economic interests. The development of the economic struggle means the development of the Chinese labour movement.

(9) The great struggles of the Chinese working class during the past year have shaken the entire world. The working class everywhere has started to take note of the Chinese workers' movement, and closer links have been forged between the Chinese working class and the working class of the world. For example, during the strikes following the May 30th Movement, trade unions and trade unionists of many countries sent messages and telegrams of support, held demonstrations, made collections and dispatched delegations to China to make contact with the Chinese workers. In all its future activities and organization the Chinese working class should build a close relationship with the working class of the world, in order to promote world revolution.

(10) With the rapid growth of the Chinese labour movement, scabs are running wild. Everywhere they have at their disposal enormous forces to disrupt us. We must find a way to deal with their activities. The trade unions should have an organization for their own defence.

## MR. LIAO ZHONGKAI<sup>4</sup> AND WORKER AND PEASANT POLICY

*September 26, 1926*

For the Chinese national revolution to succeed, the participation of the masses of all classes and the building of a united front of all classes are necessary. But among the classes taking part in the national revolution, the working class and the peasantry constitute the main force. As the political party which has taken on responsibility for the national revolution, the Chinese Kuomintang<sup>5</sup> must on no account neglect this main force. If the Chinese national revolution is to succeed, there must be a specific worker and peasant policy conducive to the development of the worker and peasant movement.

The reason why Dr. Sun Yat-sen did not succeed in his revolution despite forty years of endeavour is that he failed to win the active participation of the worker and peasant masses who constitute the great majority of the Chinese nation. It was only after its reorganization that the Kuomintang adopted a positive worker and peasant policy, formulated a programme of political struggle for the interests of the workers and peasants, accepted Communist Party members into its ranks and led the great majority of the workers and peasants onto the path of revolution. And only after these steps were taken did the forces of the national revolution grow stronger and more consolidated with each passing day.

Mr. Liao understood clearly that the Kuomintang should not regard the workers and peasants in the same way as it does the other classes in society. The worker and peasant policy, formulated personally by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, has actively assisted the growth of the worker and peasant organizations and helped to mobilize the worker

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Written in memory of Liao Zhongkai on the first anniversary of his death. The article first appeared in the journal *The Workers' Road*, No. 412, sponsored by the Guangzhou-Hongkong Strike Committee.



and peasant masses for the national revolution. This has produced the tremendous result of unifying Guangdong Province and consolidating the foundation of the national revolution. For, to draw into the revolution the great majority of the worker and peasant masses who will fight for it with all their might, the revolution must reflect their vital interests. The workers and peasants are not to be tricked into joining the revolution. If we genuinely fight for their interests, continually help to improve their conditions and earnestly work for their emancipation, we will naturally win their enthusiastic participation in the revolution. With their participation the success of the revolution will certainly not be far off. Mr. Liao was the first person to implement a worker and peasant policy. He took an active part in promoting the worker and peasant movements and persevered despite many difficulties and much calumny. Mr. Liao had a true understanding of the process of China's national revolution and of the workers' and peasants' part in it. Hence his greatness and exemplary role for all Kuomintang members!

In implementing the worker and peasant policy, Mr. Liao shared vital interests with the workers and peasants. The reactionaries had to hire an assassin to kill him because they considered his very existence dangerous to their interests. For the workers and peasants, the loss of Mr. Liao was their own loss. On the anniversary of his death, it is fitting that they should honour his memory and strive to complete the task which he left unfinished: the task of their own emancipation. For this cause Mr. Liao laid down his life! This cause makes him immortal!

# TWO PROBLEMS IN TRADE UNION WORK

*December 1926*

## I. TRADE UNION CONFERENCES

Trade unions are mass organizations and organs of struggle. Their power must be highly centralized to give them the ability to fight. It must also be democratically centralized for only thus can the unions be receptive to the opinions of the great majority and avoid being monopolized by a minority and becoming dictatorial.

What we call democratic centralism is the concentration of power in the hands of the great majority by means of conferences of the trade union members rather than a concentration of power in the hands of individuals. In this way all decisions are made by meetings of the majority of members. Once a decision is made, it must be carried out. All members may freely express opinions beforehand, but after a decision has been reached by a conference it must be obeyed by all, no matter who they are. In this way, it is possible not only to heed the opinions of the masses but at the same time to wage a united struggle against the enemy.

For these reasons every union must hold conferences. Through such conferences the power of the unions can be centralized and this will be democratic centralization, rather than the dictatorship of the few. The trade union conferences are therefore the organs in which

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At a time when the Northern Expedition was progressing triumphantly and the labour movement was gaining momentum, the author wrote three pamphlets, *Trade Union Conferences*, *Economic Problems of Trade Unions* and *Basic Organizations of Trade Unions*, with a view to providing guidance to the movement and strengthening trade union organization. The pamphlets were published and distributed by the Propaganda Department of the Hubei Provincial Federation of Trade Unions. Included here are the prefaces to *Trade Union Conferences* and *Basic Organizations of Trade Unions*.



all the power of the unions is concentrated. All power resides in the conference. This method is highly conducive to workers' unity and to the development of the trade unions.

Without a genuine workers' conference a union cannot get close to the masses; it is not a workers' union but rather a union of a minority of leaders. As soon as the union is estranged from the workers, its unity will be undermined and the enemy will exploit the division to attack and disrupt the union by spreading rumours and inciting the masses. This will jeopardize the future of the union. Therefore the conference is an indispensable form of organization for any trade union. Without it the union is in danger; with it the union is secure.

Trade union congresses should be organs with still more power than conferences. In practice, however, such congresses cannot be convened often and, what is more, their size makes discussion of issues difficult. Therefore they do not have the organizational importance of conferences.

There are many unions in Wuhan which do not at present hold conferences. It is hoped that they will soon organize their conferences in line with our directives. Those unions which do have them should conscientiously improve them so that the conferences can meet regularly and truly exercise the function and power of the unions. The organization of trade union conferences will guarantee the unity and consolidation of the unions. All our fellow workers and trade union officials should pay serious attention to this matter.

## II. BASIC ORGANIZATIONS OF TRADE UNIONS

As organs of mass struggle trade unions bear prolonged and heavy responsibility in the revolution. Consequently they must have a close-knit organization if they are to fulfil their mission satisfactorily. By close-knit organization we mean that there must be a proper workers' conference above the executive committee and basic branch organizations among the masses below it.

The trade unions have a broad mass base, and if they do not have such basic organizations as branches, but merely have an executive committee and a name, then the more members they have the more dispersed they will be. Such a union is incapable of conducting struggles and its executive committee is incapable of leading the mass-

es. If an army only had a headquarters but no such units as battalions, companies and platoons beneath it, it would be incapable of going into battle. Likewise, if a union has no basic organizations such as branches and cells, or if it has them but they do not operate effectively, then that union is defective in organization and will meet with acute difficulty in operation. We should understand that branches and cells are the foundation of a trade union, that the union is built on this foundation and that if the branches and cells are not strong the union's foundation is not firm. With good branches and cells a trade union is ensured a good foundation.

With branches and cells it is very easy for a union to take rapid action. In case of an emergency, the executive committee can inform the branches, the cell leaders and members as soon as it has passed a resolution, so that within one or two hours the whole membership can spring into action without having to go through any further formalities. If there were no branches or cells, it would be necessary to call a conference, distribute leaflets or post bills so as to mobilize the whole membership. It would take one or two days to inform the whole membership this way, and a lapse of one or two days could mean missing the boat and rendering any action ineffectual. What a big blow this would be to the union's work!

Moreover, the existence of branches and cells enables the union to keep its activities secret so that the enemy cannot disrupt them and facilitates its training and education of workers. Information of all kinds can also be rapidly circulated, and the union can more easily keep itself informed about the real conditions of the workers. In addition, it can frequently report its work to the various branches so as to forge closer links with the workers, thus avoiding misunderstanding and estrangement and effectively strengthening the unity of the masses. Without such branch organizations, it is difficult for a union to keep its activities secret and to carry out the training and education of workers. Moreover, information can be blocked so that many misunderstandings occur. Under such circumstances it would be impossible to expect the unions to be firmly united and strong. Therefore, basic organization has an extremely important role to play in the unions. All trade unions and fellow workers must strive to set up basic organizations.

Conferences, executive committees and branches are all necessary forms of organization for trade unions. None of them may be dispensed with. At present every trade union in Wuhan has an execu-

tive committee but there are still many which do not have conferences or branches. The unions' economic problems are also of utmost importance. For the purposes of enabling the Wuhan trade unions to become still more united and consolidated following pay raises, and of eliminating internal dangers, we spent several nights drafting three pamphlets: *Trade Union Conferences*, *Economic Problems of Trade Unions*, and *Basic Organizations of Trade Unions*. We have sent these to the Propaganda Department of the Provincial Federation of Trade Unions for publication, so that every trade union and worker can adopt and implement the suggestions therein. We hope that our fellow workers will study them carefully and point out any mistakes they find.

## ON CHANGING SLOGANS

*October 5, 1928*

In every mass struggle, slogans have a very important function. They embody the masses' demands and needs during their struggles and are especially effective in raising the masses' morale, strengthening their unity of purpose and urging them on to vigorous action. For this reason changes in the nature of slogans and the introduction of new slogans to replace old ones must be determined by changes in the actual struggle. If a change occurs in a struggle but is not matched by a timely change in our slogans, there will be no unity of purpose among the masses, and the struggle, no longer advancing, will lose its momentum and even collapse. This is true not only of revolutionary slogans on a national scale, but also of slogans in minor struggles in factories or villages.

We have frequently committed errors because we were unable to clearly observe changes in the situation in a struggle and to change our slogans accordingly. An important example of this was the many slogans we issued which gave expression to erroneous policies after the bourgeoisie betrayed the revolution. Less important examples are the many erroneous "Left" or Right slogans issued in factories or villages. These all arose because we did not change our slogans or initiate struggles in time to match changes in the situation. As a result, we were divorced from the masses, and the struggle, having been thrown into confusion, became ineffectual and finally collapsed.

When formulating slogans we should meticulously study all aspects of a situation, closely observe the demands and needs of the masses and examine the current tasks of the mass struggle. We must on no account rely on our imaginations and irresponsibly put forward slogans which do not truly represent the demands of the masses or which may

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even conflict with their demands. These slogans cut no ice with the masses and so, are ineffectual and incapable of rallying them.

In our observation of the actual situations we should collect ample and reliable data by going among the various sections of the masses to investigate their living conditions and their mood. We must in no case formulate or decide to change our slogans on the grounds of atypical, capricious opinions expressed by one section of the people, or on sensational or pessimistic reports by a handful of leaders at a particular time. We must not conclude that such opinions and reports represent the demands and the mood of all the people. Most of our past mistakes were the result of our insufficient observation and incorrect appraisal of actual situations.

There are different types of slogans. There are propaganda, agitational and action slogans. Action slogans are finally transformed into directives. All slogans reflecting relatively long-term tasks pass through the stages of propaganda, agitation and action. Consider slogans such as "Confiscate the landlords' land", "Set up a workers', peasants' and soldiers' Soviet government"<sup>6</sup> and "Down with imperialism", and also consider those issued in some factories such as "Higher wages", "Better conditions" and "An eight-hour day". From the point at which such slogans are propagated and explained to make the masses understand and accept them, to the point at which a mass base has been formed with a body of staunch supporters ready to carry them out, these slogans retain the character of propaganda. When the time is ripe to implement these slogans and when it becomes necessary to rally the masses round them and organize the masses to put them into effect, that is to say, to create a mass force to make them a reality, then these slogans will take on the character of agitational slogans. When this mass force becomes adequate in size and it is possible to set the masses in motion in direct action to implement the slogans, these slogans will take on the character of action slogans. When we finally assemble the masses, allocate tasks, deploy various forces to put the slogans resolutely and thoroughly into effect, then they become the actual directives of the day.

Important slogans always go through these stages. They are first disseminated in the course of actual struggles to educate the masses before becoming slogans for action which the masses are ready to fight to implement. In the past we did not distinguish the types of slogans, thus confusing propaganda and agitational slogans with action slogans and directives. As a result, there have been cases in which we forced



or ordered the masses to implement slogans by engaging in struggles or carrying out insurrections. There have also been cases in which we did not give the masses leadership because we did not change the slogans into action slogans or directives though they had already accepted the slogans and were themselves taking direct action to put them into effect. In these cases the mass struggle was thrown into confusion or collapsed altogether.

The use of slogans is the same in the minor struggles in each and every factory, workshop and village. We must understand the overall strategy and tactics of the revolution at the time, and be well acquainted with the workers' and peasants' living conditions and psychology. We must ascertain the nature of the masses' sufferings, both general and specific, and regularly formulate a set of demands or plans for action in the factory, workshop or village. In other words, we must translate the sufferings and demands of the masses into simple slogans and carry out frequent and widespread propaganda and agitation, so that the masses gradually unite around these slogans and go into action.

We must seek opportunities to launch mass struggles to implement some or all of these slogans. We must keep our eyes opened and our ears tuned to the problems in the factories and villages as they arise, such as cases of beatings or abuse, dismissals, disciplining, reductions in wages, lengthening of work hours, arrears on pay and extortion and pressure for payment of debts. We must discuss and analyse all such matters, formulate simple slogans on each particular issue in the light of our plans of action and then go among the masses and carry out propaganda and agitation. Although not every temporary issue is capable of rousing a mass struggle, each one merits our carrying out propaganda and agitation. Where the outbreak of mass struggle is very likely over general issues which arouse fierce anger in the masses and which have a vital bearing on their interests, we must be ready to lead the struggle skilfully, make good use of our slogans and change them in time, so that the struggle continues without interruption and the morale of the masses is raised to its highest level.

All action slogans must be issued at the right moment. They must not be too early. If they are, the masses will not be ready to accept them or they will become bewildered or even be frightened off. Neither must the slogans be too late. If they are, the morale of the masses may flag or they may act spontaneously without co-ordination and the struggle will end in chaos. Sometimes the critical period for

abandoning an old slogan and adopting a new one can be as short as ten minutes.

Action slogans must be short, clear and popular, and they must reflect the essence of the general demands and psychology of the masses. In the case of some action slogans, the shorter the period over which they are applied, the more effective they are. If slogans are too numerous, too long, or difficult to shout, if their message is unclear or it does not suit the mass demands and psychology, or if they are used over too long a period so that they become boring and can no longer attract attention, then they are not effective as slogans for mass action.

The formulation and changing of slogans in minor struggles should be brought into line step by step with the general slogans of the time, that is, with the main political and economic slogans.

When the masses are to withdraw from action, it is especially important to change slogans at the right time, and these slogans must be formulated with special care. They should aim to prevent the masses from losing heart or becoming dispersed, to preserve the mass organizations, to point the way forward and to keep up the morale and determination necessary for resuming the struggle in the future.

When the struggle comes to an end, "post-struggle" slogans are needed to remind the masses of the central tasks ahead and to help them focus their attention on the completion of these tasks. Such slogans are also needed to stimulate their morale for the continuation of the struggle, to prepare them for future struggle on a wider scale and in greater depth, and to remind them of the experience of past struggles.

In the course of struggle on minor issues we should pay special attention to raising the masses' class consciousness as well as their understanding of our major political and economic slogans. We should also get them to rally to these slogans while acquainting them with the ultimate aim of the struggle. That is to say, propaganda slogans should be distinguished from action slogans and from the current demands of the masses. This does not mean that in the struggle we should abandon the propagation of our major political and economic slogans. Quite the contrary, we should step up our propaganda in order to win over the masses.

## A CRITICISM OF THE TACTIC OF “QUITTING THE YELLOW UNIONS”<sup>7</sup>

*January 18, 1932*

The withdrawal of the workers of the Dadong Book Company from the Printers' Union<sup>8</sup> has aroused a debate in our midst. The issue is whether or not the Red trade unions<sup>9</sup> should issue instructions to the revolutionary opposition and to the masses led by it, both of which belong to the yellow unions (where they are still a minority), to withdraw from these unions.

Nowhere among our resolutions is there to be found a tactic of quitting the yellow unions, and we do not know why our comrades have suggested such a policy at this particular time. A comrade has said that the objective situation is very different from what it was a few months ago, suggesting that the tactic of quitting the yellow unions was incorrect a few months ago but is correct now. Unfortunately, this comrade has failed to point out why the change in the objective situation has made it necessary to change our tactics towards the yellow unions and raise the slogan which calls for quitting them.

Our resolutions<sup>10</sup> include the following provisions: The Red trade unions should get their own members to join yellow unions which have a mass following (but not those which do not). They should establish a revolutionary opposition within such unions and win over their mass following. When the great majority of their mass following has come under the leadership of the opposition, they can then split with the yellow unions. The meaning of these resolutions is quite clear: (1) Politically awakened workers should join the yellow unions. (2) Provided the yellow union has a mass following and a membership

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Written to combat the erroneous Leftist tactic which was manifested in the workers' movement in the White areas, this article appeared under the pseudonym, Zhong Chi, in the *Red Flag Weekly*, No. 28, an organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.



which we can get close to and win over, we should join it, no matter whether the particular union is a factory union or embraces several factories, or whether it is a yellow trade union federation. (3) When the revolutionary opposition leads the great majority of the members of a yellow union, then it can split away. (4) The resolutions recognize that it is easier and more advisable for the politically awakened workers and the revolutionary opposition to get close to and win over the members of the yellow unions from inside the unions than from outside. (5) If those under the leadership of the revolutionary opposition constitute a large majority of the workers in only one factory or one store but a minority among the total membership of a yellow union, the revolutionary opposition should not break away nor, of course, should it take a passive attitude and withdraw.

Now is the time for us to hasten the implementation of the above resolutions. The masses have everywhere risen up against the yellow unions, and various Kuomintang<sup>5</sup> cliques operating both inside and outside the unions have been making use of the masses' dissatisfaction with the unions to seize control of their head offices. The Red unions and the revolutionary opposition should, together with the masses, broaden the scope of their independent propaganda and agitation to unite and lead the union members in opposing the various Kuomintang cliques, exposing their duplicity, driving out the leaders planted by them in the yellow unions, building new Red unions with a mass following, severing relations with the various Kuomintang cliques and smashing the yellow unions.<sup>11</sup> At present, there is no need to change these tactics. On the contrary, we should press forward with their application. In the current volatile situation some yellow unions of the Chiang Kai-shek clique<sup>12</sup> which have had a mass following, may in future lose it or be annihilated. At the same time, some new yellow unions of the Reorganization Clique<sup>13</sup> may emerge. In principle, however, we do not need to change our tactics. We need not join or remain within those yellow unions which do not have a mass following; on the other hand, we should join or remain within those which do.

According to the opinion of some people, if at the present time, we co-operate with one Kuomintang clique to overthrow another, the result would only be to exchange Chiang Kai-shek's men for those of Wang Jingwei's,<sup>14</sup> or, in future, to exchange these men for the men of some other Kuomintang clique. Still the unions would remain Kuomintang unions. This is nothing but Right opportunism in the form

of capitulation to the Kuomintang. But if, according to the opinion of other people, the revolutionary opposition groups quit the yellow unions which have a mass following, they would be abandoning the members of such unions and leaving them to be duped and manipulated by the union leadership. The result would be the continued existence of the yellow unions.

Some comrades are of the opinion that in a yellow union which covers many factories or other enterprises (such as the Printers' Union, the Newspaper Union and the Printing Union) if the revolutionary opposition, though a minority in the whole union, comprises a big majority in a particular factory, it should lead the workers of that factory in quitting the yellow union and setting up an opposition Red union there and that it should call on the workers in other factories to do the same and establish various independent unions in opposition. These comrades want to use this tactic of "withdrawal" to destroy the yellow unions. Wherein lie the errors of this tactic? (1) If the workers of this factory withdraw from the yellow union, it will lead to the weakening or destruction of the revolutionary opposition within the union. (2) They will find it more difficult to get close to the workers of other factories which remain under the yellow unions, and this means that they will become isolated from them. (3) There are only a few hundred, a few dozen, or even one dozen or so workers in a particular factory, and so it is not in the workers' interest to set up a small independent union in opposition to a yellow union of several thousands. (As the Resolution of the Fifth Congress of the Profintern<sup>15</sup> points out, the proposal that we should set up independent trade unions, regardless of the circumstances, is harmful.) (4) To split a united trade union into many small independent unions (one per factory) is in reality a divisive policy, and such splitting is not favourable to the working class. (We are not, however, afraid of splitting when it is favourable to the working class.)

There is a comrade who says that after quitting the yellow union the workers of a factory will no longer be subject to its deception and will find it easier to prevent the leaders of the yellow union from selling out the workers' interests. They will also be better able to win over the workers of other factories, to set up a united front at the grass-roots level and to work on opposition groups there. Conversely, if the workers of the factory do not withdraw, they will find it impossible to carry out all these tasks. In addition, when the leaders of the yellow unions try to dupe them, there is a danger that the

workers may be taken in. Therefore, this comrade says, it is imperative that they quit the yellow unions this very day. What utter nonsense! Doesn't this idea run completely counter to our resolutions? We call on politically awakened workers to join yellow unions which have a mass following and to establish an opposition within such unions precisely because it will be easier for them to be close to the masses, to expose the duplicity of the yellow union leaders, to prevent them from selling out the workers' interests, to win over the rank and file of the yellow unions and form a united front with them, and to destroy the yellow unions themselves. If it is easier for the advanced workers to carry out these tasks from outside the yellow unions than from within them, the resolutions in favour of joining the yellow unions and setting up revolutionary opposition groups are ridiculous. If the opinion of this comrade is correct, not only should the revolutionary opposition group quit the yellow unions, but the tactic of joining these unions at all is completely mistaken.

Some workers who claim to be politically awakened are really frightened to death that they will become easy prey when the leaders of the yellow unions pull a fast one. They don't even want to hear the name of the yellow union. They cannot endure the situation for one minute, but want to escape from the "mire" of the yellow unions at once, and to preserve their "integrity" and become "models" for the "backward" majority remaining in these unions to admire and follow. If anyone objects to their behaviour, they will say, "You are undermining our morale in combating the yellow unions." This is "Left" opportunism par excellence, which hides Rightist passivity under a cloak of high-sounding phraseology. We should say to such people, you may be very fine, but you are not Bolsheviks!<sup>16</sup> Bolsheviks do not shrink from plunging into the "mire" of the yellow unions to carry out long-term, patient, arduous work to rescue the majority of "backward" workers who have fallen into the "mire". One comrade who could not bear to hear this kind of talk said, "How long do we have to wait before the majority becomes awakened? This is a wait-and-see mentality!" No, comrade, it isn't. It is merely asking the politically awakened workers to remain in the yellow unions and redouble their effort to oppose such unions and win over the masses. If this effort is to be made, you must not drag your feet just because you abhor the "mire", for it is here that most of the workers are to be found.

Should we join the yellow trade union federation? We must only ask, "Does it have a mass following? If we join it, can we come close to the masses and carry out our own propaganda?" If the answer is in the affirmative, then we should join it. Nowhere do our resolutions hold that we should only join the lower echelons of a yellow union in an enterprise.

Some comrades say that after leaving the yellow unions our Red unions could still send delegates to attend their meetings and put forward our own proposals. I really don't see how they could!

Others think that to win the right of the Red unions to carry on activities in the open, it is necessary for the revolutionary opposition to withdraw from the yellow union and set up an independent Red union. In reality this would not help us to act openly, but rather it would drive us underground.

As for the workers of the Dadong Book Company quitting the union, this was above all a case of the capitalists using foremen to call on the workers to quit so that they would have to beg the capitalists to give them back their jobs. Naturally, we cannot agree with this tactic which was used by the capitalists to disrupt a strike.

## A NEW FORM OF LABOUR DEMANDS A NEW ATTITUDE

*March 20, 1934*

Our Soviet revolution has returned land to the peasants which has been forcibly occupied by the landlords for thousands of years. Although the private property of the capitalists has not been expropriated at the present stage of the revolution, we have put into effect a system of worker supervision. The Soviets, together with the labouring masses of workers and peasants, have organized Soviet factories and co-operative enterprises on an extensive scale. The peasants and the workers in these factories and co-operation, who used to work for the landlords and capitalists, are now working for themselves for the first time in their lives.

At present, under the conditions of the Soviet revolutionary civil war, all the interests and the welfare of the working class in general depend on complete victory in the revolutionary war and on the consolidation, extension and nationwide success of Soviet power. "Everything must serve the war," that is, everything must be subordinated to the long-term interests of the entire working class. This demands that the workers and employees in Soviet and co-operative enterprises should conscientiously work for the war, for the victory of the Soviets and for the long-term interests of the whole working class. The development, consolidation and greater productive capacity of these enterprises have a direct bearing on victory in the war and on the betterment of the life of the toiling masses. These will also lay the

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In the winter of 1932, the author, who was then president of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, left Shanghai for the Central Revolutionary Base Area. This article written for the workers in the revolutionary base areas was originally carried in issue No. 54 of the journal *Struggle*, an organ of the Soviet Area Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.



economic foundations for the future transition to a socialist revolution.

Workers and employees in Soviet and co-operative enterprises, remember that you are no longer working for the landlords and capitalists but rather for the working class itself and for the ultimate emancipation of mankind. The change in the nature of your labour is the biggest change and is unprecedented in our history. This new form of labour demands a new attitude on your part.

Under the rule of the Kuomintang, the landlords and the bourgeoisie, the factories, mines and all the tools of production and means of transport are in the hands of the capitalists, the landlords or the Kuomintang government. In order to lead lives of parasitic extravagance the capitalists and landlords force the workers to toil on empty stomachs like beasts of burden to produce profits. Under these circumstances it is quite right and necessary for the workers to oppose the factory owners and parasitic exploiters with strikes, work slowdowns and various other disruptive means so as to stave off hunger and improve their working and living conditions. Under Soviet rule the Soviet factories and co-operative enterprises are owned by the workers and peasants in common. They engage in production, not to exploit the workers and support a parasitic minority with profits, but rather to support the war, meet the needs of the workers and peasants and provide maximum happiness for mankind. Therefore, workers and employees in the Soviet and co-operative enterprises should cherish and protect their own — the people's — factories and co-operation, offer up all their skill and talent and put their backs into the production effort for developing and consolidating these enterprises.

The large majority of the workers in our enterprises understand this and have adopted a new attitude towards the new form of labour. They feel that they are now working for themselves and so have shown keen labour enthusiasm by initiating new ways of working — production competitions, teams of shock workers, voluntary labour — and by reducing wages of their own accord for the sake of the Soviet and co-operative enterprises. They know they should work this way, because they are no longer working for anybody's profits, but for the best interests of the war and of the workers and peasants themselves. However, there is still a minority among them and in the Soviet and Red Army departments who have not understood this. They still take an old attitude towards new form of labour and retain the old

outlook with regard to the people's factories and property. Their attitude now is the same as it was towards the factories and property of the capitalists. They work less, or do not work well, they take unauthorized breaks, pilfer and damage public property, and some work slowly and disobey factory rules because of discontent with their treatment by some individual in charge. There are quite a few of these people in our factories. They look upon the Soviet factories and property with their old, unenlightened outlook. There are even counter-revolutionary landlords and rich peasants together with their running dogs who carry out such disruptive activities in the factories as wilfully damaging machines and tools, wasting large quantities of material, producing many shoddy goods and instigating strikes and slowdowns.

"This greatest change in human history from working under compulsion to working for oneself cannot take place without friction, difficulties, conflicts."<sup>17</sup> Old habits which have been followed for thousands of years will have to be eliminated through a long period of education and hard struggle. So the most important task for the trade unions and the advanced, politically conscious workers in the Soviet and co-operative enterprises is to educate the workers about the need to adopt a new attitude towards a new form of labour, to raise the workers' labour enthusiasm, to give play to their creativity and to fight old habits.

The trade unions and the advanced, politically conscious workers should conduct this education and engage in struggles on each and every specific problem, however minor it may be, and should organize the workers into competing teams in the production drive on a voluntary basis. Such undesirable practices as arriving ten minutes late for work, using the factory's fuel to cook one's own food, slacking off on the job, and failing to fulfil quotas should be publicized at workers' meetings and written about openly on wall newspapers or in the bulletins. Those involved in such practices should be criticized in order to educate the masses.

In the Soviet enterprises we should carry on a resolute and uncompromising struggle against violations of labour discipline, breaking of factory rules, stealing of public property, waste of materials, slowdowns and unauthorized breaks. We should have the names of the worst offenders written on a blackboard, or even have them dismissed or imprisoned, because they purposely destroy public property which should be sacred. These acts make them the enemies of the people.

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We should have the names of the authentic members of shock teams, the heroes of labour, written in places of honour. They should be highly praised among the masses because they are our vanguard and models on the production front of the revolutionary war.

We attack the worst elements and praise model workers with a view to teaching the masses to adopt a new attitude suitable to the new form of labour. We do it so that they will understand that the factories and property belonging to the masses are sacred and must not be defiled and so that they will understand both where the overall, long-term and highest interest of the working class lies and what is the true meaning of communism. It is only when we conduct education among the masses that we can successfully mobilize and heighten their labour enthusiasm so that they will work hard for themselves, for the Soviet and for the revolutionary war.



## ELIMINATE CLOSED-DOORISM AND ADVENTURISM

*April 10, 1936*

The Li Lisan line<sup>18</sup> has basically been set right on major issues. However, some components of the line, namely, closed-doorism and adventurism in practical work, have not yet been completely overcome and are to be found in the Party to this day. These errors have caused enormous damage to the Party and the revolution because they have persisted for so long, because the struggle within the Party to expose and combat them has been very inadequate and particularly because they have been repeated thousands of times in practical work and struggles. Viewed in the light of today's political situation and the Party's tasks, the errors of closed-doorism and adventurism constitute the main danger to the Party.

As things now stand, the Japanese imperialists want to reduce China from a semi-colony to a full-fledged one. Except for a handful of persons who are willing to be colonial slaves and traitors, the various classes and strata of Chinese society, including those who were formerly vacillating and opposed to the revolution, are beginning, or have already begun to sympathize with, support and take part in the national revolutionary struggle against the Japanese aggressors and

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In the spring of 1936, Liu Shaoqi went to Tianjin to take charge of the Northern Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. He wrote many articles with a view to publicizing the essential points of the Wayaobu Meeting held in December 1935 by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and to eliminating the influence of "Left" closed-doorism and adventurism as manifested over a long period of time in the work in the White areas. The present article was printed in *The Battle Front*, No. 55, a restricted publication of the Hebei Provincial Party Committee, and was originally entitled "Eliminate the Remnants of the Li Lisan Line — Closed-Doorism and Adventurism". The remnants mentioned here refer mainly to the "Left" errors committed by those represented by Wang Ming.

their collaborators. The tactical task of the Party is to unite the various classes, strata and groups as well as all individuals and forces that are opposed to Japan and the traitors in an extremely broad national united front in order to wage a sacred national revolutionary war to defeat Japanese imperialism and its running dogs in China. The establishment of a broad national revolutionary united front has become the central problem and the pivotal point for our Party in leading the Chinese revolution to victory. This being the case, if our Party fails to eliminate closed-doorism and adventurism completely, such a united front will be out of the question, a mass movement against Japan and the traitors cannot possibly be developed under our Party's leadership and the advance of our Party and of the revolution will be hindered.

Practically all comrades of comparatively long standing in the Party, and especially those who have led or taken part in mass struggles, can give many concrete instances of the damage done to the Party by closed-doorism and adventurism over the years. In brief, when we had succeeded in setting up our organizations and building up some strength in certain factories or schools during the brutal White terror, the closed-doorists and adventurists never failed to bring about their collapse. When we had set up open organizations with a comparatively broad mass following under anti-Japanese or some other slogans or programmes, they would not rest until they had driven out of these organizations all the masses and the allies from other political groups so that the organizations could not operate in the open at all and had only a handful of "Bolsheviks"<sup>16</sup> left. Moreover, there were also closed-doorists who could never bring themselves to go among the masses but stayed indoors indulging in idle talk. What then was the attitude taken towards these facts in inner-Party struggles? Those who had wrecked our work and the foundation of the organizations and had driven away the masses and our allies, were rewarded, promoted and assigned to posts of greater responsibility. On the other hand, those who had been careful and conscientious and had built up our organizations and fostered our work through prolonged and painstaking effort were very often labelled "exponents of peaceful development and Right opportunists", attacked and removed from their posts. Consequently, many comrades in the Party, afraid of committing Right errors, deliberately leant a bit more to the "Left". As a result, closed-doorism and adventurism gained strength and developed in the Party.

Closed-doorism and adventurism manifest themselves in a com-

plete ignorance of the tactics and strategy for directing mass struggles. The resolution of the Sixth Congress<sup>19</sup> called for “preparation for armed insurrection”. More recently, the resolution of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee<sup>20</sup> called for “building up a reservoir of strength among the working class to prepare for a decisive battle”. But the closed-doorists and adventurists did just the opposite in the big cities. When we had achieved success in only one or perhaps a few factories or schools, they would direct these factories or schools to engage the enemy in a decisive battle by staging political strikes and holding demonstrations on their own, thus assigning fighting tasks which, at the time, were beyond their strength. Many Party comrades would go and visit these factories and schools and then proclaim in the press that these units were under the Party’s leadership and so on. The result was that our forces were invariably crushed piecemeal by the enemy. Whatever foundation and strength we had just begun to build was thus squandered and dissipated. Obviously, this is not the way to build up a reservoir of strength among the working class. That is why whenever a major event occurred (such as the September 18th Incident of 1931<sup>21</sup> and the January 28th Incident of 1932<sup>22</sup>) and the masses rose to fight, our Party acutely felt its inability to carry out its own tasks: we lacked foundation and strength among the masses. We did not understand that when the situation and conditions were unfavourable to us, we should avoid decisive engagements with the enemy at that time. Only when our achievements, organizations and strength were preserved and consolidated would it be possible, with this good foundation, to expand and strengthen our forces for a victorious, decisive engagement with the enemy. Our comrades were often impetuous and reckless and acted without considering the impact or the consequences, thus causing, inevitably, the deterioration of the environment and conditions in which we were working.

If in the Red Army our strategic and tactical principles are to conserve and cherish our forces, to avoid being crushed piecemeal by the enemy, to avoid engagement with him under unfavourable conditions and to concentrate an overwhelming force to attack him in a relatively weak spot in order to win victory, then our actions in directing the mass struggles in the cities under White rule have been diametrically opposed to these principles. No attempt was made to conserve and cherish the strength which had been accumulated, and certainly no attempt was made to preserve and cherish the leaders and cadres of the masses. We engaged the enemy on any occasion

commemorating any anniversary, regardless of the conditions, and we waged struggles blindly, without a view towards victory. The result was that while the Red Army gained many great victories in its struggles, just the opposite was true of our struggles in the key cities under White rule.

Anniversaries were, to the devotees of adventurism in our Party, almost the equivalent of "Sabbath days". On such occasions they would, as a rule, make declarations, distribute leaflets, bring out special issues of the newspapers or periodicals, down tools and proclaim strikes, stage demonstrations, shout slogans, call meetings and so on. All this was done as a matter of course under the ruthless White terror, regardless of the conditions and situation prevailing at the time, regardless of our own strength and the morale of the masses and regardless of the fact that the enemy was on its guard and plotting against us. Even when there was no mass following at all, our cadres were marched onto the streets just the same to shout slogans, distribute leaflets and throw stones by way of demonstration. Why didn't we put a stop to these activities when we knew the situation and conditions were unfavourable and when it was obvious that we would be hard hit by the enemy? The closed-doorists and adventurists refused to admit that there could be such times when the situation and conditions were unfavourable to our demonstrations. They held that the Sabbath day was the Sabbath day and it was necessary to keep it, rain or shine. Consequently, our losses on such occasions were countless.

Closed-doorism and adventurism manifest themselves in a complete ignorance of the art of leading the masses, of the difference between leading Party organizations and leading the masses and of the relation between the Party's basic slogans and programme and its slogans for immediate action. Our comrades often failed to understand that they should, in the light of the specific circumstances and conditions at a given time and place and the degree of political consciousness of the masses, propose limited slogans, demands and forms of struggle acceptable to the masses in order to set the mass struggle in motion. Then, in the light of changing conditions in the course of the struggle, they should either gradually raise the struggle to a higher stage or, "knowing how far to go", temporarily conclude it so as to prepare for the next battle at a higher stage and on a larger scale. They often wanted the masses to learn by rote our basic programme and slogans, and so imposed on the masses slogans, demands and forms



of struggle which the masses did not understand and could not accept, but were forced to fight for. In addition, without first obtaining the approval of the masses, these comrades even went so far as to issue declarations, leaflets and documents in the name of mass organizations, which were the same as those issued by the Party and were quite inappropriate given the circumstances. In each mass struggle, they would, regardless of how things stood, mechanically “hold out to the end”, that is, hold out till every bit of our strength was dissipated. Even when circumstances were extremely unfavourable to prolonging the fight, they would regard as opportunistic any proposal to “conclude the struggle under suitable conditions, resume work, temporarily retreat and conserve our strength”. Thus, it became difficult to launch any mass struggle, or when one was launched, the masses would leave us and refuse to accept our leadership. Often certain favourable conditions and chances for victory were given up, so that the struggle suffered blow after blow until it ended in failure. These comrades led the masses in the same way as they led Party organizations, using the same methods of operation, and consequently under the close surveillance of enemy spies, they had no way of preventing the mass organizations from shrinking to the size of Party organizations.

It often happened that, just because the slogans and programmes of the masses or of certain political groups who rose in struggle against Japan and the existing government were not completely identical with those of our Party, our comrades would refuse to take an active part in and support their struggle. They would not help them achieve their aim nor would they strive to broaden the struggle so as to realize bigger demands. They would watch from the sidelines, busying themselves with denunciations of the struggle, the slogans and programmes and saying these lacked in thoroughness and were something which the counter-revolutionaries could use to deceive the masses. They would curse the leaders of the struggle and even call on the masses to oppose their leaders by quitting the struggle. Thus, they slammed the door on the masses and on allies. When the masses or some public figures called for boycotting Japanese goods, our comrades hastily denounced the boycott as a bourgeois slogan, instead of joining in and supporting them and turning it into a mass movement. They advanced the slogan “Shoot Wang Zhengting”,<sup>23</sup> and our comrades hastily denounced it as a counter-revolutionary slogan aimed at deceiving the masses. Some people offered money to help the

workers striking against Japan, but our comrades obstinately declared that they were attempting to buy over the workers. Certain other groups advocated a great anti-Japanese alliance of workers, peasants, businessmen, intellectuals and soldiers, but our comrades insisted that the word “businessmen” be deleted. When Japanese armed forces occupied Manchuria after September 18, 1931, our comrades stressed the slogan “Support the Soviet Union”, relegating the slogan to save China from national subjugation to a lower position. How, then, was it possible to help our Party and our comrades go among the masses?

When on the basis of certain limited programmes and slogans we had rallied round us comparatively large numbers of people and members of various political groups and had built genuine mass organizations, our comrades would put forth one programme after another and launch one adventurist struggle after another, until the masses and allies all withdrew leaving only a few of our comrades to continue the struggle. The Shanghai Federation of Labour Unions,<sup>24</sup> the Anti-Imperialist League,<sup>25</sup> the People’s Federation for Resisting Japan,<sup>26</sup> the League of Chinese Left-Wing Writers,<sup>27</sup> the League of Chinese Social Scientists<sup>28</sup> and many trade unions all had a broad mass following at the beginning. Our comrades, however, did not try to broaden this following, but caused it to shrink until there were very few people left. In the leading bodies of these organizations, they would not tolerate a single person from another political group working with them, insisting that these leading bodies should be “absolutely homogeneous”. After winning over the masses of a yellow trade union<sup>7</sup> and taking over its leadership, they always immediately rushed to turn it into a Red trade union<sup>9</sup> and would not stop until they had brought about its collapse. Closed-doorists and adventurists seemed to tolerate no mass organizations outside the Party.

The closed-doorists and adventurists have no idea at all of how to exploit the contradictions within the ranks of the enemy and push these contradictions to the breaking point, nor do they have any idea of how to form, against the chief enemy, temporary alliances with those persons in the enemy camp who may co-operate with us or who are not yet our chief enemy, so as to weaken the enemy as a whole and destroy his alliance against us. Our comrades often considered themselves “the most revolutionary and the most zealous”, because they were bent on overthrowing all enemies, all imperialists and warlords, all local bullies and bad gentry, landlords, capitalists and



rich peasants, all counter-revolutionary groups in or out of office and all yellow trade unions. They stood for “no compromise or concessions” and wanted to overthrow everything, but in reality they could overthrow nothing. As a result, they rejected allies who could have temporarily co-operated with us and, in doing so, pushed them over to the side of the reactionary camp. This helped the enemy to consolidate its alliance against us and increase its strength as a whole.

The closed-doorists and adventurists are completely ignorant of the connection between overt and covert work. Under the ruthless White terror, the scope of overt work should be broadened as much as possible, and all that can be done openly should be done so. On the other hand, the scope of covert work should be reduced as much as possible, and only such work as cannot be done openly should be done covertly. Yet, our comrades did just the opposite. They had our underground organizations do much that could have been done in the open. They had many statements and articles that could have been published openly carried in our underground papers or published in the form of underground leaflets, proclamations and so on. They ignored or gave up chances to work in the open, while expanding without limit the underground organizations. Underground publications and documents were unusually long and numerous, and generally written in a rigid and stereotyped style. Thus, the scope of mass work became extremely narrow while everywhere underground organizations grew bloated, much to the convenience of enemy agents. Both in form and method, overt and covert work should be kept strictly separate, while in content and in political objectives they should be closely connected. But what we did was to mix up and confuse the two in form and method, so that both kinds of work were undermined. Our comrades even named, in underground publications, mass actions and mass organizations, factories or schools which were led by the Party, and they also published when and where secret meetings had been held as well as what decisions had been made at the meetings. This helped the enemy to keep a watch on us. In some places or factories where the enemy had not discovered our organizations, our activities could have escaped his notice, but our comrades distributed secret Party leaflets and put up Party slogans there. These completely unwarranted actions made it easy for the enemy to spot us. Instead of trying to get a mass organization to operate more openly and broaden its functions, our comrades gradually narrowed them until it could not operate openly at all. They even tried to turn every open

and apparently neutral organization among the workers,<sup>29</sup> into a Red trade union, and they described this practice as “the central role of a Red trade union”. The result was that all open work was done away with and all the organizations that were affiliated with the Party had to go underground.

The closed-doorists and adventurers are ignorant of the connection between the economic and political struggles of the masses. They belittled economic struggles by underestimating their importance and, failing to understand that every economic struggle of the masses is also a political struggle, they mechanically attached political slogans and political demands to the masses’ economic demands.

The closed-doorists and adventurers fail to see the need to make concessions to those allies willing to co-operate with us so we can draw them into common action, influence them and win over their mass following. These comrades invariably put forward multitudes of programmes and slogans and, not backing down on a single phrase, they finally drove away these allies.

Closed-doorism and adventurism are also manifested to a serious degree in organizational matters within the Party. Their exponents opposed the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals, and were afraid to admit them — especially certain army officers and social celebrities — into the Party. Many inner-Party struggles were mechanical and excessive. As for comrades who made occasional mistakes because of ideological and theoretical immaturity, the closed-doorists followed the theory of “straight-line inference” and obstinately branded them “systematic opportunists”, thus creating a system for their mistakes. Initiative, creativity and self-criticism among the Party’s rank and file were stifled, and prevailing in the Party were such phenomena as the fear of making mistakes, of deviating to the Right, of speaking one’s mind, of working boldly, and also the practice of deliberately making a show of being a bit “Leftist”. What was the cause of these phenomena? Who should be held responsible? Naturally, the blame does not lie with the rank and file but with the leading bodies who erred in inner-Party struggles and often attacked our comrades and cadres to excess, instead of cherishing and educating them in a sincere, comradely way. And rather than helping the cadres and organizations at lower levels through education and persuasion, they held the only way to “push forward the work” was to wage a struggle against them, which was erroneous. We failed to foster among our comrades in the Party the spirit of not fearing to make mistakes, not fearing but welcoming

criticism, and the spirit of working boldly. This spirit is a prerequisite to developing initiative and creativity among the Party's rank and file.

The prolonged existence and recurrence of the above-mentioned closed-doorist and adventurist errors in the Party alienated the masses from the Party. The Party became isolated as our allies turned away from us, and doubts and fears about the Party were aroused among certain sections of the masses and sympathizers. Good comrades and the masses in many enterprises stayed away, unwilling to meet us. Much of our work was wrecked, many of our organizations collapsed, and many comrades and cadres were arrested and killed, which could have been avoided. On the other hand, the closed-doorists and adventurists furnished the liquidationists and Rightists with a pretext for attacking the Party, helped Right opportunism to spread and facilitated the disruptive activities of enemy agents and spies against the Party. The worst damage was done in places where we had expended the most effort and done the most work, such as the big key cities of Shanghai, Hankou, Guangzhou, Hongkong, Tianjin and Beiping. Our foundation is now weakest in these cities. Why? Of course, the White terror and sabotage by renegades are important causes, but the chief one is our subjective errors of closed-doorism and adventurism.

Closed-doorism stems from a fear of counter-revolutionary groups. Therefore the closed-doorists are afraid to form with these groups a temporary united front for struggle or to have any dealings with them or even to talk with them. The closed-doorists, having no confidence in themselves and fearing lest they should be swayed and influenced by these reactionary groups, shut themselves in. They underestimate the new situation and do not believe in the possibility of being joined in the revolution by the intermediate strata and many members of the upper strata of society. So they do not want a united front. In essence, this closed-doorism, though "Left" in form, originates from the same source as Right opportunism.

"Left" closed-doorists and adventurists are liable to make meaningless and exaggerated appraisals of situations. With regard to key cities like Shanghai and Tianjin where the forces of imperialism and Chinese counter-revolution were most concentrated, they were somehow able to arrive at the conclusion that these cities would turn into Soviet areas<sup>6</sup> overnight. Hence they dared to act rashly, believing it possible to engage the enemy in a decisive battle without doing long-term, arduous work or building revolutionary strength to the maximum. In the case of a strike in a factory, they would start with

an analysis of how the world revolutionary situation was favourable to us and demand that the factory immediately engage the enemy in a decisive battle. This was as if to say that the world revolution could, on that very day, co-ordinate directly with the strike for the overthrow of all enemies and that there would be no need to work out tactics for struggle on the basis of the actual relative strengths of revolution and counter-revolution in the factory. When a demonstration in Shanghai failed and even resulted in great losses, they still declared, by way of an appraisal, that it had been successful, had profound significance, had influenced many people, had pushed forward the revolution and had hastened the end of reactionary rule and that it was a harbinger of this or that event. They also said that it was necessary to combat opportunism characterized by underestimating its significance and so on. But they did not or would not see the fact that large numbers of cadres had been arrested and great losses incurred organizationally. To them, the losses meant very little or did not matter and would be made up as soon as the revolution succeeded on the next day. This kind of meaningless, exaggerated appraisal of situations often serves as the basis for adventurism.

The closed-doorists and adventurists do not try to figure out why places like Shanghai, Hankou and Tianjin have not yet been Sovietized although nine years have elapsed since the defeat of the Great Revolution in 1927.<sup>30</sup> If they had given this question some thought and had striven over these nine years to accumulate the strength needed in the revolution, they would probably have not squandered our strength as they have done, but would have recognized the need for it and the need to conserve cadres.

Closed-doorism and adventurism began to grow within the Party after the defeat of the Great Revolution in 1927 and developed to a considerable extent in the period of the Li Lisan line. Although some corrections were made after the Fourth Plenary Session,<sup>31</sup> there was no basic change; what is more, the bad influence of these errors has remained in the Party to this day. Our struggle to expose and combat such closed-doorism and adventurism was inadequate and so some comrades have failed to realize the serious damage these errors have inflicted on the Party. In the past we did not deal any blows — let alone fatal ones — at closed-doorism and adventurism, as we should have done. Some comrades brought about the collapse of our work and our organizations, yet we did not study these facts, wage struggles or take the necessary disciplinary measures in order to educate our



comrades. That is why closed-doorism and adventurism have continued to exist in the Party for so long and with such serious consequences.

At present, closed-doorism and adventurism are the main dangers to the Party. It is imperative to expose these errors, deal them fatal blows and erase them completely from our Party. We must teach our comrades the art of leading the masses and applying tactics, and give them and our cadres a free hand in going among the masses. This will enable us to build a nationwide united front against Japan and the traitors and form a government of national defence and an anti-Japanese united army.<sup>32</sup> In doing this, some of our comrades and cadres may commit various Right opportunist errors, but since our Party has been tempered over long years and is rich in experience and since our numerous cadres and comrades are devoted to the revolution and the Party, we are fully capable of overcoming such errors, provided that we keep sharp revolutionary vigilance. We cannot hesitate for fear of committing such errors, because we must move forward to lead millions upon millions of the revolutionary masses onto the battlefield of national revolution for the utter defeat of Japanese imperialism and its lackeys in China.

# GUIDELINES FOR THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN THE WHITE AREAS

*April 1936*

1. The key cities and the big industrial centres are the buttresses of reaction, where counter-revolution is most powerful. In these places counter-revolution operates the tightest defence against the revolution, while the foundation of our Party's work and organization is extremely weak. Therefore, the task of our Party in the key cities and industrial centres continues to be to win over the masses including the vast majority of the workers and to build up the enormous strength of the working class in preparation for the decisive struggle in the future. But now is not the hour for such a struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, and we should avoid engaging the enemy in such a fight while conditions are not in our favour.

2. In order to build up massive strength among the working class we must first try to preserve and consolidate the present achievements and organization of our Party and the trade unions in the factories and enterprises. Only when this has been accomplished in the main can we proceed to expand the organization and carry forward our achievements. To this end we must rid ourselves of both the closed-doorism and adventurism manifested in our work, and we must improve our Party's underground work. We must ensure that the achievements we have scored and the organization we have gradually built will not suffer futile losses and will prove adequate to meet sudden enemy attacks. This is a precondition for marshalling the enormous strength of the working class.

3. When we have established a strong organization in certain

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These guidelines, which set forth the correct policies to be adopted in the labour movement in the White areas, were based on a summation of the experience gained there since 1927.



factories or enterprises and are in a position to lead the great majority of workers there, our tasks will be:

- (1) further to consolidate our organization and to train and bring up large numbers of worker cadres and leaders;
- (2) to send cadres to other factories to start work there and establish organizations;
- (3) to send active workers to the countryside to join the guerrillas, volunteers, etc.; and
- (4) in general to participate in public and political activities.

Our chief aim is to maintain and consolidate our bases in these factories as foundations for developing our work and to avoid engaging the enemy single-handed and being destroyed one by one.

4. In order to win over the masses and to cultivate and build up the strength of the working class, we must pay special attention to leading the workers' day-to-day economic and political struggles. In doing so we must start with the intention of winning victories (even if they are only very small victories). Every means must be adopted to ensure the fulfilment of our specific demands in these struggles. Any struggle for which there is no prospect of success should be dropped. When it is not beneficial to the workers to prolong a struggle, we should know at what point to bring it to a temporary halt under appropriate conditions. Although in principle we are opposed to compulsory arbitration by the Kuomintang, yet to win victories in mass struggles we should not, in actual practice, completely reject its "mediation" or "arbitration". In certain circumstances, we should make use of this "mediation" and "arbitration" in order to meet certain specific demands of the masses and to make it easier for us to come out in the open to guide their struggles.

5. The Kuomintang uses every possible clause in its Factory Law and Trade Union Law<sup>33</sup> to oppose the workers and to curb their struggle. But because the principal aim of these laws is to deceive the working class, they have to include some provisions which are favourable to the improvement of the workers' conditions (such as permitting the workers under certain circumstances to organize trade unions and strikes; laying down a ten-hour working day, which is somewhat shorter than at present; granting holidays on Sundays and festivals; and ensuring benefits and relief in cases of sickness, old age and death). Our main task is to utilize the clauses in the Factory and Trade Union Laws which are favourable to the betterment of the

workers' conditions and to launch workers' struggles to demand the improvements which are included in these clauses, thus helping to expose the duplicity of the Kuomintang. This will be of real benefit to our efforts to expand the workers' movement. If we take an attitude of categorical opposition to the Factory and Trade Union Laws and simply go around and shout such absolutist slogans as "Down with the Factory Law, we want the Soviet Labour Law",<sup>34</sup> we would be doing nothing. (Such slogans can only be realized after victory in the revolution.) It would be a case of anti-Leninist closed-doorism, devoid of any substance. (This has been confirmed by the experience of several years of opposition to the Factory and Trade Union Laws.)

Certain clauses of the Kuomintang government's Factory and Trade Union Laws are beneficial to the amelioration of the present conditions of the workers, and we should demand that they be implemented at once. But such provisions are too few; we must demand that there be more. We must oppose the clauses which are designed to oppress and fetter the working class. This is the attitude we should adopt towards the Kuomintang's Factory and Trade Union Laws. The Soviet Labour Law cannot at present be implemented in the cities in the White areas and so is only a propaganda document at this time.

6. We must not only make use of the Factory and Trade Union Laws, but also of the campaigns which the Kuomintang carries on among the workers, such as the hygiene campaign, the culture and recreation campaign and the national grave-sweeping campaign,<sup>35</sup> the national holidays, Children's Day, the afforestation campaign and the fascist New Life Movement.<sup>36</sup> We must avail ourselves of all these opportunities to put forward the workers' demands and develop our work and struggle among the workers. In this way it will be more difficult for the Kuomintang and the capitalists to oppose the demands put forward by the workers, while on our part we shall better be able to win a legal status in leading the workers' struggles so that their demands will be met and their struggles brought to success. The victory won by the Tangshan workers who made use of the New Life Movement to put forward demands for windows, bathrooms and new work clothes is a good case in point. They did not adopt a closed-door policy of "categorical opposition" to the New Life Movement.

7. We must use all the means at our disposal and all the possibilities of open activity to make broad contact with the workers and organize them. In the factories and enterprises where the Kuomin-

tang yellow unions<sup>7</sup> hold sway, our comrades and revolutionary workers should all join the unions, participate in their work and activities and make use of these unions to organize the workers and carry on struggles. We should even join those yellow unions which do not yet have a mass membership. This is necessary if only to make use of the name and status of the union so that we can openly unite with and organize the workers. In factories and enterprises where there are no yellow unions, we must use every kind of legal and semi-legal means to organize the workers openly and on a wide scale. We should make use of all organizations, both old and new, such as fellow-townsmen's associations, mutual-aid societies and anti-opium and anti-drinking societies (the Rational Life Society). While employing these various methods of organizing the workers, we should for the time being abandon the task of organizing independent Red unions,<sup>9</sup> and the secret Red unions set up previously should be abolished. A labour department should be established within Party organizations at all levels so as to give leadership to the work of the labour movement.

Among the unorganized workers, if we can openly establish new trade unions according to the procedures (such as registration) laid down by the Kuomintang's Trade Union Law, we must on no account forgo such opportunities. This work may be quite unpleasant and will be subject to various severe restrictions imposed by the Kuomintang (such as having to apply for registration, after which the Kuomintang will send political overseers and interfere in trade union elections by rigging the lists of candidates), but we must make use of the opportunity it presents, provided we can, despite the restrictions, utilize the trade union openly to organize the workers. We should not be afraid of this unpleasant work or refuse to do it. Wherever possible, we should openly form trade unions among the unorganized workers in every factory and every enterprise in accordance with the procedures of the Kuomintang's Trade Union Law. If after all this, the Kuomintang still does not permit us to set up trade unions, then we have the facts to prove that its Trade Union Law is a fraud. We are opposed to legalism, but we must make use of all legal opportunities to organize the workers. If some work can be carried out within the scope of legality, why shouldn't we do so?

In the past some used to criticize this tactic of organizing the workers and the trade unions openly as a "third kind of trade union", or an opportunist line. This criticism is incorrect. We even strive to win the leading positions in the yellow unions and control of its leading

organs, so if under certain conditions we can go ahead and organize a trade union which we ourselves lead, why shouldn't we do it? Only those who are guilty of the most crass closed-doorism would forgo such an opportunity. If we were to organize trade unions only when the whole programme of Red trade unions has been accepted, we would have to wait till victory is won in the revolution. Before that victory, we would have to be content with narrow secret unions.

8. Within the yellow unions we must pay particular attention to building and consolidating the position of the revolutionaries. We should strive to win every elected position in the yellow unions and capture the whole leadership apparatus (from top to bottom). Even when our work in a yellow union is completely successful and the masses and the leadership apparatus both come under our leadership, we should not immediately transform this yellow union into a Red union (because Red unions cannot exist under Kuomintang rule); it should remain a yellow union in appearance and should, as usual, inform the Kuomintang of the time it is going to meet, allow the Kuomintang to send delegates to the meeting, inform it of the workers' demands and ask it to meet these demands. We should do all in our power to consolidate our own positions, bring the workers more material benefits and train a large body of cadres. Only when the revolution actually begins can the yellow unions be transformed into Red unions because then we shall no longer have need of any protective outer shell.

9. Under the slogan of opposing the capitalists, the Japanese imperialists and Chinese traitors, we must form a united front with workers of all political groups and their leaders, especially when joint action should be taken (such as strikes, demonstrations, boycotts of Japanese goods and participation in the anti-Japanese movement). We must carry on our propaganda among the workers for ending the civil war and uniting to resist Japan, and we must encourage and impel the yellow unions to participate in anti-Japanese organizations and movements for national salvation. In addition, we must call on all parties and groups in the country to unite to resist Japan and save the nation. We must call on the officers and men of every army to immediately stop attacking the Red Army and the Soviet areas<sup>6</sup> and unite against Japan, and we must call for the establishment of a unified government of national defence against the Japanese aggressors and Chinese traitors and for the organization of an anti-Japanese united army.<sup>32</sup> In every city we must try to unite



with all workers' organizations and the workers of every factory to set up workers' associations for resisting Japan and saving the nation. We must mobilize the workers to go to the countryside to lead or organize peasants for anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare, to join the Red Army in carrying out the war against Japan and the traitors, and, especially through their friends and relatives, to work among the ranks of the Kuomintang army so that under such influence it will be eager to resist Japan and will refuse to obey the orders of Chiang Kai-shek and his like to attack the Red Army. We must also do our utmost to get workers to serve in the army and to propagandize there about resisting Japan and opposing the civil war.

In the past we muscled out of power or attacked workers' leaders of various political groups who served on strike committees or anti-Japanese associations and who might have co-operated with us. This was wrong. We should sincerely co-operate with them on specific programmes. We should unite with them, encourage them to stand resolutely with the workers and the national front against Japan and the traitors and help them to lead the masses into action. As for their mistakes, we should criticize them in a friendly manner. Only the traitors among the workers should be resolutely expelled.

10. We should pay particular attention to protecting the cadres and leaders among the masses and in the enterprises. Not all comrades in Party branches in factories should lead overt struggles and participate in overt activity. After a comrade or a sympathizer has led one or two struggles, he should not lead another and his place should be taken by another comrade. He may take part in the struggle only as an ordinary sympathizer, so that he can be shielded among the masses. In this way we can retain a large number of leaders and train many new ones.

11. Many of our comrades have become accustomed over the years to working underground in restricted conditions. Now that we ask them to go among the masses and publicly employ broad united front tactics, they have to deal with crafty Kuomintang people, yellow union leaders and members of various sections and groups in complicated situations. Naturally, they may make many mistakes and some of them may be influenced, duped, manipulated, intimidated or bought over. They may waver, capitulate or even defect. But on no account may we shut ourselves away once more in seclusion just because we are afraid that such things may happen. It is only when we allow our comrades to go among the masses and carry on struggles in a com-

plicated environment that we can train a really capable body of Bolshevik leaders of the people.

12. We must drum into our comrades that, however complicated and changeable the environment and however flexible our tactics for combating the reactionaries, we should never for one moment forget our basic programme for the labour movement. We must never at any time abandon the programme in our minds. Although we have no chance of fully implementing it under the White terror, we should not fail to implement it in part whenever an opportunity arises. We should also do everything we can to ensure that the workers' demands correspond to our basic programme. When we co-operate with workers belonging to different political groups, we do not abandon our own programme in order to accommodate other political parties and groups. On the contrary, we do so in order to propagate our own programme so as to influence our allies. We must preserve our freedom of action at all times. If our allies waver, or defect and capitulate, we must make use of the weapon of criticism. We must continually work among the people at the grass roots and strengthen our organization and influence among them. At the same time, we must heighten the political discipline and vigilance of the Party. In this way we can overcome all Rightist errors.



## ELIMINATE PHRASE-MONGERING LEADERSHIP

*July 15, 1936*

In the organizations of our Party in the North there is a serious trend towards empty phrase-mongering which, practically speaking, constitutes the major obstacle to our work there. Unless we can eliminate or rectify this style, the organization of our Party will not flourish, neither will our work develop.

I must stress, however, that phrase-mongering is not to be found in the Party branches, nor among those comrades who are openly leading the masses in the fight against the imperialists and traitors. It prevails within our high and middle-ranking organs and among the leading comrades. Specifically, I mean it is found in their style of work and of leadership. So I especially ask comrades in leading positions in every province, county and city to sharpen their vigilance and unsparingly examine their own method of work and style of leadership. We must not permit the use of “phrase-mongering” as a term of abuse to be directed against comrades at the branch level or against those who work among the masses.

I have read some directives in the forms of documents, letters, work reports and political reports which are extremely long-winded, repetitive, boring and, in content, empty and confused. Many comrades have still not altered the formalistic and stereotyped nature of their directives and documents. They either, for the sake of being “concrete”, pile up all kinds of trivial matters without any organization or central theme, or, for the sake of “keeping in touch with the overall situation”, discuss every aspect of the situation in China and the world in vague terms, parading much political terminology while arrogantly criticizing everything. It often happened that after I had read through an article with utmost patience, I was still at a loss as to

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what subject the article was discussing. If we use such articles to guide our work or to educate our comrades, the result can only be catastrophic.

Opinions differ among our cadres in the Eastern Hebei and the Baoding Special Party Committees. Some do not believe that they can get things done properly by working as they do now. But our leading comrades can say nothing convincing and instead just repeatedly abuse them as “opportunists”, after which the old problems remain unsolved and new problems crop up.

We say we must oppose closed-doorism and adventurism, but in many localities this has simply been repeated in much the same way a Buddhist chants “Amitabha”. After piously chanting the words “closed-doorism” and “adventurism” a thousand times, some cadres still do not know what the words mean, or whether such things exist in the places where they work.

Frequently a fresh, spontaneous thing or a lively issue becomes as dead as mutton once it gets into the hands or mouths of the phrase-mongers. Comrades who at one time were lively and vigorous have become spiritless and despondent after having been abused and manipulated by these phrase-mongers.

Comrades, empty phrases can do no good, only harm. We hope that comrades, especially leading comrades, will refrain from indulging in idle talk. You should be more objective, more thoughtful, more sincere. Say what you have to say. If you understand something, say so; if you don’t, don’t say you do. You must study with appropriate humility and try by every means to clarify issues which you have not grasped or understood clearly. Do not instruct or educate others on issues about which you yourselves are not clear. It is better to give the lower levels less guidance than to misguide them.

I recommend that, except when absolutely necessary, you make less use of directives and orders to the lower levels, and more use of suggestions, recommendations or discussions. There should be fewer categorical statements, and more room for modifications. Reprimand those at the lower levels less and help them more. It is absolutely impermissible to brand at will the lower levels or particular comrades as opportunist. If those lower down do not understand certain questions or have not understood them correctly, your task is to set things right and help them understand. If they have not paid any or enough attention to certain questions, your task is to

call their attention to these questions. There is no need to put on pedagogical airs and rebuke them. This will do no good at all.

At present our overall task is to prepare for a large-scale war of resistance against Japan and the traitors. The general strategy for carrying out this task is to build a broad national united front. This is the conclusion we have reached after detailed analysis of the present world situation and of the situation in China. All our comrades should make a careful study of this issue so that they are quite clear about it. But having become clear on this score, and provided there are no major developments, we have no need to analyse the international and China's situation over and over again in every document and speech. (There is a tendency to do so nowadays, whenever we discuss anything, but very few comrades ever make a serious effort to study any specific situation.) Instead of simply chanting "prepare for a war of resistance" or "form a united front" as though they were Holy Scripture, comrades everywhere should carry out actual preparatory work for the war of resistance and the united front in the light of the specific conditions in each locality, factory, school, village or military establishment. While there is only one overall task and general strategy, when it comes to actual work, all the localities or sectors differ from each other. Our comrades should become skilled at making careful analyses of the special conditions of each locality or sector in order to decide what action to take this very day in this factory or that village, what can be realistically accomplished and what means should be used, and what should be done tomorrow after this has been accomplished. If our comrades can work in this way, there will be no danger of departing from reality.

The peasants in some villages do not understand the seriousness of the national crisis. They are still preoccupied with their daily economic demands. If, ignoring these specific circumstances, our comrades go to such a village and call on the peasants to hold anti-Japanese demonstrations or to organize a national salvation association, it would be just so much idle talk. On the other hand, it is no longer empty talk among the students of Beiping or Tianjin. An actual task is always decided in the light of the circumstances in each locality. If we neglect or depart from specific circumstances, all our good resolutions will be empty talk. We are against the theory that the countryside is a special case because, as its exponents hold, no anti-Japanese movement can be organized there. If the peasants are interested in everyday economic demands, then we must lead their

economic struggle while at the same time explaining the current national crisis to them. It will be possible to lead them towards the national struggle through the economic struggle. There is no contradiction between the economic and the national struggles.

Our comrades must pay serious attention to the question of where to start our work. This must likewise be decided according to the specific circumstances of each factory, school or village and according to the capability of our comrades. One could begin by publishing a newspaper in one place and by organizing a study society in another. In this place one can launch an economic struggle; in that place all one can do is to find someone to chat to about books and newspapers. But if we take the first steady step, we can go on to the next. If we firmly grasp the first link, we can go on to take hold of another.

Leading comrades everywhere should pay special attention to crucial branches and mass organizations as well as to individual comrades who are able, dedicated and promising by giving them help and training, cherishing and promoting them. They can then rely on these branches, organizations and comrades to develop their work.

I would also like to ask our comrades to apply themselves to the study of the Party's resolutions and documents so as to gain a clear understanding of the present situation and of the Party's tactics and tasks. This is the first step towards making our work correspond to reality. We do not need blind belief and blind obedience; we need comrades who really understand the Party's tactics and tasks and who are able to apply them in many different kinds of circumstances. I often wonder why it is that when our new resolutions and tactics come to be known in the North, they never arouse debate or doubt among our comrades. This does not prove that our comrades have no questions. As a matter of fact, I have seen no sign of a true understanding of the new tactics, although many writers express full support for them and employ them in abusing others. Obviously, these comrades have taken a bureaucratic and phrase-mongering attitude towards the Party's resolutions. We do not oppose, rather we welcome, a certain amount of debate among the comrades about the Party's documents and resolutions so comrades can raise their doubts, demand explanations, and so on. Debates about practical work are all the more permissible. Provided such debates do not turn into phrase-mongering, they can benefit the Party's work.

It is quite necessary for us to oppose empty phrase-mongering if our work is to develop and advance. But we must not counter empty

talk with empty talk or with stereotyped writing. Rather we must change our phrase-mongering style of work and the hollow style of our leadership. We must understand issues and comprehend conditions and we must plan, assign and direct our work in a down-to-earth way.



# LEADERSHIP IS THE CRUCIAL ISSUE OF THE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT

*November 20, 1936*

It is good that the bourgeoisie is now participating in the national united front, but it also brings a danger. The danger is that the bourgeoisie may seize the leadership of the united front. In the worst case, the united front would break up, the revolution fail and the proletariat suffer heavy losses. There can be no doubt that every time the bourgeoisie vacillates or turns traitorous, there will be a crisis in the united front. The extent of the crisis depends on the strength of the bourgeoisie at the time, its influence over the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry and the army, and also on the strength and the tactics of the proletariat. In order to reduce this danger and to ensure that it does not jeopardize the revolution, the proletariat, from the day it starts co-operating with the bourgeoisie, must take care to eliminate the influence of the bourgeoisie on the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry and the army and, at the same time, must strengthen its own influence. The proletariat must not fear or flee from this danger, but must clearly recognize and overcome it. Thus, instead of rejecting the national united front because of this inherent danger, the proletariat must actively participate in the front and overcome and remove the danger in the course of prolonged work. The crucial issue here is that the proletariat must strive for leadership.

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From "Basic Principles Governing the National United Front", prepared for inner-Party education on the Party's policies with regard to the Anti-Japanese National United Front, this is the third of three essays. The other two deal mainly with such questions as the necessity and feasibility of forming an anti-Japanese national united front, the relationship between tactical changes and strategic tasks, and the relationship between national struggle and class struggle. The article was signed K. V. and was carried in *The Battle Front*, No. 67, a restricted publication of the Hebei Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.



At present, while the national united front has not yet been formally established, the main danger is the leftist ideology which rejects the concept of a united front altogether. But after the front has been established, Rightist ideology will gradually become the main danger.

In which area is Right opportunism most likely to appear in united front work? In the overriding question of leadership in the revolution, of course. Right opportunism usually arises in this area as a result of an incorrect appraisal of the bourgeoisie, an underestimation of the strength of the proletariat, and failure to understand the changes in the revolution and the relationship between the united front and class struggle. Therefore, the proletariat neglects or abandons the struggle for leadership in the united front movement, forfeits its own independence, relinquishes or terminates its leadership in the class struggle, gives up criticizing its allies, abandons its task of independently organizing and educating the workers and peasants, abandons the struggle to win over and lead the army and so on. Clearly, such Right opportunism could only spell the end of the national united front and the national revolution. So when we raise the question of the national united front, we should pay special attention to these issues and guard against Right opportunism.

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The question of leadership in the revolution is a question of who will exercise leadership over the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie: the bourgeoisie or the proletariat? Concerning this question some people, making an incorrect estimate of the strength and revolutionary character of the bourgeoisie and underestimating the strength of the proletariat, say that the bourgeoisie is the leader of the Chinese revolution. They hold that since the Chinese revolution is still a bourgeois-democratic revolution, its leader must “as a matter of course” be the Chinese bourgeoisie. These people claim that at the present stage the proletariat can only assist the bourgeoisie in the revolution, and it is only after the bourgeois-democratic revolution has been completed that the proletariat will carry out its own socialist revolution and overthrow the bourgeoisie. Therefore, they conclude, the proletariat should not participate in the united front revolutionary government because it is a bourgeois government and the proletariat, although assisting the bourgeoisie at present, will have to overthrow it in future. This is a Right opportunist line of thought, and it is the sort of think-

ing which led to defeat in the Great Revolution of 1927<sup>30</sup> and which will continue to harm the revolution.

At the present high tide of the national revolution, certain strata of the Chinese bourgeoisie temporarily play a revolutionary role. But their role is very limited because they are extremely weak, because they have close connections with the imperialists and feudal forces economically, politically and in their habitual way of thinking and, moreover, because the proletariat poses a threat to them. Far from demanding a thoroughgoing democratic revolution, the Chinese bourgeoisie opposes it. The democratic revolution cannot be carried out under the leadership of the bourgeoisie; it has to be carried out by the proletariat in its struggle for leadership with the bourgeoisie. Thus, to regard the bourgeoisie as the natural leader of the revolution is tantamount to putting an end to the revolution.

Underestimating the strength of the Chinese proletariat, some people doubt or disbelieve that the proletariat can become the revolutionary leader of the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals. These people understand neither the flabbiness of the Chinese bourgeoisie nor the strength of the Chinese proletariat. The imperialist investments in China, the important role of the Chinese national enterprises and the organization and leadership of the Communist Party have all gone to make the proletariat much stronger than the bourgeoisie politically and numerically. What is more, in order to win its own emancipation, the proletariat must first eliminate the feudal forces and drive out the imperialists. Therefore, it is only the proletariat that can lead the way for the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie, represent their interests and fight for their complete emancipation. The Chinese bourgeoisie is incapable of finding the way for them and so the proletariat can and should become the leader of these groups in the revolution. At the present stage, the proletariat should assume the position of the sole leader of the revolution. It should lead the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie in overcoming the vacillation and betrayal of the bourgeoisie and in carrying through the democratic revolution to the end and ensuring its transition to the socialist revolution. This is why the proletariat should not merely be an aide to the bourgeoisie, but should build up its own independent leadership.

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In order to establish and strengthen its leadership in the revolution, the proletariat must organize itself into a powerful independent force.

Only with continually growing strength will it be able to unite the petty bourgeoisie and the peasants more closely around itself, win respect from all quarters and become the backbone of the united front. To organize and enhance its power it is most necessary for the Party to consolidate and expand its organization, strengthen and enlarge the Red Army, consolidate the Soviets,<sup>6</sup> build powerful trade unions and strengthen and expand its political influence and organizational work with the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. Neglect of this aspect of our united front work would give rise to a serious danger: the danger of making Rightist mistakes. Therefore, in the national united front movement it is wrong to think that we can lower the standards for the recruitment of Party members, relax Party discipline, or allow liberalism, careerism and other kinds of mistaken tendencies to exist in the Party. Such thinking would endanger the independence and unity of the Party and subject it to infiltration and disruption by the bourgeoisie. It is also wrong to think that, in the united front movement, we can relax our organizational efforts in the workers' movement or among the toiling masses, or that we can cloud or disguise the Party's political programme or image. This would be harmful to the independence of the Party.

The proletariat must make an earnest and unwavering effort to stand on its own feet before it can unite with others on an equal basis. If it cannot be independent or if it gives up its own independence, then it will not unite with others, but will only be used by them. How can the proletariat maintain and strengthen its independence in the united front? (1) At no time nor on any issue may it abandon its independent position or forget its ultimate aim. (2) It must analyse every major event or important issue from its own point of view, put forward its own independent policies and measures and act accordingly. (3) It must propagate its own viewpoint and policies among the masses and criticize those of other parties and groups, so as to clearly demonstrate to the masses the differences between its own viewpoint and policies and those of other parties and groups. The masses will then be in a position to choose. (4) It must build the independent organization and power of the proletarian masses and strengthen our Party's organization and unity of purpose. The proletariat must resolutely stand on its own feet before it can use correct revolutionary policies to influence others and urge them to act on these policies; otherwise it will be influenced and swayed by others' policies or even become their appendage.

It is necessary for the proletariat to render assistance to its allies when they rise to fight the enemy. But it should not merely assist its allies. It must itself rise and struggle against the enemy, stand in the forefront of the struggle, criticize its allies' defects and mistakes and make its own independent policies known to its allies and the masses during the struggle. Recently, while rendering assistance during the Eastern Suiyuan Incident,<sup>37</sup> some national salvation bodies failed to issue a complete statement of their own policies regarding the incident. Nor did they criticize the Shanxi and Suiyuan authorities<sup>38</sup> for the mistake of adopting a purely defensive strategy. Nor did they criticize the Hebei-Qahar and Nanjing authorities for their mistakes.<sup>39</sup> In addition, they did not organize a volunteer army to join the battle, but merely helped by collecting subscriptions. These should be recognized as a very serious shortcoming.

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In the united front, the dangers arising from the mistakes, vacillation and betrayal on the part of the allies are often difficult to detect in advance. So the proletariat must sharpen its vigilance and pay the greatest attention to every vacillation, however feeble, on the part of its allies. The right to criticize allies must never be abandoned. Any vacillation or mistake on the part of an ally can bring about a crisis in the united front and may be the beginning of his alienation from the proletariat. If the proletariat does not expose, criticize and overcome the vacillation or mistake, it cannot help the masses to heighten their vigilance, stop its allies from vacillating, consolidate the united front, explain its viewpoint to the masses, strengthen its influence among them or eliminate bourgeois influences. This criticism may be peaceful and earnest in tone, but there must not be the slightest vagueness ideologically or conceptually, and the weapon of criticism must not remain unused. We should not provoke unnecessary controversy with allies on trivial matters, but we must maintain our own standpoint unremittingly with regard to differences on all important issues. Moreover, this criticism must be carried out openly among the broad masses. Some people think that criticizing our allies might distress them and drive them away from the proletariat. Being afraid to use criticism as a weapon, these people seek peaceful coexistence with the allies in the united front and ignore political differences or differences of principle with them. This way of thinking is undoubtedly wrong and fraught with danger.



There are some who hold that we should suspend or tone down the class struggle in the united front movement. They maintain that the united front and the class struggle are unrelated opposites. This is a very dangerous Rightist way of thinking. The united front does not put an end to the existing contradictions and conflicts between various classes of society. These contradictions still exist within the united front movement, and therefore, so does the class struggle. Far from weakening the struggle of the united front against imperialism and feudalism, the class struggle waged by the workers and peasants will strengthen it.

The workers and peasants constitute the basic strength of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. Without their enthusiastic participation and active support, the united front could not be established on a firm foundation, nor could the revolution be victorious. But the workers and peasants are unable to develop their maximum creative potential because their enthusiasm for the struggle to save their country and people is drastically diminished by the severe oppression and exploitation they suffer and by the extremely miserable life they lead. It is only when their life and status have been improved and the burden of their oppression has been eased that their zeal, initiative and loyalty to the revolution can be fully aroused. So in the united front movement the proletariat must fight to improve the living conditions of the workers and to satisfy the peasants' demand for land. If their demands are satisfied, then the workers and peasants in their hundreds of millions will display boundless heroism and be ready to sacrifice themselves on the battlefield of the national revolution. A force will thus be built which no imperialist force can defeat; on the contrary, it will be able to defeat any imperialist force. The national united front must continually draw on this mighty reservoir of power to strengthen itself. Therefore, instead of opposing the struggles of the workers and peasants to improve their conditions and acquire land, we should support them. The more rapidly, effectively and correctly this class struggle is conducted, the stronger the united front will become. If, on the other hand, we impede or suppress this struggle, then we shall be weakening the united front, losing the support and enthusiasm of the workers and peasants for it and exposing the front to the danger of being defeated by the enemy. This, too, is a question of fundamental importance for the united front movement.

Of course, since the class struggle waged by the workers and peasants may harm the interests of the feudal landlords and the bour-



geoisie and pose a threat to them, these groups naturally oppose it. And because the Right opportunists are afraid of scaring off the bourgeoisie and the landlords, they, too, are in favour of terminating this struggle. But the proletariat must not do this. China's feudal forces are a breeding-ground for traitors and must be eliminated in the fight against imperialism. In order to meet the needs of the anti-Japanese war and of the workers and peasants, it is right to sacrifice the interests of the feudal landlords.<sup>40</sup> As for the national bourgeoisie, it will suffer some losses in the class struggle, but it will also reap profits. Its prospects for developing capitalist enterprises will improve with the expansion of its domestic market in the anti-imperialist struggle to recover the customs service, boycott imperialist goods and increase the purchasing power of the workers and peasants. Since the struggle does not mean absolute losses to the capitalists, it is possible for some of them to join the united front.

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In the united front movement, the proletariat must not neglect or stop waging the class struggle which, in fact, the united front needs in order to strengthen itself. However, in conducting the class struggle the proletariat can and ought to use methods which avoid purposely intensifying its opposition to the bourgeoisie. For example, it should drop the slogan "Down with capitalists" and refrain from unnecessary strikes, work slowdowns and clashes, especially when these might affect the anti-Japanese military struggle. Rather, it should satisfy the workers' demands by invoking laws and decrees issued by the government as well as using various other methods. But if the capitalists stubbornly turn down the workers' demands so that strikes are the only means of getting them accepted, then the workers should on no account shy away from such means. In addition, the proletariat must pay particular attention to the interests of the petty bourgeoisie in the class struggle. The proletariat should try not to harm their interests, but when it is necessary to sacrifice some of their interests in the course of meeting the workers' demands, the proletariat should make a point of making it up to them in other respects, such as by tax reduction.

The united front is revolutionary only when its activities do not restrict the freedom of the proletariat to organize and struggle. The aim of forming a united front with the upper strata is to facilitate the organization of the masses at the grass roots. If, in the united front,

the proletariat voluntarily restricts or abolishes the struggle and organization of the masses at the grass-roots level, it will create grave dangers for the revolution and for the proletariat itself.

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With correct strategy and tactics as its guide, the Chinese proletariat will rally round itself all the revolutionary forces of the whole country to defeat the Japanese imperialists, the feudal forces and traitors and to overcome the vacillation and betrayal of the bourgeoisie, so that it will win complete victory in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and realize the noble ideal of socialism.

# THE PARTY AND ITS MASS WORK IN THE WHITE AREAS

*May 1937*

## A THOROUGH CHANGE

There must be a thorough change in our work in the Party and among the masses in general.

Why?

For one thing, the Japanese imperialists' implementation of their continental policy of subjugating China and our Party's resolute implementation of the anti-Japanese national united front policy have already brought about major changes in the political situation and social relations throughout the country. The Kuomintang, which engaged in reactionary activities for ten years, and its followers, the national bourgeoisie, have once again joined in the resistance to Japan. Antagonism between the two regimes has been eliminated, internal peace has in the main been realized, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party have resumed co-operation and the masses are participating in the anti-Japanese national revolutionary movement on a most extensive scale. These changes have altered and will continue to alter the environment in which all our work is carried out and, at the same time, they have altered the tasks, slogans and policies we put forward.

In his political report, Comrade Mao Zedong made a statement to the effect that the present stage is the second one of the new period in the Chinese revolution. At this stage, the slogans of "Ending the civil war" and "Fighting for peace" are outdated. Hereafter, our main

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A report given at the conference of representatives of Party organizations of the White areas held in Yan'an. The full text consisted of eleven parts, of which four are reproduced here.

slogans should call for consolidating internal peace, fighting for democratic rights and waging the war of resistance against Japan. He added that the fight for democracy is the central link in the present tasks, so we need to set in motion a broad, democratic movement throughout the country. Fulfilment of such tasks and the actual establishment in various circles of the national united front for the defeat of Japanese imperialism hinge on changes in our Party's organizational work.<sup>41</sup>

The changes in the general environment and the new tasks and slogans that have been put forward have made it imperative for us to effect an overall change in the forms of organization, struggle and other activities in our Party and mass work. This is one aspect of the situation.

Another is that the traditions of rank closed-doorism, haughty sectarianism and adventurism still exist in our Party and mass work. These odious traditions began with the putschism which emerged in the wake of the August 7th Meeting<sup>42</sup> and they have not been eliminated despite the long period of time which has elapsed since the Fourth Plenary Session of the Party's Sixth Central Committee.<sup>31</sup> Consequently, they have taken deep root in the thinking of many comrades and in the Party's routine work among the masses, becoming abominable, habitual practices. To this day, they have not yet been completely exposed before all the comrades of our Party, dealt deserved and deadly blows, or eliminated. These practices constitute a particular hindrance to the establishment of the national united front and to the winning over of the majority of the masses at present. In order to do away with these traditions in our specific work, it is necessary to create new forms of organization, struggle and other activities and effect an overall change in the Party's organizational work.

Hence, the present transformation in the Party's organizational work has two aspects: (1) The changes in the general environment, and hence in policies, demand a change in our forms of struggle, organization and other activities; and (2) erroneous, odious traditions existing in our Party and mass work must be eliminated and changes effected. The first aspect involves a transformation from military to peaceful forms, from illegal to legal forms, from covert to overt forms and from struggle on our own to co-operation with our allies. The second aspect involves changes from a mechanical, subjective approach to problems to a lively, objective approach, from empty talk to realistic endeavour and from metaphysics to dialectics. Thus, the present trans-

formation in our Party and mass work is a comprehensive and thoroughgoing one. It will be an extremely difficult task for us, but then this matter will be decisive in all other matters. Comrade Stalin said, “. . . after the correct political line has been laid down, organizational work decides everything. . . .”<sup>43</sup> Comrades of the whole Party must work and study very hard to accomplish this great change!

It should be pointed out that this transformation began in the Party after the publishing of a resolution in December of the year before last.<sup>20</sup> We would now like to ask, “What have we accomplished so far?” and, “To what extent have we managed to effect the change?”

The Party’s political slogans and propaganda in various places have, by and large, been changed. In this respect, we have achieved great success. The Party’s political influence has never before been so extensive and it has won widespread sympathy and support from the people. Yet the change in organizational work is still far from satisfactory. True, changes have begun to take place in all our concrete work in Beiping, Tianjin and several other cities in north China and considerable success has been achieved in our Party and mass work there. These Party organizations have expanded and mass movements and organizations have developed continuously, thus providing a fairly sound foundation and favourable conditions for the work ahead. But in other places the change has either only partially begun or has not begun at all and past methods continue to be systematically followed and perpetuated. As a result, up to now there has been no improvement in our Party and mass work in these places, and the mass organizations which had already been established have either disintegrated or become very small and gone underground.

Why has no overall, decisive change taken place in our Party and mass work so far?

The reasons are: (1) In the past, we and many other comrades failed to realize that this change has two aspects and is a profound change requiring strenuous effort. Inside the Party we only stressed that our tactics should be changed with the change in the situation, a task which is relatively easy to accomplish. We did not, however, stress changing the traditions of closed-doorism and adventurism which we have been carrying on for ten years, firmly believing them to be correct — and this is a most difficult task to fulfil. For this reason, the Party did not feel that a thorough and overall change was necessary, and many comrades did not think that the old, familiar methods used in our Party and mass work were incorrect and should be



changed, so they went on self-confidently repeating them. (2) Because we have failed to specifically and systematically expose and criticize the past odious traditions, failed to reject past erroneous principles and failed to put forward new and correct ones to replace them, our comrades' day-to-day work is still directed by these guidelines. In addition, lax relations between the Central Committee and the Party organizations in various places constitute another reason for the slow change.

Many comrades think that our present change is only tactical, so they rest content with shouting a few slogans for the united front, believing that they have brought about a thorough change by simply dropping the old slogans and replacing them with new ones. They consider any additional changes unnecessary. Although they have called for the united front hundreds and thousands of times, they have just as often hindered and undermined it in their practical work. As a result, the new tactics we put forward, which require concrete application in all our practical work, are reduced to formalistic, empty talk.

Thus, to transform our Party and mass work we should, besides explaining to our comrades the changes in the present environment and the new tactical tasks, pay particular attention to exposing and criticizing the errors in our past traditions and raise within the Party the question of making an overall and thorough change in our work. Change, to a greater or lesser degree, is necessary in all our work, from the general tasks to every particular method in our practical work. The changes to be made are necessary either because there is a need for adaptation to new conditions and tasks or because the methods have been wrong from the very outset.

## THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE MASSES

In order to win over the millions of the masses and to get them organized for the national revolutionary war under the leadership of the Party, we must establish correct relations between the Party and the masses, correctly co-ordinate open and underground work, and study the art of leading the masses under diverse circumstances. We must clearly understand that the method of leading Party organizations

differs fundamentally from that of leading the masses and that the method of work inside the Party differs fundamentally from that among the masses. If our comrades do not have a clear and factual understanding of these questions, we had better not dream of organizing and leading millions upon millions of people.

How should the relations between the Party and the masses be established?

The Party is the leader, the vanguard of the masses. But whether the members of our Party working among the masses can be their leaders (that is, leaders recognized by the masses, not self-styled leaders) is determined not by any legal stipulation or any appointment by the Party, but by the fact that these Party members can understand the masses, sacrifice personal interests, champion the interests of the masses most faithfully and win over the masses by proving our views to be correct through long years of struggle. If the masses are to find their leaders in our Party and among our comrades and willingly follow us in waging a life-and-death struggle, it will take a long period of arduous and conscientious work on our part.

Organizationally, we do not directly require the masses to obey the Party's command, nor do we require their organizations to accept the Party's orders, but rather we try to bring the masses to accept the Party's political positions of their own accord.

While we ask the masses to accept the Party's political positions, we must respect the organizational independence of the mass organizations and the democratic rights and opinions of the masses.

When our positions are supported by only a minority among the masses, we should obey the majority in actions while reserving our positions. Only thus can we ask the minority who are against us to submit to our views when we are the majority.

The masses will respect and trust us only when our comrades respect and trust them.

We go among the masses as a part of them, putting forward our views and proposing methods so that they will accept these of their own accord and voluntarily take action with us. We do not order them about or command them in our capacity as members of the Communist Party or as self-styled leaders.

All this constitutes the correct relations between Party members and the masses. Many of our comrades, however, do not understand this very well or do not want to understand it. There are comrades who only want the masses to obey them, while they themselves don't

feel obliged to obey or respect the masses. They think that leaders of the masses can be self-styled or appointed on the strength of Party resolutions. They even try to run the whole show by imposing their will on the masses and ordering them about, thus undermining the independence of the mass organizations and their democratic principles. This error tremendously hinders our Party's effort to win over the broad masses and rally them round us.

Another error is to tail along behind the masses. When the masses do not accept our correct views, we become pessimistic and, throwing up our hands in despair, we accept their erroneous ideas and tail after them, instead of patiently persuading them, explaining our views and arousing their political consciousness.

To establish correct relations with the masses is one of the important tasks in our Party's contention with the Kuomintang for leadership. The Kuomintang insults the masses, does not respect their rights, orders them about and oppresses them. If we do exactly the opposite, the masses will naturally be willing to draw close to us, spurn the Kuomintang people and choose our comrades as their leaders.

## THE CO-ORDINATION OF OVERT AND COVERT WORK

How should overt work be co-ordinated with covert work?

This is in fact a question of the relations between the underground Party organizations and the masses.

Our comrades in various places must first make an appraisal of the situation prevailing in their respective localities at a given time and then, in the light of their appraisals, determine what kind of organization, work and form is best suited to open, semi-open or secret activities at that time and place. We should also find out what legal organizations — even reactionary ones — and institutions of a political character that have connections with the masses (for example, the village people's councils) have been set up in various places. We may send people to join these organizations and institutions and work within them. Only on the basis of such appraisals and investigations can we correctly determine what opportunities are available for us to conduct overt work at a given place so that we can co-ordinate our

overt with our covert work. In the past, we did not make such appraisals at all, with the result that we committed many serious errors.

The general estimate is that there may be a change in the general environment in which our work is carried on. If peace is achieved and Kuomintang-Communist co-operation established, there will be greater possibility of conducting our work openly throughout the country, although the degree of openness will vary in different places. In some places legal movements will probably become our principal work, while in others only half our work will be done openly or there will be even fewer possibilities for open activities and so secret work will remain our principal work. In the areas ruled by the Japanese or by collaborators and pro-Japanese elements, our Party organizations must of course remain absolutely underground. With these possible changes in mind, we must prepare to carry on open and partially open activities on a larger scale and readjust the relations between our overt and covert work. Even so, the co-ordination of overt and covert work, far from diminishing in importance or even becoming non-existent, will remain a question of the utmost importance.

So long as circumstances permit, we should employ legal and open forms of work as much as possible. An underground Party cannot carry on its work entirely in the open, but it can conduct some work in the open. We should make use of opportunities to work in the open, for they are valuable no matter how limited. Whenever there is a chance to openly set up a preparatory school or a neutral, open organization<sup>29</sup> or to publish a neutral magazine, we must grab it. Still there are some people who say, "We don't wish to work partially in the open like this; count us out unless we can proceed fully in the open." Why? They maintain that it isn't possible to bring only part of our Party Programme into the open. In this way they have ruled out all open work in the past.

With changing circumstances, the possibility for us to work in the open may increase or decrease. But in no case must we go beyond the bounds permitted by the particular circumstances. Otherwise our originally open organizations and work will be driven into a semi-open or secret state. Generally speaking, open work means such work as can be conducted legally. Taking advantage of legality is not legalism. In our past struggle against legalism, we branded all work that was conducted legally as "legalism". It was extremely wrong to turn all open neutral organizations, yellow trade unions,<sup>7</sup> etc. into Red trade unions,<sup>9</sup> at a time when circumstances did not permit. This forced



underground organizations and personnel to run the risks of conducting their work in the open.

As a rule, mass work ought to proceed in the open (though sometimes it can only be partially open), whereas work inside the Party ought to proceed in secret (or partially in the open, when possible). But the methods of our inner-Party work must in no case be employed among the masses. A comrade who works openly among them should carry himself and do his work in the same way as the masses — functioning openly. He should not show himself to be different from others or reveal his identity as a Communist.

A comrade who works openly among the masses must not concurrently take up work in underground Party organizations but rather should sever all relations with them, maintaining contact only with a comrade who has been specially designated. Confidential Party documents must not be taken into the mass organizations. The enemy must not be allowed to find any of the Party's organizational connections through comrades who work in the open.

Accounts of the open mass organizations should not be carried in the Party's documents or publications, in order to prevent the enemy from finding out anything about the Party's connections with the mass organizations in the Party organs themselves.

Entirely different methods should be employed and different cadres detailed for work inside the Party and work among the masses, and for secret work and open work; the organization for the one must not be confused with that for the other, and neither must the methods of the one be duplicated in the other. Our past mistake lay precisely in a confusion of these two types of organizations and a complete duplication of methods. Work that should have been conducted in the open was done by the underground organizations, while work that should have been conducted secretly was done at risk in the open. (For example, a person in charge of an underground organization held office concurrently in a mass organization.) Thus, such work as should have been done in the open, or in secret, could not be. The result was that both Party and mass work were seriously damaged.

A gross mistake we made in the past was to overlook the question of co-ordinating open and secret work. We have failed to raise this question in the Party or to stress the need to solve it. Lenin said:

. . . the Bolsheviks *could not have* in 1908-14 preserved (let alone strengthened, developed and reinforced) the firm core of the



revolutionary party of the proletariat had they not upheld in strenuous struggle the viewpoint that it is *obligatory* to combine legal and illegal forms of struggle, that it is *obligatory* to participate even in a most reactionary parliament and in a number of other institutions restricted by reactionary laws (sick benefit societies, etc.).<sup>44</sup>

The correctness of Lenin's remark has been borne out by the history of the Chinese Party. In the past we failed to preserve our organizations in the White areas, to say nothing of strengthening and developing them.

At present, we should, on the one hand, mobilize the masses to demand that the Kuomintang government allow the national salvation associations to function in the open as well as allow various outlawed organizations to be officially registered, demand that there be freedom of speech and assembly and demand the freedom to strike. On the other hand, we should organize the masses by making use of all sorts of neutral public bodies and join the various legal organizations already in existence to work among them. In such neutral, legal organizations, our comrades should struggle faithfully for the immediate demands of the masses so as to win them over and gain the leading role. They should not turn these organizations into so-called "Red organizations" and should allow them to remain neutral and legal in appearance.

In areas controlled by the Japanese aggressors and their collaborators, it is not advisable to use the name of the national salvation association or similar names to organize the masses. The chief approach to uniting the masses in these areas should consist of organizing open neutral organizations and utilizing the legal organizations already in existence.

## TRANSFORMATION OF THE PARTY

The Party's Bolshevization and the expansion and consolidation of its organizations can alone ensure the defeat of Japanese imperialism and the assumption of leadership by the proletariat.

I. The Party headquarters in various places should be restored rapidly with the help of the Central Committee, and Party members should be recruited prudently and conscientiously.

While providing more favourable conditions for the Party to develop and carry out its work, the establishment of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation will considerably increase the possibilities for the bourgeoisie to exert its influence upon the Party and undermine it from within. In order to maintain the Party's independence, purity and unity, we should (1) raise the requirements for those who wish to join the Party and place them on probation for a period of time (workers may be excepted); (2) provide for intensive education of Party members in political theory; (3) tighten Party discipline while extending democracy within the Party; (4) select Party cadres carefully; and (5) pay closer attention to the Right deviation of tailism. The requirements for Party membership mentioned here may be less strict in Party organizations working underground.

In the restoration and expansion of Party organizations in some places we must depend on backbone members and cadres who are trustworthy and absolutely true to the Party. On no account should these people be transferred wilfully.

2. A clear distinction should be drawn between inner-Party work and open mass work. Stricter secrecy should be enforced regarding all inner-Party work and organizational matters, which should not be made known to all our comrades, particularly those working in the open.

Party organs should be very small, and unnecessary organizations and official titles should be abolished. Their contacts with other quarters, especially with comrades working openly, should be established with finesse. While this is a most difficult task, it is a most important aspect of underground work. These small, underground leading organs must be preserved even when the situation permits overt action. In cases when greater overt action becomes possible, it will suffice for the mass organizations and comrades who work in the open to take part in public activities.

With regard to the Party's underground work, we should have foresight, persistence and patience and we must not allow the slightest impetuosity or negligence because, with the situation changing, what seems unimportant today may become very important tomorrow. So, what we do today should be subordinate to what we shall do tomorrow. In the past, many of our comrades simply did not have a long-range perspective or patience. They were afflicted with an intolerable impetuosity and were much too negligent. Even today, they do not take into account the present circumstances, and still less the

future situation, when assigning tasks and carrying them out. They recruit Party members in public, launch revolutionary emulation drives, initiate shock campaigns, and transfer cadres and reshuffle Party organizations at will. From now on, we must cease to criticize our comrades arbitrarily as “fearing death” or “vacillating”, for this encourages adventurist sentiments. The hurry-scurry disorder in the underground organs should also be stopped.

If something goes wrong in our underground organizations, they should suspend operation. When a situation grows tense, the staff should leave the place for a while (if possible). Without considerable assurance of security, no work should be embarked upon. It doesn't matter if the work is not well done. What really matters is that the organizations must under no circumstances be destroyed. We must be particularly careful to establish solid underground leading organs which will not vacillate under any storm and stress.

We must take firm disciplinary measures against those comrades who violate the principles of underground work.

We shall be in a position to deal with enemy agents provided we properly co-ordinate our open and underground work and provided the underground organizations carry out their work in an orderly way without negligence or recklessness. Enemy agents can still sneak into our Party. So in addition to carefully selecting our members, we should try to prevent these agents from doing very serious harm to us, chiefly by properly co-ordinating our open and underground work.

3. Where conditions permit, inner-Party democracy should be extended. For instance, the leading organs should frequently communicate with the rank and file, ask them for criticisms of their leaders and offer guidance through discussion with them. We should not only formally adopt some democratic procedures but, much more importantly, we should advocate a democratic spirit in our work. The leading organs should carefully consider the opinions of all comrades and respect the rights they are entitled to. Leading members do not have any privileges inside the Party and so must not take pride in their leading status and become conceited. They should submit to the majority, subject themselves to discipline, accept criticisms from their subordinates, listen attentively to the reports from below and make detailed explanations to the comrades concerned. They should regard themselves as ordinary people, treat other comrades as equals and brothers and handle problems impartially. This is the democratic spirit which all our cadres should possess, the spirit in which to

remould themselves and with which to educate other comrades. This is the democracy that is needed inside the Party.

Instances of commandism and punitiveness still abound in the Party. Our comrades, failing to solve problems thoroughly from a political angle and according to principles, have instead resorted to organizational and disciplinary measures. (Some of them are unable to solve any problem without resorting to the latter.) Moreover, they are too mechanical and absolute in their methods of leadership. This is a kind of extremely undemocratic practice. All problems should be solved from a political angle and according to principles, and only then will organizational and disciplinary measures be warranted. Discipline is necessary in the Party and should be tightened, but it should not be used except as a last resort.

To tighten discipline means to heighten our comrades' sense of the need to subordinate themselves to the majority and to the Party organization; it does not mean that the leading organs should make frequent use of disciplinary measures to punish our comrades. On the contrary, the more the leading organs resort to such punishment, the more obvious the poor state of our discipline is.

By Party discipline we do not mean that within the Party comrades are forbidden to express opinions differing from those of the leading organs but that they submit themselves to the majority in action and carry out the leading organs' decisions despite differences of opinion.

Such iron-clad discipline in our Party makes it extremely difficult for the enemy agents to undermine us. But punitiveness and commandism are aids to them.

The Party's collective leadership can be established only on the basis of democracy. And it can be considered truly collective only when it incorporates the experience and the useful ideas of all the comrades.

Democratic centralism and the system of individual responsibility should go hand in hand. Decisions on major issues should be made democratically, although individuals must hold the responsibility for executing these decisions. Executive organs should carry out their work in an orderly way and should be governed by discipline, while leaders should supervise and check up on this work.

The true democratic spirit is inseparable from the communist morality of selflessness, its opposite being selfishness. Conceit, ostentation and individualistic heroism are manifestations of selfish



thinking. People who think this way seek to lord it over others and are unwilling to play second fiddle; they want the right to order others about but do not want to take orders; they criticize, attack and abuse others at will but do not allow others to criticize them; they want others to submit to their "decisions" but they themselves refuse to obey the decisions of the Party organization; they consider others' violations of the principle of centralism to be breaches of discipline but deny that their own violations of the democratic principle are likewise disciplinary breaches; and they seek only their own promotion and even do so at the expense of others. These are remnants in the Party of the ideology characteristic of the old society and are contrary to the spirit of democracy.

The extension of democracy in the Party requires, in the first place, that our cadres should have a keen understanding of it and set an example by their own actions before they can train our comrades and the masses to practise democracy. In the past, Party members and cadres were afraid to speak lest they should make mistakes and be held responsible for them. This stemmed from a lack of democracy in the Party. Instead of employing persuasion and education to encourage our comrades in their work at the lower levels, we often struggle with and attack them in order to get the work done. This was not a democratic approach. It has made our comrades afraid to speak and to act for fear of setting off a struggle. Struggle is only necessary in dealing with those who persist in their mistakes and refuse to study and mend their ways. Even then, the purpose is to educate.

4. It was wrong to wilfully attack our comrades during ideological struggles, label them as opportunists and dismiss them from their work because they expressed differing views. The result of this practice has been that a lot of comrades who held different views dared not express them. This only served to conceal differences on political issues and on issues of principle so that the differences could not be thrashed out. And it only led to superficial unity in the Party and impaired real political and ideological unity established on principles. Instead of lessening opposition between our comrades and the leading organs, it intensified such opposition. Therefore, rather than helping the leaders, the comrades were always finding fault with them, thus giving rise to further unprincipled struggle.

The seeming absence of differences of opinion is not always a good thing.



When we say that we should not attack our comrades wilfully in ideological struggles, we do not mean that we should deny the existence of divergent views on political issues and on issues of principle among our comrades. On the contrary, it is really to resolve such differences that we want our comrades to express their views fully. Most of the differences can be eliminated through persuasion and discussion.

In the future, we must be particularly careful about expelling comrades because of their different views on political issues and on issues of principle. We should do so only when they violate organizational discipline and do not make amends.

5. All work and change depend on our cadres. Therefore, the question of the cadres is a crucial one in the Party. The Party's central task is to train large numbers of cadres and assign them to the various fronts. The local organizations should pay special attention to the selection of cadres for training.

In his conclusion, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the criteria for the kind of cadres we require at present. He said they must be versed in Marxism-Leninism, politically far-sighted, competent in work, full of the spirit of self-sacrifice, capable of tackling problems on their own, steadfast in the midst of difficulties, loyal and devoted in serving the nation, the class and the Party and free from selfishness and individualistic heroism.<sup>45</sup> Every one of our cadres should aspire to measure up to these criteria.

To bring our present and future cadres up to these criteria will entail arduous efforts both by the Party and the cadres themselves. We should not use these criteria to test them and to dismiss those who are not yet up to the criteria. It is obvious that our cadres have various shortcomings, political as well as in competence, thinking and ideology, and some are even tainted with the bad habits of the old society. But our purpose is to remould them and raise them to the required standard, not to destroy them. This is extremely hard work, but it can be done because we are going to remould the whole of mankind.

We should regularly examine our cadres, assign them appropriate jobs and tasks to which they are equal, and help them in their work. The leading organs in many places have made mistakes in this respect and should correct them.

The promotion of new cadres is an important matter at present, but they can be promoted only by stages. We should not casually boost

them into very high positions, as we did in the past, for it only serves to overwhelm them.

In north China, breaches in harmony and co-operation between veteran and new cadres have already cropped up. This merits our attention. Both veteran and new cadres have their own strong points as well as their shortcomings. They should learn from and respect each other, so that each can adopt the other's strong points, offset his own weaknesses and help to improve collective leadership.

6. Party members who join mass organizations should set up leading Party groups.<sup>46</sup> But these Party groups must be skilful in carrying out their work. A leading Party group should absolutely accept the leadership of the Party headquarters at the corresponding level and the leadership of the Party groups at higher levels. The Party headquarters should be prudent and considerate when giving leadership to Party groups. They should discuss all matters with the comrades of the groups and should refrain from mechanically making decisions on all minor issues. This does not mean that they should not give them leadership on specific matters; rather, it means that their leadership should be dynamic.

7. The disorderly and unsystematic style of work of our comrades should change. They should attend to the central tasks and work in an orderly way according to the priorities at different stages. All our comrades have an ardent revolutionary spirit which, however, should be combined with a truly down-to-earth spirit, so that they can effectively push forward their work and the revolution. Once they have a clear understanding of a specific task, they should have the determination to buckle down and carry it to completion. Only with the integration of the revolutionary and the practical spirit can the addiction to empty talk be eliminated and bureaucratism be overcome.

8. There should be a complete change in our propaganda work, even though we have achieved a lot of successes in this respect lately.

In the past, some of our comrades often failed to distinguish propaganda slogans from action slogans, inner-Party education from public-oriented propaganda, slogans for the Party from those for the masses, and Party propaganda from the appeals of the masses. They often used such slogans as "Get armed to support the Soviet Union" and "Get armed to wage the national revolutionary war" when mobilizing the masses for action. They added to strike demands the call

to “Drive the Japanese aggressors out of China”. It often happened that they published articles on inner-Party problems in publications distributed in general circulation, in which they declared that such and such organizations or actions were led by the Party. Moreover, our propaganda has been persistently formalistic, mechanical, trivial or exaggerated, and without due regard to facts or to its audience. Our documents, too, have always been stereotyped. All these things must be eradicated.

From now on, the Party’s theoretical study and propaganda will take on even greater importance and should be conducted systematically through all possible public channels, such as seminars and publishing institutions.

9. Finally, subjectivism and formalism, which exist to a serious extent in the Party, must be eliminated. They are manifest in various aspects of our work, and some of our cadres are deeply afflicted. These comrades pay attention only to the outward forms of things and not to their living content; they memorize Marxist phraseology without being able to apply it flexibly in concrete circumstances; they confuse covert with overt work and take putschist actions in mass struggles; they tack such calls as “Support the Soviets and the Red Army” on to strike demands and propose to “Carry out the Soviet Labour Law”<sup>34</sup> in Shanghai which is under Kuomintang and imperialist rule; they confuse propaganda slogans with action slogans and make our documents and publications formalistic; they repeat their support for the line of the Communist International and their opposition to the Li Lisan line<sup>18</sup> thousands of times while in practical work they just as often go against the former and carry out the latter; and they handle problems mechanically and do everything according to set formulas. As a result, many comrades lack vitality, and never bother to use their brains to probe into problems. Our Party has incurred tremendous losses through mistakes stemming from this kind of metaphysical thinking.

Our comrades must resolutely break with such subjectivism and formalism and replace them with Marxist dialectics, and they must eradicate the tradition of closed-doorism and adventurism and replace these with Bolshevism.<sup>16</sup> How are we to correct all our past mistakes? Our comrades should study — study our experience and Marxist-Leninist theories and methods. Only thus can we go forward. Only

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thus can we completely change our Party and mass work. Study, study and again, study!

By arming our minds with Marxism-Leninism, we can overcome all our past mistakes and lead the millions of the masses to defeat Japanese imperialism and liberate China.

# WIN DEMOCRACY AND UNITY NATIONWIDE AND LEADERSHIP BY THE PARTY IN THE UNITED FRONT

*May 1937*

Comrades,

I agree with Comrade Mao Zedong's report,<sup>41</sup> so I will confine my remarks to the following two questions.

## I

The policy of the anti-Japanese national united front is the only correct policy for the salvation and liberation of China at the present time. In the last two years the whole Party has already achieved significant results in implementing this policy. Internal peace has been achieved, by and large, and the internal political situation has changed considerably in the direction we pointed, that is, in the direction of democracy and of resistance to Japan. The political influence of our Party has grown rapidly nationwide, and organizationally the Party has led the anti-Japanese movement of the whole nation. All this demonstrates that our Party remains the sole leader of the Chinese revolution.

Throughout the twenty-six years since the founding of the Republic, China has constantly been torn by civil war; it has never enjoyed internal peace. The termination of civil war and establishment of internal peace is the most important event in the history of the Republic, and it marks a great advance for China. This advance has been achieved under our Party's leadership. We must not underestimate its significance and must do all in our power to further consolidate it.

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A speech delivered at the Party conference of the Soviet areas held in Yan'an.



Why has it been possible to bring about this internal peace? The basic reason is that the Japanese imperialists are pursuing a continental policy designed to subjugate China. Other reasons are: (1) The shift of the bourgeoisie towards resistance to Japan; (2) the change in the British, American and French policy of dividing China; (3) the powerful movement of the people for peace and against civil war; and, what is most important, (4) the implementation of correct policies by our Party and Red Army and the growing strength of the Red Army. Clearly, if our Party had not promoted a united front policy and led the mass movement, and if it had adopted an incorrect policy on the Xi'an Incident,<sup>47</sup> internal peace could not have been brought about.

Although peace has been basically realized, there is still the possibility that it may be disrupted, because the Japanese imperialists and the pro-Japanese elements are trying to sabotage China's unity and peace. So in reply to the question people raise of how to consolidate internal peace, we say: practise democracy, throw out the pro-Japanese elements and resist Japan. Without democracy and without resistance to Japan, internal peace cannot be consolidated or maintained for long.

Internal peace and democracy will bring real unification to China. Of course we favour China's unification; this is one of the preconditions for the defeat of Japanese imperialism. But we differ with Chiang Kai-shek over the path to unification and the method of achieving it. Chiang Kai-shek tried to unify China by resorting to military expeditions and political trickery to exclude and destroy all other forces and to establish his own dictatorship. On our part we favour unification through coalition, implementation of a unified democratic system and reliance on the strength of the masses. Chiang Kai-shek's method cannot bring about China's unification, let alone maintain peace. Ours is the only way to China's unity.

If the Nanjing Central Government does not respect the people's political rights and does not permit them to participate in political activities, but asks regional power groups to hand over their government, armies, domain and finance to Chiang Kai-shek, it will create difficulties. If, instead of open and above-board democratic methods, Chiang Kai-shek uses force and trickery to achieve his end, he will cause the disruption of peace and the division of China and he will drive some warlords into the arms of the Japanese. At the same

time, the feudal separatists will use such actions to justify their opposition to Chiang and their establishment of separatist regimes.

Chiang Kai-shek originally wanted to unify China by destroying the Red Army, dissolving the other parties and groups and establishing a dictatorship. But, because of the Japanese attack and many other factors, he cannot continue in the old way. He now has only two courses open to him: one, to capitulate to Japan, and the other, to resist Japan. The *status quo* cannot be maintained. At present Chiang Kai-shek is following the second course, though against his original intention. For the time being he has abandoned the use of armed force to destroy the Red Army and other political groups, but he continues to use means that do not involve force, such as trickery, sowing dissension, bribery and intimidation, to weaken and dissolve them.

We should demand that the Nanjing Government practise democracy while at the same time demanding that all regional power groups do the same. Provided that we do not antagonize the Nanjing Government, we should unite with these groups in urging the government to follow democracy. While we must not give up our work among regional power groups, we cannot possibly agree to the anti-Chiang demands of these groups, because this would help Japan. Neither can we agree to Chiang Kai-shek's demand to exclude or dissolve these groups, because this too would help Japan. We must criticize the opposition of various groups to Chiang, and at the same time we must oppose his plots to split, dismantle or destroy the Northeastern Army, the Northwestern Army<sup>48</sup> and other groups, because these things are all harmful to peace and unity.

Some of our comrades agree with the anti-Chiang demands of various groups. This is wrong. It is also wrong, however, to refrain from criticizing, in various ways, Chiang Kai-shek's undemocratic tendencies and his plot to exclude everyone not of his own persuasion.

If Chiang Kai-shek could do as he pleases, he would try to weaken or destroy us regardless of the circumstances. Viewed in this light alone, internal peace cannot be guaranteed. The guarantee, however, does not lie there, but in the following objective factors: (1) The Japanese attacks will definitely continue. (2) The Red Army is strong and it will under no circumstance, reduce its fighting spirit or relax its vigilance towards its cunning ally, Chiang Kai-shek. (3) The people and armed forces throughout the country are highly sympathetic to the Red Army and to our Party and strongly opposed to civil war.

(4) There are contradictions between Japan and the other imperialists, and between Japan and the pro-Japanese elements on the one hand and Chiang Kai-shek on the other. These objective conditions provide a reasonable guarantee for internal peace. With the addition of our correct policies in various spheres, our effective political work and the implementation of democracy, peace can be made secure. If we fail to consider these objective conditions but only look at Chiang Kai-shek's desire to destroy us, we may become pessimistic. If we do not realize that Chiang is employing means that do not involve force to isolate and undermine us, we may relax our guard. Both these tendencies are dangerous.

Far from relaxing vigilance, the Red Army and the Soviet areas<sup>6</sup> should heighten it, because the counter-revolutionaries are more likely than ever to plot disruption from both within and without.

It was completely correct and necessary for the Central Committee of the Party to make certain limited concessions in bringing about the peaceful settlement of the Xi'an Incident. This has greatly facilitated our work among the masses in the White areas. The military concessions we made at Xi'an constituted a major political offensive against the Japanese aggressors, the pro-Japanese elements and the anti-Communist diehards. By pursuing a correct policy during the Xi'an Incident our Party helped to propel China a big step forward.

Some comrades have raised the question of how democracy can be won nationwide. This is of course an important and complicated question which merits detailed discussion. The fundamental problems in the struggle for democracy are those of establishing a constitution and a national assembly. But, apart from these, we need to launch many movements for new legislation, such as the introduction of laws for peasants, workers and women. We must give attention to every specific demand of the people for democratic rights. The Soviet areas should be models for the implementation of democracy.

Some comrades say that demands for democracy cannot mobilize the masses. This is wrong. They can be mobilized round democratic demands, and especially such specific ones as the peasants' demand for land and the workers' demand for improvement of their living conditions. At present, all our efforts are made for the cause of democracy and resistance to Japan. We must help the masses to understand the importance of democracy and its connection with the resistance to Japan.

## II

What is the present national united front and Kuomintang-Communist co-operation like? This is a very important question and every comrade must carefully study it because it has a vital bearing on our future and the orientation of our efforts.

If it is proper to compare different historical events, then the present national united front and Kuomintang-Communist co-operation differ from those prior to 1927 in the following ways:

1. Our allies have the benefit of the experience of having co-operated with us up to 1927 as well as during the ten years of civil war.

2. The national crisis before 1927 was not so serious as is today's. The united front's main opponent then was the northern warlords,<sup>49</sup> whereas this time we will be fighting directly against a foreign power.

3. Up until 1927, international imperialism was united against the Chinese revolution, but the various imperialist countries are now no longer unanimous in their attitudes towards China's resistance to Japan. Britain, the United States and France are more or less inclined to favour our position. Victory or defeat in the struggle between the international peace front and the aggressor front has now become one of the factors which will decide whether China will win or lose in its war of resistance against Japan.

4. Up until 1927 co-operation was effected within one party,<sup>50</sup> whereas now it is effected between parties.

5. The Kuomintang already has state power but within its ranks it is divided. Having engaged in reactionary activities for ten years, it has exerted a very negative influence on the masses throughout the country.

6. Despite the fact that many of its leading cadres have lost their lives, the Communist Party has the benefit of the experience of the Great Revolution,<sup>30</sup> has a very high political level and has the Soviet areas, the Red Army and the influence which the Soviet movement<sup>51</sup> has exerted on the people of the whole country in the last decade.

7. The Soviet Union is powerful, and the world is on the eve of a proletarian revolution.

The above seven points are the objective and subjective conditions which will affect Kuomintang-Communist co-operation and under which leadership is to be won. Generally speaking, these conditions



have not become unfavourable to our Party and the proletariat, though the Kuomintang has such advantages as nationwide political power, an enormous army and the support of Britain, the United States, etc.

The question we should now pose is, "What will be the outcome of the national united front and Kuomintang-Communist co-operation and what prospects do they open up?" This will depend on who the leader of the united front is. If it is the bourgeoisie, then complete victory in the war against Japan will be impossible. If it is the proletariat, then such a victory will be inevitable and the prospects for the transition to a socialist revolution will be opened up. This is the central issue during this stage of co-operation.

Although conditions are most favourable for the Chinese proletariat to win final victory, the right to leadership does not belong to the Communist Party as a matter of course. The bourgeoisie and people of the third force are also striving for leadership, in an attempt to lead China down a third (capitalist) path, though that path is impossible because it would eventually turn China into a colony. For us to prevail, it is necessary to adopt correct policies and to make arduous efforts. We must resolutely criticize all tendencies to ignore this problem as well as any slackness in dealing with it.

How can the Communist Party win the leadership? Chairman Mao has already correctly set forth four principles.<sup>52</sup> Specifically speaking, we must analyse the actual conditions under which Kuomintang-Communist co-operation operates in order to make skilful use of these conditions to overcome our own weaknesses and make the best of our strengths while exploiting the enemy's weaknesses to circumvent or undermine his strengths.

Our principle is to isolate the bourgeoisie, which also seeks to isolate us. The struggle is complicated and unremitting, but it is not an armed struggle yet.

Once we have grasped the above seven points, we shall know how to direct our efforts. In addition to the four principles put forward by Chairman Mao, I think it is necessary to raise the following concrete problems:

First, since the bourgeoisie is skilled in carrying on its struggle against the proletariat, our work will require a high degree of finesse as we proceed. We must do away with superficiality, bragging and phrase-mongering. We must not purposely provoke the bourgeoisie



so as to put it on guard. We must work in a down-to-earth manner and not seek to frighten the enemy away with empty boasting.

Second, in the united front we cannot avoid some manoeuvring. Many of our comrades are inexperienced in dealing with the Kuomintang's machinations. We must be flexible and skilled at keeping in contact with all kinds of people without losing our own integrity. This does not mean that we should maintain our integrity by locking ourselves up in a safe, but that we should maintain it in all kinds of complicated environments.

Third, we must train large numbers of political and military cadres. A good many of our cadres, especially our experienced cadres, have laid down their lives. In order to make up these losses as quickly as possible, we must train thousands of new cadres. The Red Army must become a cadre school. We should release soldiers from active service on an individual basis in order to provide military cadres for the White areas, and we must make a soldier of every person in the Soviet areas. We must immediately restudy and systematize our experiences in the Great Revolution and use them to educate our new comrades.

Fourth, we must improve our education in the Party and among the masses as to the international situation. We must pay more attention to the international situation in our tactical decisions, because it will have a more decisive influence on China than it did in 1927. We must link the Chinese revolution still more closely with the world proletarian revolution.

Fifth, after the ending of the armed struggle against the Kuomintang, the struggle over policies, principles and theories has sprung into prominence. We must strengthen our criticism of the Kuomintang and the other political groups in these respects and educate the masses in the spirit of communism.

Above are some points regarding practical work. The four principles set forth by Chairman Mao are more fundamental. Moreover, the building up of the Red Army and the exemplary role of the Special Region, the development and consolidation of the Communist Party, the widespread organization of the masses and the work of influencing the Kuomintang army are all very important. If every comrade works resolutely and correctly along these lines, our victory is a certainty and, furthermore, the democratic republic will have the prospect of moving in a socialist direction. Otherwise, another defeat for the revolution is not impossible.

# SOME BASIC PROBLEMS OF THE ANTI-JAPANESE GUERRILLA WAR

*October 16, 1937*

## I. GUERRILLA WARFARE WILL BE THE MAIN FORM OF ANTI-JAPANESE STRUGGLE FOR THE PEOPLE IN NORTH CHINA

Before the Lugouqiao Incident<sup>53</sup> the main form of struggle waged by the Chinese people against Japanese imperialist aggression was non-military (e.g., parades, demonstrations and boycotts of Japanese goods), with politically sensitive students and intellectuals often spearheading those struggles. Now, following the incident, the struggle has escalated to armed conflict. This marks a new stage, the stage of the anti-Japanese war, and it is now the anti-Japanese armies and armed people who fight in the front line.

Generally speaking, armed struggle can take the following three main forms: (1) Regular warfare; (2) guerrilla warfare; and (3) armed uprisings. At present, for the country as a whole, regular warfare is the principal form of struggle used against the Japanese imperialists. This also applies to north China.

Unfortunately, however, regular warfare suffers from a number of shortcomings. The political party and the military and government authorities that conduct the war still cling to many mistaken principles and fail to fully implement correct policies.<sup>54</sup> This has resulted in quite serious defeats in the regular war against Japan in north China, where many major cities and the greater part of the territory and

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Originally entitled "Problems Concerning Our Basic Policies in the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla War", this article was first published by the Liberation Publishing House in pamphlet form under the signature of Tao Shangxing. It consisted of six sections, the first four of which are included here.

main lines of communication have fallen into enemy hands and are being used by the enemy in mounting attacks on the interior. This is a very distressing situation. But these mistakes and shortcomings in our regular warfare cannot be rectified in a day or a month. Moreover, the Eighth Route Army<sup>55</sup> has not yet become the main force in the regular war against Japan in north China, and the real armed strength of the people has yet to be organized on a broad scale. Therefore, it is quite possible that in the regular war against the Japanese in north China we may continue to suffer serious defeats.

If there are further setbacks in this war, guerrilla operations will become the major form of resistance by the people of north China, although in China as a whole the main struggle will continue to be waged by means of regular warfare.

The central task for the people of north China today is to organize and expand the anti-Japanese guerrilla war on a large scale because this is the most effective means of resisting Japan. Nobody who wishes to continue the resistance to Japan should abandon or avoid guerrilla war. If we can actually mobilize hundreds of thousands, or millions of people under arms in north China to wage and sustain guerrilla war, we can anticipate a bright future, for this situation will have the following enormous political and military implications.

1. It will pin down very large Japanese forces in north China, thus effecting a strategic co-ordination with the regular war in central and south China.

2. It will keep up a long-term war of resistance against Japan in north China, which will sap the strength of Japanese imperialism and bring about its final defeat.

3. It will tighten rings around the Japanese armies invading the interior of China and lead to their eventual destruction, resulting in our recovering part of the lost territory.

4. It will open bright prospects for the people of north China in their struggle, deal blows to the collaborators, expose the shamelessness of the capitulationists and the errors of the national defeatists and severely check any possible attempt at compromise with the Japanese. The guerrilla war will make it clear to the whole world that the people of north China will fight to the bitter end to protect every inch of national territory.

5. In the course of its expansion and success, the guerrilla war will make it possible to revive regular warfare as the major form of

struggle waged by the people of north China for the final expulsion of the Japanese army.

Many people underestimate the political and military significance of stepping up widespread guerrilla war in north China and have doubts about its future. They ask how it is possible for scattered guerrilla units organized from among the people to sustain a long war and be victorious against larger Japanese forces, when a well-trained regular army of hundreds of thousands of men, many times the strength of the invading Japanese forces, was not only unable to hold out against the invaders but was repeatedly routed in a very short time. This way of thinking is wrong. They do not realize that the failure of regular warfare in north China cannot be blamed on our regular army or our people. It was not because, together with the people, this large army was incapable of defeating the Japanese aggressors, but because its enormous potential was untapped and its strength improperly used. The responsibility for this defeat should rest with the government authorities. Such mistakes and defects can and must be righted soon by a people's guerrilla war in north China. The guerrilla war has bright prospects for victory.

## II . CONDITIONS FOR DEVELOPING GUERRILLA WAR IN NORTH CHINA AND ITS PROSPECTS OF VICTORY

If the main lines of communication and the major cities in north China are occupied by the enemy, what will be the conditions under which the anti-Japanese forces there fight the enemy?

The situation on the enemy's side is as follows:

First, the enemy can concentrate superior forces in the main cities and at strategic points. By making use of the railways, highways and industrial centres, he can easily replenish and rapidly deploy his forces.

Second, the enemy has superior weapons and equipment.

Third, the enemy forces everywhere are encountering resistance from the people of north China.

Fourth, the enemy forces cannot fight without secure areas behind, because he cannot expect to survive if supplies from those areas are cut off.

Fifth, in north China the enemy cannot possibly deploy his forces throughout the vast rural areas, and his long lines of transportation and communication are vulnerable to attack by guerrilla units which can sever them at any point.

Sixth, the majority of enemy soldiers have been forced to come to China to fight.

The factors mentioned above are the strengths and weaknesses of the enemy forces operating in north China.

What are the strengths and weaknesses of our armies and guerrillas?

First, strategically, we are fighting on interior lines, and as we operate behind the enemy or on his flanks, replenishments and supplies will be very difficult to obtain from the outside.

Second, our weapons and military technology are inferior.

Third, we can get the help of the people everywhere and we are familiar with the terrain as well as local conditions and customs.

Fourth, the extensive mountainous regions and vast countryside where the enemy is unable to maintain permanent garrisons have become bases of operations for the guerrilla units.

Fifth, our officers and men are fighting of their own free will.

Sixth, we have as our central force in north China the Eighth Route Army, which is skilled in guerrilla and mobile warfare.

In addition, the government authorities, the landlords and capitalists have all along been oppressing and exploiting the people, whose hard life still shows no sign of improvement. Discipline is bad in many of the regular anti-Japanese forces now operating, and this has had a very adverse effect on the people. For a long time the people have had no democratic rights, nor have they been able to form any organizations. Towards the Mongolian, Hui and other minority nationalities in the northwest, the Chinese government has long pursued incorrect policies, and in some places in north China secret societies<sup>56</sup> and bandits abound. These are all factors to which we must pay close attention in conducting a large-scale guerrilla war in north China, and these must be our starting points as we determine our strategy, tactics and basic policies in that war. After guerrilla warfare has been developed on a large scale and correct policies have been implemented, these factors will gradually change to our advantage.

The above are the basic conditions under which the anti-Japanese forces will be fighting the enemy in north China. It is in the light of



these conditions that our strategy, tactics and policies must be determined.

Quite a number of specialized articles have already been written on the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare and so I will not discuss them here. I merely wish to say that if in north China we can develop guerrilla warfare extensively and implement the correct strategy, tactics and policies, then the deeper the enemy penetrates into the interior the more difficult he will find it to communicate with his rear areas. The connecting railways and roads, stretched over thousands of miles, can be damaged or cut off at any point by the guerrillas. This will compel the enemy to use very large forces to guard lines of communication. In this way we can pin down the forces sent into the interior and make it possible for our regular army to destroy them and recover part of the enemy-occupied territory. In short, a guerrilla force can engage an enemy many times its own size and still emerge victorious. The experience of the Northeastern Volunteers<sup>57</sup> as well as the entire experience of the Eighth Route Army should fully bear out this point: an enemy which our regular army of hundreds of thousands has been unable to defeat can be beaten by guerrilla forces of about the same numerical strength as the regular army. The prospects for the guerrilla war in north China are therefore bright.

However, in order to defeat the enemy, the guerrilla forces must, apart from adopting correct strategy and tactics, achieve the following: (i) They must win the full, organized support of the people so that they can camouflage their own activities while acquainting themselves with the situation of the enemy and obtaining supplies and replenishments from the people. Otherwise, they cannot survive, let alone win victory. (2) To win this support, they must have various sound policies representing the interests and will of the people. (3) To guarantee the correct implementation of their various policies, they must maintain very good political and military discipline and exercise equality between officers and men. Unless these three conditions are met, final victory cannot be won despite the adoption of correct strategies and tactics. Thus, to ensure this victory, we must, besides expanding and developing the guerrilla war, build up guerrilla forces which can carry out the various correct policies and we must reorganize those forces which fail to do so. We must also establish firm anti-Japanese guerrilla bases, on which to set up effective anti-Japanese governments capable of leading the guerrilla war.

### III. THE FORMATION AND REORGANIZATION OF THE ANTI-JAPANESE ARMED FORCES

If north China should fall into the hands of the Japanese aggressors, it is certain that the Communist Party will not be alone in its determination to fight Japan. All other parties, groups, armies and people that are patriotic and determined to resist will take up arms and join the guerrilla war against the aggressors. The guerrilla war will thus be greatly expanded in north China, and this is of course a very good thing. But it also means that the anti-Japanese armed forces will be very mixed in composition and will lack unity, with each group most likely holding separate views, policies and positions. In view of this, we propose that the various anti-Japanese forces should unite to fight a co-ordinated war and implement certain policies agreed upon.

It is estimated that the anti-Japanese forces will from now on consist of the following types: (1) forces led directly by the Communist Party; (2) parts of the armies which formerly resisted the Japanese in this area and are now controlled by various groups; (3) local armed bands formerly serving the landlords;<sup>58</sup> (4) armed forces organized spontaneously by the people; (5) forces formed from among the armed bandits and secret societies; (6) troops who have defected from the puppet Mongolian Army;<sup>59</sup> (7) forces organized by the Mongolian and Hui peoples; and (8) perhaps in the future resistance forces organized by Japanese mutineers and prisoners of war. These various forces will agree on the need to resist Japan but will differ widely in their views and policies. In order to defeat the powerful Japanese aggressors, we propose the following:

(1) All the armed forces in north China should unite to organize an anti-Japanese united army,<sup>32</sup> set up a general headquarters and accept the leadership of the Central Military Council of the National Government.

(2) The general headquarters of the united army and its branch in each united army military area should set up standing military councils composed of representatives of all the anti-Japanese forces. The councils should decide strategic and tactical policies as well as battle plans and should elect the commanders of the united army, etc.

(3) To facilitate effective prosecution of the war, the scattered forces should combine to set up a regular anti-Japanese army. When-

ever possible, the Communist Party should make efforts to concentrate, amalgamate and unite those forces to form a regular army. But all this must be done on the principle of voluntary participation, and not by means of forcible annexation or reorganization.

(4) In the anti-Japanese war the Communist Party seeks victory and development not only for itself, but also for the friendly armies. It is willing to make available to them all its experience in winning victories and, in a completely earnest and frank spirit, to help with the political, military and organizational remoulding of the various anti-Japanese armed forces so that they may become strong fighting units. At the same time, it will not shy away from criticizing the mistakes and shortcomings of the friendly armies.

In the war of resistance against Japan, there is an urgent need to organize armed forces everywhere as well as to unite, concentrate, amalgamate and remould the various types of existing forces. For this reason, the Communist Party is opposed to the policy followed by the Central Government in Nanjing and by some local authorities to prohibit the people from freely organizing anti-Japanese forces. Rather, we hold that the people should be permitted to arm themselves and consequently should be issued rifles and given help. There is no cause to fear that the anti-Japanese forces will become too many or too varied. At the same time, the Communist Party is opposed to separatism on the part of individual anti-Japanese forces on the one hand and to their forced unification on the other. It is in favour of unification and concentration on a democratic basis.

We believe that many of the forces taking part in the war of resistance against Japan are in need of drastic remoulding. If this is not done, they cannot win victories or develop, and perhaps they will not even survive in north China. By remoulding, we mean:

First, we must step up political education for these forces, consolidate them politically, strengthen their discipline and build up their courage and spirit of self-sacrifice for the fight against the Japanese aggressors.

Second, we must improve the treatment of the rank and file, prohibit beating, cursing or maltreatment, abolish corporal punishment and enforce equality between officers and men. This is necessary because the guerrilla war is conducted under the most difficult circumstances and the soldiers are not mercenaries seeking to be fed or to earn a few dollars, but noble fighters in the cause of resisting Japan and saving the nation. For this reason, they must never again suffer

beatings, curses or other kinds of maltreatment or be viewed as less than human. If an anti-Japanese force retains these bad warlord practices, many of its soldiers would desert and nobody would want to join. Such a force would be unable to build up the courage of its troops to fight the Japanese, and in the end it would not be able to win or even to survive.

Third, there must be a system of open financial accounting, with the soldiers electing people to manage and supervise it. Only thus will it be possible to prevent the troops from harbouring grudges under difficult supply conditions and to prevent bad elements from lining their own pockets.

Fourth, vacillating or irresolute elements must be weeded out of every unit to ensure its resolute, long-term resistance against Japan until victory is won.

The Communist Party recommends that those units which have the above-mentioned shortcomings should be remoulded, and it is willing to do all it can to help in this task. At the same time, the Communist Party must be modest and learn from the strong points and valuable experience of the friendly forces to remould its own armed units.

#### IV. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ANTI-JAPANESE GUERRILLA BASES AND ANTI-JAPANESE GOVERNMENTS

Guerrilla war requires bases. Without them it cannot be sustained for long. Although the main lines of communication and major cities in north China are controlled by the Japanese army, the outlying areas, mountainous areas and vast rural areas of the various provinces there, are either beyond its reach or its capacity to garrison over a long period. In such places we should establish anti-Japanese bases as rear areas in support of the activities of our guerrillas.

Some of these areas still have their original governments, which are either continuing to resist Japan or are preparing to capitulate and become collaborator governments. In some cases, members of these governments have fled and in their place the collaborators are about to form Associations for the Preservation of Order,<sup>60</sup> etc. Our policy is to establish people's anti-Japanese governments in such areas. Our



slogans are "Down with the collaborator governments and the Associations for the Preservation of Order", "Fight capitulation", and "Change one-party dictatorship into a people's anti-Japanese government". In order to set up in these areas truly effective anti-Japanese governments with a mass basis to lead the war effort, a democratic transformation of the original administrative organs must be carried out.

First of all, it is necessary to call together representatives of all parties and groups, mass organizations, armed forces and the original governments, along with delegates elected by mass meetings, to confer and elect provisional government committees. Under the leadership of such a regional government, each county, district, township and village administration should similarly call meetings to effect its own reorganization. This provisional administration, in addition to carrying out all the functions of government, should also make preparations for the establishment of a formal government. It should draft an organizational programme and an electoral law and see to elections at all levels of government. As soon as a meeting of the popularly elected delegates has been held in a particular region and a formal government set up there, the provisional administration's duties will be terminated and its power transferred to the formal government elected by the people. The above is the proper procedure for the transformation of the governments.

What system should such governments follow? The answer is: the democratic system. They should practise universal suffrage with secret balloting, though at the beginning they may have to hold indirect elections.<sup>61</sup> All male and female citizens who have reached the age of eighteen and who do not suffer from any mental disease should have the right to elect and to be elected. Governments at various levels should operate by a committee system, with the committee having the right to appoint all department heads and to make decisions by majority vote.

Such governments will be the local governments of the Republic of China. They will be subject to the leadership of the Central Government, so their establishment must be approved by it and they must abide by its laws and decrees. But at the same time they will also be organs of local self-government. They will have the right to promulgate local laws and decrees applicable within the territory which they administer.



Such governments ought to be local united front governments. (At present both the Central Government and local governments are still governments under the one-party dictatorship of the Kuomintang.) All political parties, organizations, armed forces and individuals that are resolved to fight Japan and have won the confidence of the people should have representation in a government of this kind. At the same time, they should draw up a common programme concerning the national revolutionary war to serve as a guideline for the government's administration.

The urgent task of any such government at present is to lead the anti-Japanese guerrilla war to victory. Therefore, its basic administrative duties should be: (1) to arm the people generally and mobilize them to join the war effort; (2) to guarantee the people's democratic rights; (3) to improve the people's livelihood; and (4) to exterminate collaborators and ban any activity which hinders or undermines the people's participation in the anti-Japanese war.

If such a government can carry out the above tasks with great success, it will enjoy the people's full trust and will be able to mobilize them for active participation in all aspects of the war effort. On their part, the masses will be able to organize and train themselves and will be willing to offer their all to the government in the fight against the Japanese aggressors. In this way each such region can be built into a stable anti-Japanese base area from which the guerrilla units can draw their supplies and reinforcements and into which the enemy forces can be lured to meet their destruction. The masses will come forward with the highest enthusiasm to help, in various ways, the government and the guerrillas to sustain the long war against a superior enemy until victory is won.

## SET UP ANTI-JAPANESE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF OUR PARTY

*October 1937*

### A TELEGRAM TO NIE RONGZHEN<sup>62</sup> ABOUT THE PREPARATIONS FOR SETTING UP THE SHANXI-QAHAR- HEBEI BORDER AREA GOVERNMENT

*October 20, 1937*

1. In order to strengthen and unify political and military leadership throughout the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei area, you should immediately carry out the reorganization and development of the united front democratic governments there. To do this you must:

(1) Immediately hold popular elections for all district and township provisional government committees.

(2) Organize a provisional county government committee made up of representatives of the local armed forces and various political parties and organizations. A competent county magistrate can act as chairman.

(3) Proceed at once with preparations for the establishment of a government of the border area,<sup>63</sup> to be named the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei Border Area Government Committee. Song Shaowen is to be its chairman.<sup>64</sup>

(4) Make immediate preparations for publicizing the establishment of the Military Area Headquarters.

2. You should immediately promulgate the Organic Law of the Provisional Border Area Government, which should stipulate the following:

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Two telegrams drafted for the Northern Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

(1) The method of choosing leading government officials at different levels;

(2) The implementation of the committee system and democratic centralism;

(3) The organic laws for all lower levels of government. The border area government and the county and district governments should include the following departments or sections: the finance and economics department, the military affairs department or people's armed forces department, the department of agriculture (which will administer affairs concerning the peasants and the land), the labour department, the internal affairs department (the people's police bureau or an equivalent security bureau will be under this department, there is no need for a department for eliminating collaborators, and the local armed bands<sup>58</sup> and police are to be dissolved), the education department, the transport department (to be in charge of military transport), the law court (the former law court must be reorganized and a high court and a number of local courts set up. The judges are to be appointed by the government committees) and a supervisory department;

(4) A district government can do without a supervisory section or a law court, needing only one member to take special charge of each of the two functions; and

(5) The salary system should be abolished and the number of government personnel at each level and the method of meeting their living expenses should be determined.

3. After the establishment of the provisional government in each locality, our Party should, on the basis of the Ten-Point Programme for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation<sup>65</sup> and of the Party's basic policies, immediately propose to the government committees that they promulgate various laws and decrees (the principal ones being labour legislation and peasants' land legislation), annul the former tax law, enact uniform legislation of progressive taxation,<sup>66</sup> and issue a decree on the elimination of collaborators, etc.

4. The Military Area Headquarters should immediately prepare to publicize its establishment and call together representatives from the various anti-Japanese armed forces operating in the area to form a military conference.

5. Separate preparatory offices should be set up for the organization of the border area trade unions, peasant associations, the national vanguard corps,<sup>67</sup> women's associations for resisting Japan and

saving the nation, etc. In addition, one or two military and political schools should be set up to recruit large numbers of young workers and peasants and to train them to be cadres.

6. While making preparations to set up a Border Area Government and Military Area Headquarters, you should put the matter before Chiang Kai-shek and Yan Xishan and try your best to get their approval. After this has been obtained, the news should be made known throughout the country so other border areas can follow suit. Pending their recognition, however, both the Government and the Headquarters can be established, but their institution should not be publicized nationwide.

This telegram is being sent to the provincial Party committees of the border area. These principles can also be adopted and gradually applied in northwestern Shanxi and Suiyuan<sup>68</sup> with consideration for local conditions.

### A TELEGRAM TO HE LONG<sup>69</sup> AND GUAN XIANGYING<sup>70</sup> AND TO PARTY ORGANIZATIONS THROUGHOUT NORTH CHINA

*October 22, 1937*

1. In such enemy-occupied counties in Hebei, Qahar, Shanxi and Suiyuan provinces as Fanshi, Daixian, Guoxian, Ningwu and Shenchu and the counties in northern Shanxi, the original county governments have been destroyed or their personnel have fled or capitulated. Still, the vast countryside is not garrisoned by Japanese troops or by the armed forces of collaborators. The policy guiding our local work there should be as follows:

(1) Mobilize the masses directly in the name of the Communist Party and the Political Department of the Eighth Route Army.<sup>55</sup> If there are friendly armies or parties or other political organizations in the locality, you should unite with them and join efforts to mobilize the masses in the name of the Battlefield Mobilization Committee.<sup>71</sup>

(2) Build local anti-Japanese armed forces such as guerrilla units or self-defence corps and unite the scattered armed forces under the leadership of the local government.

(3) Set up anti-Japanese united front governments in the localities or reorganize existing local governments along such lines. You

must, first of all, form provisional county government committees (the titles of which need not as yet be uniform) consisting of delegates elected by the local armed forces, various parties and organizations and mass meetings, respectively. In the same way you must organize provisional district, township and village government committees. Such county or district authorities should still come under the provincial government (such as that of Shanxi). The duties of the provisional governments are: a) to arm and mobilize the people in great numbers for the struggle against Japan; b) to issue orders guaranteeing the people's democratic rights, institute rent reductions (or exemptions in war areas), to reduce interest rates, exempt people from taxation, increase wages, etc., and generally improve the people's living standards; c) to eliminate collaborators and suppress all the landlords who attempt to obstruct the mass movement; and d) to promulgate organic laws and electoral laws for the establishment of democratic county, district and township governments and to prepare for the election of formal governments.

(4) Form trade unions, peasant associations, and other mass organizations for youth, women and children. You must first set up preparatory committees for the county trade unions and peasant associations. Their duties are: a) to draft constitutions; b) to map out programmes embracing the demands of the local workers and peasants and to organize the masses' struggle for better living conditions; c) to train cadres for trade unions and peasant associations; d) to send people to every district and village to form trade unions and peasant associations there; and e) to mobilize the masses to join self-defence corps and guerrilla units and participate in all aspects of the government's work.

2. For our work in areas not under enemy occupation where the local government is still functioning, our policy is as follows:

(1) The Communist Party and the Political Department of the Eighth Route Army must themselves take the initiative to launch and lead the mass movement, and local Party members should, whenever possible, act as progressives in public. If there are friendly armies in the localities or in political bodies such as the League of Self-Sacrifice for National Salvation,<sup>72</sup> the need is all the greater to take joint action with them or urge them to wage struggle. Action may be taken in the name of the Battlefield Mobilization Committee.

(2) You should urge the local governments forward and ask them to arm the people and improve their livelihood, oppose bad officials



and undesirables, and devise gradual steps to elect the governments on the basis of expanding mass movements.

(3) The key link of your work lies in arousing the local masses. You should mobilize and organize them under the political slogan of resisting Japan and saving the nation and under the economic slogan of improving the people's livelihood. You should help them form a people's self-defence corps.

(4) You should first set up preparatory committees for trade unions and peasant associations at the county level, with their duties defined as above. You should set the masses in motion to demand wage increases, a 25 per cent reduction of rent paid in grain, the abolition of compulsory contributions from the poor and an increase of those from the rich, and preferential treatment for the families of soldiers. You should lead the masses to engage in all kinds of struggle for better living conditions. You must link political with economic slogans. In other words, the poor must have enough to eat before they can strive to save the nation.

3. In all areas, whether occupied by the enemy or not, you should expand the local Party organizations in a big way and draw into our ranks workers and peasants who have been active in the struggle against Japan and intellectuals who have been tested in this struggle. Your first job is to form a working committee of the Party in every county charged with the task of establishing Party branches in all the townships and villages.

## INDEPENDENTLY LEAD THE ANTI-JAPANESE GUERRILLA WAR IN NORTH CHINA

*November 15, 1937*

1. We now find ourselves in a very dangerous transitional period in which partial military resistance to Japan<sup>73</sup> is difficult to sustain and an all-out national war of resistance has not yet started. In north China, regular warfare has in the main come to an end, and from now on it will be the guerrilla warfare of the Eighth Route Army<sup>55</sup> that will keep the war of resistance going. This very circumstance has made the ruling class vacillate more and more and allowed the collaborators to run rampant. A section of the ruling class and some military and political leaders have moved towards compromise by seeking peace with the Japanese in order to preserve property and power, and their illusions of peace are enhanced by international attempts to mediate the "Sino-Japanese conflict".<sup>74</sup> A few of these leaders operating north of the Huanghe River are trying to flee south of the River to seek refuge from the war. But a different section of the ruling class and other military and political leaders are inclined to ease restrictions on the popular movement, strengthen co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and to carry on and extend the war of resistance with popular support.

2. North China has already entered the new stage of guerrilla war. Since our Party has become the largest party there and the Eighth Route Army is especially skilled in guerrilla warfare, the burden of leading the anti-Japanese guerrilla war rests on the shoulders of our Party. At present, although the old political organs in north China have been destroyed by the Japanese aggressors, the enemy and the collaborators have not yet established their regimes

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A draft decision prepared for the Northern Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

in the vast expanse of the countryside or in most of the small towns. Our Party is therefore free to mobilize and arm the masses openly and directly. The current tasks of our Party are to lead the guerrilla war independently, to mobilize the masses' participation in it and to turn large numbers of villages into guerrilla bases. Our objective in doing this work is to co-ordinate the guerrilla war with the regular war in central and south China while pushing forward the reforms of the Kuomintang, and the National Government and its army.

3. If the regular war in central and south China cannot be continued and extended, we shall have to carry on the anti-Japanese fight alone under rather difficult circumstances. But our difficulties will be far fewer than those confronted by the Northeastern Volunteers.<sup>57</sup> There are hopeful signs that north China will be able to change from guerrilla warfare back to regular warfare and drive the Japanese invaders out of the area. This change depends, however, on our success in expanding the Eighth Route Army to several times its present size, arming the masses, and winning over friendly armies and reforming them. Therefore, on the one hand, our Party must mobilize the people to resolutely combat any move to compromise or to bargain for peace, to oppose retreat and flight and to counter any international peace proposals which are made at China's expense. On the other hand, we must concentrate efforts on mobilizing the masses, enlarging the Eighth Route Army, building up guerrilla forces and winning over friendly armies. We must be prepared to wage a protracted and bitter struggle against the Japanese aggressors under extremely difficult conditions and to strive for victory in the guerrilla war.

4. Adhering to the principles of the united front, our Party must develop the mass movement more independently. In addition to deepening and extending political publicity, we must resolutely mobilize the masses for economic struggle, which must be linked to the anti-Japanese armed struggle. We must vigorously oppose the dangerous Rightist tendency which, arising out of a fear of displeasing or frightening away our allies, manifests itself in abandoning or weakening our leadership of the mass struggle, in forfeiting our leadership of the people's struggle for better economic conditions and in the fear of openly mobilizing the masses in the name of the Eighth Route Army and of the Party, thereby blurring the political identity of our Party. At the same time, we must combat "Left" errors which reveal a disregard for the principles of the united front and manifest themselves in the use of over ambitious slogans and methods of work and struggle

unnecessarily provocative to our allies. We should now lead the masses and the guerrilla war independently and must not depend on the allies for help. Nevertheless, we should try to get as much assistance from them as possible. We should not desist from leading the mass struggles for fear of frightening our allies away; neither should we deliberately provoke or alienate them with our methods of work or struggle. We need to further develop our Party's independence under the principles of the united front, but we do not need absolute independence.

5. As the biggest political party in north China, our Party should come forward during the guerrilla war and build an anti-Japanese democratic united front government and new anti-Japanese armed forces. In the border areas,<sup>63</sup> we should set up governments and military area headquarters and reorganize or establish county, district and township governments. We must do all we can to get other parties and groups to join us in the effort and to get the Central Government in Nanjing to recognize such governments and armed forces. At the same time, we must set up a whole network of organizations such as trade unions, peasant associations, the national liberation vanguard corps,<sup>67</sup> and women's associations for resisting Japan and saving the nation, so that they will give direct leadership to the mass movement.

6. Since our Party has become the principal leader in the work of forming the governments, the armed forces and the mass movement in the guerrilla war, it must at once come out into the open. We should establish overt Party leadership organs, recruit new Party members, set up local Party branches, replenish the personnel of the leadership organs and extend inner-Party democracy, so as to strengthen our Party's leading role in all aspects of this work. We should combat the tendency to go underground and to lie low when the Japanese move into an area to exercise control. This course is only necessary in cities where the aggressors have temporarily stabilized their control. In the vast countryside our Party organizations should come out into the open to wage the guerrilla war.

# 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 age-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.

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A lecture delivered at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Yan'an. It was included in the *Documents for the Rectification Movement* published by the Liberation Press in 1943 and was reprinted by the People's Publishing House in 1962 after revision by the author.



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*; the 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.<sup>75</sup>

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, or 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<sup>76</sup> 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,<sup>77</sup> 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 the people 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 struggle against all kinds of counter-revolutionaries,<sup>78</sup> 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 the people, discover his wrong ideas, habits and prejudices and correct them, 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. Moreover, he must strive to conduct 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."<sup>79</sup> Here the feudal philosopher was referring to his own process of self-cultivation; he did not consider himself to have been born a "sage".

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”.<sup>80</sup> 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 Zedong 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.<sup>81</sup>

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.

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. China’s history over the past century, or to speak of more recent times, over the past fifty years, has shown us that many bourgeois and petty-bourgeois revolutionaries become corrupt and degenerate 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 round 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 which 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 its seamy side. 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 conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival.<sup>82</sup>

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.<sup>83</sup>

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.<sup>84</sup>

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.<sup>85</sup>

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."<sup>86</sup> 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 phillistine", 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 anything, let alone to learn it well. 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 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 com-

munism — 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 Zeng Zi, in ancient times, said, "I reflect on myself three times a day,"<sup>87</sup> 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,"<sup>88</sup> 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 this 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 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”<sup>89</sup> and recite Sun Yat-sen’s Testament,<sup>90</sup> in actual fact they bleed the people white with taxes, 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 *xiuca*<sup>1</sup> 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”<sup>91</sup> 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. Being proletarian revolutionaries who 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 old society’s separation of theory from practice can have no influence on us? No, it is not! 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

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\* From the Tang Dynasty (618-907) onwards, the imperial competitive examinations in feudal China were conducted at three levels, the national, the provincial and the county (or *zhou*). Those successful in the county (or *zhou*) examination were called *xiuca*.

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.

Comrade Mao Zedong 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, flesh of its flesh and blood of its blood, any talk about Marxism in isolation from China's characteristics is merely Marxism in the abstract, Marxism in a vacuum. Hence to apply Marxism concretely in China so that its every manifestation has an indubitably 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; they must be replaced by the fresh, lively Chinese style and spirit which the common people of China love.<sup>92</sup>

Our comrades must study the theory of Marxism-Leninism by following the method Comrade Mao Zedong 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.

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 so distorted by their old prejudices 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 delib-



erately. 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, thus obviating the need 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 overall, 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,<sup>53</sup> 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 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.<sup>93</sup>

During his struggle to organize a political party of the proletariat at the end of the 19th century, Lenin said:

The consciousness of the masses of the workers cannot be genuine class consciousness, unless the workers learn to observe from concrete, and above all from topical (current), political facts and events, *every* other social class and *all* the manifestations of the intellectual, ethical and political life of these classes; 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.<sup>94</sup>

Further:

The Social-Democrat's ideal should not be a trade-union secretary, but a *tribune of the people*, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it takes place, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; he must be able to generalize all these manifestations to produce a single



picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; he must be able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to explain his socialistic convictions and his democratic demands to *all*, in order to explain to *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the proletariat's struggle for emancipation.<sup>95</sup>

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 Zedong 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 the one to the other and from the outside to the inside, in order to form a system of concepts and theories — it is necessary to make a leap from perceptual to rational knowledge.<sup>96</sup>

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.*"<sup>97</sup> 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 Zedong has emphasized the tremendous importance of cultivating oneself in the theory of Marxism-Leninism. He has said:

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.<sup>98</sup>

Comrade Mao Zedong 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 Zedong'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.

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 construction 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 the people 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 development 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 live in harmony* 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 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 centralized big bourgeoisie than to “vanquish” the millions and 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.<sup>99</sup>

He also said:

. . . 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.<sup>100</sup>

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 largely 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 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<sup>101</sup> 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 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 Zedong, 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 exist, 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 Zedong 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. Hence, selfishness, slacking, corruption, seeking the limelight, and so on, are most contemptible, while selflessness, working with all one's energy, whole-hearted devotion to public duty, and quiet hard work will command respect.<sup>102</sup>

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 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".<sup>103</sup> 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”.<sup>104</sup>

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”.<sup>105</sup> 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 men. 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 therefore has the opportunity to do something bad, he is just as “watchful over himself when he is alone”<sup>106</sup> 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.

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 most just 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 lives 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 liberation, 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 overall 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, each 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 Anti-Japanese National United Front. 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 baleful 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 persons with a communist world outlook, what is there worth preening oneself about in these achievements?

For a Communist to do his work properly and well is no more than his 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 de-



mand 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<sup>107</sup>) 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<sup>108</sup> 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 the complete antithesis of the exploiting classes. 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. 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*,<sup>109</sup> 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 ques-



tions and in problems of inner-Party struggle. Certain sections or links in the Party organization may come to be dominated 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 Duxiu<sup>110</sup> and Zhang Guotao<sup>111</sup> 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, people with the highest sense of morality and justice, are gathered in the Communist Parties, fighting 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 Zedong, 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 sort of 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 Yan’an or before enrolling in the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College, some people imagined Yan’an and the College 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 Yan’an and the Anti-Japanese College?” 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 anarchist, 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.<sup>112</sup>

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.

## 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 to different ideas among them, 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 issues as developing and interrelated, 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 this side of a thing, while others only see or overemphasize the other 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."<sup>113</sup>



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 and 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. Gleelessly 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, 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 down-hearted, 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, 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 making an unpardonable political mistake and committing an unpardonable 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 these 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 nonexistent. Were our Party to follow such an extreme policy, the comrades promoting such actions 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 that 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.”<sup>114</sup> Compromise is of no avail here. This means that when a dispute has developed into one of principle which can only be resolved through struggle, we should unflinchingly wage inner-Party struggle in order to resolve 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.”<sup>115</sup>

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 principles 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 Zedong has said: “The Party must on the one hand wage a serious struggle against erroneous thinking, and on the other give the comrades who have committed errors ample opportunity to wake up. This being the case, excessive struggle is obviously inappropriate.”<sup>116</sup>

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 the perverting 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 rev-

olutionary 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. Rather, 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 worldwide 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 unfounded criticisms, or be 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 mentally 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 upset 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.

# RESOLUTELY SMASH THE ONSLAUGHTS OF THE DIEHARDS

*May 1940*

1. At present, the general task of the Party organization in northern Jiangsu is, together with the forces of the New Fourth Army<sup>117</sup> serving there as the backbone, to rapidly prepare itself ideologically, organizationally and militarily to resist the attacks launched against our Party organizations and the siege laid on our armed forces by the Japanese aggressors, Chinese collaborators and diehard reactionary forces, to thoroughly defeat these forces and to establish democratic anti-Japanese governments and base areas — all for the purpose of effectively persevering until final victory is won in a protracted war of resistance in the northern Jiangsu areas behind the enemy lines. The Party organization and New Fourth Army forces there must spare no effort in preparing to fulfil this task resolutely and unswervingly. Its fulfilment will mean that you have done your utmost to prevent deterioration of the situation and to bring about a change for the better throughout the country.

2. The Party organizations both in the army and the localities must make concerted efforts to promote a tremendous expansion of the New Fourth Army in northern Jiangsu. It should be increased to have 10,000 men with rifles and be consolidated within three

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A telegram to the Party organization in northern Jiangsu. During the period of strategic stalemate in the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Kuomintang diehards, pursuing a policy of passive resistance to Japanese aggression and active opposition to the Communist Party and the people, stepped up their anti-Communist friction. Liu Shaoqi, then secretary of the Central Plains Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, issued directives on several occasions to implement the principles of the Party's united front policy and repulse the attacks launched by the diehards against our New Fourth Army and the anti-Japanese base areas in central China.

months (i.e., before September 1). Before the diehards converge to launch an attack on our army, you should mobilize the masses everywhere to enlist in the army and, wherever possible, organize guerrilla units of the New Fourth Army (these units must be led by Party members and not by hooligans or army ruffians). For their part, underground local Party organizations should try to surmount obstruction by the reactionaries and to send Party members and non-Party persons to the army. Once armed conflict breaks out, it will be all the more necessary for the Party organizations to boldly expand our army, arm the people and mobilize the masses on the broadest scale possible to fight resolutely alongside our army for the defeat of the diehards and the anti-Communist groups and until a democratic government is established.

3. Undercover work should be stepped up in all anti-Communist armed forces and firm policies adopted for the dissolution and destruction of them. When these forces fight our army or suppress the people, you should be resourceful in fomenting rebellion within their ranks and in having the anti-Communist chieftains driven away. However, with regard to those forces which are potentially neutral or sympathetic to us, you should carry out extensive united front work so as to win them over or neutralize them. No underground Party organizations are to be established among these forces.

4. You must expand local Party organizations, get the masses organized as fully as possible, prepare a large number of cadres for the establishment of anti-Japanese democratic governments and strive to procure and ensure supplies for our troops. Party organizations in areas under reactionary rule should focus closely on their undercover work and send to the army any member whose cover has been broken or who is suspected.

5. You must carry out extensive united front work so as to win over the middle forces, and you must respect the interests of all middle-of-the-roaders, differentiating them from the collaborators and anti-Communist diehards. You must strictly prevent any revival within our Party of the concept of expropriating the property of the local tyrants and landlords and keep your attacks against collaborators within bounds, so as not to encroach on the interests of the middle-of-the-roaders and arouse their fear. You should try by all possible means to isolate the anti-Communist diehards and should pay special attention to enforcing discipline among the new troops.

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6. A regional Party committee should be established over your two special committees<sup>118</sup> to facilitate unified leadership. To unify leadership over the work of the army and the local Party organizations, a military and administrative commission can be set up by the leading comrades of the army and of the local Party organizations.

## ON ANTI-JAPANESE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL POWER

*December 1940*

For nearly a century, oppression by foreign imperialism has been the main source of suffering for the Chinese people. In recent years, in order to subjugate the whole of China, Japanese imperialism has fought its way into the heartland of our country. To liberate the Chinese people, therefore, we must first overthrow all imperialist oppression, especially the Japanese imperialist oppression of today. Ridding our country of imperialist oppression is what we mean when we say we must win independence and sovereignty for China.

Another source of suffering has been oppression by domestic feudal forces (i.e., semi-feudal political oppression, economic exploitation, the bondage to semi-feudal ideas and habits, etc.). Therefore, to liberate the Chinese people, the second thing we must do is to overthrow oppression by the feudal forces. Ridding our country of feudal oppression is what we mean when we say we must win democracy and freedom for the Chinese people.

The overthrow of both imperialist and feudal oppression and the acquisition of independence and sovereignty for China and democracy and freedom for the Chinese people are the two major, interrelated tasks of the Chinese revolution today. This is a democratic revolution of a bourgeois character and it constitutes the first step, or stage, in the Chinese revolution as a whole. Only after successful completion of the present revolution is it possible to take the second step, or embark on the second stage — the socialist revolution aimed at abolishing capitalist exploitation.

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The democratic revolution in China today is a new type of revolution based on the truly revolutionary Three People's Principles,<sup>119</sup> not the old type of revolution started by the bourgeoisie in Western Europe. There are many reasons for this. First, China's democratic revolution is being undertaken in a new era of worldwide socialist revolution and is part of that revolution. Secondly, the Chinese bourgeoisie is weak and lacks thoroughness in carrying out the democratic revolution, while the Chinese proletariat, an awakened and independent political force, already leads the Chinese revolution and will continue to strengthen its leading role in the years to come. Thirdly, during and after the revolution, China cannot help but establish a joint democratic dictatorship of all revolutionary classes; it will not, nor can it, establish a one-class dictatorship by the bourgeoisie; it also cannot help but implement a pure and simple political system of democratic centralism. And fourthly, this democratic revolution constitutes only the first step, or the first stage, in the Chinese revolution and is bound to proceed to the second step or stage — the socialist revolution. Herein lies the essential difference between the new-democratic revolution in China and the old one in Western Europe.

Being oppressors of the Chinese people and the targets of the revolution, both the imperialists and the feudal forces often collaborate to hinder China's progress and oppose the people's revolution. (Revolutionary political parties should, by all possible means, pursue a policy of preventing or weakening this collaboration which enormously strengthens the enemies of the Chinese democratic revolution and so is unfavourable to the revolution.) The fact that the dregs of Chinese feudal society serve as lackeys to foreign imperialism in opposing the Chinese people has been proved in the successive revolutionary movements of the past century. As for the Chinese bourgeoisie,<sup>3</sup> it assumes certain revolutionary characteristics in particular historical periods because, at certain times, it is also oppressed by imperialist and feudal forces which stand opposed to its growth. On the other hand, in other historical periods it collaborates with the imperialist and the feudal forces in opposing the revolution because, being weak and exploitative, it is apt to compromise with the enemies of the revolution and because it is especially afraid of the growth of the workers' and peasants' revolutionary forces.

The joint democratic dictatorship of the various revolutionary classes established during and after the revolution does not include counter-revolutionaries. Lackeys of the imperialists, collaborators

and those feudal landlords and bourgeois elements who have turned against the revolution must not be allowed to participate in the revolutionary political power but should be subjected to its dictatorship. Only the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and revolutionary elements from among the bourgeoisie and other classes can be participants. There may be some changes in the class structure of this joint political power during different historical periods, but whatever the changes, the joint political power will remain one of the revolutionary classes. It must not be a dictatorship of either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat alone.

In order to organize the joint political power of the various revolutionary classes, it is necessary to set up a broad democratic system (with a national people's congress, and people's assemblies at the provincial, county, district and township levels). The revolutionary classes will participate in political power through definite democratic approaches. The aim of the Chinese revolution at the present stage is to build an independent, new-democratic China. In areas where the conditions are ripe for it, new-democratic governments should be instituted; otherwise, it will be impossible to defeat our domestic and foreign enemies, gain independence for China, or win victory in the revolution.

The present War of Resistance Against Japan is the latest great revolutionary movement in China. Its basic tasks and characteristics are much the same as those of the 1925-27 Great Revolution.<sup>30</sup> The main difference is that, while the earlier revolution took the form of the Northern Expedition<sup>120</sup> against the northern warlords,<sup>49</sup> today's movement takes the form of a war of resistance against a foreign enemy. Hence it has an exceptionally broad social basis. After ten years of civil war, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party have again established an anti-Japanese national united front. This united front was initially made up of the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and even some individuals and groups from among the big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. The front's class structure has undergone certain changes and will continue to do so. Nevertheless, it will remain a national united front throughout the War of Resistance Against Japan. Although a few individuals from among the bourgeoisie have turned traitor (e.g., Wang Jingwei<sup>14</sup>) and a few others will do the same (e.g., the capitulationists hidden in the ranks of the anti-Japanese front), the rest will fight on to the end. The united front has basically taken shape over the past three years

of resistance but is not yet complete, nor are its participants on an equal footing. Thus it remains unpredictable because it lacks a sufficiently broad and solid basis. In terms of political parties and groups, a full-fledged united front should be a joint committee of the various anti-Japanese parties and groups and, in terms of political power, it should be a democratic political power composed of the various anti-Japanese classes, that is, an anti-Japanese democratic government. Unfortunately, except in a few areas, this situation does not exist.

A joint anti-Japanese democratic government that includes all classes engaged in the war of resistance is the highest form of the anti-Japanese national united front. Such a government can be successfully formed only if a fully democratic system is adopted on the principle of equality. This is also the best and most effective means of guiding China's war of resistance and the Chinese revolution to final victory. Without the establishment of such a government, without substantial consolidation and expansion of the anti-Japanese united front and without the institution of democracy, there can be no victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan.

The war of resistance has been going on for three years now. Long ago a national anti-Japanese democratic government should have been established to lead the war effort. Had this been done, we would have won far more victories and had much greater success, instead of having achieved so little. In addition, there would have been fewer difficulties and much less suffering for the people. The failure to establish such a government is due to the fact that the big bourgeoisie, caring for nothing but its selfish interests, namely, its "one-party dictatorship", is heedless of the nation's perilous situation. This, the Kuomintang's most serious mistake, is completely contrary to the people's will and the law.

Our Communist Party, the Eighth Route Army<sup>55</sup> and the New Fourth Army<sup>117</sup> are fully aware of the foregoing point. We will never forget that the task of our revolution is to win independence and sovereignty for the country and democracy and freedom for the people, nor will we fail to carry out our responsibilities. Therefore, wherever the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army go, they will, if conditions permit, set up an anti-Japanese democratic political power, institute a democratic system based on the Three People's Principles<sup>89</sup> and establish a united front government embracing all anti-Japanese classes. Without this kind of anti-Japanese democratic

political power, it is impossible to persevere in a war of resistance behind the enemy lines, to deal the most effective blows at the enemy and to win final victory.

The anti-Japanese democratic political power we shall build behind the enemy lines will be an anti-Japanese national united front. It should be the highest form of such a united front belonging to those who favour both resistance and democracy, namely, a joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes over the collaborators and reactionaries. This political power differs from a dictatorship of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie in that it does not exclusively protect the interests of these classes; at the same time, it differs from a dictatorship of the workers and peasants in that it also does not exclusively protect their interests. Its guiding principles and tasks are to oppose Japanese imperialism, protect the interests of the people of various strata who are resisting Japan, improve the livelihood of the workers and peasants and suppress the collaborators and reactionaries. When discord occurs among the people of various strata because of conflicts of interests, this political power should mediate in such a way that the demands of the workers and peasants are met while still taking into account the interests of the anti-Japanese landlords and capitalists. It should regulate the interests of the people of various strata who oppose Japan, while exercising a relentless dictatorship over the collaborators and the reactionary forces which work against democracy.

Since this must be the nature of anti-Japanese democratic political power, the governments must apply democratic centralism, must have democratic government committees at all levels and must have congresses and universal suffrage as well as majority rule. Communists should account for only a third of the government personnel, while two-thirds should be progressive elements without Party affiliation and middle-of-the-roaders. This is the “three thirds system”<sup>121</sup> which is being applied by the anti-Japanese democratic governments in areas where the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army are operating. Non-Communists, regardless of party or group affiliations, can participate in the organs of political power on the condition that they oppose Japan and are willing to work with the Communist Party. It goes without saying that capitulationists and anti-Communist diehards are not allowed to join.

This political power guarantees democratic rights to all people opposed to Japan — rights such as the freedoms of speech, assembly, association, publication, domicile, business proprietorship and thought.



The government protects everyone, regardless of what party, group, class or stratum he belongs to, so long as he does not collude with the Japanese aggressors or Chinese collaborators, commit any disruptive or hostile act against the anti-Japanese armed forces, or violate government laws and decrees. All parties and groups enjoy legal status, provided they resist Japan and are not opposed to democracy.

So far, this kind of government has been set up in only some places behind the enemy lines. It cannot yet be established throughout the country and remains but a propaganda slogan, because the Kuomintang is reluctant to put an end to its one-party dictatorship and “hand state power back to the people”. Hence the anti-Japanese democratic political power consists of local governments only. These governments should be subordinate to, and led by, the central government and they should carry out its laws and decrees according to the circumstances prevailing behind the enemy lines. At the same time, they are entitled, under the principle of local autonomy, to promulgate laws and decrees applicable to their respective localities.

Because the anti-Japanese democratic governments behind the enemy lines have not yet been officially recognized by the central government, some people call them “illegitimate”. This kind of talk is obviously incorrect.

We would like to ask: What do you mean by “legitimate” and “illegitimate”?

In the present period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, national interests — the interests of the war of resistance — come before everything else. This is the highest legal principle of the whole nation. All government laws and decrees should be aimed at protecting national interests and ensuring victory in the war of resistance. Our current laws are based on the Three People’s Principles and the Programme of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction.<sup>122</sup> Accordingly, it is absolutely legitimate to set up organs of anti-Japanese democratic political power behind the enemy lines, institute democracy, carry out the Three People’s Principles and the Programme of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction and act on the principle that the interests of the nation and of the war of resistance are supreme. It is illegitimate to fail to do so. In other words, it is unlawful to go against the Three People’s Principles, the Programme of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction or against the principle that the interests of the war of resistance are above all else. Whatever the majority of the people accept and vote for is legitimate. Con-



versely, whatever they oppose and reject, whatever is forced upon them is illegitimate. Because the anti-Japanese democratic governments are elected by the people, they are legitimate. Because the other governments are not elected by the people, they are illegitimate. If the central government is applying the Three People's Principles and the Programme of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction, it ought to recognize the anti-Japanese democratic governments which are behind enemy lines and treat them as local governments. Refusal to do so only serves to prove that the central government functionaries are acting counter to the law and to the Three People's Principles and the Programme of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction, on which the law is based. In addition, it is illegitimate for the central government to refuse to "hand state power back to the people" and reorganize itself into an anti-Japanese democratic government. The history of the world abounds with cases of central governments violating the law. In some countries these cases are tried before their supreme courts, but not in China. This does not mean, however, that such cases do not exist here. In fact, they abound — only nobody dares to try them. Consequently, the anti-Japanese democratic governments set up behind the enemy lines are in essence absolutely legitimate.

Because some persons in the Kuomintang<sup>5</sup> are unwilling to institute democracy, it is difficult, for the time being, to democratize the central government. However, democracy has already been realized in a number of places in China, and these democracies can serve well as the local foundation for a new-democratic republic — a republic based upon the Three People's Principles. In our country the actual institution of such a republic may have to proceed from the localities to the central government and then to all parts of the country. This will take a long period of strenuous work. Thus, the anti-Japanese democratic governments established behind enemy lines have an important, exemplary role to play in promoting nationwide democratization, and so their performance, good or bad, will exert a significant influence on other parts of the country. This political power, though built in only some places behind the enemy lines today, is of nationwide significance and thus merits our special attention.

Some people say that the Communist Party wants to seize political power and establish its own "one-party dictatorship". This is malicious fabrication and calumny. In opposing the Kuomintang's one-party dictatorship, the Communist Party's intention is not to establish

one of its own. Being democratic forces, the Communist Party, the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army willingly serve the common people, who constitute the majority of the population. They strive for the establishment of a joint democratic government run by all classes opposed to Japan, not privately managed by a single party, group or individual. Wherever the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army go, they will establish joint, united front governments of all revolutionary classes whenever conditions permit the setting up of a government. The Communist Party, the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army may have to appoint functionaries to provisional local governments where the people are not yet adequately organized. However, they will, without hesitation, hand political power back to the people, to be exercised by the popularly elected government, once conditions are ripe, that is, once the people are fairly well organized and in a position to elect whom they wish to manage their affairs. The Communist Party does not want to stage-manage the government, nor is it possible to do so. On the contrary, the Party hopes to see all anti-Japanese parties, groups and organizations and all fair-minded people taking part in anti-Japanese democratic governments and jointly operating them. Only when the majority of the people actively participate in government, shoulder the responsibility for its work and strive for the interests of the nation as well as their own, can anti-Japanese democratic political power be consolidated and expanded, oppression by imperialism and the feudal forces be overthrown and China's independence and sovereignty and the people's democracy and freedom achieved. This objective of the Communist Party is shared by the overwhelming majority of the people. The Communist Party has no interests or objectives other than those of the people.

# ON INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE

*July 2, 1941*

## I. INTRODUCTION

Comrades,

We have recently raised within the Party the problem of how to strengthen our efforts to steel the Party spirit of our members. I have heard that the Central Committee has adopted a decision on this subject, and we hope to receive it shortly. In order to solve this problem, we are going to launch a concrete ideological struggle within the Party against various undesirable phenomena which run counter to the Party spirit. What is the correct way for us to conduct this ideological struggle, and what would be an incorrect way? These are the questions I now wish to discuss.

Everyone knows that ours is a party of the proletariat and that it leads the struggles of the masses. To fulfil the historic tasks it has shouldered, the Party must fight against the various enemies of the revolution during different periods and must unite with the various revolutionary strata and classes. From the day of its birth, our Party has never ceased for a single moment to live in an environment of acute struggle. The Party and the proletariat have constantly been surrounded by various non-proletarian classes — the big bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry and even the remnants of feudal forces. Both when struggling against the proletariat and when co-operating with it, the ideas of these classes permeate to the very heart of the Party and the proletariat through unstable elements and con-

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stantly influence their ideology, ways of life, theory and action. This is the origin of all kinds of erroneous and undesirable tendencies within the Party, the root of all the shades of opportunism within it, and 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 founding, our Party has struggled not only against enemies outside the Party but also against all kinds of non-proletarian influences within. They are different kinds of struggle, but neither can be dispensed with. If our Party did not carry on the struggle against these influences, if it did not constantly wage internal struggles against all undesirable tendencies, if it did not continually rid itself of every type of non-proletarian ideology and opportunism both “Left” and Right, then they might gain ground within the Party and influence or even dominate it. This would make it impossible for the Party to consolidate and develop itself or to preserve its independence. It would endanger the Party and lead to its degeneration. Such non-proletarian ideology together with “Left” or Right opportunism could corrupt our Party, or certain sections of it, and could even cause an essential change in it, or in certain sections of it, turning it into a non-proletarian organization. In much the same way, for example, the social-democratic parties in Europe<sup>123</sup> were corrupted by bourgeois ideology and transformed into political parties of a bourgeois type, thus becoming major social pillars of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, such inner-Party struggle is absolutely necessary and cannot be avoided. Any thought of trying to avoid it, or of evading criticism for one’s own errors by refraining from criticizing others’, is totally wrong.

Inner-Party struggles consist principally of ideological struggles, that is, divergences and conflicts in matters of ideology and principle. Although divergences and conflicts among our comrades in matters of principle could develop into political disagreements within the Party and even into unavoidable organizational splits under certain circumstances, they are basically ideological struggles in essence and content. Consequently, any inner-Party struggle not involving divergences in matters of ideology and principle and any conflict among our comrades not based on such divergences is a type of unprincipled struggle: a struggle without content. This kind of struggle which is utterly unwarranted and can only harm the Party should be strictly avoided by every Party member.

Inner-Party struggle is absolutely indispensable in preserving the Party's purity and independence, in guaranteeing the conformity of its actions with the line which represents the highest interests of the proletariat and in preserving the Party's proletarian character. With this goal in mind, we must conduct inner-Party struggles from two sides, or on two fronts, because the non-proletarian ideology influences the Party from two directions. It attacks the Party from both the right and the left and finds expression in Right or "Left" opportunism. Therefore, our inner-Party struggle must be directed against both types of opportunism simultaneously. Only by so doing can our Party preserve its proletarian character. If we merely carry on a one-sided struggle, or if we slacken the vigilance of our struggle against either side, then the non-proletarian ideology not only may, but assuredly will, assail our Party on the very side we have neglected, making it impossible for us to preserve the Party's purity and independence or to consolidate the Party. It is, therefore, through constant inner-Party struggle on two fronts that our Party consolidates and develops itself.

Comrade Stalin has said:

The fact of the matter is that 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. 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. But if these questions are connected with disagreements based on principle, no compromise, no "middle" line can save the situation. There can be no "middle" line in questions of principle. Either one set of principles or another must be made the basis of the Party's work. A "middle" line in matters of principle is the "line" of stuffing people's heads with rubbish, of glossing over disagreements, a "line" leading to the ideological degeneration of the Party, to the ideological death of the Party.<sup>124</sup>

And he added:

...the history of our Party is the history of the overcoming of inner-Party contradictions and of the constant strengthening of the ranks of our Party on the basis of overcoming them.<sup>125</sup>



This explains the necessity of inner-Party struggle.

Much has been said by Lenin and Stalin in their works with regard to the necessity of inner-Party struggle and as to why liberalism and conciliationism in the Party are no good. But you can read those works yourselves, so I will not say more on this subject. The problem I want to talk about now is how to conduct inner-Party struggle. This is a new problem for us and it is entirely necessary for everyone of us to buckle down and begin studying it now. I do not propose to speak on the problem comprehensively at this time, but I will merely present my own views, based on my personal observations regarding the experience of the Chinese Communist Party. I invite all comrades to discuss whether or not these views are correct.

## II. 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 comprehensive ideological and theoretical system. In addition, they also built an independent organization for the proletariat, led its mass struggles and created the First International.<sup>126</sup> In the early period after its establishment, the Second International<sup>127</sup> came under Engels' guidance and influence. Marx and Engels educated the working class and gave it guidance on how to get organized and wage struggles.

During the period of the Second International (the period before the First World War), the social-democratic parties in various countries engaged in widespread organizational activities among the workers and launched extensive campaigns to organize the working class, which were enormously successful. Since this was a period of capitalism's "peaceful" development and the working-class organizations were formed in such a period, the distinction between the Party and the trade unions was not yet very clear. After the death of Engels, the Second International, led by Kautsky and company, adopted an inexcusable line of conciliation towards opportunism within the parties of the Second International, with the result that opportunism

corroded them all. Entering upon the era of imperialism and the era of proletarian revolution, these parties and trade unions revealed their inability to shoulder the revolutionary tasks which were the responsibility of the proletariat in the new period. Consequently, they could not help but go bankrupt and decay during the course of the First World War.

Lenin lived in an era different from that of Marx and Engels. It was an era of imperialism, of moribund capitalism and of proletarian revolution. This era demanded that the proletariat build a strong, militant party, which was fully unified ideologically, politically, organizationally and in its action and which maintained close ties with the proletarian masses. Only through reliance on such a party would it be possible to successfully carry out the extremely acute revolutionary struggles. Therefore, in addition to restoring and developing the doctrines of Marx and Engels in all their aspects, Lenin made a point of creating a comprehensive doctrine concerning the building of proletarian revolutionary parties. The systematic theory of building up our Party was, in the main, created by Lenin. His theory of Party building was absolutely inseparable from the strategy and tactics for guiding the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

What were the conditions prevailing in the period when Lenin founded the revolutionary party of the proletariat?

On the one hand, the imperialist war was imminent 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 their extensive organizations, were not yet alive to the needs of this task. They neither wanted nor dared to prepare for a revolutionary offensive by the proletariat. Hence they were loosely organized and faction-ridden and were not in a position to conduct any serious struggle. As a result, they completely failed to meet the proletariat's demand for revolution. They not only fell into the mire of Right opportunism theoretically and politically (for instance, they advanced the theory of collaboration between labour and capital, the theory of the peaceful development of capitalism into socialism, the viewpoint that the proletariat could seize power by means of parliamentary struggles without going through a revolution and that there was therefore no need for working out the strategy and tactics of proletarian revolution), but were also blatant Right opportunists concerning the question of party organization.

The parties of the Second International and the Mensheviks in Russia<sup>128</sup> advocated liberalist principles in party organization, thus reducing the proletarian party to an ordinary workers' organization. They claimed that no closely-knit organization or strict discipline was necessary, they called for unprincipled peace within the party, and they tolerated the existence of divergent ideological and organizational factions within it. To these parties, unity and discipline, self-criticism and inner-party struggle were inconceivable and not at all necessary. Such were the principal manifestations of Right opportunism of the parties of the Second International on the question of organization.

At that time, there were also the Economists in Russia<sup>129</sup> and the Syndicalists in Europe (France, for example)<sup>130</sup> who asserted that the working class did not need a party organization, who refused to organize such parties or subordinated them to the trade unions, who advocated the "independence of the trade unions" and who denied the Party's leading role in the trade unions and so on.

On the one hand, confronted with the militant task of revolution, the proletariat cried out for a strong, fighting party to lead the broad masses in carrying out the task. On the other hand, the parties of the Second International, with their millions of party and trade union members being loosely organized, were utterly incapable of fighting. Moreover, their organizational backwardness and laxity were backed up by all kinds of opportunistic views. These were the significant conditions which prevailed in the period when Lenin started to build the Bolshevik Party.

Under these conditions, in order to build a party which was fully unified and consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally and capable of leading the proletarian revolution, Lenin needed to muster every force to oppose the ideological and political opportunism of the parties of the Second International, and particularly to oppose their opportunism on the question of party organization. It was on this question of qualifications for Party membership that differences first arose between Lenin's Bolshevik Party and the Mensheviks. Lenin's doctrine on the building of a Bolshevik party was worked out in the course of the struggle against the Right opportunism of the parties of the Second International over the question of organization and during the struggle against the theory advanced by the Economists and Syndicalists that no working-class political parties were necessary. Therefore, his teachings on Party building were full of polemics against the various Right opportunist views on organization,

against liberalism and conciliationism, against reducing the proletarian party to an ordinary workers' organization, against unprincipled peace within the Party, against factional organizations and activities inside the Party, and so forth. In the course of his polemics, Lenin came to the conclusion that the Party, being composed of the most conscious, courageous and progressive elements of the proletariat, is the most advanced, best organized and best disciplined detachment of the proletariat, and its highest form of organization. In addition to the Party, the proletariat has such organizations as trade unions, co-operative societies, cultural and educational bodies, and even a government and army. Yet of all these organizations of the proletariat, the Party, being the highest, is capable of giving political guidance to all the other. Thus, Lenin drew a clear distinction between the Party and other organizations of the working class. Moreover, he affirmed that the principle of Party organization should be democratic centralism and that the Party should have unified, iron discipline. These principles were framed by Lenin in the course of the struggle with the opportunism of the parties of the Second International on the question of organization, and these constitute the main content of Lenin's doctrine on Party building.

It was mainly during the fight against Right, rather than "Left", opportunism on the question of organization that Lenin built up the Party. In the period before the October Revolution, "Left" opportunism as concerns party organization had either not yet come into being or had not fully developed into systematic opportunism. This explains why Lenin's writings on Party building were filled with polemics against Right opportunism, that is, against abandoning strict organization and discipline, against unprincipled peace within the Party, against the denial of inner-Party ideological struggle and fear of self-criticism, against liberalism and conciliationism inside the Party, against the theory of the independence of trade unions, etc. Lenin's polemics resulted from the actual conditions prevailing at the time when he built the Party.

But if we consider the actual conditions under which the Communist Party of China was built, we will see that they were entirely different from those which confronted Lenin before the October Revolution.

First, the Chinese Party was created after the October Revolution at a time when the Russian Bolsheviks had already won the victory which serves as a living example for us. This was why from the



very beginning our Party was built in accordance with Lenin's principles and under the guidance of the Communist International.

Second, the Chinese Party had never been influenced by the Second International of European social-democratic parties, either ideologically or organizationally.

Third, in China, unlike in Europe, there had never been a period of "peaceful" development of capitalism in which the working class was allowed to participate in peaceful parliamentary struggles, nor had there ever been a labour aristocracy.

Fourth, peasants and other petty-bourgeois elements made up a considerable proportion of the Party membership, and it included some loafers. These people provided the social basis of "Left" and Right opportunism within the Chinese Party.

Because of these four conditions, we have, from the very beginning, consciously followed Lenin's principles and path in building the Chinese Party. The majority of our Party members can recite from memory the organizational principles of the Bolshevik Party. Furthermore, the traditions and conventions of Social-Democracy are not to be found in our Party. In this respect, we have been able to take a direct path. From the very outset, our Party stressed self-criticism and ideological struggle, settled on the system of democratic centralism and maintained strict organization and discipline. It did not tolerate the existence of factions and was strictly opposed to liberalism, the independence of trade unions, economism, etc. Therefore, systematic Right opportunist theories on organization have never been openly advocated in our Party. Nor has it been permissible to express within the Party ideas opposed to the need for self-criticism, inner-Party struggle, strict organization and discipline and a working-class political party, or to advocate independence of the trade unions. True, ideological struggle in our Party is not yet quite adequate, but this is because our low theoretical level makes it impossible for us to discern divergences in matters of principle and because some leading comrades suppress self-criticism by abnormal means. Within the Party, however, there is no systematic theory opposing inner-Party struggle.

The special conditions and circumstances under which our Party was founded exerted two kinds of influences. One was favourable, enabling us to build, from the very start, a Communist Party of the Leninist type. Because, subjectively, we strictly adhered to the principles laid down by Lenin, our Party has all along conducted



strict self-criticism and inner-Party struggle, and this has served as a motive force expediting our progress. The other influence, however, frequently led our comrades to another extreme, to another kind of mistake — the mistake of carrying inner-Party struggles too far and waging extremely bitter struggles without any restraints at all. This resulted in another deviation: a “Left” deviation.

Many comrades, possessing a mechanical and erroneous understanding of Lenin’s principles, turned them into something absolute. They believed that the Party’s highly centralized organization ruled out inner-Party democracy, that the need for inner-Party struggle rules out peace within the Party, that the political leadership exercised by the Party — the highest form of organization of the proletariat — over proletarian mass organizations rules out the independence of trade unions and other organizations of the workers and the toiling masses, that unified, iron discipline means obliteration of the individual personality, initiative and creativeness of Party members, etc.

Many comrades learned by rote the principles of Lenin and believed that inner-Party struggle was necessary and that liberalism and conciliationism were no good. But they applied these principles mechanically and dogmatically, thinking that inner-Party struggles should and must be carried on uncompromisingly regardless of the time, circumstances or issues involved, that the more fierce these struggles were, the better and that the more virulent the form of struggle and criticism and the sharper the controversies between Party comrades, the better. They thought the alternative was errors of liberalism and conciliationism. In addition, in order to prove that they themselves were free from such errors and that they were “100 per cent Bolsheviks”, they, heedless of the actual conditions of the time and place, engaged in unprincipled struggles in the Party. Thus, in these struggles, they became “rowdies” lacking a correct standpoint, “struggle specialists” with no regard for principle, or “brawl experts” given to fighting. They conducted struggle for the sake of struggle. This was a disgraceful situation within the ranks of the proletariat. Far from confirming that these comrades were “100 per cent Bolsheviks”, these approaches only prove to be an insult to Bolshevism because they exploited the name, Bolshevik, to practise opportunism inside the Party.

Many comrades did not understand that our inner-Party struggle is a struggle over principle, a struggle to choose between differing principles and a struggle to determine our goals and the methods

for attaining these goals. They did not understand that, while they should wage uncompromising struggle against those in the Party who hold different views on questions involving principle and the determination of goals and the methods of reaching such goals, they can and should achieve a necessary compromise on questions of current policy or on questions of a purely practical nature which are not related to principle. This is precisely the style of work characteristic of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, yet many of our comrades have failed to acquire it. They have conducted uncompromising struggles on issues that require compromise. In consequence, they fight over every issue, on every occasion and against every person. They struggle against anybody who happens to differ with them and so enforce absolute conformity. They make no concessions on any point and won't compromise under any circumstances. They regard all contradictions as antagonistic and so adopt an antagonistic attitude towards everything — hence, their absolutism.

Because many comrades do not understand what constitutes principle, what problems involve principle or what the Party's strategic plans and tactical lines are, they do not know how to focus their struggle on the differences over principles, strategic plans and tactical lines. Having an exceedingly low theoretical level and lacking in political experience, they are not yet able to grasp major issues or engage in debate about them. They have rigidly committed to memory the idea that inner-Party struggle is indispensable and that it is wrong to go without it. Even though they are unable to grasp important issues and raise problems from a principled perspective, they still want to wage struggle. Therefore they conduct unprincipled struggle and debate with those in the Party who hold views different from theirs on isolated matters and problems, thus creating disunity, mutual antagonism and organizational splits among comrades. These evil practices do exist in our inner-Party struggles.

This is indeed an exceedingly grave kind of deviation in the struggles inside the Chinese Party (although it also exists in the parties of other countries). The excessive, unrestrained inner-Party struggle, which is a manifestation of this deviation, has led to the extreme of "Left" opportunism in inner-Party struggle and of "Left" opportunism on the question of party organization. (This opportunism has caused the negation of democracy within the Party, of inner-Party peace based on unity in matters of principle, of the relative independence of trade unions and other mass organizations, of the per-

sonality, initiative and creativeness of Party members, etc.) This opportunism stems from the special environment and conditions in which the Chinese Party has found itself.

Here I want to mention the fact that many comrades of the Chinese Party have failed to take notice of the principled struggle against “Left” opportunism waged by Lenin after the October Revolution. Following the revolution, a faction of “Left-Wing Communists” emerged in the Russian Party.<sup>131</sup> They opposed the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty,<sup>132</sup> and later they contested the trade union question.<sup>133</sup> Before the revolution, too, there was a group of Otzovists with “Leftist” leanings inside the Bolshevik Party,<sup>134</sup> but they were quickly defeated and never presented such serious problems as did the “Left-Wing Communists” at the time of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty. Lenin, however, also defeated the latter fairly quickly. “Left-Wing Communists” also emerged in the countries of Western Europe, raising the slogan of “no compromise” and opposing participation in parliaments, legal struggles and necessary alliances with the left wing of the social-democratic parties. These were the circumstances which prompted Lenin, in April 1920, to write *“Left-Wing” Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, to set right this trend. After victory in the October Revolution those who previously did not believe that the proletariat could seize state power were faced with the living fact. This dealt a fatal blow to Right opportunism. Then came “Left” opportunism. Its advocates contended that the revolution could triumph overnight without any detours. Such sentiments also existed in the Chinese Party and have even prevailed at certain periods. People making such mistakes attached no importance at all to Lenin’s book *“Left-Wing” Communism, an Infantile Disorder*. Politically, they were opposed to any detours and to waiting at all, and they preached that a vanguard minority could launch a rash offensive though the broad masses had yet to catch up. At the same time, they accused others of “Right opportunism”. Right and “Left” opportunism on organizational questions comes from Right and “Left” deviations on political questions. When in certain periods the Chinese Party committed Right or “Left” errors politically, it also inevitably committed such errors organizationally. Our “Left” adventurist errors were, especially during the Civil War period, followed by excessive inner-Party struggles in organizational matters.

On the question of inner-Party struggle within the Chinese Party, there exist, so to speak, three types of deviations. The first consists

of liberalism and conciliationism; the second of mechanical and excessive struggle and “Left” opportunism in organizational matters and in inner-Party struggle; and the third of unprincipled disputes and struggles.

These three types of deviations, which I have merely classified by form, do not differ very much in essence because unprincipled disputes and struggles, excessive inner-Party struggles and liberalism are, far from being Marxist-Leninist, opposed to Marxism-Leninism in all their manifestations.

Such are the special conditions under which the Chinese Communist Party was founded and the deviations that have arisen in its inner-Party struggles.

### III. THE MANIFESTATIONS OF MECHANICAL AND EXCESSIVE INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE

Comrades!

Today I am not going to discuss liberalism at length, though it is the first of the aforementioned three categories of deviations in inner-Party struggle. This does not mean that I think liberalism is not a serious problem in the Party at present or that the fight against it is unimportant. Nor does it mean that I believe our comrades are thoroughly clear about the tendency towards liberalism or about its manifestations in various concrete problems. The contrary is true. But I shall talk about it some other time when I have the opportunity. Here I just wish to point out that because we have failed to conduct adequate ideological struggle, the liberalist tendency inside the Party has somewhat increased recently and has become a major tendency in inner-Party struggle in quite a number of places. For this reason, many erroneous tendencies and undesirable phenomena have not been effectively corrected in time, and Party discipline has gradually slackened. This is not good. All this has happened because our Party has recently taken in large numbers of intellectuals and other new members imbued with the ideology of bourgeois liberalism and without training ideologically, politically or organizationally in the iron discipline of the proletariat. Meanwhile, many of the comrades who made “Left” mistakes in the past and engaged in excessive inner-Party struggle have now turned round and are making the Right



mistake of liberalism. Moreover, the existence of the united front has, over the years, increased the possibility that the bourgeoisie will exert its influence on the Party. Counter-revolutionaries hidden in the Party have resorted to every means to support and promote liberalism. All this has led to the growth of liberalist tendencies which should be effectively combated in our struggle to strengthen the Party spirit. These tendencies are manifested as follows: some comrades keep silent about the mistakes of other comrades for fear of retaliation; others do not point out the mistakes made by intimate friends but help to conceal them; others, instead of speaking to one's face, indulge in backbiting; and still others are given to irresponsible criticism, grumbling and gossip. Such things are quite common inside the Party. Moreover, an especially serious phenomenon has recently developed. Some people are terrified of others reporting their shortcomings and mistakes to the Party organization or to their superiors. While failing to refrain from making mistakes, these people try to prevent other Party members from criticizing them at meetings and from reporting these mistakes to the Party organization or to their superiors. When they have done something wrong or improper, they are unwilling to have it exposed and corrected. They try to conceal their mistakes and shortcomings for fear of criticism. They do not appreciate the fact that only through exposure can mistakes be corrected. They want to bury them in a secret place as if they were some kind of priceless treasure. Thus, they not only try to divert others' attention from their mistakes but they also forbid any report of their mistakes, thus depriving comrades of their right to speak through proper organizational channels to make criticism within the Party. These people intimidate their comrades by saying, "If you dare to report this, you'll be sorry for it. I'll give you a thrashing — you toady." They hate those who report their mistakes and, storing this hatred up in their hearts, think of ways to retaliate. Their attitude is disgusting and shows that they have no integrity at all as Party members. They try to separate the leading bodies of the Party from the rank and file of the membership in order to do whatever they like inside the Party. Such things must be strictly prohibited.

It is wrong for a Party member not to report to the Party organization or his superiors mistakes or things harmful to the Party which he sees. Reporting such things is entirely correct. To forbid others to report mistakes is absolutely unlawful and will never be tolerated in our Party. Of course, upon receiving such reports, the leading bodies



of the Party organization involved should examine the facts and handle each case carefully, instead of making any hasty decision based on an one-sided version of the case.

We have already decided that ideological struggle inside the Party should now be properly developed. In certain Party organizations where liberalist mistakes have been particularly serious, a specific struggle against liberalism should be conducted on the basis of facts in order to overcome those mistakes. A few years ago, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote an article, "Oppose Liberalism", in which he enumerated eleven manifestations of it within the Party. His article is still valid; you should study it carefully and try to overcome and combat liberalist ideas in accordance with the principles set out in it. Liberalism will also be dealt with at length in your course on Party building. This is why I don't propose to discuss it any further today. I am now going to talk about the second and third deviations in greater detail, because they have not been systematically discussed in the Party.

What are the manifestations of mechanical and excessive inner-Party struggle? They are as follows:

First, there are regular "struggle meetings" in Party organizations in the localities and the armed forces, and such meetings are even convened regularly in non-Party organizations such as government organs and mass organizations. The "struggle meetings" are pre-arranged. Their main purpose is not to review work but to attack some individual. Instead of being directed primarily against mistakes, the struggle is directed against individuals. In other words, it is not conducted mainly against certain incorrect ideas and principles, but against certain persons. The purpose of the so-called "struggles against 'Zhang' or 'Li' " is to deal a blow at some comrade who has made mistakes. The "struggle meeting" is, in essence, a trial for an individual comrade. It is not aimed chiefly at correcting ideological misunderstandings but at taking organizational measures to force into submission "trouble-makers" or comrades who dare to stick to their differing — not necessarily incorrect — views. Moreover, at the "struggle meetings", organizational decisions are invariably made against most of the victims. Quite obviously, such a 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. Are there any meetings which, being completely free from struggle, we might call "non-struggle meetings" to contrast

with the “struggle meetings”? We will cause conceptual confusion if we divide our meetings into those specifically intended for conducting struggle and those without struggle at all. This shows that many comrades do not understand the absolute and universal character of struggle: they mechanically divorce struggle from education.

Inner-Party struggle aims to educate the membership and the comrades who have made mistakes. Therefore, it is in itself a kind of indispensable education. In addition, education within the Party is also a kind of inner-Party struggle, although a relatively mild kind. Hence education and struggle cannot be viewed separately. Struggle is a kind of education and education a kind of struggle. Any mechanical separation of the two is incorrect.

Next, such “struggle meetings” are a concrete manifestation within the Party of sectarianism and of the erroneous policy of attacking cadres and comrades. They are designed for attacking the comrades who have made mistakes rather than for helping, educating and rescuing them. Since the purpose is chiefly to struggle against an individual, divergence and antagonism in ideology are overlooked. Hence, far from really strengthening unity within the Party politically and in terms of ideology, organization and action, such “struggle meetings” often serve to deepen differences in these areas, intensify disunity and unprincipled disputes and help the growth of sectarianism inside the Party.

It is all the more incorrect to hold such “struggle meetings” in non-Party organizations such as government organs and mass organizations.

Second, as for the way inner-Party struggle is conducted, some comrades hold that the more fierce, the better. For them, the more serious the problem is made to appear, the more faults they expose, the more fantastic the labels they put on others, the more virulent the criticism, and the more severe and scurrilous the manner and attitude in criticism and struggle, the better. In short, they think the louder the voice, the more stern the face, the more the teeth are bared, the better. All this they regard as the “epitome of revolution”. In inner-Party struggle and criticism, they pay no attention to propriety or moderation and, since they don’t know when to stop, they continue the struggle without any restraint. Quite obviously, this too is entirely incorrect.

Third, some comrades still do not understand that inner-Party struggle is essentially an ideological struggle, that ideological unity must be achieved before unity can be maintained and strengthened in

the Party politically and in terms of organization and action and that problems must be solved ideologically and in principle before they can be solved in organization and action. It is, however, no easy matter to achieve ideological unity on the basis of principles, because it involves overcoming or rectifying other people's incorrect principles, bringing about changes in their ideas and transforming their long-held principles, viewpoints and prejudices. This simply cannot be done in a few words or through a "struggle meeting". Nor can it be achieved by high-handed means or compulsory measures. It can only be achieved through painstaking persuasion and education, through various kinds of complicated struggle, or through a fairly long period of education, struggle and practice in revolution. Some comrades do not view the essence of inner-Party struggle in this light, but treat it simplistically, mechanically and in a vulgar way. They look at inner-Party struggle as a kind of antagonism in organization or form, or as a kind of fighting, cursing, quarrelling or tussling, instead of trying to seek genuine ideological unity on the basis of principles. They think that differences over ideology and principle in the Party can be settled by simplistic, mechanical and vulgar methods. Quite obviously, this attitude is entirely incorrect.

These comrades do not try to preserve or achieve unity in the Party by overcoming differences over principle and ideology or by rectifying certain incorrect tendencies and phenomena, but they try to do it by simplistic organizational means or high-handed measures, or by a policy of attacks or a system of punishment. Thus, they resort to various erroneous and excessive forms of inner-Party struggle. Instead of carefully and considerately persuading comrades on the basis of principle and ideology, they intimidate and force them to submit by resorting to purely organizational means, administrative measures and even hostile methods. They make organizational decisions against comrades and punish them at will. They ruthlessly mete out the same punishment without regard for the seriousness of the mistakes a Party member has made or whether he has admitted or corrected his mistakes. Hence, a system of punishment has taken shape in the Party. These comrades often conduct struggle as a means of starting work and pushing it forward. They go out of their way to look for "targets of struggle" (comrades inside the Party) and conduct struggle against these targets as representatives of opportunism. They attack and victimize one or several comrades in order to urge other Party cadres to work hard and fulfil their tasks, which is, as the Chinese

saying goes, like “killing the chicken to warn the monkey”. They deliberately ferret out the shortcomings and mistakes of the “target of struggle” and mechanically and with bias assemble his not quite appropriate words and deeds. Then they look at his shortcomings, mistakes, poorly chosen words and selected deeds out of context, regarding them as representative of the whole make-up of the comrade. They magnify his individual shortcomings and mistakes, developing them into a system of opportunism. In this way they create an extremely unfavourable impression about him among other comrades, exploit the hatred for opportunism in the Party and incite the others to wage struggle against him. Then, “everybody can flog the dead tiger without risk”. With the desire for revenge greatly enhanced, some persons joined in and set about to expose all the other shortcomings and mistakes of this comrades and, arbitrarily magnifying them, regard these as matters of principle. They even fabricate stories and, on the basis of personal suspicions and baseless rumours, accuse the comrade of various crimes, persisting until they have driven him out of his senses. Having done this, they are still reluctant to allow the comrade under attack to defend himself, and if he tries, they accuse him of attempting to explain away his mistakes or of having admitted them with reservations. After this they deal him further blows. They do not allow him to reserve his opinions while submitting to the decision of the Party organization, nor do they allow him to appeal to the superiors but insist that he admit his mistakes on the spot. So long as they can have the comrade admit all his “mistakes”, they do not care whether matters of principle and ideology have been resolved or not. So it has happened that in the course of these struggles, certain comrades admitted more mistakes than they had made, thinking that to avoid attacks they had better accept all the accusations, though, in fact, they had no idea where their mistakes lay. All this goes to show that such methods of struggle cannot cultivate the tenacity characteristic of Communists which is necessary to uphold truth.

Fourth, methods of struggle inside the Party are mixed up with methods used outside of it. Some comrades mechanically apply the methods of inner-Party struggle to non-Party mass organizations and government organs and to non-Party cadres and the masses. Others employ the same methods of struggle against the enemy and alien elements when they are conducting struggle against Party comrades, thus dealing with comrades in the same way as they do the enemy and alien elements. They employ such devices as sowing dissension and



plotting intrigues. They use measures such as surveillance, arrest, trial and imprisonment in inner-Party struggle. For example, the “Left” mistake made by some comrades in the ferreting out of spies is largely due to the fact that they, having failed to draw a strict distinction between inner-Party struggle and the struggle against the enemy, mixed up the ideological struggle inside the Party with the effort to ferret out spies. Sometimes, there really are enemy spies hiding in the Party, and we must, by relying upon facts, conduct struggle against them to unmask and expel them from the Party. But this efforts is entirely different from the struggle waged for the purpose of educating Party members who have made mistakes, and a distinction ought to be drawn between the two. The struggle inside the Party and the struggle outside it are closely related, but they must differ in method and form.

There are still some comrades (in truth, they can no longer be called comrades) who, openly relying on forces outside the Party, use them in inner-Party struggle to blackmail and intimidate the Party. For instance, relying on their achievements, on the troops and rifles in their command and on their prestige among the masses or their connections with a certain section of the united front, some of these persons wage struggle against the Party and higher organs, compelling acceptance of their demands and opinions and asserting their independence from the Party. Some make use of various conferences or of newspapers and magazines run by non-Party people, even those of the bourgeoisie and the enemy, to criticize the Party and conduct struggles against higher Party organs and certain comrades and cadres. Quite obviously, this is a mistake just as serious as those made by other persons who, relying upon the influence of the Party, coerce, oppress and order the masses about and who blackmail persons outside the Party. These people conduct struggles against the Party from a non-Party standpoint. Therefore, although Communists in name, they have completely departed from the standpoint of the Party and have become its enemies.

Fifth, many problems arising in our Party are settled at meetings or through meetings. This is good. But in various organizations, meetings are held without preparation, prior investigation or study, so it often happens that opinions differ widely and disputes flare up. Then, because the summation of these meetings is invariably made by the leading participants and because the conclusions drawn are, effectively, decisions, many defects ensue. The controversies at some meetings ultimately force the political instructor or the secretary of a Party



branch or some other leading comrade to draw conclusions. I have witnessed the situation in which the person in this position was himself not at all sure what the dispute was about. Under the pressure of circumstances, however, he had to draw a conclusion all the same, for otherwise he would be hard pressed to continue to serve as a leading comrade. Being in the awkward position of having no alternative but to do so, this comrade, perspiring all over, drew a rash conclusion which was taken as a decision. With matters being decided in such a way, it's no wonder that many mistakes have occurred. Some comrades, who are not clear enough to make a decision on a problem, are reluctant to say so and do not ask for time to consider and study the problem or to get instructions from higher authorities. Instead, in order to save face and maintain their positions, they pretend that they are already sure of what to do and casually make decisions which often turn out to be incorrect. This phenomenon should also be corrected.

In dealing with problems, our comrades should assume the attitude: "If you know a thing, say so; and if you don't, say that too." They shouldn't claim to know what they actually don't know. Problems inside the Party cannot be settled in an arbitrary manner. While all meetings should reach conclusions, decisions should not be made casually when something is still in doubt and needs to be clarified. One should make decisions only on matters about which one feels quite sure. Otherwise, one can leave the question open pending further consideration or instructions from higher authorities. The summing-up of a meeting need not necessarily be made by the leading comrade in attendance, but should be done, after discussion, by whoever makes the report. In addition, the summation need not necessarily be taken as a formal conclusion, and the actual decision reached at the meeting may differ from it.

Above I have mentioned some important manifestations of mechanical and excessive inner-Party struggle.

The examples I have given are, of course, the worst cases, and it cannot be said these have been or are now typical of our inner-Party struggle. But such forms did exist and, for a period of time, they became the predominant forms of struggle.

What adverse effects have these incorrect and inappropriate forms of inner-Party struggle had on the Party? They are as follows:

First, they have encouraged a patriarchal practice inside the Party. With such forms of struggle prevailing in the Party, individual leaders

and leading bodies are so oppressive that many Party members dare not voice their opinions or make criticisms. Therefore, arbitrary decisions by an individual or a couple of people result.

Second, in the opposite extreme, these forms of struggle have encouraged the tendency towards ultra-democracy and the growth of liberalism inside the Party. Normally many Party members do not dare speak their minds or criticize, so peace and unity superficially prevail in the Party. When the conflicts can no longer be concealed, however, and when mistakes are revealed and things come to a head, the comrades who have been silent plunge into indiscriminate criticism and struggle, which lead to the kind of antagonism and organizational split that is almost beyond remedy. This is the reverse side of the patriarchal practice.

Third, these forms of struggle have prevented the correct institution of democratic centralism in the Party with the result that democracy is not practised regularly, normally or sufficiently.

Fourth, such forms of struggle have impeded the development of the enthusiasm, initiative and creative power of Party members and weakened their sense of responsibility towards the Party and their work. As a result, some comrades dare not act responsibly or with initiative. These comrades do not dare to work or create freely, and they do not bother to consider and study problems and events carefully but have consequently developed a perfunctory style of work and the habit of merely echoing others' words.

Fifth, such struggles have fostered sectarianism and unprincipled factional struggle inside the Party, while creating in Party members a psychological fear of criticism and of struggle. Some comrades have developed a conservative psychology based on "minding one's own business" and of "the less trouble the better".

Sixth, such struggles have afforded more opportunities for the Trotskyites,<sup>135</sup> special agents and counter-revolutionaries to undermine our Party and have furnished more pretexts for counter-revolutionaries to attack our Party. The Trotskyites and special agents especially take advantage of inner-Party contradictions and incorrect inner-Party struggles to undermine the Party and win over those elements that have been attacked and have become discontented. Counter-revolutionaries, on their part, take advantage of our struggle against opportunism to conduct their own propaganda and incite sympathizers outside the Party and unreliable elements inside it to foment discord and undermine our solidarity and unity.

The above-mentioned are the evil consequences of excessive struggle in the Party, some of which remain to be eliminated.

Such mechanical and excessive forms of inner-Party struggle have led to abnormal life in the Party over a considerable period of time and have brought it great losses. Although these forms of struggle have been eliminated in the higher leading bodies and have ceased to be dominant in the Party as a whole, still in certain individual organizations at the middle and lower levels, they have not been eliminated and continue to dominate or exist in varying degrees. As a result, the day-to-day functioning of these organizations is still abnormal. Therefore, we must call serious attention to this deviation so that we may eradicate it from all our organizations and so our comrades may, by avoiding the repetition of such mistakes, correctly and conscientiously conduct ideological struggle inside the Party to push our Party forward.

#### IV. UNPRINCIPLED STRUGGLE WITHIN THE PARTY

Comrades!

I am now going to discuss another deviation in inner-Party struggles — the unprincipled struggle. This phenomenon is particularly widespread and serious within the Chinese Party. Although a so-called “gossip tendency” exists in the Parties of foreign countries, I do not think the situation there is so serious as it is here. We must help our comrades become fully aware of this phenomenon and take necessary steps to cope with it; otherwise the Party’s unity and work will be greatly hindered.

What is meant by unprincipled disputes and struggles within the Party?

In my view, the following disputes and struggles are unprincipled, because they have departed 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 engage in struggle against other comrades from the standpoint of the Party’s interests, but from the standpoint of their personal or factional interests. That is to say, they proceed from an incorrect position in conducting inner-Party struggles. It follows that their viewpoints, policies and methods

of approaching these questions are also incorrect. They favour or advocate anything that is beneficial to themselves or their coterie and they oppose or reject anything that is not. The question of whether something is beneficial to the Party and the revolution is either irrelevant to them, or is regarded as something of secondary or subordinate importance. So in opposing or advocating things, these people don't base their positions on the principles of the Party and the revolution but depart from them. In other words, they don't use the interests of the Party and the revolution, but their own interests, as the foundation of their principles. If everyone would take his own interests as principle, then the principles — the interests — of various individuals would be bound to conflict and mutual struggle would be inevitable.

For instance, there have been quarrels and struggles among some of you over questions concerning orderlies, horses, food, clothing, injections for illness, failure to win promotion, etc. These fall into the category of personal questions which have nothing to do with principles. Instead of suggesting general principles for the Party or the school to adopt as to how orderlies, horses, food, clothing and injections should be distributed so that the Party and we all might benefit, these comrades raise such questions as: Why don't they give me an orderly and a horse? Why don't they give me an injection? Why don't they promote me? Why don't they give me good food, good clothing? Everything is centred on "me" and everything considered from the position of "me", and thus disputes and struggles arise within the Party. As long as they themselves are satisfied, they don't care a whit how irrational such a distribution is. This is one kind of unprincipled struggle.

Let us take another example. In combating waste, some comrades proceed in the interests or from the position of the Party, criticizing instances of waste which run counter to the principle of thrift and at the same time suggesting ways of practising economy. This is the correct way. But there are other comrades who do not oppose waste from this perspective. They approach the problem this way: so and so has squandered so much money, so and so has had such good food, such good clothing and what not. Well, why shouldn't I spend money like that, eat like that and have clothing like that? Don't tell me that it's because I'm not an old-timer or haven't rendered service to the Party. Thus, under the slogan against waste they rise up in struggle because they have not yet had the chance to squander like others have. This, too, is a kind of unprincipled struggle.



Yet another example: In eastern Anhui, it was determined that personnel working in government organs would get a small salary. As a result, some comrades asked to be transferred to government organs for the purpose of getting the salary. When they were not allowed to transfer, they began a struggle under the slogan of opposing salaries for government personnel, instead of making suggestions for discussion on the principles for fixing the living allowances of government personnel. This is also a kind of unprincipled struggle.

Second, far from trying to improve Party affairs, some comrades, with ulterior motives, stir up disputes and wage struggles in the Party with the intention of making things worse. Their purposes are incorrect and so this makes for another kind of unprincipled struggle. For instance, in order to seek the limelight, or maintain their personal position, or save face, or even to revenge themselves on others for some personal quarrel, some comrades, without considering circumstances or consequences for the Party, instigate disputes and wage struggles against other comrades, hampering their work and upsetting their plans and generally undermining order and unity in the Party.

Third, some comrades, instead of raising questions on the basis of principle and instead of asking the Party to adopt or to give up certain things, raise issues and conduct struggles under the sway of their emotions and changing moods. For momentary gratification they curse and get angry with people and they vent all their ill feelings and grudges. This is also a kind of unprincipled struggle. There are some other comrades who, due to their limited experience and low theoretical level, are unable to raise questions or to argue on the basis of principle. However, they engage in disputes with other comrades and categorically refuse to compromise on issues of an isolated, fragmentary and purely practical nature, including issues of current policy not related to principle. Such disputes have no bearing on issues of general principle and are, therefore, also a kind of unprincipled struggle which should not continue. For example, some comrades, holding differing views with regard to a certain battle, action, form of struggle or method of organization — views that do not involve overall policies of action or forms of struggle and organization or the general principle of tactics or strategic planning — argue endlessly, each sticking to his own views. As their questions are incorrectly formulated, it often happens that no correct conclusion can be drawn, or people grow indifferent to the conclusion and wind up indulging in fruitless, idle talk.



Fourth, inner-Party struggle is conducted unscrupulously and in disregard of the prescribed organizational procedures. Some instances are: to act in an unprincipled way by dragging comrades over to one's side or attacking others; to sow dissension, concoct schemes and frame comrades; to gossip behind a comrade's back while saying nothing to his face; to make irresponsible criticism and indulge in gossip against the Party; and to spread rumours, tell lies and slander other comrades.

All of the foregoing are kinds of unprincipled struggle. In addition, there are some comrades who inject into principled struggle certain elements of unprincipled struggle or carry on the latter under the banner of the former. There are others who are particularly interested in disputes between individuals, or in strained relationships, but care nothing for the sum and substance of the quarrel.

All such unprincipled struggles within the Party are bad and detrimental to the Party.

Comrades may ask: What is principle? What are questions of a purely practical nature which are not related to principle? What are questions of current policy? And why should we abandon our own views on these questions to compromise with those holding different views?

Comrades! These are indeed questions which must be elucidated.

What is principle?

Viewed purely from a theoretical perspective, principles are 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. By questions of principle we mean the methodology in our observation and handling of problems in accordance with the general laws governing the development of things. If the general laws applied in our observation and handling of problems are wrong, if our stand, viewpoint and method are wrong, errors will certainly occur when we observe and handle problems. If our understanding of the laws governing the development of certain problems is wrong, then the method we employ to handle such problems is also bound to be wrong. Therefore, we cannot afford to be careless in coping with questions of principle. If errors occur in principle, they will not be confined to isolated matters, but will become systematic and persistent and will affect a whole series of practical problems.

What then are the problems of current policy and of a purely practical nature which are not related to principle?

They are most often the individual problems related to day-to-day work and everyday life. For instance, we all agree that to mobilize and organize the masses is a matter of principle. We also agree that this task must be performed under the centralized leadership of mass organizations and with the assistance and participation of our armed forces. These are, indisputably, all matters of principle. That is to say, we hold no divergent opinions with regard to principle. But some comrades are of the opinion that the mass mobilization corps or departments of the army units should be suspended and the personnel dispatched to work in mass organizations. Some other comrades hold that the mass mobilization corps should not be suspended. Still other comrades suggest that a mass organization should be divided into four departments, while others say it should be divided into five departments. These are problems of a purely practical nature, not problems of principle.

Take another example. At present the general tactical principle in our war of resistance behind the enemy lines is dispersed, guerrilla warfare. If there are no divergent views among us regarding this point, it means we have no differences over the tactical principle. Suppose there is a certain commander who, forced by bad circumstances, or encouraged by particularly advantageous circumstance, fights a battle using techniques of mobile warfare resulting in defeat or victory. This is an individual practical problem which has nothing to do with the question of principle. Even if a couple of battles are fought in the wrong way, they are still individual mistakes, so long as the commander does not hold that waging mobile warfare behind enemy lines is a matter of principle. Perhaps, in a special situation, he might even win in such a battle. Therefore, we should not be obstinate and endlessly argue over such particular, purely practical questions.

As another example, our army, equipped as it is today, should not in principle attack the strong positions or major cities held by 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 when we, under special circumstances or owing to special necessity, capture a certain enemy position or city. However, the question of principle will arise if, having taken an enemy stronghold or city, we claim we should launch attacks right away on all enemy

strongholds and cities. During the civil war period, some comrades advocated attacks on big cities and even directed the Red Army to attack certain ones. It was a practical problem related to principle, because such attacks meant that in principle they favoured Red Army attacks on big cities. On such practical problems which involve principle, we should not compromise but should maintain as a matter of principle that no attacks should be launched against big cities.

There are always several possible solutions to concrete and practical problems. There are always several possible roads to get from one place to another. These ways and roads have their respective advantages and disadvantages depending on circumstances. A certain path might seem to hold the greatest benefit for us, but since it entails risk, we will play it safe by taking one which seems less advantageous. Thus, when a divergence of views occurs over such concrete and purely practical issues and has nothing to do with principle, we should know how to compromise, to make concessions and to accept and subscribe to others' views. "Be good at agreeing with other people," so problems can be successfully dealt with and decisions promptly made. We should not be obstinate, always asking others to give up their views, to acquiesce and to approach matters as we would, because this would only delay the settlement of issues, obstruct the progress of work, aggravate disputes, encourage idle talk in the Party and impair unity among the comrades. That is why we should, when necessary, compromise with Party members with different views on purely practical questions.

Now we know what is meant by purely practical and current policy questions that are not related to principle. These are questions which have no bearing on the objective of our struggle or on the form of struggle used to attain the objective, on our strategy and tactics and on our stand in relation to general as well as specific issues. The foregoing examples are questions of this kind.

To sum up, our general guiding principle in dealing with all issues is the interest of the struggle of the Party and the proletariat. Everything must be subordinated to this general principle. All positions, views and actions contrary to this general principle must be opposed. Among the various principles there are major as well as minor ones, and it is our rule that the part is subordinated to the whole, the immediate to the long-range interests and the minor to the major principles. There can be no conciliation or compromise in regard to differences over principle. They must be thrashed out before agree-

ment can be reached. However, on issues which are not related to principle, we should not be doggedly uncompromising or carry the struggle and dispute too far; otherwise our work will be impeded and unity impaired.

I once heard a comrade say that as long as his political views were “correct” in inner-Party struggle, it would not matter much, or, at least it was not too important if he made some mistakes organizationally. Based on this belief he held that it was all right to struggle against his opponents by various means incompatible with organizational discipline. Such an argument or viewpoint is obviously incorrect. He was setting the correct political line against the correct organizational line, unaware that he committed the gravest error of principle by disrupting order and organization within the Party. This is particularly so today. To impair and undermine unity and solidarity in the Party is the best way to help the enemy and to severely damage the interests of the Party and the proletariat. It means falling into an error which is more serious than any other error of principle. On this point, as on many other questions of principle, our comrades should be good at comparing and differentiating various issues of principle so as to find out their relative influence on the interests of the Party at a given time. In accordance with the rule that minor principles should be subordinated to major ones and the part to the whole, they should decide on which questions of principle they will not persist but make temporary concessions and on which questions of principle they will persist, making no concessions. To uphold inner-Party solidarity and unity, we should sometimes make temporary compromises with persons within the Party who hold divergent views on certain questions of principle which are not so important or urgent, and we should refrain from bringing up such questions and obstinately arguing over them. Instead, we should concentrate on urgent questions which are of great consequence. Of course, this is by no means a compromise in principle or a middle road. It is a compromise in action and a submission to the majority decision.

The foregoing are instances of unprincipled struggle within the Party.

Where do unprincipled inner-Party struggle and mechanical, excessive struggle come from? What are their origins? They originate from the following:

First, the theoretical level of our Party comrades is in general very low and their experience is inadequate in many respects. For a long



time the whole Party lacked a leadership or a centre, and even now very few Party leaderships and centres have actually come into being in the localities.

Second, there are many petty-bourgeois elements in the Party. Petty-bourgeois impetuosity and fanaticism and the vindictiveness of the rural petty bourgeoisie constantly influences inner-Party struggles.

Third, democratic life within the Party is irregular. The practice of discussing questions objectively among the comrades has not yet become established. The practice of judging and handling questions rashly and subjectively still exists to a serious extent.

Fourth, on the one hand, careerists have wormed their way into the Party and, on the other, some of our comrades are afflicted with certain types of careerist mentality. To show how well they have been “Bolshevized”, they often deliberately act the “Leftist”, thinking that being “Left” is better than being Right. At times they even attack others so as to enhance their own prestige.

Fifth, Trotskyites, special agents and counter-revolutionaries have sneaked into the Party and are seeking to undermine it by exploiting our inner-Party struggle. Under the banner of the Party, these hidden Trotskyites often deliberately attack certain comrades. Once they have done this, one of them is sent to contact these comrades and try to draw them into the Trotskyite gang as their secret agents in the Party.

Such are the origins of the various deviations in inner-Party struggle.

From the very beginning there have been strict self-criticism and inner-Party struggle in our Party. This is entirely necessary and very good. Much of our inner-Party struggle has been conducted correctly and appropriately. Therefore, our Party has repeatedly scored achievements and raised its theoretical level through inner-Party struggle. There is no denying that such criticism and inner-Party struggle have served as the motivating force which pushes our Party forward; we cannot do without them. However, neither can we deny that in the long history of our Party and in our past inner-Party struggle, the typical deviations and errors described above did exist to such an extent that on many occasions struggle was not conducted in a correct manner. For this we have paid dearly. Today we should, by learning from past mistakes to avoid the same in future, see to it that we have not paid those high prices in vain and that our Party makes major progress by drawing lessons from our past inner-Party struggles.



The policy for future inner-Party struggle, which we should pursue on the basis of the lessons drawn from the history of such struggles in the Chinese Party, is to achieve greater successes in inner-Party struggle and make greater progress for the Party at a lower cost and with less pain. This requires, however, that we thoroughly set right the various deviations and mistakes of past inner-Party struggles and that we wage new struggles conscientiously and properly.

## V. HOW TO CONDUCT INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE

Comrades!

The question before us is very clear: How do we conduct inner-Party struggle correctly and appropriately?

The Communist Parties of the U.S.S.R. and many other countries have much experience with this question and so has the Chinese Party. Lenin and Stalin have issued many instructions on it and so has the Central Committee of our Party. Our comrades must make a careful study of these instructions and experiences, which we will discuss 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 concerning the experience of the inner-Party struggle of the Chinese Party.

First of all, our comrades must realize that inner-Party struggle is both a matter of vital importance and of colossal responsibility. We must adopt the strictest and most responsible attitude towards it: a casual manner is absolutely impermissible. We ourselves must, without reservation, adopt the correct stand of the Party and the unselfish stand of serving the Party, doing better work and helping other comrades to correct mistakes and better understand problems. We ourselves must be clear about facts and problems through systematic investigation and study. At the same time, struggles must be conducted in a well-organized, well-led and well-prepared way.

Our comrades must understand that only by first taking the correct stand oneself can one help rectify the incorrect stand of others. Only by being a man of integrity oneself can one help overcome the lack of integrity in others. The old saying puts it: "One must first improve oneself before one can help improve others."

Only when one is steadfast, can one help a vacillating person become steadfast.

Only when one has embraced true principles and theories, can one overcome the false principles and theories of others.

Only when one has acquired a clear understanding of the concept of principle, can one help others to eliminate vagueness in their understanding. Only when one comes to know more about specific problems and studies more systematically, can one be of more help to other comrades and to the Party.

If a comrade acts otherwise, if he himself fails to acquire the correct stand or to grasp the correct principles in the first place, if he fails to view the objective situation according to principles or to study the problems systematically, or if he has some particular defects and is not clear about certain points, he will not, in the course of the inner-Party struggle, be able to help overcome what is incorrect in others. If, in spite of these inadequacies, he stubbornly persists in carrying on the struggle, he will in all probability go astray.

Only indisputable, objective facts, experience tested in practice and truth will triumph.

Our self-criticism and inner-Party struggle are not intended to weaken the Party's organization, solidarity, discipline and prestige or to hinder its work. On the contrary, they are intended to strengthen these things and to accelerate our work. Thus, inner-Party struggle must not be allowed to run its own course and lead to ultra-democracy. Inside the Party, neither patriarchal practice nor ultra-democracy is permitted. These two extremes are the manifestations of irregularity in the life of the Party.

Inner-Party struggle calls for the highest sense of responsibility to the Party and to the revolution.

Second, our comrades must realize that inner-Party struggle is basically a struggle between opposing ideologies and principles. It is, therefore, entirely necessary to draw a clear line of distinction in matters of ideology and principle. Organizationally, however, in the form of struggle and the manner of speaking and offering criticism, our comrades must be antagonistic as little as possible and must try their best to discuss or argue over matters in a calm way, that is, without resorting to disciplinary measures and organizational decisions. We should be as sincere and frank as possible and strive to achieve unity in ideology and principle through our educational work. Only in the case of necessity when no alternative can be found, may

we adopt the antagonistic forms of struggle and resort to disciplinary measures. All Party organizations have the right, within appropriate limits, to make organizational decisions with regard to any Party member who persists in his errors. Under certain circumstances, it is entirely necessary to enforce Party discipline and adopt disciplinary measures. But such measures must not be used casually or abused. Party discipline cannot be strengthened simply by taking more disciplinary measures against our comrades. Neither discipline nor unity can be maintained in this way. (If it could be, we would have a crisis in the Party.) Quite the contrary, these should be maintained chiefly on the basis of the genuine unity of the Party in ideology and principle and of the conscientiousness of the vast majority of the Party members. When we finally reach a clear understanding in matters of ideology and principle, it will be very easy for us to make organizational decisions when necessary. It will not take us a minute to decide to expel certain comrades from the Party or to announce that certain comrades have withdrawn from the Party.

Those comrades who stick to their own position and clash and argue with each other over matters of ideology and principle must organizationally subordinate themselves to the Party, the majority and the higher levels; otherwise there would be no Party unity and no unity in action. Our comrades should never set themselves against the Party organizationally, disobey the majority and the higher levels and go their own way because they want to stick to their own position on questions of principle. This would constitute a violation of the fundamental discipline of the Party.

The correct method we should adopt in conducting inner-Party struggle is that, while there may be antagonism over matters of principle and ideology, it should be avoided as much as possible organizationally and in the forms of struggle. Many comrades have made mistakes because, while there were no divergences or opposition on the question of ideology and principle, they opposed each other with a vengeance organizationally and in the forms of struggle. They argued till they were red in the face, abused each other violently and, refusing to have anything to do with one another, cherished a profound mutual hatred. The most absurd thing about this is that they had no clear-cut differences over principle or ideology.

Third, criticisms directed against Party organizations or against comrades and their work must be appropriate and well measured. Bolsheviks have Bolshevik yardsticks for criticism. Excessive criti-

cism, the exaggeration of others' errors and indiscriminate labelling are all wrong. It is not true that the more vehement the inner-Party struggle, the better. The struggle should be conducted within proper limits and I stress the word "proper". Neither excessive nor inadequate struggle is desirable.

In pointing out or criticizing the errors of others, we must focus on the key or important issues and give systematic and clear-cut explanation so that they may be solved. We should not assemble minor errors or plausible "facts" and simply expose them and be done with it. This will make the individuals involved think that we are deliberately finding fault with them, attacking them and hurting them.

When appraising and criticizing a certain comrade, you should not just point out his shortcomings and mistakes as if that is all there is to him, but should at the same time credit him with accomplishments, meritorious services, strong points and correct views. Even if only a few or a part of his opinions are correct, you should point them out. Only thus can you make a fair appraisal and criticism, convince him that his views are mistaken and help him to make progress.

Appropriate criticism, an appropriate attitude and appropriate methods as opposed to excessive or inadequate struggle — this is the approach we should adopt in inner-Party struggle.

Fourth, the holding of struggle meetings, whether inside or outside the Party, should in general be stopped. Shortcomings and mistakes 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 clarify the facts, the points at issue and the nature, the seriousness and the cause of the shortcomings and mistakes, and only then point out who is responsible and who bears the major or minor responsibility. We should not begin by inquiring as to who should be held responsible. When a comrade who has made a mistake unwittingly becomes aware of it and is correcting it in earnest, we should support him and refrain from nit-picking. In inner-Party struggle it is not our policy to deal blows at our cadres and comrades or to attack and hurt them. For in essence such a policy would be the same as the repressive policy of applying the whip, which the exploiting class adopted for use against the working people. Our policy is one of comradely mutual criticism and mutual help.

As for particularly mischievous comrades who frequently violate decisions, discipline and Communist ethics and with whom there is



no reasoning nor persuading on questions of principle, it is not impermissible, and at times it is even essential, to hold a meeting for a trial by comrades. It is wrong, however, to make this a regular practice.

Fifth, those comrades who have been criticized or punished should be given every opportunity to appeal. When making an appraisal of or organizational decision about a comrade, we should, as a rule, notify the comrade concerned, and the decision should be made in his presence. If he does not agree with the decision after debate, the case should be referred to the Party organization at the next higher level. (Whenever a comrade voices disagreement after receiving punishment, the Party organization concerned should refer the case to a higher authority even if the comrade himself does not want to make an appeal.) No Party organization shall forbid any comrade who has been punished to appeal to a higher authority. No Party member shall be deprived of his right to appeal. No Party organization shall withhold any appeal. On questions of ideology or principle the Party member concerned may lodge an appeal directly to the Party committee at a higher level or to the Central Committee of the Party, bypassing the intermediate leadership. Before making his appeal to a higher level, however, the comrade should first fully explain his views, his reasons and his differences and make all these clear to the Party organization he belongs to. He should not hold his tongue in his own Party organization while wagging it before a higher one so as to deceive the higher Party authority for his own end. Once an appeal has been made, the final decision rests with the higher Party committee, which may cancel, reduce or strengthen the disciplinary measures taken against a comrade by a Party committee at a lower level.

On questions of ideology or principle, if final agreement cannot be reached within the Party organization after discussion, the matter may be settled by a majority decision. After such a decision has been reached, the minority who still hold different views have the right to reserve their opinions on condition that, organizationally and in action, they abide absolutely by the decision of the majority.

When a Party committee at a higher level or a leading organ is asked by a certain number of comrades or Party committees at a lower level to hold a meeting suited for checking up on work, the Party committee concerned should, whenever possible, call such a meeting.



Sixth, a clear line should be drawn between the struggle waged inside and that waged outside the Party, but these should at the same time be properly linked with each other. The forms of struggle used inside must not be adopted for struggles outside the Party, nor vice versa. Still less must forces and conditions outside be utilized to wage struggle against the Party or intimidate it. All Party members must take great care and maintain sharp vigilance lest the hidden Trotskyites, special agents and counter-revolutionaries should take advantage of the conflicts and struggles inside the Party to carry on subversive activities. They must not allow themselves to be used by these people. The only way to prevent this is to strictly observe Party discipline and to conduct inner-Party struggle correctly.

Inside the Party, only legitimate and ideological struggles are allowed. Any form of struggle which violates the Party Constitution or Party discipline is forbidden.

Seventh, unprincipled disputes should be prohibited within the Party. For this purpose, it is necessary to stipulate the following measures:

(1) Party members who have complaints against the Party's leading body or any Party organization should submit their complaints and criticisms to the appropriate Party organization instead of spreading gossip among the masses.

(2) Party members who have complaints against other members or certain leading members may criticize them in their presence or in certain Party organizations but should not gossip.

(3) Party members or Party committees at a lower level who have complaints against a Party committee at a higher level may bring the issue to that Party committee, or ask it to call a meeting to study the matter. They may also refer the matter to a Party committee at a still higher level but should not indulge in gossip or inform Party committees at a lower level of the matter.

(4) When Party members discover wrongdoing by any other Party member or any deeds detrimental to the interests of the Party, they must, without trying to cover the matter up or to shield anyone, report to the appropriate Party organization.

(5) Party members should promote a healthy and honest style of work and oppose anything unhealthy and dishonest. They should severely condemn all those who are given to gossip, to spreading hearsay information, prying into the private affairs of others or rumour-mongering. The leading bodies of the Party must, whenever

necessary, issue instructions forbidding Party members to openly discuss certain specific matters.

(6) The leading bodies at all levels must be ready at any time to summon those comrades who indulge in gossip and unprincipled disputes, discuss the matter with them, correct and warn them or subject them to other discipline.

(7) Party committees at all levels must respect the opinions put forward by Party members. The committees should frequently convene meetings to discuss questions and review work and should provide Party members with ample opportunity to express their views.

Unprincipled disputes should in general be forbidden but, when they arise, no judgement should be reached, because it is impossible to tell right from wrong in such disputes.

When we try to settle unprincipled disputes among the comrades we must not begin by tackling the dispute itself, but by reviewing and summing up their work and then, from a principled standpoint, we should set forth in an encouraging way their future tasks, guidelines of work, the line to follow, plans, etc. In the course of this, we can criticize the incorrect views of certain comrades and then ask whether there are still differing opinions. If there are, then the dispute becomes one over principle. Thus, an unprincipled dispute develops into one involving principle. If there is no dispute over principle among the comrades, they can be asked to rally around these commonly decided tasks and guidelines, strive together for their fulfilment and give up all unprincipled disputes. In short, unprincipled disputes should be settled through the summing up of past work, the defining of present tasks and the advancement of the current work. Otherwise, they cannot be settled. We should never play the part of the judge in trying to settle such disputes, because they cannot be judged or settled successfully. If your judgement is inadequate, neither side will be satisfied and the dispute will continue.

In general, cases such as distrust or suspicion among comrades should not be brought up for discussion because it would serve no useful purpose. Only in practice and in the course of work and struggle can such cases be settled and particular comrades proved trustworthy and cleared of suspicion.

If some comrades introduce into their principled struggles certain unprincipled elements, we should concentrate on discussing the principle at issue, while playing down the unprincipled elements. Otherwise the question of principle will be overshadowed.

If a comrade carries on an unprincipled struggle under the cover of a principled one, we should point out the correctness of the principle, taking care not to deny what is correct just because he is making use of it. At the same time, however, we should, in an appropriate manner, make it clear that his standpoint and methods are wrong. This will prevent a principled struggle from being turned into an unprincipled one.

All in all, inner-Party struggle is fundamentally a form for controversy and struggle over ideology and principles. Everything must be based on reason and be rationally explained, and everything must be done with good sense. Nothing less will do. When things are rationally explained, they can be handled easily and carried out without difficulty. We must cultivate the practice of rational thinking. The yardsticks for determining whether one's reason is sound are the interests of the Party, the interests of the struggle of the proletariat, the principle of subordinating the interests of the part to those of the whole and the principle of subordinating immediate to long-term interests. A reason or viewpoint is sound when it is beneficial to the interests of the Party and the proletarian struggle, to the long-range interests of the entire Party and of the proletarian struggle as a whole; otherwise it is not sound. Any struggle that is waged without a convincing reason is an unprincipled struggle. Anything that is not based on reason or that cannot be explained rationally is wrong, and therefore no correct conclusion can be drawn from it and no final solution can be found. If one refuses to come to terms after things are explained rationally, then it will be clear who is violating the interests of the Party and of the proletarian struggle. It then becomes necessary to make organizational decisions with regard to those comrades who persist in their errors, and the point at issue can be settled without much difficulty. The need as well as the ability to reason things out presuppose inner-Party democracy and calm and dispassionate discussion. What is more, our comrades must learn with an open mind, raise their theoretical level, have a clear understanding of any given situation, engage in thorough investigations and make a careful study of problems. You can never reason well if you are careless, subjective, parrot-like and divorced from practice, and fail to make thorough investigations of the relevant facts. If you do not try to reason things out, or if you are unable to do so, then you will have to resort to arbitrary measures, stratagem, the power granted by the Party organization and even deceit for the

solution to problems. If it comes to that, you will have no need for inner-Party democracy at all because inner-Party democracy is intended to enable people to reason things out before taking concerted action.

Of course, by “reason” here I do not mean empty or ostensible reason, but practical, genuine reason that has been tested by practice. Certain intellectuals are given to empty talk about “reason” and to specious “reason”. They can talk a great deal without basing themselves on facts. They can talk about everything under the sun. Theirs is empty talk and Party jargon and is of no use whatsoever; it can only harm the Party and the revolution. Therefore, in promoting the practice of rational thinking, we must oppose empty talk and Party jargon and advocate objective and materialistic reasoning which proceeds from reality and in turn serves action. That is to say, our theory is materialistic.

Everything must be based on reason! Nothing less will do! Nor will it do to reason incorrectly! Still less desirable is to indulge in empty talk! Of course this is a rather difficult task, but it is the only way for us to become qualified Bolsheviks.

Bolsheviks are open to reason and are supporters of truth. They are the kind of persons who take pains to reason with others. They are not unreasonable and irrational struggle-specialists!

Comrades! These are a few methods I suggest for conducting inner-Party struggles.

Our comrades should adopt these methods in waging such struggles, in opposing the various kinds of erroneous tendencies inside the Party and in examining the Party spirit of every member, especially that of the cadres, so that our Party may be further consolidated ideologically and organizationally. This is our aim.

## REPLY TO COMRADE SONG LIANG

*July 13, 1941*

I have received your letter. Your views are correct.

It is true that in the early years after the founding of the Communist Party of China, that is, during Chen Duxiu's leadership and for sometime afterwards,<sup>110</sup> there were Party members who were opposed to specialized and in-depth research. Even in Party schools where comrades were supposed to engage in specialized theoretical studies, they strongly opposed the so-called academic approach, referring to those engaged in studies as "academicians", and they also emphasized the need for tempering in actual struggle. They seemed to think that, by itself, the experience gained in actual struggle would suffice for leading the revolution to victory, that there was no need for advanced theoretical studies and that Marxist-Leninist theories could be mastered without having to make intensive efforts over a considerable period of time. This opinion stood in opposition to another held by some Party members who belittled the importance of practice, divorced theoretical studies from practice and were truly academic. Both views were wrong. One placed undue emphasis on practice and underestimated the importance of theory and its function as guide to practice, while the other laid too much stress on theory and underestimated the importance of practice, which initially gives rise to and ultimately transcends theory. Neither correctly handled the relation between theory and practice or properly integrated them.

When Party members pursue theoretical studies at Party schools, their main task is to probe deeply and master the theories. It is

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The reply appeared in the second issue of *Truth*, a restricted publication of the Central China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Song Liang, alias Sun Yefang, was working in the Bureau's Party School at the time.



not to “temper themselves” through the rigours of school life (although when linked with what they have learned, this tempering, or the gradual remoulding of their ideology through theoretical studies, is also important). At school, students are supposed to delve into books and into the study of theory. They should not be called “academicians” for doing so, as it is their main job. These Party members do not become “academicians” by reading and studying; they are only doing what they ought to do in order to learn and understand Marxist-Leninist theories. Everyone of us must go through this stage to become reasonably well versed in Marxism-Leninism. Marx and Lenin were especially involved in the study of theory. So it is entirely wrong to refer to anyone who is diligent in studies as an “academician”, as some people did in the past. It is particularly harmful to stress this point in our schools.

The word “academician” was a special term applied to a faction in European academic circles and among Marxists. These people were engaged solely in theoretical studies divorced from practice which they despised and would not bother to integrate with theory. As a result, Marxist theories were turned into rigid dogmas, which were useless as guides to practice. This was certainly wrong and was rightly repudiated. Such persons are still to be found among Chinese Marxists and among our Party members today. For instance, some Party members often fail to adopt a serious attitude towards organizational and other immediate practical problems and refuse to take note of or study such problems. These comrades belittle such problems, claiming that no Marxist-Leninist tenets are involved and that they have nothing to learn from studying them. So they do not take so serious an attitude towards studying or solving these problems as they do towards studying *Capital*. They do not know (or may have forgotten) that Marxist-Leninist teachings should serve as a guide to action and the solution of practical problems. It is precisely in these problems and in the concrete social practice of all people, and not in any written formulas or mysterious abstractions, that real, dynamic Marxism-Leninism resides.

The above-mentioned conflict between the two schools of thought in the Chinese Communist Party ended, at the time, in victory for those who favoured practice, giving rise to considerable opposition to specialized theoretical studies and hampering the improvement of the Party’s theoretical level. This trend must be combated and set right.

This attitude has had much to do with the general inadequacy in our Party's theoretical preparation and training. It has exerted a very bad influence on the Party and has stymied the development of the correct view that lays equal stress on theory and practice.

In waging arduous struggles and making heroic sacrifices, the Chinese Communist Party is in no way inferior to the Bolsheviks of the Soviet Union. We have always been successful in organizing the workers, the peasants, the government and the armed forces for various forms of struggle. Once our Party members are mobilized and understand what is expected of them, they can always do a good job, accomplish their tasks and get the hundreds of thousands, millions, or tens of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers to go to battle for the revolution. The Chinese Communist Party is by no means inferior in organizational ability. What is more, it is imbued with the admirable spirit of heroic sacrifice. Hundreds of thousands of our Party members were executed during the White terror, but those who remain have not been intimidated into forsaking the banner of Marxism-Leninism. In this respect, no other political party in the world, except the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, can match the Chinese Communist Party. However, our Party has one serious weakness: we lack adequate ideological preparation and theoretical training, and so are relatively immature. Therefore, the defeats which either major sections or the whole of our Party has repeatedly suffered are due to naive and faulty guidance, rather than to any lack of effort. To date, this weakness has not been entirely overcome (although a few comrades in the Party, particularly in its Central Committee, have achieved a comprehensive understanding of the unity between the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the historical development of Chinese society). It is therefore imperative to encourage theoretical studies in the Party at present. Our Party will assuredly be able to guide the Chinese revolution to complete victory, provided it overcomes this weakness.

While the erroneous view described above is related to the Party's inadequate theoretical preparation and, indeed, constitutes a cause of this inadequacy, it is not the only cause. There are others:

- I. Marxist works were not introduced into China until the relatively recent May 4th Movement of 1919, and even then only a few were available, while in European countries Marxism has been disseminated for nearly a century.

2. By the time Marxism was introduced into China, the objective conditions for revolution in the country were already ripe, compelling Chinese revolutionaries to plunge promptly and unreservedly into actual revolutionary activities. Our comrades had little time to spare for the study of theory and for analysing their experience in struggle. (This situation exists even today when, for instance, we feel such a shortage of cadres in all practical work, and all are so busy that almost none can be withdrawn from his post to concentrate on theoretical studies for any significant length of time.) Thus, as soon as it was founded, the Chinese Communist Party was plunged into great, practical revolutionary struggles and was so preoccupied that it had no time to attend to other kinds of work. This also contributed to, and was in fact another source of, the Party's inadequate theoretical preparation. (Things were different in the ten years when the Party was engaged in underground activities.<sup>136</sup> There was time, then, for theoretical studies, but the Party failed to seize the opportunity to overcome its weakness in theoretical preparation. This, of course, was also a mistake stemming from a deficient understanding of the importance of theory as well as an overestimation of the revolutionary situation at the time. Although great successes were achieved in the Marxist-oriented new cultural movement to which the Party attached a certain importance, our Party failed to make conscious efforts to raise the theoretical level of the entire membership or even to regard this as one of its main tasks. Consequently, there were many weak points both in the new cultural movement and in the work of the cadres engaged in it, because neither was closely integrated with the entire practice of the whole Party. As a result, the cultural works created were uneven in quality, were not penetrating or realistic enough and could not possibly serve the purpose of greatly raising the whole Party's theoretical level.)

3. Our precursors — Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin — were all Europeans, not Chinese. Their works were all published in European languages and did not often mention Chinese affairs. Moreover, there are many special characteristics in the historical development of Chinese society, which are quite different from those of various European countries. Hence, it is particularly difficult to sinicize Marxism, so as to apply Marxist-Leninist principles in explaining and guiding the historical development of Chinese society. To date, only a small portion of the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin has been translated into Chinese and not many members of the Chinese Com-

munist Party can read their works in the original. Even among those who are able to do so, very few have read all the works through. This, too, has affected the education and training in Marxist-Leninist theory among our Party members and constitutes one more cause for the inadequate theoretical preparation in the Party.

Owing to these causes, and particularly to the lack of adequate effort in this area, our Party, although having acquired very rich experience in actual struggle, has failed in the past twenty years to overcome its weakness in theoretical study. This is a weakness which we must now do our utmost to overcome.

When I speak of the theoretical preparation of the Party, I mean an understanding of the unity between Marxist-Leninist tenets and the methods and the laws governing the historical development of Chinese society. Since most of our comrades know very little about either, our Party is still faced with an enormous task.

That is my reply.

## OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES, PREPARE FOR A COUNTER-OFFENSIVE AND CREATE CONDITIONS FOR BUILDING A NEW CHINA AFTER THE WAR

*July 20, 1942*

The most urgent task facing us today is to outlast the difficulties of the next two years. Without the present, there can be no future. We must prepare now if we are to go on to build our future. Our present work and the work in the coming two years should be closely linked with the future counter-offensive and post-war struggle for a new China. We should carry out all our present work with a view to outlasting our difficulties in the next two years and preparing for our future tasks. Apart from what was discussed at the enlarged meeting of the Central China Bureau, I now wish to raise the following points relating especially to our preparation for the counter-offensive and our post-war struggle:

First, before the counter-offensive, our main task is to persevere in struggle and hold onto the base areas we already have. (This must be closely linked with the guerrilla warfare in the enemy-occupied areas and areas bordering on them.) We must not engage the enemy in decisive battles now. Consequently, there is no need — it would be impossible anyway — to greatly expand our main forces, which should instead concentrate on intensive training and consolidation in order to enhance their quality and lay the solid foundation indispensable

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Liu Shaoqi became secretary of the Central China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and, concurrently, secretary of the Party Committee of the New Fourth Army Military Sub-Commission in May 1941. He was transferred to the Central Committee in 1942. This text is the second half of a letter to, among others, Chen Yi, who was then in charge of the Central China Bureau and the New Fourth Army. It was written *en route* to Yan'an in the spirit of the "Declaration in Commemoration of the Fifth Anniversary of the War of Resistance Against Japan", issued by the CPC Central Committee.



for future expansion. If in the course of the counter-offensive we are to replenish our main forces with large numbers of new recruits and to expand as much as possible, we must immediately set to making such full preparations as organizing and training in large numbers local armed forces and a people's militia for self-defence, to be kept in reserve. Politically, we must also make preparations for mobilization so that many people will respond to our call in future. (Mobilization should not be conducted too often at present, because people will get tired of it.)

Militarily, we should get ready to smash the enemy's intensified mopping-up operations and, in particular, we should prepare to encounter an enemy ten times stronger than it is today when we engage in our counter-offensive in north China, Shandong Province and the vicinities of Shanghai and Nanjing. Meanwhile, we should make preparations for launching comparatively large-scale counter-assaults to stave off possible attacks by anti-Communist forces.

Second, the political leanings of the people in the base areas and the rest of the country will be the basic factor determining the development of new China after the war. We must pay special attention to winning them over in all our future endeavours, so that they will resolutely support and fight side by side with us for a new China which is democratic and free.

Third, if the economic burden in the base areas is so heavy for the people that it might damage our bonds with them, cause the people outside the base areas to fear and reject leadership by our Party and our army, or create doubts among the people about the Communist Party's ability to lead new China after the war, then we must reduce their burden substantially to a level within the limits set by the Central Committee. (The total of all levies is not to exceed 35 per cent of the people's income, and the number of persons not engaged in production is not to exceed 3 per cent of the population.) At the same time, we must fully explain to them that these are only wartime levies and will be reduced after the war. If the people are unable to give us enough material support, we must strictly practise the principle of developing better troops and simpler administration. We would have to have fewer men and horses, call on our cadres to live more plainly and wage rigorous struggles against corruption and waste. (Financial organs at all levels have paid far too little attention to the consumption of grain, and so waste has been tremendous. In fact, it is not taxes but the grain levy that affects

the people's livelihood most. Grain constitutes the main source of our income; to waste it is to do the greatest damage both to the people's financial resources and to our political prestige.) We should promulgate stern decrees and punish those guilty of embezzling and wasting public funds and grain and those who arbitrarily requisition the people's services. Moreover, we should help build up the people's financial resources and take care to arrange for improvement of the people's livelihood in the base areas, so as to demonstrate the essential difference between life in our areas and in those controlled by the enemies and diehards. This has a bearing not only on our present struggle but also on our post-war struggle for the creation of a new China. Neglect in this regard will bring about disastrous consequences. For the sake of the overall interest of the revolution, we should not tolerate bureaucrats, grafters and squanderers. We must thoroughly explain the need to the whole Party and army and call on them to save every possible bit of material and financial resources for the sake of victory in the revolution, for our bright future and for the creation of a new China. To be prodigal with manpower and the people's material and financial resources is to be irresponsible to the Party and the revolution and is tantamount to a crime.

Some army units have been raising funds by engaging in trade, and all kinds of corrupt practices have thus ensued. This must be corrected and prohibited. Our units may, however, overcome their difficulties by growing vegetables, tobacco, hemp and cotton for their own consumption and by setting up workshops to make their own shoes, towels, etc. The various organs and armed units in Central China should do likewise in earnest.

Fourth, we must resolve to institute on as wide a scale as possible a democratic government based both on the alliance of all strata in our base areas and on the "three thirds system".<sup>121</sup> Such a government has nationwide political significance as the embryonic form of new China, as it will influence and promote the nationwide democratic movement, particularly after the war. At present, people both inside and outside our Party lack training in democracy. The majority do not know much about the spirit, essence or methods of democratic government. That is why democracy has not yet been fully realized in our areas. Bureaucratism and sectarianism still exist to an extremely serious degree in government organs, armed forces and mass organizations. Quite a few cadres stand above the masses instead of among them. They consider themselves the people's bosses

instead of their servants. They abuse their power, monopolize everything and fail to co-operate with public figures outside the Party in a democratic manner. Considering themselves rulers instead of servants of the people, they do not put themselves at the people's disposal nor do they act upon the people's will (but this should not be confused with tailism). All this constitutes a serious obstacle to democratic political life in our base areas and must be done away with before democracy can be fostered. If, after exercising leadership in the base areas for many years, we still fail to establish a sound democratic political order, we shall be neither entitled to, nor qualified to, speak about democracy before the people of the whole country after the war. They will lose faith in us and even in democracy as such, thinking that democracy is only a matter of lip-service, and not something meant for practice. Such a failure would also prevent us from educating our Party members and the masses.

The above phenomena stem from a lack of education and training in democracy in our Party and among the masses and from the Party's unhealthy style of work and considerable sectarianism. With sound education and training in democracy and the rectification of the Party's style of work, most Party members with such shortcomings who are willing to learn and make progress, will quickly mend their ways. However, this will be impossible without conscientious education and necessary struggle.

Therefore, we must carry out education in democracy inside the Party as well as among the people. It is necessary to assign some comrades to study democracy as practised by the bourgeoisie during their revolutions (by the French, the Americans and Dr. Sun Yat-sen) and by the proletariat of the Soviet Union, to study the New Democracy to be practised in China and to study the constitutions of various countries so that they can write articles, pamphlets and teaching materials on these subjects. "The Democratic Spirit and Bureaucratism",<sup>137</sup> delivered at the Central China Bureau, and my other speeches can also be used as teaching and study material for Party cadres. We should call upon our comrades to foster a fully democratic spirit, study democracy, apply it among people of various strata and analyse the experience gained in various parts of the country so as to educate Party members and the masses. It is also necessary to enact some laws concerning democracy (such as organic laws and election laws for governments at all levels, rules of procedure for representative conferences and procedures for dealing with various types of legal

cases) and to lay down regulations for punishing those officials who violate civil rights (the people's democratic rights) in disregard of democratic principles. Inside the Party, it is necessary to criticize, struggle against or punish those who act undemocratically. Among the people, it is necessary to carry out extensive education in democracy and explain the various laws to them. In studying and advocating democracy, the education and propaganda departments at all levels should try to write many articles and pamphlets and deliver many lectures on the subject wherever possible. In particular, government functionaries and leading comrades at all levels should step up their study, cultivation and training in democracy. In short, we must resolutely help our Party members understand how to apply democracy, how to establish a truly democratic government and promote democracy and how to implement the "three thirds system" genuinely and thoroughly, not perfunctorily. Our comrades must not allow bureaucracy and sectarianism to exist or develop among them.

Pang Youlan<sup>138</sup> said that the Communist Party would surely win the whole country so long as its members at the lower levels act upon the instructions of the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong. Can we do that? I think we can. For us Bolsheviks, there is no such thing as "can't". We surely will do it. And when we do it, we will "win the whole country"; if we do not, we may not win at all. To "win" or not to "win" — this is a matter of vital importance to us. Since even a member of the landlord class has called our attention to it, can we afford to neglect it? Can we allow harmful practices to exist any longer? Can we spare any effort in studying democracy and learning to put it into practice? In order to "win the whole country", i.e., to win victory in our revolution and build a new China when the war is over, all our Party members should work to create a new order — an exemplary democratic political life — in the base areas. This has nationwide political significance. It will cement our ties with the people in the base areas and help win the people of the whole country over to our side in the struggle against the diehards.

Fifth, because a high level of organization and political awareness on the part of the main sectors of the people in the base areas constitutes the foundation for persevering in the war of resistance and building a new China after the war, we must do everything possible to raise this level. It appears that some initial work has been done in this respect in central China, where the life of the workers and peasants has been generally improved, millions of people have been organized



into the peasant associations and trade unions, and the enthusiasm of the masses has been usefully developed. However, the majority of workers, youths, women and children have not yet been organized, and a great deal of work remains to be done to organize and train a self-defence corps. In places where the masses have not yet been organized or mobilized, efforts should be made to accomplish this. As soon as they have been mobilized, initially organized and have had their basic economic demands met, we should give first priority to their education, making every effort to raise their political awareness and to prevent the growth of parochial economism among the masses and cadres. It seems that rent reduction can be realized without much trouble this autumn. After that, apart from paying constant attention to protecting the basic interests of the masses, mass organizations should establish comparatively permanent organs and regulations so as to consolidate the unity of the masses. Meanwhile, we should conduct intensive education among them, which we now have both the time and ability to do on a large scale. You should instruct local Party and mass organizations in different places to conduct extensive elementary and public education, particularly among activists, this coming autumn and winter, and next year. The purpose is to raise the level of political awareness of the masses (not to raise their cultural level, which will be the chief objective of the elementary schools and future public education) and to fortify their faith in our Party ideologically, so that it will not be shaken by any changes or setbacks.

In order to achieve the above objectives, cadres working in the educational departments of the government, the mass organizations and local Party organizations should be mobilized on a broad scale. Detailed plans and preparations should be well made and well coordinated. Work in the Youth League and the Children's Corps should be stepped up and special attention paid to the education and studies of young people and children. Teaching materials should be prepared and funds appropriated for these purposes. A great many popular evening schools should be set up in the villages under the direct leadership of mass organizations, and there should be more primary and secondary public schools. Cadres of mass organizations and functionaries of local Party branches should volunteer to teach in the evening schools, while much needed full-time teachers should also be dispatched. Cadres should be sent to strengthen the work of



the educational departments of the government. At the same time, we should recruit large numbers of intellectuals from society at large and train them to do education work and serve as teachers. We must see to it that millions of adults and hundreds of thousands of children and youths in the base areas receive adequate educations. This is a colossal and arduous task for which the Party and government must mobilize sufficient manpower and material resources.

Today we are no longer in the position to attract a mass following by means of agrarian revolution, but rather through rent and interest reduction,<sup>139</sup> wage increases and intensive education. If we can win over, through such education, the adults, youths and children in their millions and get them to follow us however difficult the circumstances may be, we shall be invincible. This task being of such immense significance, we must undertake it with great care and see it through to completion.

Mass meetings of an educational nature should be held more often. Leading comrades at various levels and top-notch leading comrades of the army and government in various localities must pay close attention to the morale of the masses, find time to attend their meetings regularly, answer their questions, get to know them and build close personal ties with them. They should on no account leave all matters concerning the masses to be handled by their subordinates.

Leading comrades of the Party and government in various localities must personally look into the content of the education conducted in the various kinds of schools (primary, secondary and evening schools, etc.), check on the teachers, provide guidance with regard to matters of principles and policies of education and speak to the students regularly. As you know, through intensive indoctrination, even agents of Hitler, the Japanese imperialists and the Kuomintang were able to get tens of thousands of young people to risk their lives for them. Why can't we, with truth on our side and a democratic spirit in treating others as our equals, unite through intensive education with millions of youths in the common struggle for a new China? Large numbers of Communists should therefore go to work in the educational institutions, study methods of educating youth and the rest of the masses and regularly analyse their experience. It is necessary, first of all, to train a large contingent of teachers. Cadres who are engaged in Party, government and mass work should also serve as part-time teachers.

We should improve our newspapers and magazines and heighten their role as powerful instruments for educating the masses as well as for keeping in close touch with their lives and activities.

In its declaration commemorating the fifth anniversary of the Incident of July 7, 1937,<sup>53</sup> the Central Committee of the Party put forward the idea of building a new China after the war. This stands in direct opposition to the diehards' attempt to keep China under the dictatorship of a handful of people. This declaration should be taken to the people of various strata for various forms of fully democratic discussion and be used as material for intensive propaganda and education among the masses, so that the people will be rallied under our slogan of building a democratic new China and their questions concerning new China be answered in detail. A poll can occasionally be conducted among them according to fully democratic procedures to test their opinions. It is imperative for the creation of a new China after the war, that in the coming two years we lay a really solid ideological and practical foundation among the several million people in the base areas.

Sixth, as the political leanings of the intermediate forces and stratum constitute one of the factors determining the outcome of our struggle with the big landlords, big bourgeoisie and diehards, and thereby the fate of new China, we should take great care and work earnestly in all spheres to win these forces over to our side or have them maintain a friendly neutrality. Our purpose is not just to get them to stand neutral or lean towards us at present, but chiefly to win their support or friendly neutrality in the struggle to build a new China after the war. Our work to win over the intermediate forces today, then, is primarily to prepare for the post-war struggle. We should keep our future objectives in mind.

Much has been said about the question of winning over the intermediate forces and the question of the united front in the struggle against the diehard forces. Hence I will not elaborate here. However, we should often remind our cadres at all levels to pay attention to these questions in implementing policies and in their work in general.

In short, building an honest and enlightened government, promoting production and construction, training the armed forces and increasing armaments (we should stockpile all kinds of weapons, ammunition and equipment) — these are the tasks we must undertake in order to persist in struggle over the next two years and, in

particular, to prepare for a counter-offensive and the post-war struggle. As the enemy's mopping-up operations in north China are quite fierce, we should, in formulating guiding principles for our work in that region, lay stress on the question of how to keep up the struggle over the coming couple of years. All work must be aimed at outlasting our difficulties in this period. The situation in central China seems somewhat different, and the enemy's mopping-up operations do not seem to be so fierce as in north China (this has been the case so far; what will happen in future is hard to say). I think that if we succeed in defeating the enemy's mopping-up campaigns in north China and the enemy fails to "exterminate" us there, he will not be able to wipe out our armed forces in central China either. In that sense, by persisting in its heroic and arduous struggle in north China, the Eighth Route Army<sup>55</sup> is rendering great assistance to the New Fourth Army<sup>117</sup> operating in central China. Their destinies are closely linked. In the same way, the victory of the New Fourth Army in the struggle against friction instigated by the Kuomintang in central China has rendered great help to the Eighth Route Army's operations in Shandong and Hebei provinces. Obviously, if the Eighth Route Army fails to hang on in north China, the New Fourth Army in central China will immediately be subjected to a most brutal "extermination" campaign by the enemy. However, I expect that the enemy is not likely to attempt to "exterminate" the New Fourth Army in central China as it tried to do to the Eighth Route Army in north China. Therefore, in terms of work policy for central China, more attention can be devoted to preparations for a counter-offensive and the post-war struggle. In all our work we should focus more on preparations for future struggle. This is just my estimation of the situation, and I don't know whether the development of events will bear me out.

The immediate key to achieving all this lies with our cadres at the middle and lower echelons. And yet, their general level is far from satisfactory. They are green hands, immature and lacking in necessary, basic, theoretical knowledge. They often do not understand our Party's policies or do not understand them fully, and there is a great deal of wrong with their style of work. As this is presently one of our major weaknesses, the gradual solution of this problem through diligent work is absolutely essential. While it cannot be solved fundamentally with a single stroke, we will find it difficult to accomplish all our tasks without such a solution. Therefore, besides setting up Party schools, organizing in-service study for cadres and rectifying

subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped writing in the Party,<sup>140</sup> we must try to send relatively competent cadres to work at the county and district levels. Moreover, it is necessary to fully mobilize and educate the cadres when they are assigned a task so that they understand it before attempting to tackle it, and leading cadres at higher levels should regularly check up on their work and should educate them by summing up their accomplishments. Leading comrades should also give more lectures on specific questions, such as strategy and tactics, post-war new China and New Democracy, in order to help raise our cadres' level of understanding. Special attention should be paid to talking to and educating cadres in direct command of the armed forces (at the regiment, battalion and company levels) and to those engaged in Party, government and mass work (at the county and district levels), because they are the ones who actually implement the Party's policies, carry out the various tasks and have direct contact with the rank and file of the people and the army. If these cadres do not understand Party policies and the tasks assigned to them, they cannot possibly do their work well. They have been poorly educated in the past and this has brought us many troubles. Therefore, it is imperative to call them together in groups and explain certain matters to them in a systematic fashion. To raise their level is to improve our work. In the past, many of our reports were given only to cadres working in departments directly under the Central China Bureau, which was of course necessary, but we should give more education to cadres working at the lower levels in the future. Only thus can the problems be solved.

## ON THE MASS MOVEMENT FOR RENT AND INTEREST REDUCTION<sup>139</sup>

*December 9, 1942*

The central task for northwestern Shanxi from now on is to wage struggles against the enemy while launching a vigorous mass movement. In other words, we must carry out guerrilla warfare of a mass character in the guerrilla zones and enemy-occupied areas while developing mass movements in our base areas.

Although northwestern Shanxi differs from central China in that it covers a large, sparsely populated and economically backward area, the experience gained in the mass movements in central China can still serve as a reference for it, and certain principles are applicable to both.

The Central Committee of the Party has set the task of developing and consolidating central China. Having repulsed attacks by the enemy and puppet troops and having overcome the friction created by the Kuomintang, we have established our base areas and set up political power, thus in the main completing our task of development there. The next task is to consolidate the base areas, the key to which is the extensive mobilization, organization and education of the main sections of the masses so as to heighten their political awareness. If this work is done well, it will be easier to mobilize the masses for participation in the war of resistance and construction in

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Part of a report presented to a conference of cadres of northwestern Shanxi. The years 1941 and 1942 were most difficult for the Liberated Areas because of a blockade and attacks by the Japanese aggressors and the Kuomintang diehards. To bring the enthusiasm of the peasant masses for resisting Japan into full play and to utilize their full strength to overcome difficulties, consolidate and expand the Liberated Areas and win final victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Party adopted a number of important policies, one of which was boldly to arouse the masses in the Liberated Areas and unfold a movement for the reduction of rent and interest. This is the context in which the present report was made.



other fields, and it will be possible to practise democracy in earnest, to consolidate our political power and to succeed in our financial and economic work. Only then will our Party be strong and the united front be truly successful. Our vital test, which, because it is the foundation for our work in all fields, we can neither fail at nor shy away from, is to mobilize the masses on the most extensive scale possible. If we fail at this task, it will be difficult to do anything well. Consider, for example, the united front. If we fail to do our mass work well, the masses will lack confidence in their own strength and will fail to stand on their own feet. This will reduce the anti-Japanese united front to a front composed of the Communist Party, the landlords, the gentry and businessmen, rather than a front made up of the main sections of the masses and these groups. So, where we have not done our mass work well enough, we should redouble our efforts and improve it. Whether it takes us one, two, three years, or even eight or ten years, we must not stop until we have succeeded.

It is imperative, therefore, to stress the mass viewpoint among our rank and file, among cadres and in the army. Some comrades are very weak in this respect, and this poses a grave danger. If they don't overcome this weakness and set things right, their Party spirit will be called into question.

We do not join the revolution to escape from forced marriage, to get enough food or to seek the limelight. Everything we do is for the good of the masses. Otherwise, revolution would be meaningless. Marx and Lenin often said that, whatever the time or place, Communists must rely on the masses, cement their ties with them, educate them in communist ideas, help them to heighten their political awareness and get them organized. Point six in the conclusion of the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)* says that of all things, the Communist Party must avoid separation from the masses and that, so long as it relies on them, it will be invincible.<sup>141</sup> In the hopes of strangling us, the Japanese secret agents are keeping a watchful eye on us all the time, searching for such vulnerable spots as any instance of our separation from the masses. In the Taihang Mountains, we intercepted a directive sent out by the Kuomintang secret service, which stated that the most effective way to wreck the Communist Party was to take advantage of its mistake of issuing arbitrary orders to the masses. The Communist Party will get nowhere if it relies solely on arms or on a united front with the landlords, gentry and businessmen. To

rely on the masses is a revolutionary, Marxist principle we must never go against in our work.

Some of our comrades, however, pay only lip-service to the masses and to Marxism; when it comes to practice, they forget all about Marxism. Whoever ignores or obstructs the interests of the masses or adopts a bureaucratic attitude towards them is no Communist and should be severely criticized. Some look down upon mass work; this is utterly wrong. To classify people and different kinds of work according to some hierarchical criteria and to look down upon our work in the mass movement is a mentality incompatible with that of a Communist. It's a leftover from the hierarchical classifications of feudal society.

As the mass movement in the anti-Japanese democratic base areas is mainly a peasant movement, top priority should be given to the peasant associations. Success in our work in the peasant associations will lead to the success of our work in the youth and women's organizations and also in the trade unions.

Now I would like to describe the experience gained in the mass movement in central China. When work teams were sent to develop the movement for reducing rent and interest, the first step was to select a few key counties, two or three key districts in each key county and two or three key villages in each of these districts. The majority of the cadres and the most competent leading comrades were dispatched to these places. Those cadres who were sent to other districts and villages began by only engaging in such propaganda work as going from place to place publicizing the need for rent and interest reduction and for improving the life of hired hands. In the key districts and villages, efforts were concentrated on arousing the masses so as to effect a breakthrough at one place, which would open up new prospects for the work. Whenever this was successful, the achievements, as well as the methods of attaining them, were publicized in other districts and villages in order to build some momentum through co-ordinated efforts.

When the work of arousing the masses in the key districts and villages is about to start here in northwestern Shanxi, leading comrades from the local governments and the work teams should pay visits to the landlords and hold discussions with them and the gentry, informing them of the impending mass movement and explaining to them the relevant policies in such a way as to allay their apprehensions. Meanwhile, members of the work teams should visit and

talk with the peasants, household by household, to conduct investigations and seek out activists through whom they can contact more people to mobilize on a broader scale. On the basis of thorough discussions among the masses, a village-wide meeting should then be convened to discuss the relevant issues, make decisions on them and elect a peasant association preparatory committee. The work teams should identify and start with the issues considered most urgent by the local peasants (such as grain loans) and, through victories in the struggle over these issues, enhance the peasants' enthusiasm and confidence. Before the establishment of the peasant association which will lead the peasants in the struggle for rent and interest reduction, they should also make an effort to educate and train activists. On the inauguration of a peasant association, a public notice should be put up, because the peasants usually attach great importance to public notices. The county magistrate and leading army officers should attend and deliver encouraging speeches, making it known that they attach importance to the peasant association. The impact of such measures will be felt throughout the area, and the peasants in other districts will get moving and demand to set up their own associations, too. This is how key areas exert their influence on other areas. At this point, while a number of cadres may be left behind in the key districts and villages to consolidate what has been achieved, the rest should be transferred to other non-key areas, where now the masses will, of their own accord, seek them out. In the space of a couple of months, millions of people can be set in motion to bring about an upsurge in the mass movement for rent and interest reduction.

As soon as the masses are mobilized, activists will come forward, and we must pay close attention to their education. We should carefully prepare a talk, the gist of which might run: Who created the world? The workers and peasants did. Where do our food and houses come from? They are created by the workers and peasants. Then why is the world dominated by those who play no part in creating it? Here we must try to break down the peasants' superstitions by showing them that there are two kinds of oppression to which man is subjected: one is oppression by nature and the other by man, the latter being the exploitation of man by man, or the devouring of man by man, so to speak. The world can do without landlords and capitalists, but not without labourers. The experience of peasant struggles in other places and the success of the revolution in the Soviet Union

should be used to drive home the point that the workers and peasants should become masters of society. Once they appreciate this truth, they will be in high spirits and will raise the demand to turn the existing world upside down and wipe out the landlords altogether. At this point, it is essential to explain to them the importance of the united front. We must point out that in order to defeat Japanese imperialism, we must form a united front with the landlords, which will serve the interests of the whole nation as well as contribute to the well-being and bright future of the workers and peasants themselves. The nature of the revolution at the present stage, the important role played by the base areas and so on must be made clear to them. This talk must be well prepared. The language and examples used should be easy for the local peasants to understand and should have a sense of personal immediacy for them. Once they grasp the meaning, their political consciousness will be enhanced. When they first became politically awakened, many peasants in central China were so excited that they could hardly sleep at night. They approached the work teams, asking all sorts of questions. In this way, the peasants acquired revolutionary ideology or, to use their expression, “had a new head” placed on their shoulders. This type of stimulation is what we mean by Marxist-Leninist education of the peasants. It is an enlightenment campaign of a new form — class education. If it is carried out successfully, the peasants will follow us and will not have misgivings or waver when things are not going smoothly.

Once awakened, the peasants become anxious to do something. They go about talking and spreading the new ideas, and this is truly a powerful force. Once they are mobilized, the actual struggle to reduce rent and interest can be launched.

This struggle, in the peasants’ own words, is a struggle through argument, tests of strength, and law. Struggle through argument means using reason to explain things. The landlords are cunning and will threaten the peasants in every conceivable way. So, we must mobilize all the propaganda forces to create strong public opinion to the effect that there are no just grounds for refusing to reduce rent and interest. With justice on our side, we will win the sympathy of the community, and this will greatly boost the peasants’ confidence and courage in the struggle. Struggle through tests of strength rely essentially on the strength of the politically conscious and organized peasants to frustrate all the schemes and intrigues of the landlords aimed at sabotaging the campaign for rent and interest reduction. We may begin by persuad-



ing the enlightened landlords to reduce rent and interest first. This will make it easier to get a good start and it will also help to divide the landlords. A struggle must be waged against those who refuse to do so. For this struggle, the most obdurate landlord may be chosen as the target. Once the hard nut is cracked, the others will be easier to cope with. Struggle through law means waging legal struggles. Peasants should be encouraged to go and talk to the landlords in their homes, explaining to them that it is for the sake of resisting Japanese aggression that rent and interest must be reduced. The peasant association may hold meetings and invite both the local officials and landlords to attend. At such meetings, enlightened landlords should be praised for upholding the national cause and, in order to dispel their complaints, the landlords in general should be thanked for reducing rents. When an enemy mopping-up operation is imminent, the peasants should help the landlords to hide their belongings and clear their fields, as a demonstration of their desire for unity in the common fight against Japanese aggression. With its laws and decrees, the anti-Japanese democratic government should protect the interests of the peasants and prevent the landlords from carrying out sabotage. At the same time, it should give appropriate consideration to the interests of the landlords so that they will obey and support its policies.

An extensive mass movement is a precondition for our success in all fields of work. When the peasants rise up, they will themselves ask for guns in order to protect themselves from the landlords. In this way a militia will be formed, and as the peasants become more interested in political power, such power will be steadily consolidated. With "new heads" on their shoulders and the firm resolve to defy death, more peasants will join the Communist Party, and the Party will grow in strength.

Attention should be given to the following questions in the mass movement:

First, the relations between the Party, government and army on the one hand and the mass organizations on the other must be correctly handled.

In the past, our Party, government and army often did things that should have been done by mass organizations and so interfered in their work and failed to show respect for their independence. Much confusion arose in these relations, because the government acted in place of the mass organizations and interfered with their internal affairs by having cadres from these organizations do governmental work.



If the government wages struggle against the landlords in place of the masses, it will forfeit its status as government and be incapable of giving due consideration to the interests of the landlords, while the masses, when not aroused, will not believe in their own strength but will regard the reduction of rents as a benefit or “favour” bestowed on them by the Eighth Route Army<sup>55</sup> and the Communist Party. In the end, the landlords would have a falling out with the government, while the peasants would not give it any support. Comrades who act in this way may be well-intentioned, but the result will be negative. We must understand that it is impermissible for a few people to divorce themselves from the masses in the struggle against the landlords. A fundamental principle of Marxism is that the working people must emancipate themselves.<sup>142</sup> We should mobilize the masses to wage their own struggles, and the Party, government and army must not conduct the campaign to reduce rent and interest on their behalf.

If the government gets the mass organizations to concentrate too much effort on levying grain and other taxes and on recruiting soldiers, these organizations will be obliged to abandon their own tasks and work, and the masses will not be able to correctly understand the nature of these organizations. For instance, peasants in quite a few places talk as though the peasant associations belong to the Eighth Route Army and the government, rather than claiming them as their own. We want the peasants to organize their own associations and the workers their own unions, without relying on any outside heroes. Cadres sent to work in peasant associations by the Party, government or army should carry out activities in the name of these associations. All things that favour and are beneficial to the peasants should be left for the mass organizations. For their part, the mass organizations should conduct education among the masses so that they will support the government and the Eighth Route Army. When they are sent to carry out a government mission, cadres from these organizations should act in the name of the government and not of the organizations. If, in place of the government, the mass organizations levy grain and other taxes, make arrests and try cases, we then have two governments, which means no government at all. Sometimes mass organizations act in place of the Party by engaging solely in political propaganda rather than in economic work. Of course, we should not completely separate economic tasks from political ones, but they are different nonetheless.

Therefore, the functions of the Party, government and army and mass organizations must be distinguished one from the other and, at

the same time, must be most skilfully combined. Skilful combination does not mean a jumble. The Party is the highest form of organization of the working class, but the centralized leadership of our Party represents a unity of opposites, a relative — not absolute — unity that does not involve abolition of the other organizations. The development from single cell organisms to higher animals constitutes progress. The more advanced the animal, the finer the functional distinctions between its cells. Today, the functions and powers of our various organizations should be scientific and clear-cut and must not be confused. Unity should be achieved on the basis of a clear distinction between those functions and powers. The problem now is that while objective reality demands such a distinction, subjectively we fail to make it, with the result that functions and powers are confused rather than properly combined.

The Party should not exercise direct leadership over mass organizations but should lead them by means of the Party members in these organizations. The government and the mass organizations should assist each other.

It is wrong to fear the high prestige of the mass organizations. They are the most important bridge linking the Party with the masses, and the enhancement of their prestige means the enhancement of the Party's prestige. Only when the mass organizations enjoy very high prestige can they get the masses to respond to their call to support the government. If the prestige of peasant associations sinks into the dust, it will be very difficult for them to call on the peasants to support the government. Hence, the higher the prestige of the mass organizations the better, because it is the leadership of the Party that brings this about.

Second, a strong mass movement requires leaders from among the masses.

Leaders of Party organizations and of the army can be appointed, but not leaders of the masses. Therefore, attention must be paid to training activists among the masses so that they can become leaders with great prestige. A mass movement without leaders is not a strong movement. Only when it has its own leaders and its own discipline is it a truly revolutionary mass movement. There should be tens of thousands of junior and senior leaders of the masses working in various fields. It is one of the Party's important tasks to train and educate cadres for this role. The Party should regularly send cadres to do mass work, and after long periods of such training, help them become

leaders recognized by the masses. In central China for instance, cadres were not sent directly to the county governments to serve as county magistrates, but were first sent to do mass work. When they performed their work well, they gained prestige among the masses who then elected them to such posts. In this way they became leaders closely linked with the masses. As for intellectuals coming from other places to do mass work, they, too, may become leaders of the masses, provided they get to know the masses well, forge close ties with them and help them solve their problems.

Third, a correct approach must be adopted towards “Left” deviations and excesses that may occur in the mass movement.

When the mass movement reaches full tilt, things may get out of control because once the masses are in motion, “Left” deviations and excesses in their actions are likely to occur, contrary to our subjective wishes. Some comrades are afraid of this phenomenon. We should make it clear that excesses on the part of the masses are one thing, while those on the part of the leaders are quite another. A strict distinction must be made between the “Left” deviations in the actions of the masses and those in the work of leadership on the part of the cadres, because these differ in principle. Excesses in leadership are manifestations of “Left” opportunism and, as such, are impermissible mistakes and must be done away with. However, as the masses rise in action, a certain amount of excessive action on their part is unavoidable, and we should not be afraid of it.

What we should do is enhance our ability to lead, do our best to provide correct leadership over the mass movement and avoid both Right and “Left” deviations. While the mass movement will, in the course of its development, sometimes lean to the Right, sometimes to the “Left”, our fundamental policies must always remain stable and our leadership must on no account swing in either direction. It is wrong not to mobilize the masses for fear of committing “Left” mistakes, and equally wrong to mobilize them according to “Left” guidelines, on the assumption that a few excesses don’t matter much. Both tendencies should be conscientiously guarded against.

We are not afraid of “Left” excesses on the part of the masses, but on the part of our cadres. At the time of the four mobilizations,<sup>143</sup> it was not the masses but the cadres whose actions were excessive. As a result, the landlords quarrelled with the cadres, the peasants were not mobilized, and we isolated ourselves.

We must bring the mass movement under our leadership. But this does not mean resorting to coercion. Rather, it means exercising control through ideological guidance, so the masses will follow us of their own free will. For instance, during the Great Revolution,<sup>30</sup> the dockers in Wuhan acted spontaneously when they drove out the police and took over the British Concession. One or two hundred thousand workers were preparing to hold a demonstration in the Concession, but Chen Duxiu<sup>110</sup> and others wanted to have it called off for fear of the masses going too far. They asked the National Federation of Trade Unions to be responsible for the matter. The leading comrades from the NFTU explained that it was impossible to cancel the demonstration, but they summoned the leaders of the workers that very evening and told them to see to it that no force was used and no property damaged during the demonstration. This was a sort of ideological guidance. The next day the demonstration was held, and the masses besieged the consulate for the whole day, but nothing untoward happened. That was a disciplined mass movement, a genuine mass movement. A mass movement lacking in order or discipline cannot be regarded as a genuine mass movement. That particular movement played a very important role in recovering the British Concession.<sup>144</sup>

Under proper leadership, the excesses of the masses can be corrected and the masses themselves can develop a sense of discipline. At times their leaders may also be guilty of excesses. But we should persuade and ideologically educate both the masses and their leaders, and we should cherish their zeal while taking care not to pour water on their fire for the revolution. If a comrade does not treasure the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, but stands above trying to find fault, his Party spirit is not up to par.

## EXPERIENCE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ENEMY IN NORTH CHINA

*March 19, 1943*

I have received both the “General Survey of Central China” and the instructions you issued to the various localities. I am in full agreement. On my way through north China, I noticed that a great deal of useful experience had been acquired in the struggle against the enemy there. This telegram is a brief account of my observations, for your reference.

1. In relatively large-scale mopping-up campaigns, the enemy always begins his attacks by converging in several columns on our central district. He then repeatedly conducts mopping-up operations before withdrawing to his strongholds. When faced with such enemy actions, we should, as a counter-measure, have our main forces avoid engaging him and refrain from any attempt to check his advance or to attack one of his columns. Our forces should disperse and operate in areas on the periphery of the central district and in enemy-occupied territory where they should actively attack his weakly-defended strongholds and communication lines. Or they should select an area in which to take cover and leave only small detachments in the central district to harass the enemy with guerrilla manoeuvres. They should not return until the enemy has withdrawn.

2. In the struggle against mopping-up campaigns, anything that is too cumbersome to carry away should be buried in the mountains or submerged under water. The hiding places should be secretly prepared

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A telegram to Chen Yi, Zhang Yunyi and other leading members of the Central China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the New Fourth Army, which was sent from Yan'an. In March 1942, Comrade Liu Shaoqi set out from Funing in northern Jiangsu, the seat of the Central China Bureau, passed through the Shandong, Hebei-Shandong-Henan, Taiyue and northwestern Shanxi base areas and arrived back in Yan'an in December.



in advance, with some being guarded by small detachments. All food grain and implements belonging to the masses should also be buried in the ground so that each household can carry what luggage and food it needs on a single shoulder pole when it “retreats” into the mountains. Under normal circumstances these “retreats” and the hiding of oxen should be done in an organized way, with militiamen providing cover and standing sentry.

3. In the struggle against mopping-up campaigns, mines play the very important role of greatly impeding the enemy’s movement and helping to protect many villages and their concealed possessions. In common use among the people in the Taiyue area is a kind of stone mine made out of a piece of solid rock with a hole drilled in the middle, in which nitre and a fuse are inserted. The stone mine is planted by the roadside or on the outskirts of a village and explodes when touched. Its effect is something like that of quarrying with dynamite, and it can kill several persons. In central Hebei, some enemy strongholds have been surrounded with mines, and this has served to reduce the size of the enemy-occupied territory. We hope that you will make an earnest effort to study ways of manufacturing land mines, stone explosives and floating mines or of using hand-grenades as mines. Since it often happens that our own people are killed by these mines, militiamen must be posted to keep watch.

4. A trained militia plays an important role in the outlying and enemy-occupied areas as well as in our operations against the enemy’s mopping-up campaigns. It is an armed force that normally does not need food supplies from the government. We hope that you will instruct the various local organizations to pay close attention to its training, its tempering in actual fighting and its equipment, such as mines, hand-grenades and rifles. The size of the militia in each locality need not be very large; 20 to 30 persons of high calibre in each village will suffice. In some outlying areas in north China, the militia has gradually developed into a guerrilla force that no longer engages in production. When all young men and adults in a district take turns, switching from production to service in the militia for a period of six months, a guerrilla force of 100 to 200 persons can be constantly maintained.

5. In guerrilla areas where the enemy forces present a particularly serious threat, the guerrilla units adopt one of the following three forms of organization: (a) Generally speaking, where the Eighth Route Army<sup>55</sup> and the guerrillas can still carry on their activities openly, the latter wear uniforms and operate with the company as the basic unit,

with the principal commanders being cadres of, or above battalion rank. The head of the district and the secretary of the district Party committee stay with these forces all the time, depending on them to keep up the struggle against the enemy. (b) Where the Eighth Route Army and the guerrillas cannot operate openly, the latter carry on in plain clothes, taking cover by day and coming out at night. With only 20 to 30 people operating as a unit, there is no need for them to take a military designation. (c) In places completely under enemy control, guerrilla activities are carried out by armed detachments which continue to engage in production. Normally these fighters keep themselves and their weapons under cover, and each carries identification. When necessary, they gather at night for specific actions and then disperse and take cover before daybreak. Sentries are posted during the day, so that they can scatter when the enemy comes to conduct a search. In north China, many company commanders of the main forces receive special training by turns to learn all possible ways of operating independently at the company level.

6. In north China, many Japanese captives have been won over to our side. They are hard-working and have rendered us great help. With their assistance we have achieved a lot in the areas of military drill, bayoneting and swordsmanship, and especially in influencing enemy soldiers and winning over captives. In the beginning it is very difficult to convert the Japanese captives. They must first be helped to realize that the New Fourth Army<sup>117</sup> and the Eighth Route Army are righteous armed forces and that China's War of Resistance Against Japan will also serve to liberate them. But once they have been converted, most of them are fully reliable, ready to work hard despite difficulties and won't run away. It is also easier to win over new captives with their help. It is hoped that you will pay careful attention to this work and trust the captives whom we have won over.

7. In our work among the people in the guerrilla and enemy-occupied areas, legal and illegal struggle should be skilfully combined. Faced with the enemy, all illegal activities may be attributed to the New Fourth Army, while all legal activities are to be conducted by the people. The central task in the enemy-occupied areas is to help the people lighten or evade the burdens imposed by the enemy. In north China, instead of raising slogans to boycott these levies altogether, the call is for efforts to try to reduce, put off or evade them as much as possible. When the enemy imposes quotas, we discuss with the people what measures, legal or otherwise, they can take to lighten,

delay or evade these burdens. In this way, people of all strata rally around us in a common endeavour to deal with and hit back at the enemy and the puppet troops and to protect the people. We are thus able to hold on in the enemy-occupied areas and even expand our forces there.

8. In the base areas in north China, many ways have been devised to lighten the financial burdens and labour services of the people. Apart from efforts to increase production and practise economy, no meeting has been held unless necessary, and uncalled-for political movements and tasks and the formalistic posting of sentries by the self-defence corps have all been cut out. An effective watch is, however, being kept by camouflaged observers in times of intensified enemy pressure or near enemy strongholds. What is more, transport of grain and military supplies is done by the troops and not by mobilizing labourers or requisitioning draft animals. In this way much manpower, which can be employed in production, is saved.

The above experience can be used in central China in the light of the local conditions.

# REPORT ON EXPERIENCE GAINED IN SIX YEARS OF WORK IN NORTH AND CENTRAL CHINA

*March 1943*

## *Experience Gained from Our Work in North China During the Preparatory and Initial Stages of the War of Resistance Against Japan*

### I. THE PREPARATORY STAGE OF THE WAR OF RESISTANCE AGAINST JAPAN

In the winter of 1935, the Central Committee decided that I should go to work in north China. I arrived in Tianjin in spring, 1936. The task assigned me by the Central Committee was to direct the work of the Party organization in north China, to carry on the work of the united front and to propagate the Party's new policies in the country as a whole. By that time, the August 1st declaration<sup>145</sup> and the December resolution<sup>20</sup> had already been published, but the Soviet areas<sup>6</sup> and the Red Army were still completely cut off from the rest of the country.

What was the situation in north China at the time?

1. The Japanese imperialists were intensifying their attack on

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An inner-Party report delivered during the rectification and study movement in Yan'an, in which, on the basis of his personal experience, the author summed up the Party's work in north and central China from the spring of 1936 to the spring of 1942. Originally entitled "Report on Experience Gained in Work Behind the Enemy Lines During the Past Six Years", it consists of three parts, the first part being an introduction. The second and third parts, slightly abridged, are included here.

China in an area south of the Great Wall. In 1935, the North China Incident<sup>146</sup> occurred and the He-Umezu Agreement was signed. Complying with a Japanese demand, Kuomintang troops withdrew from Hebei, and the Political Council for Hebei and Qahar headed by Song Zheyuan<sup>147</sup> was formed, thus making north China a “special” area. North China was in peril, and defending it and the whole of China became a most urgent task.

2. After the anti-Japanese demonstration organized by the students of Beiping on December 9, 1935,<sup>148</sup> the students’ anti-Japanese movement spread to cities large and small all over the country and initiated an upsurge in the nationwide revolutionary movement. The Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China were, however, still locked in sharp confrontation, and so throughout the country the slogan “Stop the civil war and unite against Japan” quickly became the demand of the majority of people.

3. The Communist Party, though it was still working underground, had put forth a new policy which called for the establishment of an anti-Japanese national united front and which won the approval of persons of all strata. The Kuomintang, on the other hand, though vacillating badly, still clung to its old policy of “internal pacification before resistance to foreign invasion” and continued to attack the Red Army and arrest and kill Communists.

To sum up, the prevailing situation was this: With Japanese imperialists trying to subjugate the whole of China, the Chinese people of all strata were threatened with the grave danger of national destruction and genocide. The Communist Party had put forth the general policy of uniting the whole country for national salvation. The workers, peasants and especially the urban petty bourgeoisie were growing more revolutionary, the national bourgeoisie had switched over to the side of resistance to Japan, and the big bourgeoisie in power vacillated intensely.

What then was the situation of our Party organization in north China?

The failure of the Great Revolution in 1927<sup>30</sup> had been followed by nine years of reaction, but now there was a new tide of national revolution. What remained of our Party organizations in the White areas? Our answer, though painful, must be that only the flag of our Party was preserved. In general our Party organizations had ceased to exist, with the exceptions of a provincial committee in Hebei, local organizations in certain cities and villages and a number of



cadres at the middle and grass-roots levels. What is more, these organizations and cadres were still dominated to a great extent by the “Left” opportunist line.

Though the rule of the “Left” opportunist line<sup>149</sup> over the Party organizations in the Soviet areas and in the Red Army during the period of the civil war did not last too long and was basically rectified after the Zunyi Meeting,<sup>150</sup> it certainly dominated the Party organizations in the White areas for a long time. These organizations came under the sway of the “Left” opportunist line much earlier than those in the Soviet areas and in the Red Army. Even after this line had been rectified by the Party organizations in the Soviet areas and in the Red Army, it was not overcome by Party organizations in the White areas. Although for a time after the Sixth Congress of the Party<sup>151</sup> and also after the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee, attempts were made to rectify it,<sup>31</sup> the alteration was far from thorough, especially with respect to the ideological system, the tactics of mass struggle and the forms of both organization and struggle. The correct line adopted by the Central Committee of the Party after the Zunyi Meeting was not communicated to the White areas, and the Party organizations in north China were still dominated by the erroneous line. This line meant opposing everyone, co-operating with no one, struggling to the very end in everything, negating in principle the necessary changes in tactical lines and the necessity of defence and retreat under certain circumstances, etc. It also constituted the main obstacle to implementation of the Party’s new united front policy. Clearly, unless the influence of this erroneous line in the Party organizations was eradicated, it would be impossible to implement the new policy.

Given these circumstances, what were the tasks of the Party organization in north China and the principles guiding its work? Or in other words, how did we define the tasks and guiding principles in the light of the prevailing circumstances?

Apart from mobilizing the masses and all circles of people to “stop the civil war and unite against Japan” (which was then the general slogan for the whole Party), the task of the Party organization in north China was to prepare both ourselves and the masses for a war in defence of Beiping, Tianjin and the whole of north China. In order to fulfil this task, it was necessary to unite all parties, groups and social strata in north China that might join in the resistance to Japanese aggression, to establish an anti-Japanese national united front. And

in order to unite all the anti-Japanese forces and effectively prepare ourselves and the masses, it was necessary first to eradicate the “Left” opportunist line in the Party, devise slogans and forms of struggle and organization suited to the concrete circumstances of an already rising tide in the revolutionary movement (especially among the students and the intelligentsia), correctly combine legal and illegal struggles and work tenaciously among the youths, armed forces and indeed all the masses by patiently explaining our Party’s policies and slogans to them. Only in this manner could we unite all the anti-Japanese forces in north China and proceed to forge the unity of the whole nation in preparation for our resistance to Japanese aggression. These were our tasks and the guiding principles for our work.

We worked very hard under the guidance of these principles.

We propagated the Party’s new policy of an anti-Japanese national united front extensively in north China and, indeed, throughout the country. We published a new declaration<sup>152</sup> in the name of the Northern Bureau of the Party as entrusted by the Central Committee and an open letter to the *Freedom Review* (organ of the National Socialist Party) in the name of Tao Shangxing in reply to Zhang Dongsun’s comment in that paper on the new policy of the Communist Party.<sup>153</sup> Both had an important impact inside and outside the Party. We also published semi-legal publications such as the *North China Beacon*, and placed a considerable number of our articles in many Left publications in Beiping, Tianjin and Shanghai. By such means, the Party’s new policy spread rapidly and widely and won great sympathy among the general public. In order to establish a united front, we did a lot of concrete liaison work and negotiated through our contacts in various circles with the groups in power, noted public figures and scholars. We received a generally positive response. Through our connections in a certain quarter, we also established a kind of informal contact with the central authorities of the Kuomintang in Nanjing.

We employed various means to call on the masses to rise in armed defence of Beiping, Tianjin and the whole of north China, thus deepening the movement against Japanese aggression and for national salvation. We organized the masses to boycott Japanese goods and oppose smuggling,<sup>154</sup> and we organized political demonstrations, parades, petitions, students’ strikes and workers’ strikes to oppose the Japanese imperialists, collaborators and capitulationists. We organized the North China Federation of All Circles for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation, students’ associations for national salvation in Beiping,

Tianjin and other places, and the Chinese National Liberation Vanguard Corps.<sup>67</sup> Under the joint sponsorship of these north China organizations, a conference of the representatives of all national salvation bodies was convened in Shanghai, at which the All-China Federation of All Circles for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation was founded. Later on, the All-China Students' Federation for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation was also established. Through these national salvation associations, students' unions, the National Vanguard Corps and other organizations, we published a few dozen legal or semi-legal publications and many pamphlets, and we organized a good many propaganda teams, theatrical troupes, singing groups and village work teams. These were the forms of mass struggle and organization.

Party organizations were generally underground then. But the national salvation activities of the people, and especially of the students and the cultural circles, more or less broke through the strict control of the ruling classes. Many national salvation bodies were semi-legal, so some of their publications were registered with the authorities and the other publications and books could be distributed openly in quite a few places without being registered. With these new circumstances, it became necessary to re-coordinate the Party's underground operations with the masses' legal or semi-legal activities. In the main, we correctly solved this problem so that the Party's underground organizations and operations were clearly separate from, but properly co-ordinated with, legal or semi-legal mass organizations and activities and so that the Party's organizations were well concealed amidst the masses. That was why in carrying out the activities described above, the underground Party organizations did not suffer very heavy losses, but actually expanded somewhat in a number of important cities and in the villages. We also sent a few cadres to Hongkong, Guangzhou, Shanghai, Hankou and Henan, where they established some Party organizations. The Chinese National Liberation Vanguard Corps, centred in Beiping and Tianjin, set up branches in cities throughout the country and even in Paris and Tokyo.

It would have been impossible to carry out a war of resistance against Japan without the participation of the army. In order to win over the armed forces in north China to the side of the resistance, we worked arduously to: (1) contact and keep in touch with medium- and high-ranking officers through various connections; (2) conduct propaganda and agitation among the armed forces through the people's

national salvation movement; and (3) carry out secret propaganda and organizational work through various means while distributing many legal and semi-legal publications among the armed forces. All this work greatly helped to win over the 29th and 52nd Armies, then stationed in north China, and also helped to bring Song Zheyuan himself to the side of the resistance.

At the time of the Xi'an Incident,<sup>47</sup> we resolutely supported the policy of the Central Committee of the Party for a peaceful solution, explained the matter patiently and thoroughly to our Party members and Left-leaning personages and convinced them.

Prior to and in the course of carrying out these activities, we waged resolute struggles against the "Left" opportunist line within the Party. Around fifty issues of the Party's leading publication, *The Battle Front*,<sup>155</sup> were published within that one year or so, which carried many articles criticizing the "Left" opportunist line from the point of view of principle, such as "Eliminate the Remnants of the Li Lisan Line — Closed-Doorism and Adventurism".<sup>156</sup> At the same time, we also tried to eradicate the opportunist line completely in all specific fields of work and struggle.

In March 1936, Beiping students organized a procession in which they carried the coffin of Guo Qing (a student who had died in prison after being arrested for his patriotic activities). This was an adventurist action on the part of a few advanced individuals and it led to serious confrontation with the school authorities. The students rejected the advice of the school authorities who proposed to negotiate with the government on the questions of compensatory pension and of a legal, memorial meeting for Guo Qing. The students secretly and suddenly pushed down the school wall and took to the streets bearing Guo's coffin. The march ended up with the students being completely routed by the police. Such activities only isolate us. We criticized this erroneous act and instructed our Party members to strive to repair the damage. They made explanations and apologies to the school authorities and thereby averted a crisis.

When the masses shouted such slogans as "Down with Song Zheyuan the collaborator!" and "Down with the Political Council for Hebei and Qahar!" we concluded, after analysing the positions of Song Zheyuan and the council, that although they were fostered by the Japanese as agents, they were vacillating before the countrywide upsurge of the national salvation movement. We felt that they were not wholly willing to betray the motherland by collaborating with the



aggressors and that it was still possible to bring them over to the side of the resistance. We therefore pointed out the error of these slogans and changed them to "Support Chairman Song in resisting Japanese aggression!" After the slogans were changed, the possibilities for the masses to gain legal approval for their national salvation activities improved. One time the columns of a demonstration came upon Song's car in the street, and the students handed Song a leaflet. When Song saw the slogan "Support Chairman Song in resisting Japanese aggression!" in the leaflet, he smiled and left. Song asked the demonstrators to rally at Jingshan Park opposite the back gate of the Imperial Palace and he sent Qin Dechun, mayor of Beiping, to address the rally. At the gathering at Jingshan, tens of thousands of demonstrators sang songs in chorus calling for national salvation.

In the struggle against the "Left" opportunist line within the Party, the political consciousness and work enthusiasm of the Party members were greatly enhanced, and the growing mass movement was gradually strengthened to rally the broad masses of the people around the national salvation associations and the National Vanguard Corps. When a number of Kuomintang university professors and other Kuomintang members set up the Beiping Students' Association (the new Students' Union) in order to split the students' movement in Beiping, only a few people joined. In the Party there were only a few individuals who, disapproving of the struggle to eradicate the "Left" opportunist line, resorted to double-faced tactics in opposing the struggle.

These were the main tasks we accomplished in a year or so.

After accomplishing these tasks, the Party organization in north China made much progress and scored many successes politically, organizationally and in united front work. The political and theoretical level of the Party members had been raised, the local Party organizations had in the main been revived, and the Party organizations and our work in Beiping and Tianjin had been greatly strengthened. Moreover, Shandong and Shanxi Provincial Party Committees, a Henan Party Working Committee and a number of Party organizations in central and south China had also been set up. Almost all universities and middle schools in Beiping and Tianjin had joined the students' unions. With their misgivings about the Communist Party largely dispelled, people of various circles were now willing to have contact with the Party. The influence and organizations of our Party in the armed forces had also expanded and developed. The Party had already taken root among the masses and had formed close ties



with them. All these achievements had no precedent in our work in the White areas during the period of the civil war. They were due, on the one hand, to the rising tide of the mass movement and, on the other, to the fact that the Party organization in north China had overcome the "Left" opportunist line and had correctly implemented the line of the Central Committee of the Party.

These achievements created conditions relatively favourable to the work of pursuing the war of resistance in north China and to the expansion of the Party and the Eighth Route Army.<sup>55</sup>

What were the shortcomings of our work?

The most serious one was that our activity among the workers was very weak. Except in Tangshan and a few railways and factories where we had set up some very small Party organizations, there was none at all in the enterprises, so the Party's new policy had very little impact among the workers. The national salvation movement launched by the students had not yet spread to the workers, and there were relatively few workers taking part in the movement. This was due to: (1) the especially heavy oppression and strict control of workers by the government and factory authorities; (2) the almost complete severance of the organizational ties between the Party and the workers because of the repeated disruption of Party organization among the workers over the years (a very serious case being the arrest in the summer of 1936 of a total of 50-odd Party members and workers close to the Party), so, since nearly all Party cadres engaged in the labour movement had been eliminated, the Party had to retrain cadres before work among the worker masses could get started; and (3) failure of the leading organs of the Party, especially those of the various local Party organizations, to attach due importance to work among the workers and also failure to make the necessary effort to send the cadres who would do the painstaking work.

At the time, the Central Committee of the Party had not yet come to a clear-cut conclusion on the "Left" opportunist line in the work in the White areas, so disputes arose within the Party, and the Party organization in north China encountered difficulties in its struggle to overcome the erroneous line. When many comrades expressed their doubts as to whether the line of the leadership was correct and demanded an explanation, our reply was necessarily vague. This gave those leading cadres who still clung to the "Left" opportunist line an opening to exploit in opposing the correct leadership. Not long afterwards, the Central Committee called a conference of representa-

tives of Party organizations of the White areas (convened in May 1937, simultaneously with the Party conference of the Soviet areas), and the representatives from north China and I came to Yan'an to attend the conference. At this juncture, our opponents carried out many underhand activities within the Party and among the representatives. In league with some comrades in Yan'an, they succeeded in winning over to their side some representatives who were not aware of the truth. Together, these people persisted in supporting the "Left" opportunist line which had dominated the Party organizations in the White areas, and attempted to negate the correct line of the incumbent leadership of the north China Party organization. For this reason the results of the conference were not good. Instead of diminishing, the difficulties in our work increased. Although the war of resistance broke out soon afterwards and the working conditions and tasks in north China became entirely different, the negative influence of the conference persisted for a long time. This influence, too, constituted one of the serious shortcomings in the work of the north China Party organization.

The foregoing is a general picture of the work of our Party in north China which illustrates the experience gained there in the preparatory stage of the War of Resistance Against Japan.

## II. THE INITIAL STAGE OF THE WAR OF RESISTANCE

After the Lugouqiao Incident,<sup>53</sup> the Central Committee of the Party anticipated that the Japanese aggressors were going to occupy Beiping and Tianjin. The two cities were in peril. So the Central Committee put forth the slogans, "Take up arms to defend Beiping, Tianjin and north China! We will defend our homeland to the last drop of our blood!" and called on the people and the armed forces to take immediate action.

After the fall of Beiping and Tianjin, the prospects for a war of resistance in north China or in the country as a whole were not yet certain. According to the experience of the "January 28th" battle of resistance,<sup>22</sup> the fighting in eastern Hebei<sup>157</sup> and the North China Incident of 1935, it seemed that the Kuomintang might again negotiate a truce agreement and compromise with the Japanese aggressors. Our policy was to try by all possible means to promote nationwide re-

sistance against Japanese aggression and to oppose any peaceful compromise that involved the humiliating terms of surrendering the country's sovereign rights.

As Beiping and Tianjin had been occupied by the Japanese aggressors, we decided that all those Party members and anti-Japanese elements who did not have a solid foothold in either of the two cities should leave and that the leading organs of the Party should immediately and resolutely withdraw to Taiyuan. Most of the people withdrawing from Beiping and Tianjin were to go to Taiyuan to be assigned work there; those who could not go were to withdraw to villages in eastern Hebei or outside Beiping and Tianjin to try to find arms with which to engage in guerrilla warfare. However, in the course of withdrawal itself, a few leading comrades opposed the action and, taking advantage of the fact that some people were panicky, put forth both inside and outside the Party the slogan "Don't flee". By ordering Party members and some leaders of mass organizations to stay on in Beiping and Tianjin, they practically delayed the withdrawal. Although no losses ensued, the views and actions of these comrades were undoubtedly wrong. The duty of the Party then was not to say "Don't flee" but to organize the withdrawal. Failure by the Party to do so would only have helped the enemy.

After the Japanese aggressors occupied Beiping and Tianjin, they mounted large-scale offensives against the hinterland. Since there was no possibility of recovering these cities at the time and since a nationwide war of resistance was certain, co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party was announced<sup>158</sup> and the Communist Party gained semi-legal or even legal status. We then decided to adopt the following guiding principles:

1. The Party organizations in Beiping and Tianjin were to change their approach by engaging in protracted underground work while, at the same time, they were to make use of every available legal possibility to preserve and accumulate strength so as to bide their time in preparing for a counter-offensive which would secure the recovery of the two cities in the future. Their main task was to aid the anti-Japanese guerrilla war in the villages around Beiping and Tianjin. Work in the cities was to be subordinate to that in the villages and so, with the exception of those who were needed in the two cities, all cadres were to withdraw to the villages and organize guerrilla units.

2. In eastern Hebei (which had been occupied by the Japanese aggressors several years earlier and had been designated a "special

area”), preparations were to be made quickly to launch anti-Japanese uprisings in co-ordination with the nationwide war of resistance against Japan as well as to keep the guerrilla war going.

Guided by the above principles, when the detachment of the Eighth Route Army led by Song Shilun<sup>159</sup> moved into the area in the spring of 1938, our comrades in eastern Hebei heroically launched the great uprising of the people there. This was a great anti-Japanese popular uprising which is well worthy of study. Our comrades had made excellent preparations. All the Kuomintang organizations and almost all the peace preservation corps under the puppet regime (seven to eight brigades), the armed forces of the county governments, miners at the Kailuan Coal Mines, peasants and many landlords and capitalists were united and took part in the uprising. It was an armed struggle against the Japanese aggressors and their Chinese collaborators waged by hundreds of thousands of people who had been fully mobilized, and its outbreak was immediately followed by the establishment of organs of political power and military command, which then exercised joint leadership. However, this uprising was soon subjected to a most severe attack by the enemy and suffered serious setbacks. It was only by employing various means later that guerrilla war was organized in eastern Hebei.

3. In the other areas in north China (the rear areas of our army), it was necessary to mobilize the people and all available forces to take part in the war of resistance and support the front and at the same time to prepare for an independent guerrilla war. In these areas, the main form of mass organization was the Battlefield General Mobilization Committee<sup>71</sup> (in some places it was the National Salvation Association). As organs for wartime mobilization, such committees were set up to prepare for, organize and lead the guerrilla war and to unite the masses so that they would join and assist the war of resistance.

4. In the cities, mines, railroads and industrial areas in north China which were about to fall into the hands of the enemy, it was necessary to mobilize those workers and staff members who could move to other places to leave immediately and those who could not, to prepare for and organize struggle against the enemy after the fall of these places. It was necessary to call on the workers and staff to organize workers' guerrilla units or to go to the villages and join the peasants in waging guerrilla war.

The above points constituted our line of action before the fall of Taiyuan.



In the early days of the war of resistance, we anticipated that the whole of north China was in danger of falling into enemy hands, that most of the Kuomintang troops would withdraw from the area and that the old political regime as well as Kuomintang headquarters there would be withdrawn. The duty of pursuing the war of resistance against Japan in north China would then fall mainly or entirely on the shoulders of the Eighth Route Army.

Taking into account these eventualities, we formulated the following guiding principles: make extensive preparations for the guerrilla war, expand the Eighth Route Army into a powerful group army with hundreds of thousands of men and guns and establish many base areas. Only in this way could we independently shoulder the important task of persisting in the war of resistance in north China. As soon as the Eighth Route Army arrived in Taiyuan, the Northern Bureau placed these tasks and guiding principles before the senior cadres of the Army and the cadres of the local Party organizations. The written decision of November 15 of the Northern Bureau reaffirmed these principles.<sup>160</sup> But a few comrades expressed disapproval. They held that north China might not fall entirely into the hands of the enemy and that it might still be possible to check the enemy's advance by tenacious regular warfare. On these grounds they felt that it was unnecessary to prepare for guerrilla war in the whole of north China. They thought that the task of expanding the Eighth Route Army till it had hundreds of thousands of men was simply impossible and that such action would upset the Kuomintang too much and would certainly lead to a terrible split in the united front. As for the establishment of base areas and state organs of the united front under the leadership of our Party in north China, they thought this would be even less permissible under the Party's united front policy. What policy, then, did they propose? They wanted to concentrate all efforts on uniting with the Kuomintang to wage regular war against the enemy advance. They thought that the enemy advance could be checked and they refused to consider the consequences of failure. According to them, guerrilla war could only be waged in limited areas to the rear or on the flanks of the enemy in support of frontal military operations in north China; it was of little significance and without much prospect. Obviously, the views of these comrades were incorrect. We rejected and criticized these views.



By the time Taiyuan was threatened, it was already clear that the whole of north China was going to fall. Taiyuan was the last big city in the region that had not yet been captured by the enemy. With its loss, the conditions for conducting regular warfare in north China were in general gone; no relatively fixed fronts could be formed, and armed resistance there could only be pursued in the form of guerrilla war. Within the Party we pointed out unequivocally that the main form of resistance in north China was going to be large-scale guerrilla war and that the central task for the Party organization there was to promote, organize and lead guerrilla war on an extensive scale. We put forth the slogan inside the Party, "Place everything on a war footing," and we called on all cadres and Party members to study military affairs and guerrilla warfare and to resolve to throw themselves into the anti-Japanese guerrilla war.

The Central Committee also pointed out to us that the only course for our Party and army to take in north China was that of guerrilla war. This directive was perfectly correct and just what we needed under the prevailing circumstances in north China.

At the time, the masses, as well as some comrades within the Party, were alarmed and confused. We forbade our Party members to leave north China and explained with great patience to the broad masses of people that after the fall of Taiyuan, there were only three alternatives for all the Chinese in north China, namely, (1) to continue to fight; (2) to flee to other places; or (3) to surrender to the enemy. Of these three alternatives, the first one, to fight, was the only proper course to take; neither flight nor surrender was a way out. But then, how could the war of resistance be continued? Who was to fight it? Could it be won? These were the imponderables in the minds of the general public and many of our Party members. Hence we took many concrete measures to solve ideological, theoretical and organizational questions about the strategy and tactics of guerrilla war, the organization of guerrilla units, the policies involved in waging guerrilla war, the shortage of cadres and about the development of war zones for guerrilla units.

In particular, we told the masses that guerrilla war could not be waged by relying solely on regular forces, but should be fought by guerrilla units organized by people who have armed themselves.

Thanks to the correct policies of the Party and the victories and good discipline of the Eighth Route Army, the prestige among the people of the Party and army had grown enormously in the period

around the time of the fall of Taiyuan. In general, it was already possible for the Party to engage in open activities. It was possible for the Party, the mass movements and the armed resistance by the people of north China to expand everywhere, and everywhere the masses, seeking and waiting for the Communist Party and the Eighth Route Army to lead them, were asking the Party to send people to guide them in waging guerrilla war. While the old ruling classes were withdrawing or fleeing in panic and while the collaborators were assuming office in full regalia, the broad masses, seething with indignation, resolved to resist Japanese aggression. And so there was a genuine upsurge in the national revolutionary movement. At this juncture, the biggest problem we faced was the shortage of cadres. In order to solve this problem, we adopted the following measures:

1. We ran many one-week training courses, immediately sending the trainees to work in different areas.
2. We sent as many staff members of the leading organs as possible, and technical personnel too, to work in different areas.
3. We mobilized large numbers of workers, Party members, students and sympathizers in the cities to go to the countryside or back to their native places to organize guerrilla units. If they were unable to direct the guerrilla units they helped to organize, they were to turn these units over to the command of the Eighth Route Army.
4. We called meetings, when possible, of Party functionaries to tell them what working methods to adopt, to check up on their work and to assign them tasks, so that our working personnel in various areas would mature rapidly and become equal to their new tasks.
5. We recruited large numbers of new Party members and established Party organizations in the various localities from top to bottom, that is, we first set up county- or prefectural-level Party committees which would then recruit new members and set up branches at the grass-roots level.

Because we solved the foregoing problems ideologically, organizationally and in principle, the entire Party was able to carry on its work and cope with the drastically changing circumstances with confidence and according to a definite plan. For these reasons we achieved rapid expansion, many base areas were set up and the government of the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei border area was established not long after the fall of Taiyuan. As the objective situation rapidly unfolded,

our work developed by leaps and bounds, and no time at all was lost.

Later, when almost the whole of north China fell into the hands of the Japanese aggressors, most of the Kuomintang troops retreated, leaving behind large amounts of weapons and supplies. The provincial governments of Hebei and Qahar<sup>161</sup> and nearly all the county magistrates and prefectural commissioners fled, and so did the staff of the provincial and county governments and troops of Shandong under Han Fujū.<sup>162</sup> Most of the old faction in Shanxi Province also fled, while the new, progressive faction in Shanxi became very active. Right at this point, when the people in north China were making up their minds to rise and save themselves, the Eighth Route Army and large numbers of the Party's working personnel went behind the enemy lines there. Wherever they went, they were warmly received by the people and became closely integrated with them. Our Party members, the Eighth Route Army and anti-Japanese activists gathered the weapons and supplies left behind by the Kuomintang troops and organized anti-Japanese guerrilla units everywhere. In no time at all, several hundred guerrilla units led by our Party, by other political parties or by non-party people emerged in the vast enemy-occupied areas. Most of these units maintained close contacts with the Eighth Route Army, which many of them joined. This led to the rapid expansion of the Eighth Route Army, which set up many new detachments behind enemy lines. Developing into a powerful group army with over a hundred thousand men and guns, it became the main armed force persevering in the war of resistance in north China.

After the administrators of the old regime had fled or betrayed the country, we appointed many new county magistrates and prefectural commissioners and, through democratic procedures, set up administrative commissions or border area governments in strategic areas.<sup>63</sup> In this way a new anti-Japanese political order was established. Within a short time, the bandits in many places were wiped out, the public gradually came to feel secure, and the people's self-defence corps and mass movements underwent tremendous development. In addition, Party organizations increased more than tenfold. Looking just at north China, our Party had become the biggest political party leading the resistance.

In the four or five months following the capture of Taiyuan, the enemy did not push on into southern Shanxi. This gave us sufficient

time to make arrangements for the work behind the enemy lines. We decided to, where possible, utilize political power for this struggle by establishing anti-Japanese democratic governments and unified military commands (military areas and sub-areas) to promulgate all kinds of local decrees, requisition supplies, collect grain and suppress traitors. We also decided that Party organizations in the base areas should emerge from the underground and adopt a bold work style. In the beginning, all Party, government, army, popular or other organizations were to be established from top to bottom, that is, the leading organs were to be set up first, followed by those at the lower levels. In periods of upsurge in the revolution, leading organs can, once they are established, rapidly recruit the broad masses to flesh out the lower levels. Because everything was happening so quickly, time was most precious and any waste of it would have been criminal. Everything had to be done promptly and briskly. Without a bold work style, it would have been impossible to make any breakthroughs or to do so quickly. Under the slogan, "Take up arms, defend our native land and north China, and persist in armed resistance behind enemy lines", we adopted democratic political power and guerrilla warfare as the forms of anti-Japanese struggle. As the form of organization, we chose to establish anti-Japanese democratic base areas. These governments, which were directly set up by anti-Japanese people's congresses, organized guerrilla units, people's self-defence corps and national salvation associations of workers, peasants, youth and women. The Eighth Route Army was expanded and the Party switched from covert to overt operations. Because we properly timed the raising of new slogans suited to the prevailing circumstances, because we adopted new forms of struggle and organization and because, in the course of struggle, we accepted armed struggle as the main form while combining the various forms of struggle and organization, we were able, in diverse and drastically changing circumstances, to mobilize the people step by step in the broadest possible numbers to march to the revolutionary battlefield where they were properly deployed.

This was the concrete tactical guidance we provided during this period.

Under this tactical guidance, the people's revolutionary movement and the Party organization in north China took giant strides forward. In a matter of only a few months, most areas in north China underwent drastic changes. The old corrupt regime that had previously ruled over north China collapsed almost completely under enemy attack,



and in its place emerged the enemy puppet regime — a collaborators' regime. This puppet regime was soon crushed in the vast countryside of north China due to the enormous expansion, under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Eighth Route Army, of the anti-Japanese guerrilla movement (involving hundreds of thousands and even millions of people). In its place emerged the anti-Japanese democratic political power, based on the coalition of all revolutionary classes under the leadership of the Party. Several hundred thousand Kuomintang troops were defeated in the war of resistance and withdrew from north China, and in their place emerged an even greater number of people's anti-Japanese guerrilla fighters closely linked with the Eighth Route Army. The guerrilla units dealt far heavier blows to the enemy than the several hundred thousand Kuomintang troops had done. Such mighty and staunch guerrilla war proves to the enemy as well as the people of the whole country and indeed the whole world that China is unconquerable. Obviously, without correct guidance such complex and radical changes could not have been effected in such a short time.

The most complex problem of tactical guidance that needed cool-headed analysis and tackling at the time was the question of class struggle within the anti-Japanese national united front. Many comrades stumbled over this question. We adopted the following two forms of struggle. First, in places which had been completely evacuated by the Kuomintang troops and government or which had been newly recovered from the hands of the enemy, we established local anti-Japanese democratic governments and armed forces, independently implemented the Three People's Principles,<sup>89</sup> carried on the war of resistance and then applied to the National Government for approval (we simply went ahead anyway if the government turned down our applications). This method, which we have been examining in the foregoing paragraphs, was the main form we adopted in Hebei. Second, the form we adopted in Shanxi was of co-operation with the new faction there. With the help of the new faction and the League of Self-Sacrifice for National Salvation,<sup>72</sup> we set up base areas and armed political power, practised the Three People's Principles and pursued the war of resistance against Japan. This form is also worthy of study, because it, too, can enable us and the revolution to make great leaps forward.

Specifically, what experience did we gain from our relations with the new faction in Shanxi?



At the outset, it was through our close co-operation with the new faction that we established our anti-Japanese base areas in Shanxi. Had it not been for the new faction, had the new faction not repulsed the attacks of the old faction and defeated the latter altogether, we would have had far greater difficulty in pursuing the war of resistance in Shanxi and, indeed, in north China as a whole. The victory of the new faction was a great help to us and also dealt a powerful blow to the old faction which attempted to capitulate to the enemy.

Seeing the danger of the likelihood that Shanxi would be seized by the enemy after the Eastern Suiyuan Incident,<sup>37</sup> Yan Xishan<sup>163</sup> decided on a policy of “resisting Japan to defend our native land”. Resistance to Japan required the people’s assistance, and it became necessary for him to adopt many progressive measures and employ many competent people who would resolutely resist Japan. Thus, the new faction was formed under his direction. After the fall of Taiyuan, many people in the old faction fled and some defected to the enemy, resulting in Yan’s necessary reliance on the new faction. The armed forces of the new faction (i.e., the “Daredevil” Corps<sup>164</sup>) were set up, and its members were appointed prefectural commissioners and county magistrates. But later on, as the new faction continued to grow and develop into an independent force, Yan became afraid that it might grow too powerful, and so he turned to suppressing and attacking it while, at the same time, boosting the old faction to fight the new. Finally, he ordered the old faction to launch armed attacks on the new. In the struggle between the two, the new faction adopted firm policies, crushed the attacks of the old and grew stronger and more consolidated.

Yan Xishan was a fully feudal ruler, but in the face of the enemy’s attack on Shanxi he wanted to “resist Japan to defend the native land”. It was necessary for him to adopt some progressive measures in the war of resistance in order to maintain his rule over the province. Therefore, he was progressive only temporarily and to a limited degree. Because his involvement in the war of resistance and adoption of certain progressive measures were good and favourable to the revolution, we were right to assist him in resisting Japan. However, when the influence of the new faction and the expansion of the mass movements went beyond what he needed and was willing to tolerate, he suppressed them without hesitation. He did not want genuine mass movements, and he wavered and was not thorough in pursuing the war of resistance. We therefore laid down the following basic policy: (1)

to co-operate with Yan Xishan in the war of resistance and in unfolding mass movements, but at the same time to sharpen our vigilance and be always on our guard against his attacks on us and the masses; (2) to assist by every means the expansion of the new faction forces and to try to join the new faction and help it exercise actual control over certain areas; (3) together with the new faction, to unfold independent mass movements by making use of the League of Self-Sacrifice for National Salvation wherever possible; and (4) to have the new faction combat the old, even to the point of armed struggle, under the slogan of supporting Yan Xishan, so as to make it impossible for the old faction to capitulate to the enemy or bring about a backlash in Shanxi. The result of implementing the above policy was victory for the new faction and for us as well. The success of the new faction in Shanxi was a victory for the Left wing in the united front.

By helping Yan Xishan to resist Japan, we persisted in the war of resistance in Shanxi, pushed the revolution in the province forward and also advanced ourselves. Hence, this experience merits attention.

To sum up, the Party organization in north China pursued a correct line during this period and implemented the line of the Central Committee in a flexible way. At important, complicated and critical turning points, we did not lose our bearings or degenerate politically but, after overcoming many erroneous opinions, correctly and in good time decided on the course of advance and mobilized millions of people to march ahead in the direction pointed out by our Party. There were, nevertheless, still quite a number of shortcomings in our work. The main ones were:

1. In some places, especially where our work already had a solid basis, the leading comrades in the Party were accustomed to working underground. At the sudden turn of events and with the wheels of history rolling on rapidly, these comrades failed to change their working methods straight away and did not know how to use a bold work style to solve various problems by open means. As in the past they continued to do their work bit by bit, recruiting members of mass organizations or the Party one by one and conducting only local economic and political struggles. They rested content with increases of a few Party members or a few dozen members of mass organizations and with minor successes in these struggles. They were unable to set new tasks in accordance with the changes in the objective situation, and still less were they able to accomplish those tasks for which the objective conditions were ripe. Thus, they could not but lag far be-

hind as events developed. Much later, this shortcoming was gradually overcome.

When the situation does not favour our advance, we must be patient and must not move forward rashly. If we do not wait patiently, we will make mistakes. On the other hand, when there is a rising tide — an upsurge — favourable to our advance, we must not hesitate, but must advance boldly. If we do delay, we will also make mistakes. In the past, we were engaged in underground operations for more than a decade, which could be described as a decade of waiting. What were we waiting for? For this rising tide of the movement — this upsurge in the revolution. Today the tide is high. The upsurge has come. To let it slip away, to fail to seize the opportunity to surge forward, would be criminal.

2. In some places, leading comrades of the Party committed Right deviationist errors on the question of the united front. When the situation was most favourable, they failed to unite all anti-Japanese forces and social strata under the leadership of our Party or to establish anti-Japanese national united front governments to lead the war of resistance behind enemy lines. They did not understand the great significance of state power in revolutionary struggles; they took it lightly, tossing it away like so much dross. In Shandong and some other places, long after the personnel of the old regime had fled and the collaborators' regime had been overthrown, they still didn't take the initiative to set up a new anti-Japanese political authority, appoint county magistrates and prefectural commissioners or form upper-level local governments by democratic methods. Failing to establish a new anti-Japanese order quickly, they let anarchy continue to prevail. They seemed to feel that our Party had no right to play the leading role in the war of resistance, in the united front or in the anti-Japanese state organs, and had no right to set up local anti-Japanese governments or appoint county magistrates and prefectural commissioners. Furthermore, they seemed to feel that the entire anti-Japanese people had no such rights and that the only ones who had, were the big landlords and big bourgeoisie. So they waited and waited. They waited until the big landlords and big bourgeoisie restored their one-party dictatorship, and then they supported it. Even when those who exercised the one-party dictatorship suddenly turned ruthless and, rather than reciprocating the kind support, wanted to expel these comrades from the locality, they were still at a loss to know what was really happening. Because of the erroneous views of these com-

rades, an excellent opportunity to establish anti-Japanese democratic base areas in Shandong was lost, and even the anti-Japanese state organs which had already been set up at lower levels were dissolved. These mistakes were to cause great difficulties in our work in the area later. To a greater or lesser extent, similar errors were also made in some other places in north China.

3. Some comrades committed ultra-Left errors. In obtaining supplies for the army, they did not strictly follow the policy of the united front and imposed excessive burdens on the landlords and other rich people. In organizing guerrilla units, they recruited too many people without maintaining the necessary forces led by non-Party people, while treating the supernumerary cadres in an oversimplified and crude way. In the mass movement, not enough attention was paid to the harm done by hooligans in some places. Indiscriminate arrests, killings and commandeering of supplies aroused serious apprehensions among the public. Party organizations in some places were expanded through “press-ganging” and this brought a number of bad characters and negative elements into the Party. It was only after long delays that many places began to correct these mistakes. And in some places, in the course of correcting these ultra-Left mistakes, the masses and grass-roots cadres were subjected to undue attacks. With such attacks extinguishing their revolutionary zeal, the masses became dispirited and the cadres at the grass-roots levels disheartened, while the reactionary elements seized the opportunity to rise in counter-attack.

4. Although its line was correct, the leadership of the Northern Bureau and the Eighth Route Army could not avoid shortcomings and mistakes in particular policies and fields of work. At first, our policies towards the landlords and collaborators were too severe. Although we soon corrected this ourselves, the lower levels, even long afterwards, had not done so. Another error occurred in the spring of 1938, when influenced by the slogans “Everything through the united front” and “Everything must be submitted to the united front”,<sup>165</sup> the Party and the army did not dare to expand boldly in many places. We also corrected this mistake soon afterwards. A third error occurred when the Northern Bureau, remaining too long in western Shanxi, failed to move quickly to the various base areas behind enemy lines to help solve problems, and thus failed to make clear many questions of principle to cadres in the Party, and especially to cadres in the army. The timing of the move by units of the Eighth Route Army



to the Hebei Plains and Shandong Province was also a little too late. All these shortcomings, to one degree or another, adversely affected our work.

This is the experience we gained from our expansion in north China, in the initial stage of the war of resistance.

*Experience Gained from Our Work in Central China During  
the Initial Stage of the War of Resistance Against Japan and  
the Stage of Our Expansion*

## I. THE INITIAL STAGE OF THE WAR OF RESISTANCE

In the initial stage of the war of resistance, the work of the Party in central China was under the direction of the Changjiang Bureau. Before the establishment of the Bureau (December 1937), the Central Committee sent Comrade Bo Gu<sup>166</sup> to Shanghai, Nanjing and Hankou to direct the work in central China. In the winter of 1938, the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee<sup>167</sup> decided to establish a Central Plains Bureau and so sent me to the Bureau to take charge of the Party's work north of the Changjiang River and south of the Longhai Railway. The work south of the Changjiang River and the work of the Headquarters of the New Fourth Army<sup>117</sup> remained under the direction of the Southeast Bureau. It was only after the Southern Anhui Incident<sup>168</sup> that the Southeast Bureau and the Central Plains Bureau were merged to form the Central China Bureau. Therefore, I am not personally familiar with the work in central China during the initial stage of the war of resistance. The following opinions are based on a review of the investigations conducted at the lower levels after I arrived in central China and are not, therefore, comprehensive. Whether my opinions are entirely correct or not is also open to discussion.

Another point I would like to make clear at this stage is that, apart from directing the work in the provinces of the Changjiang basin, the Changjiang Bureau acted on behalf of the Central Committee in carrying on united front work among the Kuomintang and other political parties and was also in charge of the work of the Party

in the various provinces in the south and in the Great Rear Area. The work in central China then was only a part of the responsibilities of the Changjiang Bureau. What I am going to say here relates only to the work within central China and does not concern the other responsibilities of the Bureau.

What was the organizational foundation of the Party like in central China before the war of resistance?

Generally speaking, the foundation was even weaker than that in north China. Apart from some relatively small guerrilla units in various southern provinces and in the Dabie Mountains, there were only some very small Party organizations in Shanghai, Hankou, Henan and Xuzhou, most of which were newly established. However, because of the rising tide of the national revolution and the work done by the Party, our Party's influence was very great, and there were large numbers of Party sympathizers among the youths, intellectuals and workers in cities big and small.

The period from the beginning of the war of resistance to the fall of Wuhan was one of drastic change in central China. What were the characteristics of the situation there during this period?

1. The Japanese aggressors were mounting large-scale offensives on central China as well as on Shanghai, Nanjing, Hankou, Hangzhou, Jiujiang, Xuzhou and Anqing, and it was likely that other cities as well as vast areas of central China would all fall into their hands.

2. There was an upsurge in the anti-Japanese movement of the people of all social strata, Kuomintang-Communist co-operation was established, our Party gained legal or semi-legal status for the time being, and our influence spread rapidly among the masses.

3. The guerrilla units of the Red Army in the southern provinces had been reorganized to form the New Fourth Army which then moved to resist the enemy in the vicinities of Nanjing and Zhenjiang.

4. Under enemy attack, the Kuomintang troops were continually retreating from the front lines and as parts of these troops dispersed pell-mell, they left behind large amounts of weapons and munitions. The old governments in areas behind enemy lines were evacuating, the social community was in chaos, banditry was rampant and the people were frightened and indignant.

In these circumstances, the appropriate guidelines for our Party applied to our work in two areas. First, we had to quickly revive and expand the Party's organizations in various localities, mobilize the masses for the war effort, help the Kuomintang troops resist enemy

attacks and further promote and consolidate Kuomintang-Communist co-operation and the united front. Second, we had to focus our attention on preparing and organizing extensive guerrilla war by working in the villages behind enemy lines. In this way we could unite all anti-Japanese forces and persons of all social strata and pursue the war of resistance independently in the form of guerrilla war after the withdrawal of the Kuomintang troops.

I do not know how the leading body of the Party in central China actually set its line of action. According to what I was told, it put forth only the following tasks: to expand the Party organizations in various localities, mobilize the masses to help the Kuomintang troops resist Japan, check the advance of the enemy and work for a further expansion of the united front. Nothing whatsoever was said about preparing and organizing guerrilla war behind enemy lines and at the front, about work in the villages behind enemy lines or about the task of uniting independently with all anti-Japanese people to carry on the war of resistance behind enemy lines. Some comrades were said to have recommended this course of action, but they met with objections from the leading body which maintained that too much stress was put on guerrilla war and that the enemy could be driven out of China only by mechanized divisions. Apparently, the line of action of the central China Party organization at the time of the initial stage of the war of resistance differed from, or rather was contrary to, that of the Central Committee.

In the period of the upsurge of the great war of resistance, the central China Party organization had its achievements. Principally, (1) it revived and expanded Party organizations in many important cities and in some villages in central China, organized some sections of the masses to join anti-Japanese struggles, helped the Kuomintang troops resist Japan, published the *New China Daily*<sup>169</sup> and other publications and carried on united front work among various circles; (2) it established the New Fourth Army and moved it to the vicinities of Nanjing and Zhenjiang to resist Japan, slightly expanded this army and organized a few small guerrilla units under the leadership of our Party in a few areas behind enemy lines (these units, however, went under the designation of friendly forces).

Apart from these achievements, there were serious shortcomings, including the failure to organize extensive guerrilla war under the leadership of our Party in the vicinities of Shanghai, Nanjing, Wuhan and other important cities occupied by the enemy and the failure to

establish base areas behind enemy lines, so that the work behind enemy lines and in villages was particularly weak and often non-existent. There was very little expansion of the New Fourth Army, which had great difficulties in getting provisions and found itself in a very dangerous position strategically. Because for a long time much of the spontaneous anti-Japanese guerrilla fighting was done without our leadership, the role played by our Party and army in the war of resistance in central China was insignificant. This was the most serious shortcoming in the work of the Party there during that period. In my opinion, these shortcomings stemmed from the following erroneous views:

1. Failing to recognize the new upsurge in the national revolution and the changes in the main form of struggle after the Lugouqiao Incident and failing to decide on a course of action and make arrangements for work in the light of the changes and the new situation, the Party organization in central China, instead of focusing its attention and work on organizing and promoting anti-Japanese guerrilla war in the vast countryside behind enemy lines, concentrated on organizing non-armed mass struggle in cities which were about to fall into enemy hands. By continuing, despite this new situation, to regard the non-armed and local mass political and economic struggles as the main form of struggle, it inevitably minimized the role of the Party's work in the anti-Japanese armed struggle. It paid little attention to guerrilla war behind enemy lines or to the establishment of anti-Japanese democratic base areas there. Instead of finding ways to wage the war of resistance independently and in an organized way, it rested content to merely help Kuomintang troops resist the enemy. As a result, when the Kuomintang rejected our help and restricted and banned the people's anti-Japanese movement, we were of course left with nothing.

Before the fall of Wuhan, there were very good conditions for developing guerrilla war in central China. When they withdrew from Shanghai, Nanjing, Hankou, Xuzhou and other places, the Kuomintang troops left behind several hundred thousand weapons and large amounts of military supplies. What is more, the areas behind enemy lines were unguarded and were, for a time, under no one's control. If the leading comrades in central China had had the determination to mobilize the large numbers of cadres, Party members and non-Party anti-Japanese activists of those places to go and work behind enemy lines and if they had boldly dispersed the New Fourth Army



and sent it to operate there, they would certainly have been able to organize large numbers of armed forces and establish many base areas. However, they failed to do this. As Shanghai, Nanjing, and Wuhan fell into enemy hands one after another, they organized Party members and sympathizers to withdraw to the Great Rear Area instead of mobilizing them to go to the villages behind enemy lines, pick up the guns discarded by Kuomintang troops and fight the Japanese aggressors independently. Therefore, after the fall of these big cities, we had no guerrilla units in their vicinities, though the Kuomintang and bandits did (only long after the fall of Wuhan, did we organize guerrilla units in the vicinities of these cities). Thus, the best opportunity for promoting guerrilla war and establishing base areas behind enemy lines in central China was thrown away.

2. For a time at the beginning, the leading comrades in central China made an incorrect estimate of the situation of the war of resistance. They reckoned that Japan would not be able to advance as far as Wuhan, that the Chinese army could halt the advance of the enemy in the lower reaches of the Changjiang River and that China would be able to win a quick victory, driving the enemy out in no time. They therefore thought it unnecessary to launch protracted and large-scale guerrilla warfare behind enemy lines. They had no correct understanding of the interrelationship between regular war and guerrilla war, nor did they realize that, because of the importance of guerrilla warfare to the war of resistance as a whole, independent guerrilla war was in the main the only correct course for us to take (at least in the initial and middle stages of the war). That was why they abandoned the central task of developing guerrilla war behind enemy lines.

However, it would be wrong to say that the leading comrades in central China lost sight of armed struggle in the nationwide war of resistance. They did not lose sight of the war and they understood that "war resolves everything and all must be subordinate to it", but they made an incorrect estimate of the strength of our forces and those of the enemy. They failed to understand in concrete terms that the enemy was a modern imperialist country while China was a large, backward, semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. Such being the case, it was impossible to check the enemy's advance on the hinterland during the period of its strategic offensive, the enemy would inevitably gain vast stretches of Chinese territory and the Chinese army could not possibly drive the enemy forces out in a short time. On the

other hand, the enemy, being alien and having a limited number of troops which were dispersed over a large area, could not possibly exercise complete control over the vast areas it occupied. Moreover, being corrupt, the old rulers of China could not but flee or collapse under the severe attacks of the enemy. Only by basing our actions on such estimations and proceeding from these specific conditions, could we formulate the principle of waging a large-scale guerrilla war behind enemy lines. But the leading comrades in central China failed to make the same estimates and did not recognize the existence of these concrete conditions. They held that it would be possible for the Chinese army to check the enemy's advance on the hinterland in the initial stage of the war of resistance. Therefore, they were unable to formulate the principle of waging a large-scale guerrilla war behind enemy lines. They focused their attention on how to meet the enemy's advance head-on, how to prevent Wuhan from being captured by the enemy and how to beat the enemy back quickly, to recover the occupied areas. They failed to concentrate their efforts on making preparations and dispositions for the work which would be necessary after the enemy had pushed on into the hinterland and had taken Wuhan, and when the occupied areas had become such that they could not be quickly recovered. In this way, they let slip the best opportunity for promoting guerrilla war.

Actually, when Wuhan was in peril, our main task in most areas in central China was to independently organize and prepare for guerrilla war, and all other work (such as work concerning the mass movements and the local united front) should be done to support it. Guerrilla war was the only approach appropriate for the work in these areas at the time; everything else was empty talk. Because we did not have regular army units in central China, all political, economic and cultural affairs were under Kuomintang control. The masses in Wuhan and other places did not have the strength to rise directly for the defence of Wuhan. Even if we had wanted to prepare and organize anti-Japanese guerrilla war in the vicinity of Wuhan and in other places behind enemy lines, the Kuomintang would have forbidden us to do so. Under such circumstances, what else could we do but independently pursue guerrilla war (and related work)? If we did not do this but tried to engage in regular war, say a regular war in defence of Wuhan, then we could do nothing except make proposals to the Kuomintang and urge and help it. But the Kuomintang would have refused to heed our proposals and would

have rejected our encouragement and help. Such proposals, encouragement and help would only have been empty talk, incapable of yielding any result.

Regular warfare has always been the major form of resistance against Japan, and it is the only way finally to defeat the enemy and drive it out of our land. Needless to say, if possible, we should also engage the enemy in regular war and should, by every means available, create the conditions for doing so in the future. However, in the light of the concrete conditions of our Party at the time, it was impossible for us to conduct the war of resistance by means of regular warfare, especially in central China. Because guerrilla war had a very important role to play in the war and because we had every opportunity of conducting it independently, the only correct principle was to pursue a guerrilla war. However, the leading body of the Party in central China did not do so, though it was both important and possible. They did not consider it thoroughly and underestimated its important role in the war of resistance. Instead they stressed regular war, basing their work principles and placing all their hopes on it. As a result, our comrades could not but rely on the Kuomintang and be accommodating, dreaming that with permission, a number of mechanized divisions under our leadership could be set up to conduct regular warfare, or that the Kuomintang would allow us to share in its military and political leadership (i.e., the so-called joint leadership). These delusions inevitably led to Right opportunism with regard to the united front policy and were also important factors in the rise of the aforementioned shortcomings.

3. The leading body of the Party in central China, given the prevailing circumstances of the time, adopted incorrect principles in implementing the policy of the anti-Japanese national united front. In the face of large-scale enemy offensives, instead of making necessary and limited concessions and doing all they could to bring about a situation which would compel the big bourgeoisie to co-operate with our Party in resisting Japan, the leading comrades there sought the *bona fide* co-operation of the big bourgeoisie by making outright concessions and placing stringent restrictions on our actions alone. Thus they dared not go beyond the wishes and permission of the big bourgeoisie, dared not wage the war of resistance independently and in an organized way, dared not form certain independent front lines and war zones to prosecute the war when conditions permitted, dared not organize anti-Japanese forces led by themselves, dared not use the

name of the Communist Party and the designations of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, and dared not incorporate other anti-Japanese forces which were willing to accept our reorganization and leadership. They did not even dare to pick up the guns discarded by the Kuomintang troops, or, still less, to go behind enemy lines independently to unite all the anti-Japanese strata and forces, establish an anti-Japanese national united front under the leadership of the Communist Party and set up democratic base areas and anti-Japanese democratic political organs. Even when the Kuomintang employed every means to restrict the Party and wilfully create "friction" with units of the New Fourth Army or launch attacks on them, they did not dare to adopt the principle of resolute struggle in self-defence but kept right on making concessions. That is why they lost the excellent opportunity to promote guerrilla war and establish base areas behind enemy lines, while at the same time encouraging the arrogance of the big bourgeoisie as it launched attacks on us. They divorced themselves from the broad intermediate strata and placed themselves in extreme isolation and danger.

They failed to see that the co-operation between our Party and the big bourgeoisie was necessitated by special circumstances and involved class confrontation. From the very outset, the big bourgeoisie did not co-operate with us sincerely; on the contrary, it was determined to restrict, weaken and disintegrate us by means of co-operation. When faced with this kind of situation, we must not just make concessions. We must wage appropriate struggles and exploit or foster an objective situation which would compel the other side to maintain and consolidate co-operation. To this end, we must first, contrary to the wishes of the big bourgeoisie, develop both our own and other progressive forces, win over middle forces and isolate diehards. We must go beyond the limits set by the big bourgeoisie, seizing every opportunity to independently establish armed forces and base areas behind enemy lines and uniting all anti-Japanese forces to resolutely wage the war of resistance and practise the Three People's Principles. This is the only way to bring about a situation of co-operation in which the big bourgeoisie would not readily dare to oppose us or undermine co-operation, but would have to continue to co-operate with us. Therefore our independent efforts to develop guerrilla war and establish base areas behind enemy lines would, rather than causing a split in Kuomintang-Communist co-operation, provide a guarantee for maintaining it. If we seek co-operation with the big bourgeoisie through



concessions alone, not only will we fail to maintain and consolidate such co-operation, we will encourage the big bourgeoisie to launch the severe onslaughts against us which will lead to a split. This point has not only been proved by historical facts in general but was also fully borne out by developments in central China both at that time and later. The leading comrades in central China, however, did not understand this and so pursued an erroneous course.

4. I must also mention the problems of organization and discipline, of Party spirit and of the ideological approach of the leading comrades in central China. Although the Central Committee of the Party had issued many correct directives concerning the work in central China and although our comrades in central China were aware of the experience of the big expansion of guerrilla war led by the Party behind enemy lines in north China, they did not implement the many directives of the Central Committee or attach importance to the experience confirmed by practice in north China. Instead, stressing the peculiarities of central China, they clung to their own erroneous line and their actions ran counter to that of the Central Committee. That is why their work was so poor.

After the war of resistance broke out, the policies concerning political, military and organizational work as adopted by the Central Committee and embodied in many resolutions, decisions and directives were very clear. And after the fall of Xuzhou, the Central Committee gave very clear directives concerning the principle of promoting guerrilla war behind enemy lines, especially in central China. Later, it also issued a number of stern but clear directives to the Southeast Bureau and the Headquarters of the New Fourth Army in southern Anhui Province. All these directives, however, were rejected by our leading comrades in central China. They clung to their own erroneous policies, which were not only wrong as a matter of policy, but also amounted to grave organizational and disciplinary errors. This served to show that their Party spirit was flawed. They stressed some individual special features of central China, saying that there were no units of the Eighth Route Army there, that most of the territory behind enemy lines consisted of marshes and lakes or plains laced with rivers, that there were no military cadres there, that the Kuomintang behaved differently in central China than it did in north China, and so on — and they used these as excuses for rejecting the directives of the Central Committee. Obviously, they exaggerated certain local peculiarities in central China and, on the basis of these exaggerations,

formulated the guiding principles for their work. This was a mistake in their way of thinking.

In addition, both their lack of confidence in promoting guerrilla war behind enemy lines and their fear of going there to work, which resulted from an overestimation of local difficulties, were other reasons why they forsook the work behind the enemy lines.

It is clear that if they had had a strong sense of organization, discipline and a pure Party spirit and if they had respected, studied carefully and implemented the directives of the Central Committee instead of following their own policies, they would not have produced such poor results in their work.

The foregoing are, in my opinion, the sources of our shortcomings and the important reasons why our work behind enemy lines in central China was particularly weak.

## II. THE STAGE OF OUR EXPANSION

In 1938, the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Party laid down as principle the need to expand our work in central China. The best opportunity for this had, for all practical purposes, passed, but there was still a little time for a remedy.

After we arrived in central China, we also made a mistake and lost some time over it. We thought that after occupying Wuhan, the enemy would continue to mount strategic offensives on the hinterland, that the Beiping-Hankou Railway, the Longhai Railway and Zhengzhou, Luoyang and Xi'an would be taken and that the whole of Henan Province would become an enemy-occupied area. We therefore concentrated our efforts on preparing for guerrilla war in Henan while making dispositions for guerrilla war in the vicinity of Wuhan and in eastern Henan. We did not focus our attention on the vast areas behind enemy lines east of the Tianjin-Pukou Railway and the Huainan Railway. If we had shifted our attention to places along the Tianjin-Pukou Railway earlier, we would have been able to achieve much more. Later I went back to Yan'an to attend a conference and so the shift of focus was delayed for a whole year. During this time, although Li Xiannian<sup>170</sup> had already initiated guerrilla war around Wuhan and Peng Xuefeng<sup>171</sup> and Wu Zhipu<sup>172</sup> had launched guerrilla war in eastern Henan, insufficient attention was directed towards pro-

moting guerrilla war in the vast areas east of the Tianjin-Pukou Railway and the Huainan Railway. In addition, the comrades there were still influenced by the original line of the Southeast Bureau. Therefore, it was not until the winter of 1939 that we corrected this overestimation, realized that the period of strategic stalemate had arrived, and shifted the focus of our work to areas behind enemy lines east and west of the Tianjin-Pukou Railway. We thus lost a very good opportunity and had to work under relatively greater difficulties.

Although before the fall of Wuhan, the Kuomintang, pressed by circumstances, was forced to co-operate with the Communist Party, it actually wanted to corrode and eliminate it. So during this time it mainly pursued a policy of lulling the vigilance of the Communist Party and of employing secret agents against it. After the fall of Wuhan, the Kuomintang adopted the policy of rigorously restricting and attacking the Communist Party and distributed such documents as the "Measures for Restricting the Activities of Alien Parties".<sup>173</sup> From then on, "friction" between the two parties began in various places. At the same time, the Kuomintang became apprehensive because the Japanese aggressors had stopped their strategic offensive against China and had intensified their political enticement to surrender, because internationally there was the new "Far Eastern Munich" conspiracy<sup>174</sup> and because our Party had greatly expanded behind enemy lines in north China. The danger of a reversal, retrogression, capitulation and of a split became graver than ever before. Wang Jingwei<sup>14</sup> defected to the enemy, the pro-Japanese elements grew active, a nationwide anti-Communist onslaught began to take shape, and there were continued outbreaks of armed "friction" behind enemy lines in north China. The Kuomintang diehards in central China also launched one attack after another on us, forcing our units north of the Changjiang River to move southward where armed "friction" also began to occur. At this juncture, the armed forces of our Party in central China and southern Anhui, being weak, were in danger of being surrounded, isolated and crushed by pro-Japanese and anti-Communist elements. In the Kuomintang areas, our Party and progressive mass organizations were subjected to oppression and destruction, and so the mass movement had already begun to ebb. Hence our work became even more difficult in central China.

The situation behind enemy lines in central China changed radically from the situation at the time of the fall of Wuhan. At first, because of enemy attacks, the Kuomintang had overestimated the situa-

tion there and had retreated in a panic. Actually the enemy had left the areas unguarded. But later, when it gradually became alive to the concrete circumstances and saw our great expansion behind enemy lines in north China, the Kuomintang changed its view, feeling that something could be done there. Earlier, it had not wanted to go behind enemy lines and so had ordered us to go there and fight while it stayed in the rear area. But later it boldly and actively moved to areas behind enemy lines to restore its rule and it put severe restrictions on us, trying to squeeze us out. In this way, the Kuomintang restored part of its old order. It completely incorporated the spontaneous people's guerrilla units north of the Changjiang River (although later on, most of these units defected to the enemy and became puppet troops), while we ourselves became quite isolated there. The situation was, therefore, very dangerous for us.

What were we to do in such circumstances? What should our guiding principles be?

In accordance with the instruction of the Central Committee, we exposed both the plot of the Japanese aggressors to entice China to surrender and the Far Eastern Munich conspiracy. We also mobilized and united with all anti-Japanese political parties, social strata and the masses to oppose Wang Jingwei and the pro-Japanese and anti-Communist elements' activities to bring about capitulation, a split and retrogression, and to persist in resistance, in unity and in progress. Our guiding principles for action were: (1) in the Kuomintang areas, to resort to defence and retreat when appropriate in the light of the ebbing tide of the mass movement, shift the Party organizations underground, have selected cadres work underground, and let all those cadres and Party members who were already known or partially known to the public withdraw in certain ways as an act of protest against the Kuomintang; (2) in areas behind enemy lines, to prepare to wage the war of resistance independently and solve our difficulties by ourselves (without relying on the Kuomintang for pay and munitions), to prepare for nationwide or local emergencies, prepare to carry out self-defence and overcome existing dangers, prepare to establish a number of base areas where possible, and to make up for the losses sustained earlier in the work in central China, when the opportunity arose.

We communicated throughout the Party and the army the correct line the Central Committee had formulated after the outbreak of the war as well as our guiding principles for action. At a meeting of the



cadres of the Party, we pointed out the prevailing difficult circumstances, the dangers we were facing and the shortcomings and mistakes in the previous work of the Party in central China. We also set forth our tasks for the future. All the cadres were greatly inspired by our report and, after a thorough review of the shortcomings and mistakes in their past work, realized that the policy of making concessions to the anti-Communist diehards would get them nowhere. As a result, they rallied closely round the line of the Central Committee and worked for the fulfilment of the new tasks. This was how we prepared ourselves and the masses ideologically and organizationally for the resolute struggle to surmount the prevailing difficulties and cope with possible emergencies. It was clear that without such change, without preparation and without these clear-cut guiding principles and the firm determination to fight on, it would have been impossible to overcome the prevailing danger, to say nothing of bringing about a new situation behind the enemy lines in central China.

In the expansion of our work, we achieved successes beyond our expectations. This was due, on the one hand, to our correct policies and, on the other, to the fact that the anti-Communist diehards had made a serious mistake. In 1939, the diehards had launched an anti-Communist onslaught against the Eighth Route Army and our anti-Japanese democratic base areas in north China.<sup>175</sup> Guided by our Party's principle of resolute self-defence, the Eighth Route Army and the broad masses of the people fought staunchly and not only defeated the attack but inflicted such heavy losses on the diehards that they had to desist. They were not, however, reconciled to their defeat. They thought that since our forces in central China were rather weak and had pursued a policy of conciliation and concession in the past, we could be easily bullied. They believed that they were sure to destroy or drive away our forces from the region by launching a second anti-Communist onslaught.<sup>176</sup> But when they, without the slightest misgivings, attacked our forces in central China, things turned out contrary to their wishes. Their repeated armed attacks forced us finally to resolve to unite and crush them with the utmost strength. In the resolute struggle for self-defence that ensued, our commanders and fighters believed strongly in the justice of their cause, the masses of the people and most of the local gentry sympathized with us, and many people joined in our struggle for self-defence. Among the participants was the venerable eighty-four-year-old landlord, Mr. Han Guojun,<sup>177</sup> who had served two terms of

office as provincial governor and who, denouncing the anti-Communist diehards, sympathized with us and stood on our side from beginning to end. In the struggle against “friction”, we applied correct tactics, adhering strictly to the principle of self-defence — “We will not attack unless we are attacked” — and to the principle of waging struggles on just grounds, to our advantage and with restraint. Our fighters, the broad masses of the people, the gentry and even the officers and men of the Kuomintang army could see with their own eyes that we were rightly fighting to defend ourselves and were given no alternative, while the anti-Communist diehards were unjustifiably attacking us and were bent on eliminating us. As soon as the conditions were ripe, we launched firm and fierce counter-attacks against the diehards. After these counter-attacks, we gave a full explanation (to our fighters, the people, the gentry, the prisoners of war, the friendly forces and even to the diehards) and released captured officers and soldiers, and gave medical treatment to the enemy’s wounded personnel. We also requested that the gentry convey to our opponents peace terms which explained that we did not enjoy engaging in fratricide nor did we enjoy allowing the Japanese bandits to go scot-free. In this way, we won to our side large numbers of sympathizers and reserves, while the anti-Communist diehards were isolated and rent with internal disunity. The upshot of it was that while the forces under the command of the diehards numbered more than two hundred thousand armed men and our armed forces in central China were small, they failed to win a single major victory in the countless “frictions”, and we defeated their onslaughts time and again, chalking up important victories. So, we not only survived the critical moment, we also opened up new vistas and established anti-Japanese democratic base areas in the vast region behind enemy lines. In a year or so of anti-“friction” struggles, our forces were expanded in central China instead of being weakened. The “friction” merely brought about the disintegration of the anti-Communist diehards’ armed force of more than two hundred thousand men. With defections, desertions and casualties in battle, there were very few of them left. In the face of a powerful enemy, they launched unjustified attacks on their own countrymen and received their much deserved punishment. We, on the other hand, turned potential disaster into good fortune — thanks to the attacks by the anti-Communist diehards!

Our armed forces in central China, although generally small in number, were superior in certain areas and so could independently implement such aspects of the Three People's Principles as mobilizing and arming the masses, joining in the war of resistance, defending the localities and improving the people's livelihood. For this reason the masses supported us, while the anti-Communist diehards envied and hated us and tried to find any pretext for launching armed attacks on us. The people, however, were aware of all this and many of them said: "They are unable to effectively practise the Three People's Principles themselves, and yet they oppose others practising them. Talk about being unreasonable!" Since they had no excuse whatsoever for attacking us, they themselves lacked confidence and unity in their own ranks and were isolated from the masses. When they began to attack us, we stopped making concessions and switched over to resolute armed self-defence and counter-attack. This was the basic reason for the defeat of the anti-Communist diehards and our victory. Our expansion behind enemy lines and establishment of anti-Japanese democratic base areas in central China took the following specific path: independent implementation of the Three People's Principles and resolute armed struggle in self-defence. This path differed from the one we took in north China. We established our anti-Japanese democratic base areas behind enemy lines in the course of a three-pronged struggle of fighting incessantly against the enemy, against the puppet forces and, in self-defence, against the anti-Communist diehards.

In these especially complicated circumstances, we did not, on the one hand, commit the error of attacking our own countrymen in the face of a powerful enemy, nor did we, on the other hand, commit the Right opportunist error of offering concessions continuously and no resistance to the armed attacks of the diehards. In other words, we were able to outlast the difficulties, overcome the danger and win victory, because we thoroughly rectified the earlier erroneous line of the Party organization in central China and pursued, using flexible tactics, a correct line and correct political, military and organizational principles, not only in armed struggle against Japan, but also in domestic political struggle and the anti-"friction" armed struggle against the diehards. Had it not been for the struggle against the diehards, our victory and expansion would not have been possible. But it was precisely in this struggle that the leading comrades in southern Anhui and at the Headquarters of the New Fourth Army committed an

error. They failed to maintain vigilance against the scheming and unjustifiable attacks of the anti-Communist diehards and made one concession after another, repeating the same type of Right opportunist error committed by Chen Duxiu during the Great Revolution.<sup>110</sup> They did not, as they were repeatedly instructed by the Central Committee to do, correct their error, but clung to it to the very end, finally erring in military action. Consequently, they suffered a disastrous defeat in the Southern Anhui Incident. The experience gained in north China, central China and southern Anhui all go to prove this truth beyond any doubt: since the beginning of the war of resistance, or rather, since the Zunyi Meeting, the line and policies of the Central Committee have been entirely correct. Whoever goes against these will not win victory.

The defeat of the anti-Communist diehards was of their own making. Every time “friction” occurred, we proposed peace to them and asked them to stop their armed attacks against us and to settle all questions through negotiations. But they invariably rejected our proposals. After the Second Huangqiao Battle,<sup>178</sup> we agreed to withdraw from our defence sectors in Yancheng, Dongtai and other places, release over thirty captured division, brigade and regiment commanders, return captured weapons, etc. We also asked Mr. Han Guojun to go and negotiate with Han Deqin<sup>179</sup> and to express our demand that they stop attacking us. Again, they turned us down. This angered Mr. Han Guojun who said to us: “There’s no hope for peace. You’d better rush back and get ready for self-defence.” Obviously, if the diehards had heeded any of our peace proposals and stopped their attacks, they would not have met with such a disastrous defeat. Who have they to blame except themselves?

Although we were for the most part victorious, we suffered heavy losses (the heaviest sustained in the Southern Anhui Incident) because the diehards, showing no consideration for our common cause, carried on fierce armed “friction” with us in central China for more than a year. At the same time, the Japanese aggressors and the puppet troops took advantage of such “friction” to tighten their grip on and intensify their plunder of the occupied areas, thereby making it even more difficult to conduct the war of resistance behind enemy lines. As many of the anti-Communist armed forces defected to the Japanese, the numbers of puppet troops increased, the areas under puppet regimes expanded and the enemy’s mopping-up campaigns became more frequent. Even so, progressive anti-Japanese democrat-



ic base areas were established in the vast areas behind enemy lines in central China. In these areas people of all social strata united because of the new circumstances, state organs of the anti-Japanese national united front and various other organizations were established, the people were armed, their livelihood was improved, and their freedom, rights of person, land ownership and property were all safeguarded. All this greatly strengthened the people's forces resisting Japan behind enemy lines in central China. Together with the New Fourth Army, the people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, vigorously waged the war of resistance behind enemy lines and dealt severe blows both at the enemy and the puppet troops. These were the fundamental changes which were brought about in the situation behind enemy lines in central China during the course of "friction". These changes were to have lasting influence on the developments there and, indeed, on events throughout the country. These changes were the positive outcome of the "friction". In the course of the struggle against the "friction", we not only overcame the immediate crisis, but also basically accomplished our task of expansion in central China. And for the most part, we also overcame the shortcomings in the work of the Party in central China in the earlier period, namely, the missed opportunity for expansion and the particularly poor work behind enemy lines.

What were the main achievements of our work in central China during the past three years?

Thanks to the correct guidance of the Central Committee, the assistance of the Northern Bureau and the Eighth Route Army and the staunch struggle waged by all the cadres, Party members and commanders and fighters of our army in central China, we scored great successes in our work in all but a few areas. Briefly, these achievements can be summed up as follows:

- i. We succeeded in pursuing the war of resistance behind enemy lines in central China and in dealing severe blows at the enemy and puppet forces. Except in southern Anhui and the Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu border area, we crushed the attacks launched against our army by the pro-Japanese elements and anti-Communist diehards, thus averting the danger of capitulation or a split.

The 1941 battle statistics of the various divisions of our army are as follows: In 2,391 conflicts, we captured 26,182 guns, 600 light and heavy machine-guns, 41 artillery pieces of various types, 783,012 rounds of ammunition and 42,518 explosive devices of various kinds. Of the

enemy, puppet officers and their men, 33,073 were wounded or killed and 20,782 captured. Our casualties were 13,998 (not including those in the Southern Anhui Incident).

The battle statistics for our army before 1940, (with the exception of the Fifth Division), are as follows: in 2,703 conflicts, we captured 18,392 rifles and pistols, 428 light and heavy machine-guns, 57 artillery pieces, 661,505 rounds of ammunition and 12,917 explosive devices. Of the enemy, puppet officers and their men, 17,239 were captured, wounded or killed. Our casualties were 12,753.

These figures demonstrate that our army won great victories in battle, dealt severe blows to the enemy and the puppet troops and persevered in the war of resistance behind enemy lines.

2. We established base areas in the vast areas behind enemy lines in central China, implemented the Three People's Principles, practised democracy and mobilized and organized the people to take part in the war of resistance. Although the government had cut all support including the supply of munitions to our army, provisions were guaranteed by these base areas.

On the basis of rough and incomplete statistics, the following approximate figures can be given:

The base areas established by our army behind enemy lines covered a total of about 180,000 square li, or 250,000 square li if the areas where our army frequently carried out guerrilla operations are added. Of this, approximately 100,000 square li were in relatively consolidated base areas. The population of the base areas, calculated according to the number of people paying taxes or handing in grain to us in 1941, was about 15 million, or about one-third of the total population behind enemy lines. The population in the more consolidated base areas was about 8 to 10 million.

Although the organs of anti-Japanese democratic political power were far from perfect and quite a number of mistakes were made, we did pay attention to drawing non-Party personages into the government bodies by implementing the "three thirds system".<sup>121</sup> We convened consultative councils<sup>180</sup> and discussion sessions of the gentry in various places and explained the Party's policies to the people of various strata in order to dispel doubts and fears. The result was that some persons of the intermediate and upper strata later took an active part in building organs of anti-Japanese democratic political power. This proved, at least, that in the anti-Japanese base areas it was possible for us to maintain co-operation with persons of the

intermediate and upper strata while appropriately improving the people's livelihood. Such co-operation is not, therefore, in conflict with the appropriate improvements in the people's livelihood. Those who held that we would have to break with the intermediate and upper strata if we really wanted to improve the people's livelihood were wrong.

3. We expanded the anti-Japanese armed forces and, to a certain extent, armed the people. The major part of our main force, after a few years' fighting, training and consolidation, had generally completed the transition from guerrilla units to a regular army. Some of the local troops had raised their combat effectiveness and a part of the people's armed forces (which continued to perform their production tasks) were able to perform combat duties.

4. We established and expanded Party organizations and, to a certain degree, organized the masses, improved their livelihood, reduced rents on land and interest on loans<sup>139</sup> and raised the pay for farm labourers.

Apart from these major achievements, we also gained some experience in carrying out work among the enemy and puppet troops. In a few places, we achieved some results in making contacts with the friendly forces. The Party organizations and armed forces both engaged in training cadres, so the number of graduates from various schools and training courses rose to several thousand. Some of the cadres improved their theoretical understanding and enhanced their Party spirit while at their posts, and large numbers of cadres were tempered in the arduous struggle and work of the past three years. Munitions production and cultural and educational undertakings were also started in various places.

These are achievements which we all can see. Generally speaking, the task of launching and expanding our work behind enemy lines in central China has in the main been accomplished. The completion of this task and the growth and consolidation of the anti-Japanese democratic forces in that vast area cannot but affect the course of China's war of resistance and the domestic political and military situation. Our army finally has a firm foothold in the area, and it is now utterly impossible for any forces to destroy us. We have done all the preparatory work necessary for carrying on the protracted struggles behind enemy lines in central China and for winning final victory.

What shortcomings and mistakes were there in our work during this period?

In addition to our initial overestimation of the enemy's strategic offensive and the mistake committed by the leading comrades in southern Anhui, which brought us heavy losses, there were also the following mistakes and shortcomings:

1. Many comrades committed "Left" deviationist errors in the anti-"friction" struggle. Some comrades thought that as soon as there was an anti-Communist onslaught or as soon as "friction" occurred, the Kuomintang had become out-and-out counter-revolutionary, that Kuomintang-Communist co-operation had split from top to bottom and that the Party's united front policy could be discarded. This led to serious mistakes in tactics. In the anti-"friction" armed struggle, some comrades went beyond the principle of waging struggles on just grounds and with restraint, and by only seeking advantages, they committed an error of principle. Others put forth the slogan of "Down with the diehards!" or lumped the words "enemy, puppet, bandits and diehards" together while regarding diehards as collaborators and middle-of-the-roaders as diehards. There were even a few cases of confiscation of the property of diehards. Still other comrades failed to adequately explain things to all quarters concerned and, instead of adopting a scientific attitude, handled the complicated question of armed "friction" carelessly and casually. This gave rise to misunderstanding on the part of many people and created doubts within our own ranks.

In the beginning, we concentrated our criticism on Right deviationist errors, opposing cowardice, excessive conciliation and capitulation before the onslaught of the anti-Communist diehards. But later, "Left" deviationist errors gradually came to the fore in the course of armed "friction". Consequently, we had to concentrate our criticism on the "Left" deviation and correct that mistake.

2. At first, the Party organization, the army and the mass organizations in central China, like those in north China, committed some ultra-Left mistakes in obtaining provisions, in reorganizing guerrilla units and local armed forces, in punishing collaborators and in policies concerning social problems. There was a period of confusion which led to some misgiving among the general public, fears among the upper strata, and even to the flight of landlords in a few places. But in general the confusion did not last long — a few weeks or a few months — before it was corrected. In some other places,



however, it lasted longer because of the rise of bandits and trouble incited by the armed forces of the diehards.

3. Our army and Party organizations behind enemy lines in central China were at first established, through our various connections south of the Changjiang River, in north China and in the Central Plains, by merging diverse groups which had their individual organizations and systems of leadership or command and which acted independently with little co-ordination of operations or policies. Therefore, unable to aid each other or to take unified actions to cope with attacks by the Japanese aggressors, the puppet troops and the anti-Communist diehards, they suffered some unnecessary losses. With respect to the united front and other policies as well as to certain concrete questions or certain people, differences often cropped up between armed units, between the upper and lower levels and between the army on the one hand and the Party and government on the other. There were also divergences between the policies announced by the Party and the practice of the various armed forces and government organs. All this left fertile ground for our opponents to use in sowing discord and misunderstanding among our ranks. It was only after prolonged and arduous work and with the energetic assistance of the Central Committee that the centralized political and military leadership was finally established to unify the organization, action, thought, distribution of provisions and systems for the various forces and local Party organizations in central China.

4. In central China our army found itself facing both a national war and a civil war or "friction". These two wars required two different approaches and two different sets of strategic and tactical principles. The guiding principle for directing the war against Japan was independently to promote guerrilla war under a unified strategic command. The guiding principle for directing the war against "friction" was to have unified leadership in strategy, campaign and tactics and, in particular, to have unity in matters of policy. The interrelationship of the two wars was a highly complicated matter. Because of this complexity, plus the differences in organization and fighting styles of our units, many officers found it difficult to avoid making mistakes in directing operations, and so unwarranted losses were sustained. For instance, in a war against "friction" in which several units co-ordinated their actions, some commanders employed the principles for directing guerrilla warfare. They did not strictly follow the unified command of the general headquarters, thinking that they

could fight and desist fighting as they saw fit. At times they wilfully changed their course of action, issued commands arbitrarily, or mechanically employed the strategic and tactical principles of the civil war period in the war against “friction”, although the wars were of entirely different natures. Still other comrades did not respect the strategic tasks assigned them by the higher commands and so made no effort to win campaigns of strategic significance, but attached importance only to winning tactical victories. Therefore, in spite of the fact that they captured a lot of guns and men, fought a good number of battles or achieved other tactical gains, their strategic task remained unaccomplished, they failed to open up new prospects and the overall situation deteriorated. Some units understood neither the need for a unified strategic command nor the need for independent action in the tactics and campaigns of the war against Japan. While they often refused to strictly obey strategic commands, they frequently asked for instructions concerning tactics and campaigns, and even complained that the higher commands did not give them enough instructions. There were other units which, in the war against the Japanese aggressors and the puppet troops, relaxed their vigilance against anti-Communist armed forces or, in the war against “friction”, relaxed their vigilance against the Japanese and puppet troops. At certain times, when a unit needed to direct its main force against one side or the other, it would engage both sides simultaneously. At other times, when a unit was directing its main force against one side, it overestimated the danger of a pincer movement by the other side, and, therefore becoming overcautious and uncertain, it did not dare make decisions and was at a loss as to how to best make use of the conflicts between the two sides.

The foregoing are the mistakes and deviations which occurred in the work in central China in this period. As a result, we lost some reserves in the course of struggle and became somewhat estranged from people of certain strata. In addition, there were some loopholes for the enemy to exploit. All this hindered the solution of certain questions, led to a number of stalemates, wasted a lot of time and created a great many difficulties for our work later on.

It was three years after the outbreak of the war of resistance and at a time when victory was won in the struggle against “friction” that our base areas behind enemy lines in central China began to be established. For this and other reasons, the difficulties in building base areas there were greater than those in north China. How-

ever, because we already had the experience of building base areas in the north and had many relevant directives by the Central Committee, we were able to make relatively few mistakes and rapidly correct those that had been made. Therefore, although we had fewer and weaker medium- and lower-level cadres, it was possible for us, by employing a bold work style, to quickly restore an anti-Japanese order behind enemy lines, rally the people of all strata round us, build and consolidate the various base areas and persevere in the war of resistance behind enemy lines in central China.

This is the basic experience gained from our work in central China during the stage of our expansion.

## SOME OPINIONS CONCERNING OUR WORK IN CENTRAL CHINA

*June 18, 1943*

1. Your work in the various base areas in central China has progressed in four specific phases. In the first year, 1940, your main task was to engage in military operations with a view to opening up new prospects in these areas, while the subsidiary tasks were to establish public order and begin mass work. In the second year, 1941, your main task was to restore public order throughout the base areas and set up various kinds of organizations while at the same time continuing with your mass work. In the third year, 1942, you focused on mass work, and in the fourth year, this year, you have undertaken the reform of organs of political power and set up a militia while, at the same time, educating cadres (through the rectification movement<sup>181</sup>) and promoting production. All your work has been carried out within the context of a sustained struggle against the enemy, the aim being to persist in the struggle more effectively and to preserve your key activists. In the fifth year, next year, all base areas should consider the organization and promotion of production as their central task so as to lay the foundation for maintaining these base areas in the future. To achieve this, you should start doing all the preparation possible, now. Experience in production should be accumulated and analysed this year, so that functionaries in government offices and peasant associations can become familiar with different ways of organizing the masses to engage in production. In this way they will be in a position to work out realistic plans this winter for the expansion of production next year. After rents are reduced, the peasant associations should set as their

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A telegram to Chen Yi and other leading members of the Central China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the New Fourth Army, sent from Yan'an.



central task the organization of the masses for production and the formation of co-operatives. They should make appropriate and effective changes in their work, taking care not to get bogged down in the old ways. The government, for its part, should formulate relatively stable policies concerning the grain levy and taxation so as to ensure that the entire crop increase goes to the peasants and that rises in production are not accompanied by increased burdens on them. The consultative councils and other government bodies should make production the main theme at all their meetings and should reduce the number of meetings which have little relevance to the masses, so as to mobilize all efforts for production. In order to enhance self-sufficiency and avoid placing heavier burdens on the peasants, all government offices, schools and army units should participate in the production campaign on a broad scale, provided that their work or military operations are not hampered.

2. While tackling the above-mentioned work, you will have to contest every inch of our territory by countering the mopping-up campaigns and nibbling-away operations of the Japanese aggressors. You will also have to complete the tasks of rectification and examination of cadres' personal records this year or next. Therefore, you must properly analyse all experience gained in the struggle against the enemy. For our part, we will inform you of the experience gained in north China. As for this year's rectification, your decision is a good one, but it cannot be enforced unless you get on with inspection and supervision, speed up the work and strengthen ideological and organizational leadership. In the initial and middle stages of the rectification, it is correct to stress rectifying the style of study (and along with it, the style of writing). But in the final stage, emphasis should be put on rectifying the Party style by closely checking up on the Party spirit of all cadres, particularly high-ranking cadres, and having them examine themselves in line with the four criteria for cadres put forward by Georgi Dimitrov<sup>182</sup> (absolute devotion to the cause, close contact with the people, ability independently to find one's bearings, and discipline<sup>183</sup>). Both the rectification and the examination of cadres' personal records should be linked with production and the struggle against the enemy.

3. You are advancing under complex conditions, with complicated tasks and duties to perform. To fulfil your tasks on time, you must take advantage of favourable opportunities and co-ordinate various kinds of work without losing sight of the key link or upsetting

the sequence of work. The leadership should assume overall responsibility, while specific work should be carried out through a division of labour. For example, while production should be carried out mainly by the masses, soldiers and auxiliary personnel mobilized by the leadership, the struggle against the enemy should be conducted mainly by the troops, armed work teams, the militia and the departments in charge of work behind enemy lines — all under the command of the leadership. The leading bodies must be responsible for analysing experience and providing guidance at all times. In addition, the rectification and examination of cadres' personal records should also be done mainly by the leading bodies themselves.

## ELIMINATE MENSHEVIST<sup>128</sup> IDEOLOGY WITHIN THE PARTY

*July 1943*

It is twenty-two years since the birth of the Communist Party of China, the greatest and the most progressive political party in Chinese history. These have been great years, during which enormous changes have taken place in China and in the world at large.

Since its birth, the Chinese Communist Party has waged three great revolutions and three great revolutionary wars. The first Great Revolution,<sup>30</sup> or the Northern Expedition,<sup>120</sup> was conducted jointly with the Kuomintang, as is the present anti-Japanese national revolutionary war. The ten years of Agrarian Revolutionary War, however, were conducted under the sole leadership of our Party. As far as our Party is concerned, the three revolutionary wars have continued without interruption to the present day. Many Communists have not been able to put aside arms for over a decade. This fact demonstrates that armed struggle is the chief form of struggle and of organization in the Chinese revolution. The existence and development of the Communist Party of China are inseparable from armed struggle.

In the three successive nationwide revolutionary wars during these twenty-two years, our Party has undergone severe trials of every kind. It has scored many victories and also suffered many setbacks. Though it has followed, and still follows, an extremely circuitous path, it has been able to stand steadfastly in our great Chinese motherland as an invincible force and as one of the important and decisive factors in China's political life and history. Precisely because our Party has traversed the circuitous path and withstood every severe test, it has steeled itself and has gained particularly rich experience in all aspects

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Written in celebration of the 22nd anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China and carried on July 6, 1943 in the *Liberation Daily*, Yan'an. In this article, Menshevism refers to opportunism generally.

of the revolutionary struggle. It may be said that within these twenty-two years our Party has undergone more important changes and accumulated more experience in revolutionary struggle than any other Communist Party in the world. It has gone through revolutionary struggle in various complicated forms and has accumulated rich experience through armed and non-armed struggle, civil war and national liberation war, legal and illegal struggle, economic and political struggle, and struggles inside and outside the Party. Especially worthy of mention is the fact that through the protracted, arduous and complicated revolutionary struggle in the past twenty-two years, our Party, the proletariat and the revolutionary people of our country have finally found their own leader in Comrade Mao Zedong. Comrade Mao Zedong is a staunch and great revolutionary who has undergone long tempering in these struggles, who has completely mastered Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics and who is infinitely loyal 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 that experience has not yet been very well analysed. One of the most important tasks of our entire Party today is to properly analyse this experience under the guidance of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism. Such an analysis is the most significant link in unifying, educating and advancing the entire Party and, indeed, in winning victory for the Chinese revolution. If our Party members truly understand the historical experience of our Party, they will have infinite faith and courage and thus be able to propel forward both their own work and that of our Party as a whole. They will be able to avoid many past errors and considerably shorten 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 Communist Party of China used to educate the Chinese Communists. Only in this way can more direct and practical results be achieved. If we reject the rich experience of the revolutionary struggle in China, if we think lightly of the experience of our Party's struggle in the great historical developments of these twenty-two years or if, confining our study to the experience of foreign revolutions somewhat removed from us, we fail to study carefully and learn from our own experience, then we will misunderstand the true order of things and, traversing an even more tortuous road, suffer many more setbacks.



During these twenty-two years, our Party's experience in struggle has been most rich and varied. I will not go into it here at length. But what has been our most important experience? I consider it to be the question of what it means to be a true Marxist, a true Bolshevik. As we all know, only Marxism can save China. There are many people in China 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? These are questions of long-standing, which have never been completely resolved among the revolutionary masses in China or even within the Communist Party. There is a difference between true and false Marxism, between true and false Marxists. This difference cannot be determined by subjective standards or by the claims of various individuals, but must be settled by objective standards. Nothing could be more dangerous than for our Party members to be ignorant of the objective standards which differentiate true from false Marxists and, therefore, to unconsciously and blindly follow pseudo-Marxists in the revolution. This is probably the most painful of the many lessons our Party has learned. In the past our Party suffered many unnecessary setbacks and failures and made quite a number of detours which could have been avoided. Above all, this has happened because pseudo-Marxists operated inside our Party and many Party members unconsciously and blindly followed them, thereby allowing them to occupy leading positions in certain organizations and certain movements and sometimes even in the Party as a whole. In this way the revolutionary movement was led on painful and difficult paths. This is a bitter experience which should serve as a serious warning to all our Party members.

The Chinese Communist Party is not inferior to the Communist Party of any other country in its spirit of hard struggle and heroic sacrifice nor in its ability to perform propaganda and organizational work. We have always done an excellent job in carrying out various kinds of work. We have succeeded in organizing hundreds of thousands and even millions of people, in undertaking the Long March of 25,000 li (8,000 miles), in establishing base areas and in persisting, unaided and under the most difficult conditions, in the war of resistance behind enemy lines for six or seven years. The revolutionary and hard-working spirit of the Chinese Communists is highly admirable. But for a long period, we were inadequately prepared in scientific Marxism-Leninism. We suffered most in the past from errors which arose in the leadership of the revolutionary movement — errors which

caused the movement partial, sometimes even serious, unwarranted losses. We must remember this historical lesson and earnestly work to solve this problem in the days to come. We can be assured that if we can guarantee against serious errors in matters of principle by the leadership of various fields of the revolutionary movement, then victory is ensured for the Chinese revolution. Because we have a very good revolutionary spirit, the will to work hard and generally favourable objective conditions for the Chinese revolution, we need only to add correct Marxist-Leninist leadership for the revolution to advance steadily towards victory.

But how is it possible to guarantee that our Party will not commit serious errors in matters of principle while leading the various fields of the revolutionary movement? To guarantee this, our Party members and, above all, our cadres must be able to distinguish between true and false Marxism-Leninism, must be able to smash the different schools of pseudo-Marxist thought and various pseudo-Marxist factions in the revolutionary ranks and in the Party, must properly analyse the abundant historical experience our Party gained during these twenty-two years, must become sharper politically through diligent study and must put every field of work and every department under the guidance of Comrade Mao Zedong.

Ever since Marxism came into being, there have been true and false Marxists in the Marxist movement. The whole history of this movement is full of struggles between these two groups. Similarly, the Marxist movement in China has also been full of such struggles. This must be thoroughly understood by all our Party members.

Twenty years ago, Stalin correctly described these two groups. Let me quote him here in full:

There are two groups of Marxists. Both work under the flag of Marxism and consider themselves 'genuinely' Marxist. 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 put it into practice, it converts the living, revolutionary principles of Marxism into lifeless, 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 direction from an analysis of living reality, but from analogies and historical parallels. Discrepancy between word and deed is the chief malady of this group. Hence the disillusionment and perpetual grudge against fate, which time and again lets it down and makes a “dupe” of it. The name for this group is Menshevism (in Russia), opportunism (in Europe). Comrade Tyszka (Jogiches) described this group very aptly at the London Congress when he said that it does not stand by, but lies down on the point of view of Marxism.

The second group, on the contrary, attaches prime importance not to the outward acceptance of Marxism, but to its realization, its application in practice. What this group chiefly concentrates its attention on is determining the ways and means of realizing Marxism that best answer the situation, and changing 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. That, 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. The name of this group is Bolshevism, communism.

The organizer and leader of this group is V. I. Lenin.<sup>184</sup>

As Stalin has said very clearly here, both groups work under the flag of Marxism and consider themselves “genuinely” Marxist, 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 a ceremonial avowal of Marxism, but are unable to grasp its essence or to put it into practice. They convert it into formulas and dogmas. In their work, they do not base their activities on experience, on practical appraisals of the work itself, but on books. In deciding what instructions to give or what direction to pursue they do not work

from an analysis of actual circumstances, 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 makes dupes of them, leaving them in constant 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 the ways and means of applying Marxism that best answer the situation and on changing these ways and means as the situation changes. In deciding what instructions to give or direction to pursue, they do not work from historical analogies or parallels, but from the investigation and study of surrounding conditions. In their work, they do not base their activities on quotations and maxims, but on practical experience. They test their work against experience, learn from their mistakes and help others advance their work. There is no discrepancy between words and deeds within this group. They talk Marxism, and they act as Marxist should. They not only explain the world; they concentrate their efforts on changing it. They always preserve the living, revolutionary force of Marxism.

These two kinds of Marxists have existed from the beginning in the communist movement in China and in the Chinese Communist Party. To the first kind, the pseudo-Marxists, belonged Chen Duxiu,<sup>110</sup> Peng Shuzhi,<sup>185</sup> China's Trotskyites, the protagonists of the Li Lisan line,<sup>18</sup> the "Left" opportunists<sup>149</sup> in the period of the civil war and the dogmatists. They are all, in essence, Chinese Mensheviks. Belonging to the second kind, the genuine Marxists in China, are Comrade Mao Zedong and the many other comrades who have rallied round him. The line they have consistently pursued and struggled for and their methods of work constitute, in essence, Chinese Bolshevism.

Our comrades and cadres must understand and be alert to the fact that there has been a Menshevist line and a Menshevist ideology in the history of our Party. Though different in form in different periods and not necessarily connected with each other organizationally, Chen Duxiu, Peng Shuzhi, Li Lisan and the various opportunists and dogmatists of the latter years have been basically the same in substance, in methods of work and in ways of thinking. Politically and ideologically, they are consistent. They have done serious harm to the Party and the Chinese revolution.



Apart from the Trotskite Chen Duxiu's liquidationist clique, which had direct links with the European Trotskyite Tradition,<sup>186</sup> the other forms of Menshevism in China did not derive directly from European Social-Democracy<sup>123</sup> or Russian Menshevism but grew independently out of the Chinese petty bourgeoisie under the particular conditions in China. Hence, compared with the European Social-Democrats and the Russian Mensheviks, these people had many distinctive characteristics in outward form. Menshevism in China appeared as "anti-Menshevism", "Leninism", "Bolshevism", "the line of the Communist International", etc. in form and in words. In the guise of such attractive outward forms and revolutionary phrases, the Chinese Mensheviks in fact conducted anti-Leninist, anti-Bolshevist struggles and publicized and practised what was essentially Menshevism. And because many Party members and cadres had a low theoretical level and were not sharp enough to recognize the substance of Menshevism, they were frequently misled. It has thus 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 it. What is more, they developed the sectarianism and individualism characteristic of the petty bourgeoisie in semi-feudal China and linked up with the hooliganism in our society. Because they are given to superficiality and vulgarity, extremism and duplicity, the harm they have done in the Party has been particularly serious. These have been the main features of Menshevism in China.

There has been no tradition of European Social-Democracy in the Chinese Party, but there has existed a system and a tradition of Chinese Menshevism.

It is impossible to identify such false Marxist-Leninists, false Bolsheviks, just by their words and outward appearances. In speech, they may use more Marxist-Leninist expressions than anyone else; outwardly they may appear to be far more revolutionary than others. But what they fear most are the tests of practice and the critical examination of their work. It is therefore necessary to identify these individuals and expose their true features through examining their practice, their work, their way of looking at and tackling problems, and the results of their work. Because they are Marxist-Leninists in words, but not in actual deeds, their activities, as a rule, are not strictly guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism. They usually base their work on books, on isolated words and phrases quoted from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, or on passages from resolutions, that is, on general ideas

or theories and not on practical experience or practical appraisals of work. In solving problems and making decisions on policies, they do not proceed from reality by investigating and researching prevailing conditions, but from formulas in books, from historical analogies or analogies from the Soviet Union and Western European countries or from other apparent parallels. In practice they are idealists. Thus, they frequently commit errors in work and are unable to do it well. What they achieve in practice is bound to be contrary to their initial intentions and verbal declarations. If you observe their work methods and if you subject their work and its results to critical examination, they will be exposed in their true colours. In his reports on rectifying subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing, Comrade Mao Zedong strongly criticized such people.<sup>187</sup>

But the danger lies in their use of numerous Marxist-Leninist phrases, their cloak of Bolshevism and their inborn duplicity. They can browbeat and mislead many comrades of worker or peasant origin and immature young comrades. Even comrades who are experienced in work but weak in theory are frequently misled and become their captives. That is why they can seriously jeopardize the Party's cause.

The history of our Party has been full of struggles between the Bolshevik line and the Menshevik line. Throughout our history, two lines and two traditions have existed. One is the line and tradition of Bolshevism, the other, the line and tradition of Menshevism. The exponent of the former is Comrade Mao Zedong and that of the latter, the various cliques of opportunists in the Party. Since the fierce struggle between these two lines and two traditions has extended over a long period, the accumulated experience is extremely rich. In these struggles in the Party, although the wrong line — the Menshevik line — gained the upper hand and won brief victories several times, it has been defeated in the majority of cases. Our Party has frequently overcome the erroneous line in its work, but ideologically the Menshevik system has not been thoroughly overcome, thoroughly liquidated, or given its final death-blow. Thus, this ideology, this tradition, still survives in the Party and may, during certain periods and in certain circumstances, even run rampant again and imperil our Party.

Now is the time to eliminate the remnants of Menshevism in the Party ideologically, politically and in our work, to analyse the historical experience of our Party, especially that of the struggle between the two lines, and to use the results to educate our cadres and Party members. This is the way to learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones,

to “cure the sickness and save the patient”, to achieve unity and discipline in our ranks, to guarantee continuous and correct leadership in our Party and to lead the Chinese revolution to future victory. Otherwise, in the strenuous, complicated, important times which lie ahead, we will be unable to properly fulfil our historic mission as the advanced political Party.

Menshevism in our Party is the reflection and a more developed form of expression of petty-bourgeois ideology, and it has a system of its own. To eradicate the Menshevist ideas and system in the Party, it is necessary to use proletarian ideology to overcome petty-bourgeois ideology and to see to it that our Party members can distinguish between proletarian ideas and all forms of petty-bourgeois ideas. We have already done this kind of work and are still doing it in some places. This movement, called for by Comrade Mao Zedong, has been going on since last year to rectify subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing.<sup>181</sup> It is a movement of self-education and self-criticism unprecedented in the twenty-two years of our Party’s history. It has given an unprecedented impetus to the Bolshevization of our Party. On the basis of this rectification, we should go a step further and sum up our rich experience of these twenty-two years, liquidate the remnants of Menshevist ideology in the Party and push its Bolshevization to an ever higher level. This is our central task today in building the Party.

The history of the Communist Party of China is the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism in China and of the struggle between Marxist-Leninists and various opportunist groups in China. Objectively, this history has centred round Comrade Mao Zedong. The history of the various opportunist groups in our Party is in no case the history of the Party, nor are the Menshevist ideology and tradition the ideology and tradition of the Party. The history of our Party has been one of struggle against and defeat of Menshevist ideology and tradition. In order to eliminate their remnants, it is particularly necessary to expose them. There is no need for us to cover them up or deny their existence. That would be harmful rather than beneficial to the Party.

All cadres and all Party members should carefully study the experience gained by the Chinese Party during these twenty-two years, carefully study and grasp Comrade Mao Zedong’s theories on the Chinese revolution and other questions, arm themselves with the thought

of Comrade Mao Zedong and use it to eradicate the Menshevist ideology in the Party.

However, our cadres and Party members should be especially alert to the fact that some secret agents sent by the enemy have wormed their way into our Party and that they, too, appear in the guise of Marxist-Leninists. They are different from the pseudo-Marxist-Leninists referred to above in that they are counter-revolutionaries. We must sift out these elements, and this means that a distinction must be drawn between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries in the Party. To eradicate the remnants of Menshevism in the Party we must also clearly distinguish between proletarian and petty-bourgeois ideology. Each distinction must be made clearly, but the ways and means employed should be different. The former distinction should be drawn by using the method of examining the personal records of cadres and Party members, while the latter by using methods of rectification and analysis of experience.

Eliminating the petty-bourgeois ideology and system in the Party with the aid of Marxism-Leninism and combing out enemy agents are the two major tasks we are now facing in consolidating and elevating the Party. Accomplishing these will prepare us ideologically and organizationally, so that we shall be completely consolidated and ready to meet the great and splendid period ahead.

So long as we master scientific Marxism-Leninism and eradicate the remnants of opportunism inside the Party, we will be invincible.



## SPEECH AT A CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF WORKERS AND STAFF IN THE SHAANXI- GANSU-NINGXIA BORDER REGION<sup>188</sup>

*May 20, 1944*

In recent years, we have developed something new in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region, namely, industry. Though it is still small in scale, our industry has, in a short time, made amazing progress. In 1935, there was only a repair workshop here with a few dozen workers, but now the work force exceeds 10,000. I am sure that after this conference growth will be even faster. Our new-democratic government safeguards the development of industry which caters to the needs of our people, so that we can achieve complete self-sufficiency in industrial production. All the major powers in the world today are industrial countries. Through its First and Second Five-Year Plans, the Soviet Union has greatly developed its industry, transforming itself from an agricultural to an industrial country, and is therefore in a position to engage in the great war to wipe out the German fascists. China is weak because it has few industries and is not yet industrialized. To become powerful and prosperous, China must industrialize. Our duty is to transform China from an agricultural country to an industrial one. We will build many factories, railways and ships as well as machines, and we will need many factory directors, engineers, technicians, workers and labour heroes. So, this new thing, industry, has a very promising future. Turning China into an industrialized country is our long-range goal.

Many of our comrades fail to see this point and feel unhappy when they are asked to work in the economic field or in factories, saying that there is no future in this kind of work. Well, in my view, no other work has such a promising future. For example, many comrades, especially those who have been through the Long March, like to command troops in battles in the hope of becoming regiment or brigade

commanders. Of course, with the war still going on, each and every comrade should learn to fight battles, and our heroes should be commended and awarded. But when the war is over in the near future, what will these regiment and brigade commanders do then? Many will have to put aside their guns and do the same kind of work you do, that is, industrial, economic and cultural work. By then, you will be the “old hands”, or teachers, so to speak. They will learn from you and you will become leaders.

Will there come a time when industry, like war, can be done away with? In my opinion, it will not be discarded even in the distant future; it will, in fact, surely develop in a big way. Of the 1.5 million people in the Border Region, the overwhelming majority are peasants while workers number only a little over 10,000. Yet, it is these 10,000-odd workers that really hold the future in their hands. For thousands of years, the peasants have remained practically unchanged. And in the future? Their numbers will decline day by day because land reclamation, ploughing, sowing and harvesting will be done mostly by machines as technology is extensively applied to farming. The peasants will become workers operating farm machines. True, the peasants in the Border Region now play a significant role and are a powerful force, but as things develop, they will undergo changes. It is the proletariat and industry that have the most promising future.

But, to have such a future materialize, we must proceed from today's actual conditions and move forward step by step. We should regard factory management as a branch of knowledge and, taking it seriously, study and investigate problems carefully. For example, such questions as how to organize labour, run a factory, improve technology and determine wages, all call for careful study. We must familiarize ourselves with this branch of knowledge and make study a common practice in factories. Directors, engineers, workers, staff members and, in particular, apprentices must all study. We should all learn from each other because this is the motive force propelling our cause forward. We must realize that there are many things that we have not yet done and many others that we have not done well or have done incorrectly. It is hard to avoid such problems at the beginning. But we must try to enhance our ability by learning from our failures and mistakes so that we can make fewer mistakes and do better in the future. Only thus can we progress.

In learning, we must all lay aside our mental “baggage”, that is, discard our arrogance, before we will be able to learn anything. Do

not imagine that, being from the cities, we already know everything and so can look down upon things here in the countryside. If we do not try hard to learn the things we're up against here, if we don't study them, we won't be able to handle them well. As for those comrades who have grown up in the countryside, it is all the more necessary for them to study hard; otherwise they will not only be unable to handle the work well now, but will also find things difficult to cope with in the future. There is no doubt that victory in the war of resistance will be ours. It stands to reason that things will change when the war has been won, or even in the process of winning it. At present, we are working in gulches and caves, but in the future we will move to the cities. At that time, we will have not only large factories to run, but also railways, locomotives and ships. If we do not learn relatively simple skills now, what shall we do when confronted with big and complex problems in the future? We are holding this conference today, of course, for the purpose of promoting the development of industry in our Border Region, but at the same time, it is for raising our level generally. So long as we study conscientiously, we will be successful in running our industry in the Border Region; what is more, we will be competent with larger industries in the near future.

Now, since we see how promising the future of industry is, the comrades engaged in it should resolve to make this work their life-long careers and to do a good job of it. If one year isn't sufficient, you will surely succeed in, say, three to five years, or eight to ten years. We shall accomplish everything provided we combine this enterprising spirit with our traditional revolutionary spirit.

As everybody knows, our factories are owned by the public and not by capitalists. Capitalists run factories for their personal profit, while we run them, not so that an individual may get rich, but for the benefit of us all, for the benefit of the nation and, today, for defeating Japan. In developing industry in the new-democratic society, our approach must be to develop the private and the public sectors simultaneously. We should help individuals to set up more factories, for these will turn out more products and do our economy good. But there are things that individuals do not wish to, or are not able to do, and these will have to be done by the public, that is, by the state. Our country belongs to the broad masses of the people, and the workers, peasants and soldiers make up the majority of the population. Public industry, therefore, belongs to the working people themselves. As there are no capitalists in our publicly-owned factories, there are no irreconcilable

conflicts between workers and management. In running our factories, we do not adopt the methods used by capitalists. Our principle in factory management should be to co-operate in every way with the workers and to rely on their initiative. The workers, for their part, should try to co-operate in every way with the management. Running a factory well depends on the efforts of every worker; it depends on everyone giving full play to his initiative.

Comrade Deng Fa<sup>189</sup> once said that managers of publicly-owned factories should have the mass viewpoint. This is certainly correct. The workers, too, should have the mass viewpoint. The cloth you weave and the clothes and shoes you make are all for the Eighth Route Army<sup>55</sup> and the people to wear. Everything you make is for them. (The capitalists do not care who will wear or use the products their factories manufacture. Their only concern is to make money. That's the "get-rich" viewpoint or profit viewpoint.) You lack the mass viewpoint if the cloth you weave is not of good quality and cannot stand wear and tear, or if the shoes you make are not durable and wear out after a single charge. Since the consumers of our products are the workers, peasants and soldiers and our purpose in running factories is to serve the people, we should be responsible to the people, never striving for quantity to the neglect of quality. Wherever possible, factory managers should look after the cultural and material needs of the workers to help them keep their minds on their work. Everyone should acquire the mass viewpoint and a sense of responsibility. When difficulties arise, all the comrades should put their heads together and seek solutions through discussion. There should be centralized leadership, with the functions of each member clearly defined. Anyone who fails to do his work well should be held responsible and duly criticized. This is the way to run our factories with success.

In short, not only must we be able to organize political and military struggles, we should also know how to manage our economy, factories, labour and the market. This requires a lot of learning. From now on, we must make efforts to master these things so as to turn China into an industrial country with a thriving economy in the not too distant future.



# A TALK TO COMRADES OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT COMMISSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

*April 1945*

When it comes to work among women, I am a layman and I do not have a very clear idea of what has been done in this area. So I have very little to say. However, looking at mass movements in general (including the women's movement), wouldn't you agree that there are some rather inappropriate things that have adversely affected our work? I think I can speak on a few questions from this angle.

First, it is important to proceed from actual conditions and observe the principle of "from the masses, to the masses". All our guiding principles must be practical and realistic. It is only on the basis of an analysis of actual conditions that we can formulate correct policies and directives and then test them by using them to guide mass struggles. We should, in formulating policies, draw on the experience gained in our mass struggles, while taking into account the experience of the past as well as that gained by other countries.

In work among women, it is essential first of all to have a clear idea of the target of our work. Because we failed to understand this point in the past, some articles and directives concerning the women's movement referred to China's 200 million women in very general terms. This vast number, however, includes both urban and rural women of greatly differing social strata and age groups. Hence it is

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Originally entitled "Some Basic Views on Analysing Work Among Women", the present article was included in *Important Documents on the Women's Movement in China's Liberated Areas* published by the Preparatory Committee of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation in 1949. It has been slightly abridged for inclusion here.

imperative to clearly distinguish which group we are trying to reach in our work. Only then can we begin to know their aspirations and needs, help them solve problems and serve them well.

On the whole, problems in the base areas at present are rural problems. All our military, political, economic and cultural activities in the base areas are carried out in a rural environment with a scattered, individual economy, a low cultural level and poor sanitary conditions. Since we are working in the countryside, we should analyse the actual conditions there. Unfortunately, a good many of us, working as we have been among rural women for more than a dozen years, do not understand them at all. Though we are eating the same food as the peasants, wearing the same kind of clothes and living in rural areas, our views remain urban and petty-bourgeois. In our work we do not “seek truth” from the realities in the countryside but from historical analogies with women’s movements in other countries. Instead of listening to the voices and requests of our rural women and beginning with what can be accomplished today, we proceed from fixed formulas and slogans. This is a manifestation of subjectivism and dogmatism. In my opinion, there isn’t much empiricism in our women’s work because we do not have much experience to draw on. Nonetheless, the experience certainly exists. For instance, instead of trying to get to know the people they work for, some comrades try to solve today’s problems solely by relying on their experience gained in the Great Revolution,<sup>30</sup> the December 9th Movement,<sup>148</sup> the work of the National Salvation Association, etc, and they are dogmatic to boot. This is why they have failed to solve the problems of whom they should serve and how.

We still do not know much about the women’s movement in the rural areas. In the past, very few comrades went there to “seek truth” from the masses. Our “learned experts” on the women’s movement have never even acquired knowledge about the kind of problems rural women have with weaving, culture, hygiene, and so on. Dogmatism has blocked out all their active intelligence and wisdom. As a matter of fact, there is really nothing mysterious about the rural women’s movement. All one needs to do is get close to rural women in order to understand their thoughts, viewpoints, aspirations and needs. How can you get to know them? You can conduct rural surveys and talk with the peasants and their wives. So long as we serve them in earnest, they will be ready to “say all they know and say it without reserve”. Of course, to achieve this a considerable amount of hard

work is needed, but it can assuredly be done. When Xiao Tao<sup>190</sup> first went to work in Yangjiawan, helping the common people to repair their spinning-wheels, one woman slammed the door in her face. After proving her worth by making many successful repairs, however, that woman sent her spinning-wheel to Tao and gradually took her into her full confidence. This is a very good example. We should begin to work in one village or township and get a clear picture of the situation there. When we have acquired a thorough knowledge of the situation in seven or eight villages and helped to solve their problems, we can then give some basic answers to the question of how to conduct the women's movement in the rural areas. When the experience we gain in this way is disseminated far and wide, it will probably help to bring about a campaign which will raise the women's movement as a whole to a higher level. This approach will produce a breakthrough leading to a more general advance. It calls for a down-to-earth style of work. You must, from the beginning, immerse yourselves in hard work and try to tackle problems in earnest without being boastful or seeking the limelight. Once a breakthrough has been made and the whole movement begins to forge ahead, you must guide it in such a way as to bring definite benefits to the masses. They will then regard you as their good friend and leader. However, if you try to show off instead of doing solid work, you will stumble and fall and have to start all over again.

Some of our past efforts were not based on actual conditions, so we failed to make breakthroughs and failed to solve problems. Some work was done just because others were doing it. For instance, the outline on investigations into women's work which was cabled to the various localities from Yan'an smacked of stereotyped Party writing and served no purpose.

In short, in our past work, some comrades did not make a serious effort to understand the people they were serving, to proceed from a realistic starting point, or to work for a breakthrough at a particular point so as to promote a general advance. These were shortcomings.

Naturally, after making a breakthrough, that is, after gaining concrete experience in a few places, one must know how, by disseminating this information, to push the overall situation ahead so that a campaign can be set in motion and problems solved. One can't just continue "making a breakthrough at a particular point".

Second, there are problems of policy concerning the mass movements in the anti-Japanese base areas, the Kuomintang areas and

the enemy-occupied areas. We all acknowledge that the situation is different in each of these areas and that our policies towards them should differ accordingly. But when it comes to practice, confusions arise. In the enemy-occupied areas our policy is to destroy the enemy; in the Kuomintang areas we co-operate with the Kuomintang in fighting against Japan, while trying to destroy the one-party dictatorship and its anti-popular policy; in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region and the base areas behind enemy lines, our policy is one of construction. There is a fundamental difference between the policy of destruction and the policy of construction and they must not be mixed up.

In our base areas, there are also things to be destroyed. For example, some remnant feudal forces must be destroyed through reduction of rent and interest.<sup>139</sup> Such forces were found intact, when your Women's Movement Commission sent work teams to Suide. These forces must be destroyed. Even in Yan'an, there are things to be destroyed, such as subjectivism and bureaucratism. But the general policy there is one of construction, and destruction is only done for the sake of construction. For instance, rent and interest reduction is aimed at raising production, publicity against superstition is aimed at promoting new culture, and so on. Some cultural workers here in Yan'an, forgetting where they are, think that they are still in the "period of the satirical essay".<sup>2</sup> Believing that they should do nothing but destroy, they have no clear concept of a policy for construction. Even in the enemy-occupied and Kuomintang areas, there are things that should be built such as revolutionary parties and mass organizations. But such construction is aimed at destroying the enemy and the one-party dictatorship.

Now that we have solved the problems of policy, does this mean that we have acquired a clear understanding of these problems? Can we guarantee against making mistakes in future? Not necessarily. Here in Yan'an and the Liberated Areas, we still have shortcomings but, having cropped up in the midst of successes, these are secondary and can be overcome. Here, all our efforts are for the people. Though things like millet and straw sandals are not particularly fine here, they belong to the people. There may be better things in the enemy's

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\* This refers to the period when Lu Xun used satirical essays to fight the dark forces under the rule of reaction.



areas: unfortunately they do not belong to the people. We bring to light the picture of the Kuomintang areas where masses of people, living in dire poverty and seething with discontent keep rising up, and of the enemy-occupied areas where all is darkness itself. Everyone is very happy to hear that the people there are rising in struggle. This is revolutionary sentiment. Who do you really love? The people or the counter-revolutionaries? In the past, some comrades were not entirely clear about this, so they made policy mistakes in their work.

Third, there's the issue of the mass viewpoint and the mass line. In our past work, some comrades did not pay enough attention to the masses. As servants of the people, we should do everything for the people and serve them in the political, military, economic, cultural and every other field. Those engaged in women's work serve the women masses. But it is impossible to solve the problems of 200 million women at one stroke, so we should start our work with a few villages and a limited number of women. We should cultivate a sense of conscientious service to the masses. It won't do to shout slogans and put on a show of activity while actually doing nothing for them. Let us serve the people in earnest! They have discerning eyes and will support you when you are doing something good for them. They have nurtured us because they hope we will serve them. But some of our comrades do not try to solve problems for the masses in earnest. Instead, they cherish all sorts of ideas and get angry easily. In the base areas, there are now several hundred thousand cadres who are not engaged in actual production, but are working in Party, government and mass organizations. They have accomplished a great deal — setting up local regimes, reducing rent and interest, developing production, and so on. Nevertheless, they still need to understand fully that they are to serve the people and work conscientiously for them.

The mass viewpoint involves another question, namely, the mass line. *The Internationale* clearly puts forward the idea that the toiling masses are to liberate themselves when it states that they should depend for their liberation not on emperors, gods, or heroes, but on themselves alone. Yet some of our comrades do not understand this point, but always place themselves above the masses, trying to "liberate" them. This attitude of bestowing liberation as a favour is an attitude of the exploiting classes. History is made by the masses, not by heroes. Hence, the liberation of women requires that

the women themselves rise up in struggle. In the movement for reducing rent and interest, there have sometimes been seeming, rather than real, reductions because the masses concerned did not stand up to fight for their cause.

In our Party, commandism exists to a serious degree. It is a kind of bureaucratism and runs counter to the mass line. In appearance, people given to commandism carry out the Party's directives and decisions vigorously and speedily, but, in fact, they are not following the line of "from the masses, to the masses". They do not wait for the masses to awaken, nor do they know how to turn the Party's calls to action into the people's demands. Being impetuous, they compel the masses to carry out their orders. As a result, every call to action is turned into a formality. When the Party calls for the establishment of a co-operative, they simply apportion the shares and draw up plans for every peasant household without consulting the peasants, who, therefore, stick these plans upside down on their doors. Labour exchanges, too, are made compulsory, and meetings become a big burden for the masses. Hence, the pointed criticism among the people that "while the Japanese and puppet regimes commit too many crimes and the Kuomintang imposes too many taxes, the Communist Party holds too many meetings". Commandism is a negation of the mass line.

We should encourage the awareness and volition among the masses, for these are the impetus of any mass movement. In working among the masses, we must not pose as their liberators but must first of all try to learn from them. In the course of learning, you will be able, with your higher political consciousness and theoretical training, to help them raise their experience to a higher level. In this way you will educate and guide them and enhance their political consciousness. The level of their consciousness determines whether or not the masses can win emancipation. Their enemies are able to oppress them not only because of strength, but also because the masses themselves are backward and lack organization. When the consciousness of the masses is raised, they will rise in struggle for their own liberation. Our basic method of work is to, in the course of actual struggle, conduct education step by step on the basis of their present experience so as to help them raise their political awareness from day to day, until they become revolutionary of their own volition. This should be the aim of our revolutionary style of work and all our endeavours and measures; it cannot be achieved through issuing arbitrary orders.

Without arousing the masses, we cannot achieve any of our revolutionary tasks. In short, everything depends on the awareness and initiative of the masses.

Fourth, we must have the revolutionary working spirit of perseverance in face of setbacks and difficulties. It is no easy job to arouse the masses' political consciousness, because it involves overcoming many obstacles, working patiently for a long period of time and adopting many proper measures. Nothing will be accomplished if we go at it by fits and starts. If we fail, we will have ourselves, rather than the masses, to blame for not having enough revolutionary zeal.

There will be no revolutionary zeal unless such weaknesses as "saving face", "showing off", "seeking the limelight" and "fearing criticism" are overcome. If you have weaknesses, what face have you to save? If you try to save face, you are bound to become conservative. Some comrades who are lacking in knowledge, preserve their image as "leaders" by imposing their ideas on the masses, to the detriment of the country and the people. The two aspects of remoulding one's ideology are destruction and construction, and the former paves the way for the latter. One must have a high degree of revolutionary zeal and courage in order to adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts.

If we truly act in the spirit of the four points I have mentioned above and get rid of such weaknesses as "saving face" and "showing off", we will certainly be successful in our work. The masses will always welcome people with a down-to-earth approach to guide them. Xiao Tao's spirit and methods of work are valuable lessons for us all. She has worked in Yangjiawan for a few months and has already solved many basic problems. Her strength lies in her freedom from subjectivism and in her zeal to serve the masses and seek truth from facts. This is the reason she has been successful in her work. Our leading bodies at higher levels should be good at studying this kind of useful experience, analysing it and disseminating it, and they should train cadres to maintain close ties with the masses. Like Bo Le,<sup>191</sup> we should be good at spotting "the winged steeds" among the masses and provide them with further training.

# ON THE PARTY

*May 14, 1945*

## I. INTRODUCTION

Comrades,

In his report to the Seventh National Congress of the Party, Comrade Mao Zedong made a penetrating and brilliant analysis of the present international and domestic situation.<sup>192</sup> He comprehensively summed up the eight years of the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japan and the line persistently followed by our Party in this war. He formulated a great programme of common struggle for the Chinese people and for all democratic parties and groups throughout the country, which shows both the way to mobilize and unite all the forces of the Chinese people for the final defeat of the Japanese aggressors and the way to build an independent, free, democratic, united, prosperous and powerful new China after their defeat.

Comrade Mao Zedong's report is a militant call to the Chinese people for victory. It is a Magna Charta for the building of a new-democratic republic.

Over the past twenty-four years of heroic struggle and especially in the heroic war of resistance of the past eight years, our Party has, together with the Chinese people, travelled a tortuous path amidst countless difficulties and hardships. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, it has finally achieved brilliant successes and opened up the prospect of a bright future for the Chinese nation and people. Our Party has, together with the Liberated Areas, the Eighth Route

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This was the Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution delivered at the Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held in Yan'an from April 23 to June 11, 1945. In January 1950, it was published by the People's Publishing House under the title, *On the Party*, selected by the author. The book consists of nine sections, of which sections one, two and five are included in this volume.



Army,<sup>55</sup> the New Fourth Army<sup>117</sup> and the other armed forces of the people under its leadership, become the cornerstone of the effort by the whole country to resist Japan and save the nation.

The reason why our Party has been able to achieve these tremendous successes is that from the very beginning it has been a proletarian party of an entirely new type — a party dedicated whole-heartedly to serving the Chinese people and built upon the very solid theoretical foundation of sinified Marxism-Leninism. Having adopted Mao Zedong Thought — the theory which integrates Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution — as the guide in all its work, our Party has formulated a revolutionary programme and revolutionary policies which fully represent the interests of the Chinese nation and people. It has not only waged a resolute struggle against the enemies of the Chinese nation and people and against all the reactionary political groups that act contrary to their interests, but has also crushed every kind of opportunism within the Party itself. It is under the guidance of the great Mao Zedong Thought that our Party has gathered together the most loyal, courageous, politically conscious and well-disciplined representatives of the Chinese working class and labouring people. And in doing so, the Party has become the organized vanguard of the Chinese working class, fighting most resolutely and bravely against the enemies of the Chinese nation and people and successfully striking at these enemies while avoiding their blows.

Our Party also owes its great successes to the fact that it has consistently carried out its fundamental principle of serving the people, which has enabled it to take root among the masses of the people, maintain close ties with them and become a well-disciplined party. It is a party which practises strict centralism on a democratic basis. It is a party which voluntarily observes iron discipline and seriously conducts criticism and self-criticism. It is a party which does not allow small groups or factions to operate within it, and it is a party which admits new members with care, demanding that each member take direct part in a Party organization and in Party work. All such organizational principles aim at leading the people to complete emancipation. These have been embodied in our Party Constitution since its adoption by the First National Congress of the Party and have been fully borne out in the great practical struggles of the past twenty-four years. These principles on which our Party is organized not only guarantee the fulfilment of its political tasks, its unity of action

in struggle and its conquest of every kind of difficulty, but also guarantee that great victories will be won by the people under Party leadership.

The broad revolutionary masses of the Chinese people enthusiastically welcome and trust such a party as ours, not only because it adheres to a revolutionary programme and revolutionary policies that fully represent the interests of the Chinese people, but also because it has a closely-knit organization and iron discipline, is capable of surviving severe, trying battles and has demonstrated its impregnable organizational strength. In the face of a powerful, cunning and barbarous enemy, the struggle for the liberation of the disaster-ridden Chinese nation with its 475 million people is an exceedingly momentous undertaking. Only a party like ours has the ability and daring to lead the entire people in defeating our enemies and winning liberation. The revision of our Party Constitution today does not involve any change in the character or the fundamental organizational principles of our Party. On the contrary, by revising we intend to develop and strengthen that character and those principles on the basis of recent experience and on the theory of Party building enriched by Comrade Mao Zedong during the past three great revolutionary periods. Obviously, it is absolutely necessary to do so in order to enormously increase the fighting capacity of our Party, cement our ties with the broad masses of the Chinese people, get prepared for the great events which lie ahead, bring about the final defeat of the Japanese aggressors and their lackeys and build an independent, free, democratic, united, prosperous and powerful new-democratic republic.

However, the Constitution — that is to say, the rules and regulations of our Party — not only defines the fundamental principles governing the Party but also lays down, in line with these principles, the methods of practical action for the Party organization and the rules governing the organizational forms of Party structure and inner-Party life. Because the organizational forms and methods of work of the Party are determined by the internal and external conditions in which it finds itself and by the political tasks it sets, a certain degree of flexibility must be allowed. When the Party defines new political tasks because of changes in circumstances or in working conditions, the organizational forms and methods of work have to be changed accordingly; otherwise, old organizational forms and old methods of work will hinder the progress of our Party's work and the performance of our political tasks. Our Party is a creative Marxist political party,

because at no time have we tied ourselves ideologically or politically to any rigid formulas, or regarded the organizational forms of our Party or any other organizational forms as hard and fast patterns that cannot be altered. From time to time we have been able to improve our organizational forms and our methods of work in accordance with the changing conditions in the development of the Chinese revolution and with our new political tasks and freshly-acquired experience in our organizational work. Therefore, given the fundamental organizational principles of our Party, it is entirely necessary to revise our Party Constitution in the light of the new environment and conditions and the changed situation in the Party.

The Party firmly upholds the inviolability of its fundamental organizational principles. However, it must adapt its organizational forms and methods of work to the existing circumstances so as to promote progress in the Party's work and ensure the completion of its political tasks and its unity of action.

We propose to the Seventh National Congress of the Party many important changes and additions to the Party Constitution. Why is it necessary to make such changes and additions? The reasons are as follows:

(1) It is now seventeen years since our Party Constitution was last revised in 1928 by the Sixth National Congress.<sup>151</sup> Conditions both inside and outside the Party have changed significantly during these years. Today, the Party is faced with the need to mobilize the whole Party membership to carry out entirely new political tasks.

(2) The experience which our Party has accumulated in directing the revolutionary struggle in China during the last seventeen years is extremely rich and vitally important. It is essential to sum up this experience and use it to enrich our Party Constitution and to strengthen the building of our Party.

(3) Because the Party Constitution was adopted by the Sixth National Congress under extraordinary circumstances, many of its provisions were inapplicable, and this resulted in the failure of many Party members to pay attention to it and implement it effectively. Therefore, it is incumbent upon the Seventh National Congress to frame a new Party Constitution entirely in conformity with the actual conditions of today.

It is quite clear that our Party now has certain outstanding features which have not existed in any of its previous historical periods. Those features are as follows:

(1) Our Party is a party that is national in scale and has a broad mass character. It is a party the people throughout the country are looking up to. With a membership totalling 1,210,000 and with its organizations and members operating in all parts of the country, it is regarded by the whole people as their sole liberator.

(2) Our Party is a party that has been steeled in prolonged revolutionary wars and has mastered the art of leading them. The Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and the other armed forces of the people, which have been organized under its leadership, constitute the main forces in the present War of Resistance Against Japan. The Chinese nation and people rely upon these armed forces of the people to carry on the protracted war against the Japanese aggressors, and they will continue to rely on these forces to make post-war China a democratic and united new China.

(3) Our Party is a party that has led the 95 million people living behind the enemy lines in setting up strong revolutionary base areas, where democratic reforms of various forms have been introduced and where new-democratic development in the political, military, economic and cultural fields are under way. These democratic reforms and developments have resulted in increased production, an improvement in the people's living standard, greater social stability and a heightening of the people's cultural level and political consciousness. The Party has mobilized and united all the people in these base areas in vigorously resisting the Japanese aggressors, and this has encouraged the revolutionary struggles of people throughout the country. These base areas are a model of new China, and they guarantee that the whole people of our country will win victory in the revolution.

(4) Our Party is a party that has overcome various kinds of erroneous ideas and achieved unprecedented ideological, political and organizational unity and solidarity through a rectification movement. Past opportunist lines have been liquidated and non-proletarian ideas have been largely defeated in the rectification movement,<sup>181</sup> while the proletarian, Marxist-Leninist ideology and line as represented by Comrade Mao Zedong have won an unparalleled, solid victory throughout the Party. Many of the saboteurs and spies who were hiding in our Party and trying to undermine the nation have been combed out. Thus, our Party has become united and consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally as never before. This has contributed immeasurably to the cause of China's liberation.



(5) Last, but by no means least, our Party is a party that has a great leader of its own. He is none other than Comrade Mao Zedong, the organizer and leader of our Party and of the present-day Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong is an outstanding representative of the heroic proletariat of our country and of the fine traditions of our great nation. He is a talented and creative Marxist, integrating, as he does, the universal truth of Marxism — the most advanced ideology in the history of mankind — with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. He has thus raised the ideology of the Chinese nation to a rational height unknown before and has shown the suffering Chinese nation and people the only correct road leading to complete liberation — the road of Mao Zedong. Following this road, our Party and the Chinese people launched the great pre-1927 revolutionary movement, of which he was one of the organizers. During the Agrarian Revolution in the Soviet areas,<sup>6</sup> the great Red areas and the Red Army were created with Comrade Mao Zedong as their most outstanding founder and leader. In the War of Resistance Against Japan, the great Liberated Areas and the people's armed forces — the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army — were created, and again he was the founder and leader. Comrade Mao Zedong is the leader of our Party, but he is also an ordinary member of our Party, being completely at the service of the Party and most scrupulous in the observance of Party discipline in every respect. He is the leader of the masses, yet he bases everything on the will of the people. He stands before the people as their most loyal servant and their most modest pupil. Being a figure who has emerged from the revolutionary struggles of the people and who has been tested through more than thirty years of the great Chinese revolutionary struggle, he is well known to the entire Party and the people of the whole country. It is the carefully considered choice of our Party and of the Chinese nation and people that he becomes their leader. Our Party has not only a great leader of its own, but also a large number of well-tried cadres who, rallying round him armed with Mao Zedong Thought, act as the backbone of the Party. These cadres have proved, during a long period of struggle, to be the finest people, the cream of the Chinese nation, and men of action in every field of the Chinese people's revolution and national construction. With such a great leader and with a large group of such cadres, we are invincible and will vanquish all the enemies of the Chinese nation and people.

Comrades, our Party is already a Marxist-Leninist party which is national in scale, has a broad mass character, is fully consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally and is under a leader of its own. It has now become the determining factor in China's political life.

Such are the main features of our Party today.

Such are the brilliant successes our Party has achieved. They are great victories for the Chinese people as a whole, great victories for Marxism-Leninism among the Chinese people and great victories for the teachings and leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, the leader of our Party.

However, this does not mean that our Party is without any shortcomings or weaknesses. Nor does it mean that there are no difficulties ahead. We still have shortcomings and weaknesses and, for all our achievements, we are still far from our goal. There are still many difficulties ahead to be overcome. The bulk of our Party is still in the countryside and the overwhelming majority of Party members are of peasant or petty-bourgeois origin. Generally speaking, their theoretical and cultural level is not high, although they have been steeled in fierce revolutionary struggles. Some of our comrades have not yet completely overcome their subjectivist style of work, while others still display such tendencies as commandism, bureaucratism and warlordism, which estrange the masses from the Party. Still others have the blind "mountain-stronghold" mentality which impairs the unity and solidarity of the Party. These shortcomings and weaknesses in our Party can only be overcome through greater efforts and more painstaking education.

Having undergone long, heroic struggles, especially the heroic war of resistance in the last eight years, our Party and the Chinese nation and people are now approaching victory. Our present task is to prepare to seize victory; to mobilize and unite all the forces of the Chinese people, in co-ordination with our Allies, for the final expulsion of the Japanese aggressors and the recovery of our lost cities and villages; to conquer the anti-democratic forces throughout the country; and to build an independent, free, democratic, united, prosperous and powerful new China. In order to achieve these objectives we must tremendously improve the work of our Party, strengthen its organizational role and its leadership among all sections of the masses and prepare the people and ourselves ideologically, politically and organizationally for the great struggle and victory, unprecedented in our

history. These are the immediate political and organizational tasks of our Party.

The present state of our Party and its tasks constitute the point of departure in our revision of the Party Constitution today.

## II. THE GENERAL PROGRAMME OF THE PARTY CONSTITUTION

We have formulated a General Programme to serve as an introduction to the Constitution. It is the basic programme of our Party. As a component of the Party Constitution, this preamble sets out the general principles of the Party Constitution. Every Party member must accept this General Programme as the basis for all his activities. It will further strengthen the unity and solidarity of the whole Party.

The General Programme sums up the Party's twenty-four years of experience in struggle while drawing on the best experience of the worldwide working-class movement. It is an embodiment of the teachings of Comrade Mao Zedong, the leader of our Party. It sets forth in concise language the Party's character and theory; the character, motive forces, tasks and special features of the Chinese revolution; the Party's basic principles with respect to the Chinese revolution and the requirements the Party must meet; the need to eliminate opportunism inside the Party; and the importance of self-criticism, the mass line and the organizational principles of the Party. All these points are included in the General Programme of the Party Constitution. However, I only wish to expound on the following questions.

### 1. CONCERNING THE CHARACTER OF OUR PARTY

The General Programme of the Constitution begins by pointing out that our Party is the organized vanguard of the Chinese working class and the highest form of its class organization. It represents the interests of the Chinese nation and people. At the present stage it is striving for New Democracy in China and its ultimate aim is the realization of communism in China. Is this character of our Party questionable? I think not.

Prior to the founding of our Party in 1921, the Chinese nation and people, led by their distinguished champions, had waged successive, heroic revolutionary struggles against imperialism and feudalism for eighty years. Owing to both international and domestic developments (the former being principally the First World War and the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the latter, the increasingly ferocious imperialist aggression and feudal warlord oppression, the people's revolutionary struggles and the rise of the working-class movement following the May 4th Movement of 1919), the Chinese revolutionaries, as represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, turned for the first time from radical revolutionary democracy to proletarian communism, thereby giving birth to the Communist Party of China. Since its birth, our Party has had a clear-cut class consciousness, adopted the proletarian stand in leading the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution, integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese working-class movement and the Chinese revolution and cultivated the fine style of work characteristic of an advanced proletarian political party. All these factors have given a new aspect to the Chinese revolution. Today, after twenty-four years of practical trials and tests in the most difficult, tortuous and exceedingly intricate revolutionary struggles, the Party has not only opened up new prospects for victory in the Chinese revolution, but has also accumulated extremely rich experience which, through Comrade Mao Zedong's crystallization and creative work, has raised to a higher plane the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. This shows that our Party has always been, and is especially so today, a party of a completely new type — a proletarian Marxist-Leninist party.

Although the main body of our Party is operating in the countryside and the vast majority of the Party members come from the peasantry and petty-bourgeois intelligentsia while only a small percentage are workers, in the aggregate, Party members of proletarian or semi-proletarian (poor peasant) origin constitute the majority. Naturally, this, among other factors, has given rise to a number of serious problems, such as the widespread manifestation in the Party of the ideology of small producers. Even bourgeois and feudal ideologies have found their way into our Party through the medium of petty-bourgeois elements. Herein lies the social roots of subjectivism, sectarianism, stereotyped Party writing as well as political and organizational opportunism in our Party. However, this state of affairs



cannot alter the fact that our Party is a political party of the proletariat.

The proletarian character of our Party is determined by the following factors:

(1) It came into existence and developed in the epoch of the great world proletarian revolution by absorbing the best traditions of the world Marxist-Leninist movement and basing itself on the great working-class movement before 1927 and the revolution of 1927. It has maintained constant ties with the Chinese working-class movement.

(2) Our Party has developed in strict adherence to the Marxist-Leninist teachings sinified by Comrade Mao Zedong and to the political and organizational line formulated by him. (All those who ran counter to this line have been discredited by history.) The Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong enjoys enormous prestige. Because a large number of cadres — many of whom emerged directly from the working-class movement — have been steeled in prolonged struggle and are armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, they are fully capable of taking up the cause led by the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong.

(3) With its proletarian programme and policy, our Party is distinct from any other political party and has, on its own, organized and led the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal new-democratic revolution of the Chinese people. Having made the realization of socialism and communism its ultimate goal, it has enabled the Chinese proletariat to fulfil its tasks in the present bourgeois-democratic revolution to the fullest extent and to exercise its revolutionary leadership over the masses.

(4) Every Party member must observe and not contravene the iron proletarian discipline of the Party. Every Party member is required to abide by the Party Programme and Constitution and to work in a Party organization. The Party preserves and strengthens its proletarian unity ideologically, politically, and organizationally at all times. It has cleared out of its ranks all alien elements and opportunists who are incorrigible or beyond remoulding.

(5) More than twenty years of both civil war and national war have steeled our Party. Hundreds of thousands of Party

members have long left their respective occupations behind to plunge themselves into the revolutionary life of a military community and life-and-death struggle. They have undergone rigorous ideological and organizational education and tempering, which has enhanced their class consciousness and collective spirit and strengthened their sense of organization and discipline. They have come to understand that, when confronted with the enemy, all Party members share identical interests and must obey the Party's centralized leadership unconditionally. Wavering elements, on the other hand, will keep dropping out of the Party in the course of serious revolutionary struggles.

(6) Marxist-Leninist education will enable Party members of petty-bourgeois origin to undergo a thoroughgoing ideological remoulding, to change their former petty-bourgeois character and to gain the qualities of advanced fighters of the proletariat.

A party founded, steeled and educated in such a manner is certainly not inferior — to say the very least — to any proletarian party of the capitalist countries.

It is not just the social origin of the Party members but our Party's political struggles and political life, its ideological education and its ideological and political leadership that decide things, and the General Programme of our Party and its organizational principles ensure the dominance of the proletarian ideology and proletarian line. No matter how broadly petty-bourgeois ideology is manifested in the Party, it has no legitimacy and is being constantly corrected through education and the rectification movement. Moreover, this ideology has been shown to be incompatible with the interests of the people in serious practical struggles and has thus become increasingly discredited. The social origin of our Party membership does not determine the character of our Party any more than the social composition of the membership of the Labour parties in certain European countries does. Although the majority of their members come from the working class, these Labour parties do not represent the working class in their countries, nor are they able to perform the tasks of the working class.

In China, a large number of petty-bourgeois revolutionaries have joined our Party, and this is a very good thing. Our Party must not reject them. While it is true that we should pay close attention to recruiting the advanced elements from among the workers, we should, at the same time, draw in numerous advanced elements from all other

sections of the labouring people. Only then will it be possible for our Party to become a powerful party with a mass character. The proletariat must constantly replenish its ranks by recruiting members from the petty bourgeoisie — this is an immutable historical law.

The petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry are transitional classes which go through a process of disintegration under the capitalist system. Except for a small number of their members who will become members of the bourgeoisie, the majority will go bankrupt and swell the ranks of the proletariat. Being transitional classes, they may accept the political leadership of either the liberal bourgeoisie or the proletariat, and ideologically they may be influenced by either of these groups. Hence, under certain historical conditions, large numbers of revolutionary elements among the petty bourgeoisie may join the proletarian party and be susceptible to proletarian education. The proletarian party, our Party, is capable of educating and remoulding them. Experience shows that after joining our Party on our terms, most are conscientious in their studies, willing to receive the Party's education in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, observe Party discipline and take part in the practical revolutionary struggles of the people. Consequently, they change their original character and become Marxist-Leninists, fighters for the proletariat, and many have even sacrificed their lives for the Party's cause — the realization of communism in China. However, there is also a very small number who, after joining the Party, fail to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought earnestly and correctly. Holding on to their old viewpoints or styles of work and sometimes even stubbornly opposing those of the proletariat, they try to reconstruct our Party and rebuild its internal life according to their own petty-bourgeois concepts and tastes. Quite naturally, they not only fail to become genuine Marxist-Leninists, fighters for the proletariat, but are also responsible for many mistakes and divergences occurring in the Party. The Party's experience shows that this has happened over and over again.

Therefore, all those who join our Party must seriously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The petty-bourgeois revolutionary elements must, both before and after their admission into the Party, be especially studious in order to remould their ideology. They must discard their original class stand to adopt the class stand of the proletariat and must overcome their subjective, individualistic and sectarian tendencies. They cannot become good Party members without such remoulding. This is generally a long, painstaking process which,

when they are not yet fully aware of the need, can even be agonizing for many petty-bourgeois revolutionary elements. This remoulding is a particularly important question or aspect in the building of our Party.

Inherent in our Party are the essential contradictions between proletarian and non-proletarian ideologies. The principal contradiction is between the ideology of the proletariat and the ideology of the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie. Our Party building and the cause of our Party can only advance and develop when we have gradually resolved this contradiction by intensifying our education and training in Marxism-Leninism, which is the scientific ideology of the proletariat, and by continuously overcoming the petty-bourgeois and other ideologies reflected in our Party. If, conversely, petty-bourgeois ideology is allowed to spread freely within the Party and if it should come to dominate the Party's leadership and repress the development of proletarian ideas, the development and work of our Party will certainly retrogress and fail. Hence, in our Party building the principal need is for ideological development, that is, remoulding our Party members, especially the petty-bourgeois revolutionary elements, through education in Marxism-Leninism, the scientific ideology of the proletariat. In other words, we need to combat and overcome every kind of non-proletarian ideology in the Party.

China's petty bourgeoisie is numerically large and many of our Party members are of petty-bourgeois origin. In the past, both China's proletariat and our Party were in their infancy, lacking experience. Our Party did not have sufficient ideological preparation in Marxism-Leninism before its foundation, nor did it have enough time thereafter for theoretical study and propaganda work because it immediately immersed itself in turbulent, practical revolutionary struggle. For these reasons, our Party suffered for a long time from inadequate Marxist-Leninist ideological education. It was, therefore, possible for the petty-bourgeois elements inside our Party who hadn't undergone remoulding to propagate what was in essence opportunism under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism, by taking advantage of the ideological ignorance of many Party members and the petty-bourgeois sentiments in the Party. This is how petty-bourgeois ideology gained temporary predominance in the Party's leading bodies at certain periods.

When petty-bourgeois ideology was predominant in the Party leadership, Right or "Left" opportunist lines were carried out not only politically but also in the building and organization of the Party.



The Right opportunist line in the building and organization of the Party took the form of the liberalist line pursued by certain comrades. They attempted to turn our Party into a liberalist party of the petty bourgeoisie. They opposed and discarded the Party's principled stand in ideological and organizational matters. They undermined the Party's democratic centralism and iron discipline by enrolling Party members en masse and without discrimination, allowing all sorts of erroneous ideas to spread within the Party unchecked, abandoning vigilance against the Party's enemies and saboteurs and encouraging "showing off", lax discipline, factional tendencies and spontaneity within the Party. It is quite obvious that had these things continued, the result would have been to prevent our Party from accomplishing anything and to bring about its collapse.

The "Left" opportunist line in the building and organization of the Party found expression in the actions of some comrades who, ignoring China's special characteristics, mechanically imported the Party-building experience of Parties abroad and turned them into absolute dogmas. They placed one-sided emphasis on inner-Party centralism and inner-Party struggle, and they admitted no compromise and laid stress on mechanical discipline. They discarded inner-Party democracy and harmony, serious discussion of problems and relevant criticism and paid no heed to the political consciousness and initiative of Party members. Like patriarchs, they issued orders and ruled arbitrarily within the Party. They pursued a policy of obscurantism. They encouraged blind obedience on the part of Party members, carried on merciless inner-Party struggles and engaged in punitiveness. They punished, expelled or purged Party members wholesale. As a result, mechanical discipline and a feudalistic order prevailed in the Party and inner-Party life became stagnant. Temporarily this may have created the appearance of inner-Party unity. But such unity was false, superficial and mechanical. Once found out it could have given way to a state of inner-Party anarchy, characteristic of ultra-democracy. It is quite obvious that such a line could destroy our Party by relegating it to a narrow, lifeless, sectarian faction.

These two deviations are reflections of petty-bourgeois liberalism and sectarianism as well as impetuosity on the question of organization.

In addition to the two deviations mentioned above, there were still other comrades who, because of their ideological weakness and political blindness, stressed only the organizational aspect of Party building to the neglect of the ideological and political building of the Party. The

result was that Party building became a formality. They favoured and commended those “honest fellows” who were capable of nothing but blind obedience while they feared and blamed those who could do their own thinking, were highly capable and refused to obey blindly. They attached too much importance to the petty trifles in the daily lives of others while ignoring the one task of supreme importance, namely, enlightening and raising the ideological and political consciousness of the Party members and thus strengthening the organization and discipline of the Party. Also failing to understand that in order to attain this objective, it is essential first of all to arouse and raise the consciousness of the high and middle-ranking cadres, they gave their mind only to the Party members of worker or peasant origin, and they were afraid of capable intellectuals. They busied themselves with so-called organizational “leadership”: holding meetings, running here and there and occupying themselves with all kinds of trifling matters. But they did not use their brains. Instead of improving organizational leadership and linking it with ideological and political leadership, they separated the Party’s organizational work from its ideological and political leadership. This is blindness in Party building. Quite obviously, this is not the way to build up a Marxist-Leninist proletarian party, because opportunists inside the Party may very well take advantage of such a situation.

Our Party has overcome such erroneous lines by ceaselessly waging uncompromising struggle against them. It has unanimously supported and followed Comrade Mao Zedong’s line of Party building. In sharp contrast to the erroneous lines mentioned above, this correct line of Comrade Mao Zedong first of all lays stress on ideological and political building without neglecting organizational building. He has repeatedly told us that ideological education and leadership should come first when our Party exercises leadership. He has formulated detailed political, military and organizational lines for our Party. In the Resolution of the Gutian Meeting in 1929, he drew attention to the various erroneous deviations originating in non-proletarian ideology inside the Party and called upon our comrades to eliminate them. He also adopted a creative method of education in the form of the rectification movement to remove all such petty-bourgeois ideologies reflected in the Party as subjectivism, sectarianism and the stereotyped Party writing, all of which are modes of thought and organization and monotonous repetition in expression characteristic of petty-bourgeois ideology. He considered the development of our Party a process

through which the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism was to be integrated ever more closely with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. He linked the building of the Party closely with the Party's political line, with our Party's relationship to the bourgeoisie and to armed struggle. Comrade Mao Zedong's *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*, the second part of his *On the New Stage* and his *Introducing "The Communist"*, *Reform Our Study*, *Rectify the Party's Style of Work*, *Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing*, *Decisions by the Central Committee on Continuing the Rectification Movement* (April 3, 1943), *Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership* (June 1, 1943) and other works are direct expression of his correct line on Party building, formulated according to our Party's special features. The implementation of this line has enabled us to overcome all kinds of opportunist and other erroneous lines in Party building, with the result that the Party has made tremendous progress and achieved great success.

It is clear that had our Party followed these erroneous lines on Party building, it would not have become a party of the working class even if the percentage of workers in our Party membership had been higher. But as we have followed Comrade Mao Zedong's line, we can build, and have already built, a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, even though the workers in our Party membership do not yet constitute the majority.

For many years the bulk of our Party has been operating in the rural areas because China is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country and because the peasant masses constitute the main force of the present revolution. In addition, the Chinese working class, being oppressed in the cities and for a long time unable to carry on revolutionary activities freely, has had to send its vanguard to the countryside to organize its vast ally and to act in co-ordination with it to liberate the cities when conditions became favourable. Here lies the true significance of our Party's long-term work in the countryside. Under the circumstances as they exist in the present period, this is the only way our Party can represent the Chinese working class and carry out its tasks. If our Party acts otherwise, it will never represent the Chinese working class, because the present revolution in China is essentially a peasant revolution. The basic and immediate task of the Chinese working class is to emancipate the Chinese peasantry. Under the leadership of a proletarian party, the great peasant war differs from all others in Chinese history, and it absolutely can be victorious. It is

quite logical, therefore, that over the long years our Party has, as the vanguard of the working class, been organizing and leading this peasant revolution in the countryside with might and main.

The General Programme of the Party Constitution points out that our Party represents the interests of the Chinese nation and people. This is no doubt the essence of our Party and of Mao Zedong Thought. The interests of the Chinese proletariat are at all times identical with those of the Chinese people. The new-democratic revolution now being waged by our Party against imperialism and feudalism is in the interests not just of the working class but of the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie, too. The Chinese Communist Party can succeed only when it stands for the interests of the whole people, instead of merely for the partial and immediate interests of one class, and only when it organizes and unites the entire nation and people for the struggle, instead of merely organizing and uniting one class. The proletariat cannot win its own emancipation if it fails to emancipate the people as a whole. On the other hand, the Chinese working class and the working people as a whole constitute the main body of the Chinese nation. It is their interests that form the foundation of the interests of the Chinese nation and people. In fighting for an independent, free, democratic, united, prosperous and powerful new China, the Chinese Communist Party is representing the interests of the entire Chinese nation and people as well as those of the Chinese working class. The same will be true in the future when it will fight for socialism and communism, because the realization of a socialist and communist society will mean final emancipation of all mankind.

## 2. CONCERNING THE GUIDING IDEOLOGY OF THE PARTY

The General Programme of the Party Constitution states that the Chinese Communist Party is guided in all its work by Mao Zedong Thought — the doctrine that integrates the theories of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution — and that it is opposed to any dogmatic or empiricist deviations. As for our Chinese and foreign heritage, we neither reject nor accept it without discrimination; we accept critically what is valuable and appropriate and repudiate what is erroneous and inappropriate, basing our judgement on Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism. All this is made very clear.



What needs explaining is Mao Zedong Thought.

The General Programme of the Party Constitution provides that Mao Zedong Thought shall guide all the work of our Party. The Constitution also states that it is the duty of every Party member to endeavour to learn the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. This is a most important historical characteristic of our present revision of the Constitution. I believe that this Congress and the entire Party membership will heartily support this provision.

For over a century the Chinese nation and people have suffered incredible hardships. They have accumulated rich experience in the struggles for their own emancipation, in which much blood has been shed. Their practical struggles and experience inevitably gave rise to a great body of theory demonstrating that the Chinese people are not only good at fighting but also capable of arming themselves with modern scientific revolutionary theory. Because of the political and economic flabbiness of China's bourgeoisie and because of its lack of contact with the people and its limited outlook and thinking, its representatives could only advance certain revolutionary programmes and democratic ideas. We have already adopted all the good points of their programmes and ideas as part of our heritage. These representatives could not, however, formulate a systematic revolutionary theory, much less a comprehensive, systematic and scientific theory in relation to the whole course of Chinese history and the Chinese revolution. Such a theory can only be created by the representatives of the Chinese proletariat, of whom the greatest and most outstanding is Comrade Mao Zedong.

Our congress should warmly celebrate the development of a unique, integrated and correct theory of the people's revolution and national reconstruction which has been maturing since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. This theory has led our Party and our people to great victories and it will lead us to ultimate and complete victory and emancipation. It is the greatest achievement and glory of the Party and the Chinese people in their long struggles and will benefit our nation for generation upon generation. This theory is none other than Mao Zedong Thought — Comrade Mao Zedong's theories with regard to Chinese history, Chinese society and the Chinese revolution and relevant policies.

Mao Zedong Thought is the theory that integrates Marxist-Leninist theories with the practice of the Chinese revolution. It is communism and Marxism applied to China.

Mao Zedong Thought is the development of Marxism with regard to the national-democratic revolution in the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal country of the present period. It is an outstanding example of how Marxism is applied to a given nation. It has taken shape and developed in the course of the long revolutionary struggles of the Chinese nation and people which include the three great revolutionary wars (the Northern Expedition,<sup>120</sup> the Agrarian Revolutionary War and the present War of Resistance Against Japan). It is at once Chinese and thoroughly Marxist. It has evolved through the application of the Marxist world outlook and social outlook, specifically, dialectical materialism and historical materialism. In other words, it has evolved through careful, scientific analysis of the exceedingly rich experience of all modern revolutions. This includes, of course, the experience gained by the Chinese Communist Party in directing the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people in the light of the characteristics of the Chinese nation and on the solid foundation of Marxist-Leninist theories. As theories and policies for achieving the emancipation of the Chinese nation and people, Mao Zedong Thought has developed by applying the scientific method of Marxism-Leninism to a synthesis of China's history, social conditions and entire revolutionary experience with a view to furthering the interests of the proletariat and consequently the interests of the entire people. These are, therefore, the only correct theories and policies with which the proletariat and all the working people of China fight for their emancipation.

Mao Zedong Thought — the theory and practice of communism applied to China — has come into being and developed not only in the course of the revolutionary struggles against domestic and foreign enemies but also in the course of the principled struggles against various erroneous opportunist ideas within the Party, such as, Chen Duxiuism,<sup>110</sup> the Li Lisan line<sup>18</sup> and the subsequent "Left" deviationist line, capitulationist line, dogmatism and empiricism. It is our Party's only correct guiding ideology and its only correct general line.

In the twenty-four years since its birth, Mao Zedong Thought has developed and matured. It has stood the test of the innumerable bitter struggles of millions upon millions of people and has been proved to be objective truth and embody the only correct theories and policies for saving China. Numerous historical events have borne out the fact that whenever the revolution follows the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought, it will go forward and succeed and whenever it departs from that leadership, it will go down-

hill and eventually fail. The integration of Marxist theory with both the practice of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism and the practice of the Russian revolution gave rise to Russian Bolshevism<sup>16</sup> — Leninism. Leninism has not only led the Russian people to complete emancipation but has also guided and is still guiding the people of the whole world in their struggle for emancipation. As a pupil of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, Comrade Mao Zedong has exactly effected the integration of the Marxist-Leninist theories with the practice of the Chinese revolution. This has given rise to Chinese communism — Mao Zedong Thought — which has guided, and is still guiding, the Chinese people towards complete emancipation and which has made useful contribution to the cause of emancipation of the people all over the world, particularly people in the East.

Mao Zedong Thought, in terms of world outlook and style of work, is Marxism being developed and improved through its application in China. It constitutes the comprehensive theories of revolution and national reconstruction for the Chinese people. These theories are to be found in Comrade Mao Zedong's writings and in many works of our Party literature. They include Comrade Mao Zedong's analysis of the present world situation and China's conditions and his theories and policies with regard to New Democracy, the emancipation of the peasantry, the revolutionary united front, revolutionary wars, revolutionary bases, the establishment of a new-democratic republic, Party building, culture, etc. These theories and policies are at once thoroughly Marxist and thoroughly Chinese. They are the highest expression of the wisdom of the Chinese people and the most succinct of theoretical generalizations.

Because of the distinctive characteristics of China's social and historical development and its backwardness in science, it is a unique and herculean task to apply Marxism systematically to China, to transform it from its European form into a Chinese form and thereby to solve the various problems in the contemporary Chinese revolution from the Marxist standpoint and with the Marxist method. Many of our problems have never been considered or approached by the world's Marxists because, unlike the conditions in other countries, in China the main sections of the masses are not workers but peasants and the fight is directed not against domestic capitalism but against foreign imperialist oppression and feudal practices. This can never be accomplished, as some people seem to think it can, by memorizing and reciting Marxist works or by just quoting from them. It requires a high level of

the combination of scientific and revolutionary spirit. It requires profound historical and social knowledge, rich experience in guiding the revolutionary struggles and skill in using Marxist-Leninist methods to make an accurate, scientific analysis of social and historical conditions and their development. It further requires boundless and tenacious loyalty to the cause of the proletariat and the people, faith in the strength, creative power and future of the masses and skill in crystallizing the experience, ideas and will of the masses and in bringing what is crystallized back to the masses for application. Only thus is it possible to make original and brilliant additions to Marxism-Leninism in the light of the historical development of each specific period and the concrete economic and political conditions in China, to express Marxism-Leninism in plain language easily understood by the Chinese people, to adapt it to the new historical environment and China's special conditions and to make it a weapon in the hands of the Chinese proletariat and working people. No one but our Comrade Mao Zedong has so splendidly and successfully performed the extremely difficult task of adapting Marxism to China. This constitutes one of the greatest achievements in the history of the Marxist movement all over the world, and the dissemination of Marxism — the best of all truths — in a nation of 475 million people is unprecedented. This is something for which we should be particularly grateful.

Our Comrade Mao Zedong is not only the greatest revolutionary and statesman in Chinese history, but also the greatest theoretician and scientist. He has had the prowess to lead the whole Party and the entire Chinese people to wage struggles that shook the world and, what is more, he has been the best-versed and the sternest challenger to theories. In the theoretical field, he has been bold in blazing the trail. He has discarded certain specific Marxist principles and conclusions that are outmoded or incompatible with the concrete conditions in China and replaced them with appropriate new ones. For this reason he has been able to successfully carry out the difficult and monumental task of sinifying Marxism.

Because of inadequate theoretical preparation, our Party and many Party members have been confused about how to do their work and so have suffered a lot, making quite a few unnecessary detours. Now, thanks to Comrade Mao Zedong's painstaking work and brilliant creativity, the theoretical groundwork has been fully laid for our Party and the Chinese people. This will greatly enhance our self-confidence and our ability to fight and speed the Chinese revolution to victory.



Therefore, the important task now is to mobilize the entire Party membership to study and disseminate Mao Zedong Thought and to arm our membership and the revolutionary people with it, so that it may become a living, irresistible force. For this purpose, all Party schools and training classes must adopt Comrade Mao Zedong's writings as basic teaching material, and the cadres must study these writings systematically. Our entire Party press must propagate Mao Zedong Thought in a systematic way. The propaganda departments of the Party should edit Comrade Mao Zedong's important works into popular reading matter suited to the level of the average Party member.

Having overcome thought-stifling dogmatism in the Party, we must make further efforts to remove the obstacle of empiricism and to start a campaign in the Party to study Mao Zedong Thought. We may then anticipate a great upsurge in the Party of Marxist culture which is ideological preparation for the victory in the people's revolution in China.

Mao Zedong Thought is the foundation of the present revised Party Constitution and its General Programme. It is the duty of all Party members to study it, to disseminate it and to follow its guidance in their work.

### 3. CONCERNING THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

The General Programme of the Party Constitution points out that present-day Chinese society is semi-colonial and semi-feudal in nature. But the Liberated Areas, with a total population approaching 100 million, are of a new-democratic character. This demonstrates the economic and political unevenness and complexity of Chinese society.

The nature of the Chinese society, the fact that the basic motive forces of the Chinese revolution is the proletarian-led masses whose main force is the peasantry, the existence of the powerful Chinese Communist Party and the prevailing international situation are all factors which have come together to determine that Chinese revolution can be neither a bourgeois-democratic revolution of the old type nor a proletarian-socialist revolution of the newest type, but that it must be a bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type. In this revolution, though the basic motive forces are the proletariat, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, other classes may join the revolution, and we

also have numerous allies both at home and abroad. Therefore, the task of the Chinese Communist Party at the present stage is to unite all classes, strata, nationalities and individuals that may take part in the revolution to fight for the complete elimination of oppression by both foreign imperialism and domestic feudalism and to fight for the establishment of a new-democratic republic of China based on an alliance of all revolutionary classes and the voluntary alliance of all nationalities. Only after this revolution has been completed, only when China's economy has developed to its full extent in a new-democratic country, only when many necessary preparatory steps have been taken and, finally, only when the Chinese people feel the need and desire for it, can a socialist and communist system be set up in China. This question, on which there has been some confusion and much debate in the Party in the past, has now been definitely clarified.

The General Programme of the Party Constitution also deals with many other special characteristics of the Chinese revolution. These include the uneven development of the revolution and consequently its protracted nature and complexity, and the importance at given periods of armed struggle and revolutionary bases in the rural areas. All these points have been clarified.

The special characteristics of the Chinese revolution used to be the most controversial issue within the Party. Opportunists have invariably been mistaken on this question. It is in the course of struggle against opportunism on this issue that Mao Zedong Thought has attained its full development. Hence, there is the need to explain and affirm these characteristics in the General Programme of the Party Constitution. It is necessary for every Party member to acquire a profound understanding of them.

The best explanation of the special characteristics of the Chinese revolution is to be found in the history of our Party. Traversing a glorious, unique and historical path and coming to grips with and giving play to the special characteristics of our revolution, our Party has grown, under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought, from a small group of Marxists<sup>193</sup> formed after the May 4th Movement of 1919 to its position today leading strong revolutionary base areas.

The Chinese Communist Party has developed on the basis of the workers' movement and the Chinese people's struggle for emancipation, and it has developed in the course of the revolutionary struggle against national oppression by foreign imperialism and against oppression of the masses by domestic feudalism. It has grown in the course of these

revolutionary struggles against all the enemies of the Chinese nation and people. The history of our Party is the history of the Chinese working class uniting with and leading the people in revolutionary struggle against foreign imperialism, which oppressed the whole nation, against domestic feudalism, which oppressed the people, and against the lackeys and hidden agents of both.

The Chinese Communist Party has developed and tempered itself in three great revolutionary wars — the Northern Expedition, the Agrarian Revolutionary War and the War of Resistance Against Japan. In other words, it has developed and tempered itself in the course of protracted armed struggle. For many years the history of our Party has been a history of these three revolutionary wars.

The Chinese Communist Party has matured during the course of promoting its unity with the broad masses of peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie. It has also matured through uniting with the bourgeoisie against common foes, though it has had to conduct many-sided struggles against the compromising, reactionary character of the bourgeoisie. The history of our Party is, therefore, a history of close unity with the broad masses of peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie and of both unity and struggle vis-à-vis the bourgeoisie.

The Chinese Communist Party has grown up in the course of building great revolutionary base areas, particularly those in the countryside, and in the course of carrying out new-democratic political, military, economic and cultural reforms and construction in these base areas. For many years the history of our Party has been a history of building base areas for the contemporary Chinese revolution, particularly those in the countryside, and of successfully experimenting with different kinds of new-democratic reforms and construction in these areas, which helped to educate our Party and the people throughout the country.

Lastly, the Chinese Communist Party, as represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, has developed and consolidated itself through its struggles against the opportunists who ignored or misunderstood the special characteristics of the Chinese revolution, against dogmatism and empiricism, against Chen Duxiuism and the Li Lisan line and against the subsequent “Left” line and capitulationism. It has done so by integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism ever more closely with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The history of our Party is a history of opposing and crushing opportunism of all descrip-

tions and of the continuous integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution.

All this constitutes the concrete historical road our Party has traversed.

This historical road provides the best explanation of the character and motive forces of the present Chinese revolution, its uneven development and, consequently, its protracted nature, the complexity of the revolutionary struggle and the importance of armed struggle and of the rural revolutionary base areas. It shows that the development of the Chinese revolution has its own special features. It points to the decisive role which the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the proletariat is playing in this revolution.

The historical road our Party has traversed is one which Comrade Mao Zedong, the leader of our Party, defined long ago on the basis of the characteristics of the Chinese revolution. The road he has shown us reflects most correctly and fully the course of our Party's history and the course of the contemporary revolution of the Chinese nation and people. At certain historical periods he was not in a position to determine the action of the entire Party through formal, organization channels, and it is precisely these historical periods that best demonstrate that the true fate of our Party and the correct revolutionary orientation of the Chinese proletariat and people lay with, and continued to be developed by, Comrade Mao Zedong. He alone is the people's representative and nucleus.

Our Party, guided by Mao Zedong Thought, has developed and tempered itself in the long course of the Chinese revolution, which has special characteristics. In the years to come it will continue to do so in the course of fighting for its goal under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought and in the course of acquiring a more profound understanding of and making better use of its special characteristics. For this reason, in the General Programme of the Party Constitution, special emphasis is laid on these characteristics, which will exist until a complete and nationwide victory is won in China's new-democratic revolution. Therefore, every Party member must constantly bear them in mind and must not for a moment forget them in order to avoid or minimize mistakes in his work. Otherwise, many of the mistakes in the past may be repeated. For instance, failure to understand the new-democratic character of the current Chinese revolution has resulted in Right or "Left" deviations in policy. Failure to understand the extreme unevenness of the Chinese revolution and the resultant complexity of



the revolutionary struggles has given rise to over-centralization, unnecessary regimentation, over-simplification, generalization and lack of flexibility in our work. Failure to understand the protracted nature of the Chinese revolution and the lack of adequate mental preparation for the long-drawn-out and difficult struggles have given rise to various forms of impetuosity or pessimism in difficult times. Failure to understand the importance of armed struggle in the Chinese revolution has led to the mistake of underestimating army work and neglecting the acquisition of military knowledge. Failure to appreciate the importance of rural revolutionary base areas has resulted in the mistake of imposing the urban point of view in rural circumstances and neglecting rural work. Likewise, failure to appreciate the importance of urban work at certain periods has led to the mistake of neglecting it and clinging to rural conservatism. Failure to realize the necessity of carrying on long-term and patient work among all sections of the people has led to putschism, adventurism and commandism, and so on and so forth. For our comrades to understand these characteristics merely in a general sense is quite inadequate. They must take them into account in all their work and in dealing with every specific issue if they are to avoid or minimize mistakes. These characteristics should therefore be, at least for the present stage, taken as part of our Party's fundamental programme.

#### 4. CONCERNING THE MASS LINE OF THE PARTY

Another feature of the present revised Constitution is that particular stress has been laid on the Party's mass line in the General Programme and in the detailed provisions of the Party Constitution, because the mass line is the fundamental political and organizational line of our Party. This means that all our Party organizations and Party work must be closely linked with the masses.

Comrade Mao Zedong has repeatedly pointed out to us that the mass line should be applied in all our work. In his report to this Congress, he again urged us in most sincere terms to carry out our work in accordance with the mass line. He said that one hallmark distinguishing our Party from all other political parties was that we have very close ties with the broadest masses of the people. He asked us "to serve the people whole-heartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, to proceed in all cases from the interests

of the people and not from the interests of individuals or groups”.<sup>194</sup> He wanted our comrades to understand that “the supreme test of the words and deeds of a Communist is whether they conform with the highest interests and enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the people”.<sup>195</sup> He further told us that we would be invincible “as long as we rely on the people, believe firmly in the inexhaustible creative power of the masses and hence trust and identify ourselves with them.”<sup>196</sup> He pointed out that “commandism is wrong in any type of work, because in overstepping the level of political consciousness of the masses and violating the principle of voluntary mass action it reflects the disease of impetuosity”. And he added, “Tailism in any type of work is also wrong, because in falling below the level of political consciousness of the masses and violating the principle of leading the masses forward it reflects the disease of dilatoriness.”<sup>197</sup> All these teachings of Comrade Mao Zedong are extremely important, and every Party member should carefully study and grasp them and earnestly carry them out.

This mass line of ours is possible only in a proletarian party. It is a class line — the mass line of the proletariat. Our view of the masses and our relationship with them are diametrically opposed to those of the exploiting classes.

We fully understand the decisive role which the vanguard of the masses can play throughout the people’s struggle for emancipation. The complete emancipation of the people is possible only when they have a vanguard of their own, such as our Party. Otherwise, they would be without revolutionary leadership, and the people’s revolution would consequently meet with failure. Only under the firm and correct leadership of our Party and only by carrying on the struggle along the political orientation given by our Party can the Chinese people achieve their complete emancipation.

This is one aspect of the question.

The other aspect is that the vanguard of the masses must establish proper and close relations with the masses. It must stand for the people’s interests in all fields, above all in the political field, and it must adopt a correct attitude towards the people and lead them by correct methods before it can forge close links with them. Otherwise, it is fully possible for the vanguard to become divorced from the people. In that case, it will no longer be the vanguard of the people, and it will not only fail to perform its task of emancipating the people, but also will face the danger of outright destruction by the enemy.

This means that the vanguard of the masses must follow a thorough-going and clear-cut mass line in all its work.

Under what conditions will the vanguard become divorced from the masses?

First of all, the vanguard will divorce itself from the masses when it fails to perform its obligations as the vanguard of the people, when it fails to represent at all times and in all circumstances the maximum interests of the broadest possible sections of the people, when it fails to define correct tasks, policies and methods of work at the right time and when it fails to stick to the truth and correct its mistakes in good time. In other words, tailism and negligence will lead to our estrangement from the masses.

In our Party, there has not been any open advocacy of spontaneity nor has any tailist "theory" been put forward advocating following at the heels of the spontaneous mass movement or dispensing with the leadership of the proletarian party. But Chen Duxiuism in the latter period of the 1924-27 Revolution and capitulationism in the early period of the War of Resistance Against Japan were both a kind of tailism since their protagonists lagged far behind the mass revolutionary movement of the time. They were incapable of setting forth correct tasks, policies or methods of work to represent the people or inspire them to go forward. Thus they alienated themselves from the people and brought damage or defeat to the revolution. In addition, some comrades have committed errors of a tailist nature in various fields of our work. For instance, in their practical work some regarded the Party as an appendage to the army, to the leading Party groups in the government, or to the trade unions, instead of as the highest form of class organization. Others were lackadaisical, complacent, or so bogged down that they just let things drift along and had no desire at all to make improvements. They failed to set forth, based on the prevailing local conditions, correct tasks, policies and methods of work with which to lead the people forward, thereby violating the principle of leading the masses step by step. They yielded to the backward ideas of the masses and reduced themselves to the level of ordinary workers, peasants or even backward elements, thus abandoning their vanguard role. At times they gave way to the erroneous ideas of the masses, followed at the tail of spontaneous mass movements and, as a result, failed to give the masses correct and far-sighted leadership. This kind of tendency necessarily isolates us from the broad masses; they do not need such people to lead them.

Secondly, the vanguard divorces itself from the masses when it fails to adopt a correct attitude and correct methods to lead them, when it fails to help them recognize in their own experience the correctness of the Party's slogans and act accordingly, when the slogans it adopts are too radical and the policies ultra-Left, or when the forms of struggle and organization it advocated are impossible to carry out at the time or unacceptable to the masses. In other words, commandism, adventurism and closed-doorism will lead to isolation from the masses.

Some comrades made the mistake of engaging in commandism, adventurism and closed-doorism. Some of them, for instance, were not responsible to the masses in their work. They did not believe that the masses must emancipate themselves through their own efforts. Instead, they stood above and ordered the masses about in order to fight in their stead and to bestow emancipation on them. Such comrades were impetuous so that while they appeared active, in fact they did not know how to transform the Party's slogans and tasks into those of the people. Nor did they know how to enlighten the masses or patiently await their awakening, nor did they know how to take steps to help the masses to become revolutionary of their own accord. Rather, they tried to compel the masses to accept the Party's slogans and tasks simply by issuing arbitrary orders and forcing the masses into action. Thus they violated the principle of volition on the part of the masses. And, especially when the masses harboured misgivings about their radical slogans and ultra-Left policies and felt dissatisfied, they pushed all the harder for their implementation by issuing orders, by coercion or even by the threat of punishment. An extreme example of this is the way some of them attempted to frighten the people and cadres into getting the work done by finding mistakes, shortcomings and bad examples wherever they went and by criticizing, condemning and punishing those involved. They did not try to find the strong points or to hold up the good examples in order to study, develop and systematize them. They did not try to inspire the Party members and the people to go forward and help overcome the mistakes and shortcomings by commending heroes and model workers or disseminating useful experience. Lashing out in all directions, they tried to get things done simply by issuing orders. Instead of learning from the masses and benefiting from the people's new ideas and suggestions, they tried to force everyone to do things their way. This tendency led to serious isolation from the masses and aroused resent-



ment against not only the individual comrades concerned but against the Party as well.

In addition to the two tendencies mentioned above, bureaucratism and warlordism have been found among some of our comrades. These tendencies also lead to serious isolation from the masses.

The tendency to bureaucratism is manifested in the fact that some comrades lack the spirit to serve the people and to be responsible to the people and the Party. Some typical examples are the way they loaf about all day long, never using their brains; issue orders without conducting investigation and study or learning from the masses; reject criticism from the masses, ignore their rights, or even demand that the people serve them; seek their own benefit at the expense of the interests of the people, not scrupling to waste public money and manpower; and become corrupt and degenerate and lord it over the people.

The tendency to warlordism is manifested in the fact that some comrades, failing to understand that our army — as the armed force of the people — is a most important instrument of the people for defeating their enemies and winning liberation, look on the army as a special force standing beyond or above the people, or even as the means of building up their personal influence or position. Consequently, they resort to bureaucratism and commandism in the people's army. These are most conspicuously manifested in the relations between officers and men and between superiors and subordinates. The troops and subordinates are commanded merely through the issuing of orders and the threat of punishment, not through relying on their initiative and consciousness. Secondly, these tendencies are manifested in the relations between the army and the people. In relations with the people some comrades do not try to enforce strict discipline among their subordinates and, instead of cherishing the people, coerce, beat and swear at them. As a result, the troops become alienated from the people. Thirdly, these tendencies are manifested in the purely military approach to the relationship between the revolutionary army and the revolutionary government; that is, it places the army above the government and puts the government under army control as the warlords used to do. Obviously, this tendency is incompatible with the character of a people's army.

These erroneous tendencies in our Party, which alienate us from the masses, arise from the low educational level of the working people and the influence of the exploiting classes of the old society. The petty-bourgeois elements and the other elements in our Party who

have long been disengaged from production have generally been susceptible to such influences and tend to divorce themselves from the masses. These tendencies are deep-rooted in society, and we have felt it necessary to mention them in the General Programme of our Party Constitution. The more the revolution develops and the more onerous our work becomes, the more likely it is that such tendencies among us will grow. We must, therefore, wage a constant struggle against them in order to maintain and cement our ties with the broad masses of the people. AS Comrade Mao Zedong puts it, we must constantly “sweep the floor and wash our faces” so as to prevent political dust and germs from clouding the minds of our comrades and decaying the body of our Party.

The masses must have their own staunch vanguard which, for its part, must maintain close ties with the widest possible sections of the masses. Only thus will the emancipation of the people be possible. Our Party, the vanguard of the Chinese people, must constantly try to eradicate tendencies such as those described above which estrange it from the masses, so that we can follow a line of close unity with them. This is the mass line of our Party — the mass line set forth by Comrade Mao Zedong. It is a line designed to enable our Party to establish correct relationship with the people and to adopt a correct attitude and correct methods for leading them. This line will enable our Party’s leading organs and individual leaders to establish a correct relationship with all their followers.

According to Comrade Mao Zedong, our Party’s policies and methods of work must be “from the masses and to the masses”. That is to say, the organizational as well as the political line of our Party should stem genuinely from the masses and be genuinely relayed back to them. Our Party’s correct political line cannot be separated from its correct organizational line. Although partial, temporary disharmony may occur between these two, it is impossible to imagine a correct political line existing alongside an incorrect organizational line or vice versa. The one cannot be isolated from the other. By a correct organizational line we mean the Party’s mass line, which calls for closely linking the Party’s leading cadres with the rank and file inside and outside the Party, for the principle of “from the masses and to the masses” and for supplementing the general call with specific guidance through leadership.

For the implementation of the mass line of our Party and of Comrade Mao Zedong, the General Programme and provisions of

the Party Constitution has laid emphasis on certain viewpoints concerning the masses. Those viewpoints, which every Party member must firmly bear in mind, are as follows:

The first is the viewpoint of doing everything in the interests of the people and of serving them whole-heartedly. From the outset, our Party was founded to serve the people. All the sacrifices, efforts and struggles of our Party members have been made for no other purpose than the welfare and emancipation of the people. Here lies our greatest glory as Communists, the thing we are most proud of. Therefore any viewpoint that stands for personal interests or the interests of small groups at the expense of those of the people is wrong. So long as they are devoted to their duty and have some achievements to their credit, all our Party members and all those who have joined our ranks are serving the people and putting themselves at their disposal no matter whether they are aware of it or not, or whether they occupy important, leading positions or are ordinary fighters, cooks, or grooms. They are all directly or indirectly serving the people at their different posts. Therefore, they are all equal and honourable. We must enhance the political consciousness of all our Party members and personnel so that they may serve the people and hold themselves responsible to the people.

The second is the viewpoint of holding oneself fully responsible to the people. In serving the people, we must hold ourselves responsible to them so that they will benefit by our effort and win emancipation. We must try our best to avoid mistakes or reduce them to a minimum in order not to harm the people or cause them losses. To benefit the people, the tasks, policies and methods of work we adopt must all be correct. If they are not correct, they will adversely affect the people's interests. Should that happen, we must make earnest self-criticism and ensure prompt rectification. This means that we must know how to serve the people and that we must serve them well and not otherwise. Under no circumstances should we adopt a reckless attitude towards the people; we must adopt a serious and responsible attitude.

It is also necessary to understand that being responsible to the people is identical with being responsible to the leading bodies of the Party. This means that although our Party members will be responsible to a leading organ or an individual leader in carrying out its or his instructions, they will err if they separate responsibility to the Party leadership from that to the people. Only by holding oneself

responsible to the people can one be considered to have done one's best and utmost. It must be understood that the interests of the Party are identical with those of the people. That which benefits the people, benefits the Party, and every Party member must work for all such things with might and main. Likewise, whatever harms the people harms the Party and must be opposed or avoided by every Party member. The interests of the people are the interests of the Party. Apart from the interests of the people, the Party has no special interests of its own. The ultimate interests of the greatest number of people is the highest criterion of truth and, consequently, the highest criterion of all the activities of our Party members. A Party member who is responsible to the people is responsible to the Party, and he who is not responsible to the people is not responsible to the Party. It must be understood that responsibility to the Party and responsibility to the people are identical. They should be integrated and must not be separated or set against each other. When shortcomings or mistakes are found in the directives of leading organs or individual leaders with regard to tasks, policies or methods of work, suggestions for their correction should be made with a sense of responsibility to the people. We must not be indifferent about what is right and what is wrong; to be so means acting irresponsibly both to the people and to the Party. The basic interests of the Chinese people demand that Party discipline be observed and Party unity maintained. Party discipline and unity must not be undermined on the pretext of being responsible to the people. Nevertheless, any shortcoming or mistake made by a leading body or an individual leader must be corrected. It is the duty as well as the right of every Party member to help in this respect, for any such shortcomings or mistakes are harmful to the people and so also to the Party. Sincere criticism of one's own mistakes and those of the leadership and observance of Party discipline constitute the spirit of responsibility to the people.

The third is the viewpoint of believing in the self-emancipation of the people. Comrade Mao Zedong has pointed out more than once that the people are truly great, that their creative power is inexhaustible, that we are invincible only when we rely on them, that the people alone are the true makers of history and that genuine history is the history of the people. Marx pointed out long ago that the toilers will emancipate themselves,<sup>142</sup> and *The Internationale* states that their salvation depends not upon emperors, gods, or heroes but upon themselves. This means that only through their own struggles and



efforts can the people win their emancipation, maintain it and consolidate it. It cannot be bestowed or granted, nor can it be fought for or secured by anybody on their behalf. Hence, any attitude of gratuitously bestowing emancipation on the masses or of carrying out their fight for them is wrong.

The people make their own history. Their emancipation must be based on their own consciousness and willingness. They select their own vanguard, and under its leadership they get themselves organized and fight for their own emancipation. Only thus can they make conscious efforts to secure, retain and consolidate the fruits of their struggles. The enemies of the people can be overthrown only by the people themselves. It cannot be done in any other way. Without their own genuine consciousness and mobilization, the efforts of their vanguard alone will not suffice for the people to win emancipation, to make progress or to accomplish anything. Even tasks which concern the immediate interests of the people such as the reduction of rent and interest,<sup>139</sup> or the formation of labour-exchange teams and co-operatives will result in pseudo-reduction or formal, empty things, unless, instead of being bestowed on them or organized for them by other people, these tasks are taken up voluntarily and consciously by the masses themselves.

The cause of the Communists is the cause of the people. No matter how correct our programme and policies may be, they cannot be put into effect without the direct support and sustained struggle of the people. With us, therefore, unless everything is dependent on and determined by the people's political consciousness and willingness to act, we can accomplish nothing and all our efforts will be to no avail. With our reliance upon their political consciousness and willingness to act, with their genuine awakening and mobilization and with the Party's correct leadership, we will assuredly win final victory in all aspects of the great cause of our Party. Hence, when the masses are not fully awakened, the duty of Communists, the vanguard of the people, in carrying out any kind of work is to develop their consciousness by every effective and suitable means. This is the first step in our work and it must be done well however difficult or time-consuming it may be. Only when the first step has been taken can we start on the second step. In other words, when the masses have reached the necessary level of consciousness, it is our duty to guide them in their actions — to guide them to organize and to fight. When this has been accomplished, we may, in the course of their actions, try

to enhance their consciousness a step further. This is how we lead the masses step by step to fight for their basic slogans as put forward by our Party. We Communists and the advanced elements and outstanding figures among the masses can do no more than this for the people's cause. And nothing more than this can be expected. Whoever attempts to go beyond this point is liable to commit all kinds of errors, including individualistic heroism, commandism, monopolization of affairs and the favour-bestowing viewpoint.

In the struggle for the emancipation of the people, a Communist should act and, indeed, can only act as a leader or guide to them. He should not and cannot possibly act as a "hero" taking for himself the role of the people in conquering the world. In their revolutionary struggle the people are in dire need of far-sighted and staunch leaders and guides, and such persons are in fact a prerequisite for the people's success. But the people do not need "heroes" to conquer the world for them, because such "heroes", isolated as they are from the masses, can achieve nothing for the cause of emancipating the people.

The fourth is the viewpoint of learning from the people. In order to serve the people well, to kindle their consciousness and to guide their actions, we Communists must first of all possess certain qualifications such as foresight and the ability to anticipate various problems. This means that we must be harbingers, for only such people are capable of helping enlighten others. In addition to our whole-hearted devotion to the cause of the people's emancipation, our inexhaustible enthusiasm and our spirit of sacrifice, we must acquire adequate knowledge, experience and vigilance before we can successfully raise the people's consciousness, guide their actions and serve them well. Study is indispensable if we are to acquire knowledge, experience and foresight. We can enrich our knowledge by studying Marxist-Leninist theories, our own history and the lessons of the people's struggles in foreign lands. We can also expand our knowledge by learning from our enemies. Most importantly, however, we must learn from the masses, because their knowledge and experience are the most abundant and practical and their creative power is the greatest. This is why Comrade Mao Zedong has time and again asked us to learn from the masses before we attempt to educate them. Only when our comrades have learned from the masses with an open mind and have crystallized the knowledge and experience of the people into a system of knowledge of a higher order, will they be able to take specific steps to develop the consciousness of the people and give

guidance to their activities. If, instead of learning from the masses, we think ourselves clever and try to develop the consciousness of the masses and guide them by devising a set of schemes out of our own imagination or mechanically introducing a set of schemes based on historical or foreign experiences, the attempt will certainly prove futile. In order to keep on learning from the masses, we must not stand apart from them for a single moment. If we isolate ourselves from them, our knowledge will be extremely limited and we will certainly not be clever, well-informed, capable or competent enough to give them leadership.

“Simple people sometimes prove to be much nearer to the truth than some high institutions.

“Our experience alone, the experience of the leaders, is far from enough for the leadership of our cause. In order to lead properly the experience of the leaders must be supplemented by the experience of the Party membership, the experience of the working class, the experience of the toilers, the experience of the so-called ‘little people.’

“It is possible to do that only when the leaders are most closely connected with the masses, when they are connected with the Party membership, with the working class, with the peasantry, with the working intelligentsia.

“Connection with the masses, strengthening this connection, readiness to heed the voice of the masses — herein lies the strength and invincibility of Bolshevik leadership.”<sup>198</sup>

Such is Stalin’s advice to the Communists of the Soviet Union. It is a universal truth.

The task of the leaders and the leading bodies is to exercise correct leadership, size up the situation correctly, grasp its essence, set forth the tasks, make decisions, mobilize and organize the masses to implement these decisions and supervise the work of implementation. To do this well, it is essential to learn from the masses and to follow the line of “from the masses and to the masses”; otherwise no leadership can be satisfactorily exercised.

This is what the viewpoint of learning from the masses means.

The viewpoints of doing everything in the interests of the people, of holding oneself fully responsible to them, of believing in their self-emancipation and of learning from them constitute our mass viewpoints, which are the viewpoints of the vanguard of the people. Only with such viewpoints, the firm and unequivocal mass viewpoints, can

our comrades follow a clear-cut mass line in their work and exercise correct leadership.

Some comrades consider mass work to be, to the exclusion of other kinds, only the work of such mass organizations as trade unions or peasant associations. This is wrong. All Party activities and all activities under Party leadership are mass activities and, therefore, should be carried out without exception, through the masses, from a mass viewpoint and on the basis of the mass line. The mass line and mass viewpoints cannot be dispensed with in any work.

Because our Party itself is a part of the people and, moreover, is dedicated to serving the people, work within our Party is also a kind of mass work and should follow the mass line.

Because the army is also a part of the people and is likewise dedicated to serving the people, our work in the army is also a kind of mass work and should follow the mass line.

Of course, different kinds of work call for different forms of procedure and these should not be confused with one another. For instance, forms of work in trade unions and peasant associations should be distinguished from those within the Party and the army. Nevertheless, all of these are kinds of mass work.

Naturally, the masses of the people are not all alike and our work is therefore varied and intricate. In his respective field, each comrade must directly serve a specific section of the people, such as the workers of a factory, the peasants in a village, the staff members of an office, the soldiers of an army unit, or just a few individuals. All the various kinds of work add up to the common objective of serving the Chinese people as a whole. Our comrades, therefore, must correctly grasp the relationship between the part and the whole, realizing that being directly engaged in limited activities and serving a section of the people, they are indirectly promoting and fostering the revolutionary work as a whole and serving the entire people. They must take both the part and the whole into consideration. It is wrong to keep an eye only on the part to the neglect of the whole or vice versa. The part must be integrated with the whole. When the partial, temporary interests of the people conflict with their total, long-range interests, the former must be subordinated to the latter. This means that less significant issues must be subordinated to greater issues, and minor principles to major ones. Though this is a very complicated question, our comrades will be able to follow a thoroughgoing mass



line, provided they know how to use their brains to correctly distinguish and co-ordinate the limited with the basic interests of the people under all circumstances. Otherwise, they may wittingly or unwittingly stand for the temporary interests of a section of the people in opposition to the long-range interests of the majority, thereby isolating themselves from the masses.

The people are generally composed of relatively active elements, intermediate elements and backward elements. In the initial stage of an undertaking the active elements are usually in the minority, while the intermediate and backward elements make up the majority. Our mass line demands consideration for the majority, that is, the intermediate and backward elements; otherwise the advanced section will become isolated and nothing can then be accomplished. The slogans for action and the forms of struggle and organization that we propose to the masses must be acceptable to the intermediate and backward elements. To foster the people's own consciousness and initiative means chiefly fostering the consciousness and initiative of these elements. A mass movement is possible only when these people are awakened and inspired to action. We must pay particular attention to educating, uniting and organizing the active elements so that they may become the nucleus of leadership among the masses. However, it is definitely not our intention to organize the active elements merely for their own sake, and under no circumstances must they become isolated from the intermediate and backward masses. Our aim is to draw over the intermediate and backward elements and encourage them to go into action with the help of the active elements. In other words, it is to rally the masses on a broadest possible scale. When the intermediate and backward masses are not yet awakened, we should know how to enlighten them and to patiently wait for their awakening. If, unwilling to wait and leading just a small number of active elements, we recklessly rush forward, we shall isolate ourselves and end in failure.

Looking at the nation as a whole we see that the peasantry constitutes 80 per cent of China's population, and so consideration of the majority of the people chiefly means considering the peasantry. Our mass viewpoint is closely connected with our rural viewpoint. Under the present conditions, the Chinese working class would certainly not be able to fulfil its own tasks if it ignored China's peasantry or if it did not focus on emancipation in the countryside. In view of the

low cultural level of the Chinese peasants and other sections of the people (with the exception of the intelligentsia), it is all the more necessary for us to combine our general call with specific guidance in our work and to set things in motion by making a breakthrough at one point. The general call alone will definitely not succeed in guiding the masses who have a low cultural level. This is due to the fact that the masses, especially the peasantry, accept things only on the strength of their own personal experience instead of on the strength of our general propaganda and slogans. Therefore, in our work we should try to break through at a single point in order to set up a model, which the masses can see for themselves. Only through examples can we help the masses, particularly the intermediate and backward elements, to understand things, become confident and courageous and respond to the call of the Party in the form of a vigorous mass movement. Our combat heroes, labour heroes and model workers have played an outstanding role in various places and have become the best propagandists and organizers among the masses because, through such familiar personalities, examples and experience, the masses have come to understand things and thus enhance their consciousness and self-confidence. Similarly, revolutionary reconstruction in China's revolutionary base areas has played an educational and enlightening role for the whole people and has helped heighten their consciousness and self-confidence. The same approach is at work whenever the leadership breaks through at one point in order to provide concrete experience for the reinforcement of its general call. It is difficult for the masses to understand a call without familiar, concrete experience to substantiate it.

Hence we must give consideration to the whole and to the majority and reject closed-doorism and sectarianism. We must maintain close ties with the masses and reject bureaucratism and warlordism.

We want to lead the masses forward, but without commandism. We want to keep close ties with them, but without tailism. We should raise the consciousness of the masses and lead them forward from where they are now. In our work we must adhere to the highest principles while at the same time maintaining the closest possible ties with the masses. Such is our mass line. And while it is, of course, no easy job to carry it out, only by doing so can we become good Marxists, worthy of the name Communist.

So much for the explanation of the General Programme.

## V. DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM WITHIN THE PARTY

Our Party is not simply the aggregate of its individual members. It is a unified, organic body established according to a definite principle. It is a composite of its leaders and rank and file. It is a unified body consisting of a headquarters (the Central Committee), Party organizations at all levels and the broad body of the membership, and it has been established in accordance with a definite principle, that is, democratic centralism in the Party.

Three individual Party members in a factory or village do not constitute a Party organization until they are organized according to the principle of democratic centralism. Under normal conditions, one of the three should be the leader of the group and the other two its members. In this way, in all activities there will be a leader and two followers and only when this happens does such a group become the kind of Party organization which generates new strength. The strength of the proletariat lies in organization.

As laid down in the Party Constitution, democratic centralism means centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized guidance. It is both democratic and centralized. It embodies the relationship between the leader and the led, between higher and lower Party organizations, between individual Party members and the Party as a whole and among the Party's Central Committee, Party organizations at all levels and rank-and-file Party members.

What does it mean when we say that Party centralism is centralism based on democracy? It means that the leading bodies of the Party are elected by the membership on a democratic basis and enjoy their confidence. It means that the resolutions and policies of the Party are the crystallization of the ideas of the rank and file as expressed on a democratic basis, that they are decided on by the rank and file or its representatives and that they are then adhered to and carried out by the leadership in conjunction with the rank and file. The authority of leading bodies of the Party is conferred by the Party membership. Therefore, these bodies are empowered to exercise centralized leadership in the management of all Party affairs on behalf of the membership and to command obedience from the organizations at lower levels and from Party members. Order within the Party is built on the principle that the individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority to the majority, the lower level to the higher level and all

the constituent organizations to the Central Committee. In other words, the Party's centralism is based on, and not separated from, democracy. It is not absolutism.

Why do we say that the Party's democracy is democracy under centralized guidance? This means that every Party meeting is convened by a leading body and carried through under proper leadership. The adoption of every resolution or ruling is preceded by full preparation and careful deliberation. Every election is based on a carefully prepared list of candidates. The Party as a whole has a unified Party Constitution and unified discipline for its membership to observe, and there is a unified leading body which the entire membership must obey. In other words, inner-Party democracy is not democracy devoid of leadership, nor is it ultra-democracy, nor is it anarchy in the Party.

Democratic centralism is a system which unites the Party's backbone leaders with the rank and file of the Party membership. It is a system through which to crystallize the ideas of the rank and file and to have the crystallized ideas carried out by them. It is the expression of the mass line within the Party.

Some comrades do not understand that centralism in the Party is based on democracy. Consequently, they separate their leadership from inner-Party democracy and from the rank and file of the Party membership and call this "centralism". They think that their authority as leaders need not be conferred by the Party membership but can be arrogated by themselves. They think that they need not gain leading positions through election, nor need they enjoy the confidence of the Party membership and the lower Party organizations, but that they can simply proclaim themselves leaders. They think that they can arbitrarily adopt guidelines and resolutions without going through the process of pooling the ideas of the rank and file. Instead of identifying themselves with the rank and file of the Party membership, they stand above it. Instead of acting within the organization of the Party and obeying and submitting to its control, they command and control the Party and lord it over the Party organizations. With respect to their superiors, they assert independence on the pretext of preserving inner-Party democracy, while with respect to their subordinates and Party members, they suppress their democratic rights on the pretext of exercising inner-Party centralism. In fact, they neither practise democracy in dealings with their subordinates nor accept centralism in relations with their superiors. While others are obliged to adhere to resolutions adopted by the majority and observe Party discipline,



they, as leaders, feel entitled to do otherwise. They observe none of such basic organizational principles as the subordination of individual to the organization, of the minority to the majority and of the lower level to the higher level. Party rules and resolutions, in their opinion, are written for rank-and-file Party members but not for leaders. This is an anti-democratic, autocratic tendency in the Party and a reflection of the ideology characteristic of a privileged social class. It has nothing in common with our Party's centralism. It is a deviation which does, however, exist in our Party and ought to be done away with completely.

There are other comrades who, failing to understand that democracy in the Party is democracy under centralized guidance, divorce their actions from the Party's centralized leadership and from the Party as a whole. They act as they like, guided solely by their own whims and views, and they disregard the overall situation and the long-range interests of the Party as a whole. They neither strictly abide by Party discipline nor carry out the decisions of the Party's leading bodies. They make all kinds of apolitical, unprincipled remarks and spread their views in disregard of organizational principles. They exaggerate things in order to sow dissension within the Party, and they indulge in endless empty talk or wrangling even during perilous emergencies. They go so far as to take advantage of the temporary confusion of some Party members who are caught unprepared, to press for votes for their own proposals in order to have their own designs carried out in the name of "the majority". These are manifestations of ultra-democracy which have nothing in common with our Party democracy. The danger of ultra-democracy, as Comrade Mao Zedong has pointed out, "lies in the fact that it damages or even completely wrecks the Party organization and weakens or even completely undermines the Party's fighting capacity."<sup>199</sup> It stems from "the petty bourgeoisie's individualistic aversion to discipline. When this characteristic is brought into the Party, it develops into ultra-democratic ideas politically and organizationally. These ideas are utterly incompatible with the fighting tasks of the proletariat."<sup>200</sup>

Though the tendencies towards anti-democratic absolutism and ultra-democracy found in the Party are two extremes of inner-Party life, the latter often comes into being as a kind of penalty for the former. Thus wherever there is a serious tendency to absolutism, ultra-democracy is bound to arise. Both are erroneous tendencies det-

rimental to and destructive of genuine Party unity and solidarity. The whole Party must maintain stern vigilance against their occurrence.

We must now fully extend democracy within the Party and bring about a high degree of inner-Party democracy. At the same time, we must effect a high degree of centralism in Party leadership on the basis of this highly developed democracy.

In his report to the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Party,<sup>167</sup> Comrade Mao Zedong said:

Ours is a country in which small-scale production and the patriarchal system prevail, and taking the country as a whole there is as yet no democratic life; consequently, this state of affairs is reflected in our Party by insufficient democracy in Party life. This phenomenon hinders the entire Party from exercising its initiative to the full. Similarly, it has led to insufficient democracy in the united front and in the mass movements.<sup>201</sup>

Things are somewhat different now. Considerable progress has been made both in the democratic movement in China's Liberated Areas and in inner-Party democracy, especially through the rectification movement and the review of our work. The free and penetrating discussion of Party history and the Party line by cadres prior to the present Seventh National Congress represents a vigorous flourishing of inner-Party democracy and has provided adequate preparations for the Congress. However, democracy in the Party as a whole and in the local Party organizations is still inadequate and needs to be further fostered. This is why many provisions for the extension of inner-Party democracy are included in the Party Constitution.

Our Party is still waging a war and a protracted war at that. Until there are changes in our technical conditions and in the situation of our enemy, this war remains basically a kind of guerrilla war. Therefore, meetings and elections must be held where the guerrilla war permits. There should be no unwarranted curtailment of inner-Party democracy on the pretext of the war.

In the Liberated Areas, Party congresses at all levels and general membership meetings must be called, wherever possible, according to the provisions of the Constitution in order to elect the various levels of the Party's leading bodies.

The Party Constitution provides that, in the election of a leading body of the Party, in addition to the presidium of the Congress having the right to submit a list of candidates, every delegation and every

delegate is insured of the right to nominate candidates and every elector, of the right to criticize any candidates or propose alternative ones. The candidate list must be fully discussed, and the list must serve as the basis of elections conducted either by secret ballot or by open vote.

The Party Constitution provides that local Party congresses shall be convened once every two years. This means that new leading bodies of the local Party organizations must be elected once every two years. Between congresses, however, the convocation of conferences of representatives to deliberate and decide on immediate tasks is both necessary and feasible. In the past we held cadres' meetings of various sizes to review and decide on our work; in the future we should hold congresses and conferences of representatives. Elections should be conducted no more than once every two years, because too many elections are unnecessary and handicap our work. Therefore, in addition to Party congresses, conferences of representatives are needed to review and plan our work. Such conferences may be held once or twice a year according to local needs, with representatives selected by the lower Party committees. Such a conference has the power to remove or replace members of Party committees or to add further members through by-elections, but its resolutions and the removal, replacement or addition of Party committee members must be approved by the Party committee in question. The reason for this is that the conference is subordinate to the Party committee, although its power is greater than that of the cadres' meetings of the past.

Party congresses and conferences at the provincial or border regional,<sup>63</sup> regional, county or district levels may be held in rotation. For instance this year, congresses at the provincial or border regional and county levels may be held at the same time as conferences at the regional and district levels are held. This should then be reversed next year.

The Party committees at various levels should be broadened to include people in charge of various fields of work as well as cadres who maintain close ties with the masses. According to the Constitution, a standing committee should be formed in each Party committee to take charge of the day-to-day work. Similarly, the standing committee should include leading cadres in various fields of work so that it may function as a regular leading nucleus for each of the different kinds of work in the locality. A Party committee may, when necessary, avail itself of one or two assistant secretaries to help the secre-

tary and to ensure that nothing is neglected. The committee is not designed to just do inner-Party organizational work but should serve as the body which directs all the activities in its locality. (Inner-Party organizational work is only part of its activities and should be specially assigned to its organizational department.) Therefore, decisions and plans of a general character should be made only after being discussed at committee meetings. And after decisions are reached, individuals should be assigned to put them into effect.

The effort to encourage criticism and self-criticism among Party members and cadres is a crucial factor in extending inner-Party democracy. Comrade Mao Zedong stresses the importance of self-criticism in his report by pointing out that the conscientious practice of self-criticism is a hallmark distinguishing our Party from other political parties. We must develop a positive sense of responsibility among our Party members and cadres with regard to our Party's policies and work, and we must encourage them to use their brains to raise questions boldly and express their views to the point. To this end, those in charge of the leading bodies at all levels must be the first to make detailed self-criticism of the shortcomings and mistakes found in the work under their leadership. They must set an example to the Party membership and the cadres by being fully prepared in their minds to accept criticism from others, without becoming upset or impatient and without resorting to repressing or punishing their critics. This is the only way to foster inner-Party democracy with success. Without such an approach, Party congresses and conferences, even if regularly convened, may just be lifeless, undemocratic gatherings filled with dull and repetitious speeches and purely routine voting. Many of our comrades, including some in responsible positions, still do not know how to conduct a successful meeting. As a result, many meetings have ended in failure or produced poor results, and sometimes meetings become a heavy burden on the Party membership and the masses. Clearly, holding many meetings does not in itself constitute democracy. They must be well conducted so that they are permeated with democracy, criticism and self-criticism. For guidance in this area we must observe Comrade Mao Zedong's directive in the "Resolution of the Gutian Meeting", which deals with the question of how to kindle Party members' interest in attending meetings.

Experience proves that wherever a leading comrade undertakes sincere and necessary self-criticism in public, the Party members and the people there will develop their own criticism and self-criticism,



have greater initiative and better unity, overcome their shortcomings and improve their work. At the same time, the comrade's prestige is augmented instead of being impaired. This has been borne out by a great deal of experience both in the Party and among the masses. On the other hand, wherever a leading comrade, lacking the spirit of self-criticism, refuses or fears to criticize or reveal his own shortcomings or mistakes and tries to cover them up or, failing to be pleased to learn of his mistakes or to express gratitude for the criticism, becomes flushed with anger, makes acrimonious retorts and looks for chances to take revenge on his critics, in that place the Party members and the people are unable to foster democracy or self-criticism, they lack initiative and unity and they are unable to overcome their shortcomings and improve their work. This, of course, causes the leading comrade to lose prestige. Therefore, the leading personnel of all local Party organizations have a tremendous responsibility for the promotion and broadening of democracy within the Party.

The Party Constitution provides that the leading bodies and personnel of the Party organizations at all levels should regularly report on their work to the Party members and lower Party organizations that have elected them. In every such report they should not only discuss the current situation and the successes but also the shortcomings, weaknesses and mistakes, and they should request comments and criticisms from the electors and lower Party organizations. Experience shows that the responsibility for errors and shortcomings in the work of many lower Party organizations or cadres rest not with them but with the higher leading bodies. Many such errors and shortcomings are due to the failure of the higher leading bodies to assign tasks and clarify policies at the right moment. Even when they have done this, errors are still caused by their failure to be systematic and thorough with the pertinent problems, or by the fact that the very tasks and policies they worked out are erroneous. In such cases, it is not permissible to shift the responsibility onto, or lay the blame on, the lower Party organizations or Party members and cadres, because such action destroys their confidence and crushes their initiative. Of course, lower Party committees, Party members and cadres must, on their part, show a similar spirit of self-criticism towards their own shortcomings and mistakes.

The essential aim of inner-Party democracy is to promote the initiative and activity of the Party members, raise their sense of responsibility towards the cause of the Party and encourage them or their

representatives to voice their views fully, within the framework of the Party Constitution. In this way they can take an active part in the Party's leadership of the people's cause and help strengthen the unity and discipline of the Party. Only through a genuine extension of inner-Party democracy can voluntary Party discipline be strengthened, inner-Party centralism established and consolidated and correct leadership given by the leading bodies. Therefore, the Party Constitution provides that the leading bodies of the Party at all levels shall carry on their work in accordance with the principle of inner-Party democracy.

Giving rein to a high degree of democracy within the Party does not mean weakening inner-Party centralism in any way. On the contrary, we intend to bring about a high degree of centralism on the basis of a high degree of democracy. The two should be combined and not be counterposed. Centralized leadership cannot be attained without the latter which can prevail only under a democratically based and highly centralized leadership. It is wrong to hold that centralized leadership will be weakened by a high degree of democracy. Thus, the Constitution provides that, in performing their functions in accordance with the principle of inner-Party democracy, the leading bodies at all levels should not hamper inner-Party centralism or misconstrue as anarchistic tendencies (such as assertions of "independence" or ultra-democracy) any inner-Party democracy legitimate and beneficial to centralized action.

We must see to it that inner-Party democracy contributes to the cause of the Party, which is the cause of the people, and that it neither weakens the fighting will and unity of the Party nor becomes a tool for saboteurs, anti-Party elements, splitters, time-servers and careerists. Thus the Constitution provides that a thorough review of, and debate on, the policy and line of the whole Party or of a local Party organization may be conducted only under proper guidance and when time permits, that is to say, not in times of emergency. It must be based on the resolutions of the Central Committee of the Party or of the local leading bodies as the case may be. Such a review can be conducted based on a proposal by more than one half of the members of lower Party organizations or on a proposal by a higher organization.

Inner-Party democracy must be broadened, but Party resolutions must be put into effect unconditionally. The subordination of the individual to the organization, of the lower level to the higher level, of the minority to the majority and of all the constituent Party organi-

zations to the Central Committee — this principle laid down in the Constitution must be observed unconditionally.

Some comrades might impose such conditions as refusing to adhere to the resolutions or instructions unless they consider them correct, unless they think that their superior is qualified in terms of ability, rank, length of Party membership or cultural level, or unless the leader has treated them well or belongs to the same “group”. It must be pointed out that such conditions are unjustifiable. A Communist best expresses how keen his sense of discipline is and how strictly he observes discipline precisely when he is in danger or when serious differences arise between him and the Party organization over issues of principle or over relations among comrades. It is only when he unconditionally carries out organizational principles from a minority position that he can be considered a Party member with a keen sense of discipline and principle, who looks at the total situation and knows that local interests should be subordinate to overall interests, less significant issues to greater issues, and that specific differences of principle and differences over relations among comrades should be subordinate to the supreme interest of Party unity and Party discipline.

Under no circumstances should we Communists encourage blind obedience. Since we are now in the midst of guerrilla warfare conducted over vast rural areas and since the conditions differ widely inside and outside of these areas, we should pursue a policy of “decentralized operations under centralized leadership” in our work. Policies which either over-centralize operations or put decentralized operations and centralized leadership on an equal footing are erroneous. By decentralized operations, we do not mean assertions of “independence”; we mean independent actions and the ability to operate independently. Rather than being separated from centralized leadership, decentralized operations must be put under it. Conditions being what they are, it often happens that the decisions and instructions of a leading body are necessarily of a general character and so fail to cover the conditions in all places. Consequently, while applicable to ordinary areas, such decisions and instructions do not always suit certain special areas, and it also often happens that they contain mistakes and are impracticable. In such cases, we should not advocate blind implementation or obedience. Instead, we should encourage intelligent and conscientious action which calls for serious study of the circumstances, the decisions and instructions. When we find that they contain mistakes or are at variance with the local situation, we

should have the courage to bring the matter to the attention of a higher body with a request for their withdrawal or amendment. We should not try to enforce them blindly and obstinately, for this will lead to a waste of money and manpower and isolate us from the masses. By pointing to mistakes, a subordinate is by no means being disobedient to his superior, nor is he asserting "independence", but is conscientiously carrying out decisions and instructions. Such Party members are the best Party members, for they are capable not merely of independent deliberation but also of helping to correct the errors and shortcomings of a higher body. They should be especially commended. There are three possible approaches towards the decisions and instructions of the higher bodies. The first is to carry out those decisions and instructions which appeal to you and to ignore those which do not. This is an assertion of "independence" pure and simple, whatever the pretext, and must not be permitted. The second is to carry them out blindly and mechanically, without taking the trouble to study them or the specific circumstances. This is a blind rather than a careful implementation of the decisions and instructions of a higher body and is consequently also impermissible. And the third is to study both the circumstances and the decisions and instructions, to resolutely carry out what is practicable and to report what is impracticable to the higher body, giving detailed reasons and requesting amendments. This is the way to carry out decisions and instructions intelligently and conscientiously, and it is the only correct approach. Not only do we not oppose, but we should by every means encourage, this initiative and activity on the part of every Party member. While opposing any disregard for discipline or assertion of "independence", the Party encourages the initiative of every member in tackling problems and doing work independently under the guidance of the Party line.

A leading body should allow its lower organizations and the members to make suggestions, raise questions and propose revisions with regard to its decisions and instructions which, when the existence of shortcomings or mistakes is substantiated, should be corrected accordingly. If the lower ranks are wrong, a satisfactory explanation should be given to straighten out their ideas, and no harsh measures should be taken against them. If the higher body insists on the execution of a decision or instruction despite appeals for revision, then it should be carried out, and the lower ranks must not persist in their own stand or resist the decision.



The discipline of the Communist Party is based on voluntary subordination. It should not be turned into something mechanical, which restricts the activity and initiative of the membership. The sense of discipline and the initiative of the membership should go hand in hand.

The Party Constitution provides that a Party organization at every level shall ensure that the publications under its guidance disseminate the decisions and policies of higher organizations and of the central organs. This is necessitated by the Party's unified and national character. Decisions and policies should be disseminated in all places, while conflicting ideas should not be publicized at all. Marxist ideology should be disseminated while ideologies contrary to it should not. This task is not being satisfactorily performed by some of our lower Party organizations. Some papers have failed to give sufficient publicity to the decisions and policies of the Central Committee and have sometimes even carried articles at variance with them. Party organizations at all levels must check up on this and make corrections.

With regard to national issues, the Party Constitution provides that prior to a statement or decision by the Central Committee, no lower Party organizations or their leading personnel shall take the liberty of making public their views or decisions on such issues, although they may hold discussions among themselves and put forward their proposals to the Central Committee. This is necessary to ensure the Party's unified and national character. The Party as a whole can have but one orientation or line to follow, not several. It can take but one attitude or viewpoint on an issue of a national character, not several. Lower Party organizations should not exceed their powers by making their views public in place of, or prior to the Central Committee, on those issues which the Committee should and must decide upon and make public. No leading comrade of the Party, including members of the Central Committee, should publicize their views on issues of a national character without the Central Committee's approval. While they may discuss their views at the meetings of local Party committees and make suggestions to the Central Committee, it is impermissible for them to make public, either inside or outside the Party, views not yet made known by the Central Committee, or to dispatch circular messages among other local Party committees for the dissemination of these views. The reason for this is that, should such views or decisions conflict with those of the Central Committee, this would adversely affect the Party and the people and

aid our enemies. When we lacked or were short of radio facilities, we didn't stress this point. But now that such facilities are in general use, it must be emphasized. The Central Committee has called attention to this a number of times during the War of Resistance Against Japan.

Concerning local questions, the Constitution authorizes lower Party organizations to make independent decisions, provided these decisions do not conflict with those of the Central Committee or of other higher organizations. In this connection, higher organizations should, on their part, avoid interfering in the affairs of lower organizations and refrain from making decisions for them. While it is necessary for a higher body to make suggestions to a lower organization in order to help it resolve questions correctly, the power of decision must rest with the latter.

Our Party organizations are still working underground in many areas. Under such circumstances they must adopt special forms to carry out their tasks. Hence the Constitution provides that those organizational forms and methods of work which are suited to overt Party organizations but not to covert ones may be modified. This provision is necessary. Organizational principles provided in the Constitution must be carried out by the whole Party, but the organizational forms and methods of work should be changed according to changing circumstances and conditions. This point has already been dealt with.

## OUR PRESENT TASKS AND THE STRATEGIC DEPLOYMENT OF OUR FORCES

*September 19, 1945*

1. The negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party are unlikely to yield quick results.<sup>202</sup> Shielded by enemy and puppet forces, the Kuomintang troops have already entered many big cities and got hold of many key communication lines, and they will probably also enter Beiping and Tianjin. The puppet troops are almost entirely in Kuomintang hands. It is imperative that we keep the whole of Rehe<sup>203</sup> and Qahar<sup>161</sup> Provinces under our control, and it is possible that we will be able to maintain control of the whole Northeast, too. But since the Soviet Red Army<sup>204</sup> will have withdrawn by early December (even earlier from Rehe and Qahar), we must properly deploy our forces in good time if we are to guarantee our control of the Northeast.

2. The main tasks confronting the whole Party and the whole army at present are to continue our attacks on the enemy and puppet troops, gain complete control of Rehe and Qahar Provinces, expand our forces in the Northeast and bring it, too, under our control. Then, by relying on these areas, we can strengthen the people's struggle in the Liberated Areas and the Kuomintang areas and create a position favourable to the struggle for peace and democracy and to our negotiations with the Kuomintang. For this purpose, we have decided on the following deployment of our forces, which we expect to be put into effect resolutely.

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An inner-Party directive drafted in accordance with a policy decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and circulated by telegram. Liu Shaoqi was Acting Chairman of the Central Committee while Mao Zedong was in Chongqing for negotiations following victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan.

a Forces operating in the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei area (with the exception of eastern Hebei) and the Shanxi-Suiyuan area should rely on their present strength to repel the attacks on Qahar and Zhangjiakou launched by Fu Zuoyi<sup>205</sup> and Ma Zhanshan<sup>206</sup> as well as a possible assault from Beiping on Zhangjiakou by Hu Zongnan.<sup>207</sup> They should deal resolute blows to the diehard troops led by Fu, Ma and others, and they should ensure the defence of the entire territory of Qahar Province, most of Suiyuan,<sup>68</sup> northern Shanxi and part of Hebei, so as to turn these areas into a principal strategic base area with Zhangjiakou as its centre.

b. The main forces in Shandong and the majority of cadres there should quickly move into eastern Hebei Province and the Northeast. First, 30,000 troops should be transferred from Shandong to eastern Hebei to help the Hebei-Rehe-Liaoning Military Area wipe out the puppet troops there and to start operations in Rehe so as to gain complete control of eastern Hebei, Jinzhou and Rehe. Secondly, another 30,000 troops should be dispatched from Shandong to the Northeast to expand our forces there and get more equipment.

c. The New Fourth Army in east China<sup>117</sup> (excluding the 5th Division) should dispatch 80,000 men to Shandong and eastern Hebei to defend and expand the base areas in Shandong and the Hebei-Rehe-Liaoning area. Our forces in eastern Zhejiang should immediately withdraw to southern Jiangsu, and our main forces in southern Jiangsu and southern Anhui should return north of the Changjiang River.

d. A Hebei-Rehe-Liaoning Bureau of the Central Committee should be set up with Li Fuchun<sup>208</sup> serving as secretary, and the Hebei-Rehe-Liaoning Military Area should be enlarged<sup>209</sup> with Lin Biao<sup>210</sup> serving as commander. Luo Ronghuan<sup>211</sup> is to work in the Northeast, the present Shandong Bureau is to become the East China Bureau, and Chen Yi<sup>212</sup> and Rao Shushi<sup>213</sup> are to work in Shandong. The present Central China Bureau is to become a sub-bureau under the leadership of the East China Bureau, with its leading personnel to be appointed later.

e. Our forces in the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Military Area<sup>214</sup> should do their utmost to pin down and attack the diehard troops moving north and should prepare 30,000 troops for transfer to eastern Hebei or the Northeast in November.

f. Our general strategic policy is to expand in the north while defending ourselves against the enemy in the south. Provided we



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have the Northeast and Rehe and Qahar provinces under our control, and provided there is a co-ordinated struggle by people in the Liberated Areas and all the other parts of the country, victory is guaranteed for the Chinese people.

g. Specific deployments of our troops in each area will be decided upon separately.

# CONCENTRATE EFFORTS ON BUILDING BASE AREAS IN EASTERN, NORTHERN AND WESTERN MANCHURIA

*November-December 1945*

## I . TELEGRAM OF NOVEMBER 20

1. After we withdraw from the big cities, victory in our struggle against the Kuomintang in the Northeast depends not only on our unremitting effort to consolidate all possible strategic points but chiefly on the support of the people there and the close ties between them and our Party and army. Hence, in your every action, you must pay strict attention to policy so that you leave a favourable impression on the people of all strata in the Northeast. When withdrawing from the cities, you should maintain sound discipline and take along only those materials and machines which we need. You must refrain from destroying factories, machines and buildings. In a few years these factories will be ours, so we needn't mind their being temporarily in the hands of others. The railroads must also be preserved unless military considerations require otherwise. We can openly proclaim to the people that though we are withdrawing from the cities for the sake of avoiding a civil war and achieving a peaceful settlement of the conflict between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, we will demand the institution of democracy and self-government for the people of the Northeast.

2. You should quickly lay a solid foundation in eastern, northern and western Manchuria and strengthen the work in Rehe<sup>203</sup> and eastern Hebei. Long-range considerations require that rear areas should be

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Three telegrams to the leading members of the Northeast Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

built in Taonan and Chifeng. Wherever public order has been restored, you should arouse the masses to pour out their grievances against the Chinese collaborators and to launch a campaign for rent reduction. The Kuomintang is incapable of satisfying the demands of the people in the Northeast. So long as we win over the vast rural areas and the many medium and small towns by relying firmly on the people, we are sure to triumph.

## II. TELEGRAM OF DECEMBER 24

1. Chairman Mao has been on rest leave for over a month due to excessive fatigue.

2. I am certainly not so familiar as you are with the situation in the Northeast; nevertheless I am a bit worried about the disposition of your forces there — I think it risky. You have deployed your main forces around the big cities of Shenyang, Changchun and Harbin and in southern Manchuria, leading me to believe that you still want to seize these cities. However, in many important strategic points in eastern, northern and western Manchuria (such as Tonghua, Yanji, Mishan, Jiamusi, Nenjiang and Taonan) you have left no strong forces or capable leading bodies to build reliable base areas. If you stay put in the vicinities of the big cities, with your backs to the bandit-infested rural areas, your main forces will have to assume a passive position which, once the enemy takes control of these cities, could cause the situation as a whole to become unfavourable and leave you without a foothold there. Therefore you must give up any attempt to seize the big cities now. While it is true that under the conditions prevailing in the Northeast today there can be no superiority without these cities, you should not try to achieve such superiority before you have established a firm foothold. Your central task is to build reliable base areas on which to stand firm, so that, when conditions permit, you can proceed with the task for the next stage which is to strive for superiority. This is the only prudent course, the only course without risk. Follow it and you will not land yourselves in a passive position; otherwise that danger exists.

3. I suggest that you stay put in the dependable regions — eastern, northern and western Manchuria — and build base areas there so as

to avoid ending up in a dangerous situation. Most of the main forces and cadres sent to the Northeast, should be dispatched to important strategic points there to build base areas. While the rest may stay in the vicinities of the three big cities to try to expand our influence, they should be prepared to evacuate whenever necessary. As you should know, it is easy for the main forces to converge on the cities because the morale of the troops will be high. But it is difficult for them to withdraw when the situation becomes critical, and it often brings on chaos. You should unhurriedly shift the main forces to a secure place before the enemy comes, and you should do a good job this winter of arousing the masses to build base areas, so as to be able to cope with the enemy next spring. If the troops under Huang Kecheng,<sup>215</sup> Liang Xingchu and Luo Huasheng<sup>216</sup> are to carry on, they must quickly disperse throughout western Manchuria; otherwise, once the severe winter sets in, it will be difficult either to disperse or to wipe out the bandits, and our work will not achieve much. Please consider the above opinions and, if you have no objections, propose to the Northeast Bureau that it make some swift and appropriate changes in the disposition of the troops.

### III. TELEGRAM OF DECEMBER 31

Your directive on mass work issued on December 24 is good, and I hope it will be carried out quickly and pragmatically. If, supported by the more than 100,000 troops in the main force and the 200,000 local troops, you are in a position to launch an extensive and thorough mass movement in the Northeast this winter or next spring similar to those carried off by the peasants and workers in the south during the Great Revolution,<sup>30</sup> you will be able not only to stand your ground, but to gain superiority over the Kuomintang. Otherwise, you will be in great danger in the Northeast. This task is of a decisive nature, and I hope you'll concentrate all your efforts on grappling with it. If you can manage it, victory in the first decisive battle will be yours. You should give yourselves free rein in arousing the masses; don't bind yourselves hand and foot. Wherever our troops go, they should help the masses to wipe out the bandits, combat Chinese collaborators and enemy agents, and carry out rent reduction and increase wages.



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This is the only way to ensure that the troops are not shunned by the masses. It is essential for our troops to do painstaking work among the masses, and it is through such mass work that our newly-established units are consolidated. Please keep us regularly informed by telegram of the details of your mass work in the Northeast, for the Central Committee is eager to follow its progress.

## DIRECTIVE ON THE LAND QUESTION

*May 4, 1946*

According to reports by comrades who have recently come to Yan'an from various places, mass movements have been unfolding on a broad scale in the Liberated Areas in Shanxi, Hebei, Shandong and central China. In combating Chinese collaborators, settling accounts with landlords and reducing rent and interest, the people have seized land directly from the landlords, thus realizing the principle of the "land to the tiller". Their enthusiasm is at a high pitch. Where the mass movement has been thorough, the land problem is being or has basically been solved. In some places the movement has progressed to the point where the principle of "equal distribution of land" has been put into effect, with everybody (even the landlords) getting three mu of land.

On the other hand, some of the Chinese collaborators, evil gentry, despots and landlords who have fled to the towns or cities are heaping abuse on the mass movement in the Liberated Areas, and some middle-of-the-roaders have reservations about it. Even within our Party a few people think that the movement is going too far.

Under such circumstances, our Party cannot do without its own resolute policy, and it cannot but support the masses in their direct implementation of agrarian reform. We must give them planned guidance in the light of the scale and extent of the development of the mass movement in the various Liberated Areas, so that the reform can be completed as quickly as possible.

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Generally known as the "May 4th Directive", this is an inner-Party document drafted for the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. After victory was won in the War of Resistance Against Japan, an extensive and thorough mass movement was launched to combat Chinese collaborators, settle accounts with landlords and reduce rent and interest. As the peasants urgently demanded land, the Central Committee decided to change the policy of reducing rent and interest to one of confiscating the land of the landlords and distributing it among the peasants.

In the face of the large-scale mass movement, the Party committees of all localities should not be afraid of a general change in agrarian relations in the Liberated Areas. Nor should they fear the peasants' acquisition of a considerable amount of land and the landlords' forfeiture of it, the abolition of feudal exploitation in the rural areas, the abuse and slander of landlords or the temporary dissatisfaction or vacillation on the part of the middle-of-the-roaders. Rather, they should firmly support all the peasants' reasonable demands and just actions and endorse the transfers of land which have occurred and those which are now taking place. We should repudiate abuse by collaborators, evil gentry and landlords, give explanations and remove the doubts in the minds of middle-of-the-roaders and educate the comrades within the Party who hold incorrect views.

The Party committees of all localities should understand clearly that solution of the land problem in the Liberated Areas is the basic historical task confronting our Party and the key link in all our present work. With maximum determination and effort, they must boldly arouse the masses and lead them in accomplishing this historic task. They should correctly guide the current mass movement in accordance with the following principles:

- (1) Our Party should firmly support the demands of the masses as they realize the principle of "land to the tiller" by taking land from the landlords, as they combat collaborators, settle accounts with the landlords, reduce rent and interest and get the landlords to return the overcharged portion of rent and interest.

- (2) We should resolutely use every means to draw the middle peasants into the movement and see that they benefit by it. It is impermissible to confiscate their land. As for those middle peasants who have been dispossessed of land, we should try to return it to them or compensate them for the loss. Throughout the movement, we should try to gain the genuine sympathy of all the middle peasants, including the well-to-do ones, and make them feel satisfied.

- (3) Generally speaking, the land of the rich peasants shall not be confiscated. If, in the course of agrarian reform and related struggles, the confiscation of some of their land cannot be avoided due to the demands of the masses, we should see to it that the rich peasants are not subjected to overly heavy blows. They should be treated differently from the landlords. With rich peasants, emphasis should be on reducing rents and they should be allowed to keep that part of the land which they till themselves. If the rich peasants are hit too

hard, the middle peasants will waver, and production in the Liberated Areas will be adversely affected.

(4) As for the gentry and landlords whose family members include anti-Japanese servicemen and cadres, and the enlightened gentry and other people in the Liberated Areas or the Kuomintang areas who co-operated with us during the anti-Japanese war and do not oppose the Communist Party, we should treat them prudently, give them due consideration and, as a rule, adopt methods of arbitration or mediation in dealing with them. On the one hand, we should persuade them not to turn down the reasonable demands of the masses but to adopt an enlightened attitude of their own accord. On the other, we should educate the peasants so that they will give these people a bit more land and help them save face in consideration of their service in the War of Resistance Against Japan, or of the service of their family members as anti-Japanese servicemen or cadres.

(5) Proper consideration should be given to the livelihood of the middle and small landlords. They should be treated differently from the big landlords, evil gentry and local despots. Disputes between them and the peasants should most often be solved through arbitration or mediation.

(6) Attention should be concentrated on waging resolute struggles against collaborators, evil gentry and local despots, so as to isolate them completely and make them hand over their land. We should, however, leave them a certain amount of land from which to make a living. We should adopt the policy of winning over and disintegrating the ranks of those middle and poor peasants and others from poor families who were used as stooges by collaborators, evil gentry and local despots, and we should work on them so that they will make a clean breast of their crimes and mend their ways. We should not take away their land. When they have confessed and mended their ways, they should receive the benefits due to them.

(7) With the exception of those owned by the Chinese collaborators who are found guilty of heinous crimes, the shops, workshops, factories and mines of the rich peasants and landlords should not be confiscated, but protected, so that the development of industry and commerce will not be impeded. The methods used in solving the land problem and combating the feudal landlord class in the rural areas should not be applied in dealing with the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie. There is a difference in principle in our attitude towards these two classes. In some places, the mistake is made of



applying the method of settling accounts with the landlords in rural areas to the owners of factories and shops. An immediate halt to this practice must be called for, or the consequences will be disastrous.

(8) We should accede to the people's demands for the execution of those collaborators and public enemies who have committed heinous crimes by sentencing them to death after trial by the courts. Apart from this, however, we should generally enforce a policy of leniency and refrain from executing people or beating them to death, and we should refrain from making too many arrests, so as not to isolate ourselves by playing into the hands of the reactionaries. To combat collaborators and settle accounts with the landlords is essential, but the number involved should not be too large, or else the masses will become panicky and the reactionaries will have a pretext for attacking us.

(9) We must do our utmost to win over all intellectuals who can be united with, and we should give them the chance to study and work. As for the enlightened gentry, the non-Party personages and the liberal bourgeoisie in the cities, so long as they are in favour of our democratic programme, we should continue to co-operate with each and every one of them, bar none, no matter how many shortcomings they may have or how sceptical or discontent they may be with the current agrarian reform. This will help to consolidate the united front against feudal dictatorship and for peace and democracy. As for the landlords and others who have run away, they should be allowed to return home, and they should be provided with the opportunity to earn a living. Even if some of them return with the intention of making trouble in the Liberated Areas, it will be to our advantage to let them stay and have them placed under the supervision of the masses. This would reduce the anti-popular forces in the cities.

(10) In places where the masses have not yet been aroused to solve the land problem, we should set about it right away and see to it that the problem is completely or at least largely settled by the end of this year, not dragged on into the next. In the struggle, it is imperative to stick to the mass line, conduct the fullest possible discussions and get the masses really mobilized so that they will pitch in and settle the land problem themselves. Any approach that contravenes the mass line, such as commandism, monopolization of affairs and bestowing favours on the masses, is forbidden.

(11) The masses have come up with various solutions to the land problem. For example:

- a) confiscating and distributing the land of major collaborators;
- b) giving priority to the tenant-peasants in the purchase of the land which landlords are willing to sell after rent reduction;
- c) guaranteeing the tenant-peasants the right to rent land after rent reduction with the result that the landlords give the tenant-peasants 70 to 80 per cent of their land while retaining the remainder to till themselves; and
- d) allowing the landlords to sell their lands to compensate the peasants in the course of settling accounts on such issues as rent and interest, seizure of property, shifting of financial burdens and other forms of exploitation.

The peasants have obtained land by the above means and most have also obtained ownership deeds prepared by the landlords. Thus, the land problem has, in the main, been solved by methods quite different from those adopted during the civil war period.<sup>217</sup> These methods, which have put the peasants in a legal and tenable position, can be applied in various places in the light of local situations.

(12) The fruits of this movement should be distributed equitably and rationally among the poverty-stricken family members of martyrs, anti-Japanese soldiers, cadres and their families, and peasants with little or no land. Having obtained a share of land on a fair and rational basis and having their ownership of the land fixed, the peasants will gain in enthusiasm for production and so, will work diligently, practise economy and become rich and prosperous. This will help to expand production in the Liberated Areas. The inviolability of the property of those who have, after the solution of the land problem, prospered and become rich through hard work, thrift and good management should be safeguarded. It is not advisable to drag out the settling of accounts and the waging of struggle, for this will only dampen the peasants' enthusiasm for production. As for idlers and sluggards, we should educate them and encourage them to engage in production so as to improve their livelihood.

(13) Both during the movement and after the solution of the land problem, attention should be paid to the consolidation and expansion of the peasant associations and the militia, the expansion of

the Party organizations, the training and promotion of cadres, the reorganization of governments at district and township levels and the education of the masses for both the struggle in defence of their land and the democratic governments and the struggle for the democratization of the country.

(14) Generally speaking, in outlying areas where our political power is not yet consolidated and which are thus vulnerable to enemy harassment, no action should be taken to arouse the masses to demand land. Even in our efforts there to reduce rent and interest,<sup>139</sup> we must be prudent and must not act in the same way as we are doing in the central areas, in order to avoid sustaining damage in the confrontation between revolution and counter-revolution. Of course, it is quite another matter in areas where conditions permit such actions.

(15) Party committees in various localities should go all out to launch and lead the mass movement in the Liberated Areas and solve the land problem resolutely in accordance with the principles outlined above. So long as we adhere to these principles, keep over 90 per cent of the rural population on the side of our Party (farm labourers, poor peasants, middle peasants, handicraftsmen and other impoverished people make up about 92 per cent of the rural population, and landlords and rich peasants about 8 per cent) and maintain a broad anti-feudal united front, we will not make adventurist mistakes. Solving the land problem in the Liberated Areas with a population of over 100 million will help substantially to consolidate these areas and promote the nationwide movement towards democratization. If, however, we fail to guide the movement correctly according to those principles, if we encroach on the land of the middle peasants or deal the rich peasants overly severe blows and if we fail to give due consideration to those who are entitled to it, there will be a split among the people in the rural areas. As a result, we shall not have more than 90 per cent of the rural population on our side, the poor peasants, farm labourers and our Party will be isolated, the landlords and the reactionaries in the cities will become stronger and the mass movement for agrarian reform will run up against enormous obstacles. Certainly this would be very disadvantageous to the masses. Therefore, we should convince the masses and cadres that adherence to these principles is for the good of the people.

(16) It is therefore essential to hold meetings of cadres in each area to analyse experience and discuss the directives of the Central Committee, to have these directives distributed and explained among

all Party cadres, to draw up plans for carrying out the directives in the light of the conditions prevailing in each area and to assemble a large number of cadres for short-term training before sending them to newly liberated areas to carry out the directives. At the same time, it is necessary to make appropriate explanations to non-Party personages. We must ask them to support the demand of the peasants, pointing out to them that the solution to the land problem is the just demand of over 90 per cent of people, it is in accordance with Dr. Sun Yat-sen's principles and the resolution of the Political Consultative Conference<sup>218</sup> and, what is more, it considers the interests of people of all walks of life including the rich peasants and the landlords. Meanwhile, the cadres in various places, especially those at the district and township levels, should be educated to give play to their spirit of serving the people, a spirit characteristic of Communist Party members, and to refrain from securing undue benefits by taking advantage of their leading position. Otherwise, the masses will feel incensed and turn against the cadres. In cases where such things have already occurred, we should persuade the cadres to act justly when dealing with people, so as to avoid alienating themselves from the masses.

(17) In the past few years, various localities have correctly implemented the decision on land policy made by the Central Committee in 1942<sup>219</sup> and have launched large-scale mass movements, rendering support to the anti-Japanese war. Now, as the movement to settle accounts and reduce rents spreads and deepens, we have to make a major change in our land policy in keeping with the demands of the people. This does not mean, however, changing everything, for we are not abandoning the policy of rent reduction altogether.

(18) With regard to the Right and "Left" deviations manifested within the Party concerning the land question, all localities should correct them in accordance with this directive by conducting education with great warmth and sincerity. This will help us to lead the masses in the struggle to accomplish the agrarian reform and consolidate the Liberated Areas.



## SPEECH CONCLUDING THE NATIONAL LAND CONFERENCE

*September 13, 1947*

The National Land Conference has been in session for almost two months. During this conference, comrades from various Liberated Areas have presented reports on the progress of the agrarian reform, exchanged experience, put forward suggestions on how to continue the reform in the future and held repeated discussions. Having conducted self-criticism and having based their opinions on facts, the comrades have neither exaggerated their achievements and become conceited nor concealed their mistakes. Rather, they have adopted the attitude of telling it like it is. This is the proper spirit and attitude. In this way, truth can be arrived at and upheld and errors pointed out and corrected in a dispassionate manner.

The conference itself has had its own course of development. At the beginning there were defects or even mistakes in some views, arguments, ideas and policies. But these were later revised. This demonstrates that the conference has had the spirit of seeking truth from facts and that those of us here, myself included, are not infallible. If one makes a mistake, but then corrects it, that's fine. No leader can be perfect, and no one can solve every problem. Persons in leading positions (high or low, we are all leading cadres) should think along these lines: "The remarks I make and the policies I decide upon should, as far as possible, be free from imperfections, shortcomings and mistakes." But things often turn out differently than we

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In March 1947, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party decided to set up a Working Committee with Liu Shaoqi as secretary to take charge of work in the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei Liberated Area. From July 17 to September 13, 1947, he presided over the National Land Conference in Xibaipo Village, Pingshan County, Hebei Province, and delivered a report. He made a speech at the conclusion of the conference, from which this is an excerpt.

would like them to and, in the course of development, things are never perfect. Decisions invariably need revision and sometimes even contain fundamental mistakes. It is all right for comrades working at lower levels to require, in general terms, that all the instructions issued by their superiors be correct. However, there has never been a leader, ancient or modern, Chinese or foreign, who was perfect. Though no leader wants to make mistakes, we can't avoid them and we needn't fear making them. The important thing is to be able to discover them, determine their causes and correct them promptly. This conference has been a success; the mistakes have been found out and corrected and the truth discovered. We should be ready to uphold the truth and correct mistakes whenever they occur. This is a call from Chairman Mao. And we should continue to uncover our mistakes, because the Outline Land Law<sup>220</sup> and other documents may also contain errors which will need to be ferreted out as history tests them and passes its judgement. I shall now draw some conclusions about the conference, the validity of which will have to be tested by history too.

## I

During the past year or so since the issuance of the "May 4th Directive",<sup>221</sup> the great agrarian reform movement has been going on in all the Liberated Areas, and the broad masses have been mobilized. Generally speaking, notable successes have been achieved, but the movement has been less than thorough in most areas. Even in areas where it has been relatively thorough, there are still some defects. The insufficiency is attributable to the following three causes: 1) a lack of thoroughness in the policies guiding the movement; 2) defects in our Party organizations; and 3) bureaucratic leadership.

Let me start off by analysing the first cause, namely, the lack of thoroughness in the policies guiding the agrarian reform. Our Party has been tackling the land problem for decades, and we have gained experience especially in the agrarian revolution which took place during the ten years of civil war. After the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, we changed our policy of confiscating the land of the landlords to one of reducing rent and interest.<sup>222</sup> As far as the leading organs were concerned, this change was effected in full consciousness; it was a concession made on the premise of consistently and firmly

pursuing our land policy. But as the situation changed and as the conditions and causes which had prompted the concession altered, the policy of rent and interest reduction was again transformed, this time into the policy of "land to the tiller". This change was embodied in the "May 4th Directive" issued last year which, although it marked a very big and correct change, was not yet thorough. This directive was an intermediate step between the reduction of rent and interest and the decision on equal distribution of land adopted by this conference. Fifteen months have passed since the issuance of the "May 4th Directive", and the experience gained over this period proves that a policy of thorough and equal distribution of land such as we have today is indispensable for the complete solution of the peasants' land problem.

As a policy for the transition from the reduction of rent and interest to the thorough and equal distribution of land, the "May 4th Directive" had its own origin and course of development. In view of the conditions and environment prevailing at the time of its issuance, it was impossible for the Central Committee to formulate a policy of thorough and equal distribution of land. The whole nation was then calling for peace. If we had called for the equal distribution of land and Chiang Kai-shek had started an all-out war, the people would have blamed the Communist Party's land policy for the outbreak of civil war. In those days, the broad masses were not yet aware of the fact that it was impossible to attain peace or to achieve reconciliation with Chiang Kai-shek and the United States. If, proceeding solely from our own understanding that the reconciliation was impossible, we had decided on a policy of non-reconciliation, we would have divorced ourselves from the masses. In order to meet the demand of the people in the Liberated Areas and yet not alienate those in other parts of the country, that is, to take both into consideration, it was necessary to combine the appeal for peace with agrarian reform. Hence the "May 4th Directive". Far from being wrong, it was the proper decision to make. Today, the situation has changed and the people of the whole country have come to realize that it is impossible to make peace with Chiang Kai-shek, and so our Party has called for a people's war of liberation to overthrow Chiang Kai-shek's rule. Now, since both the Party and the people are ideologically well prepared and the conditions are ripe, this is the right moment, neither too early nor too late to raise the issue of the thorough and equal distribution of land.

Second, there are defects in the Party organizations. The existence of these defects, which is a fundamental cause for the lack of thoroughness in the agrarian reform, has been borne out and exposed to the greatest extent in the agrarian reform of the past year. We can safely say that, without some changes in this state of affairs, a thorough policy won't be sufficient, the task of agrarian reform won't be fulfilled and we won't be able to carry on the war. What is worse, it could spell doom for the Party. I have discussed the organizational and ideological defects in the Party in my last report.<sup>223</sup> The spread of petty-bourgeois spontaneity, liberalism, sectarianism and organizational confusion are all manifestations of these defects. With landlords and rich peasants sneaking into our ranks and Party members being unclear about the Party's class line and viewpoint, the agrarian reform cannot possibly be carried out thoroughly.

Third, bureaucratism exists in the Party. The most serious and frustrating kind of bureaucratism for the masses is that which relies on coercion and commandism for the "vigorous and speedy" execution of orders. Another kind is manifested in the man who is "sated with three square meals a day and remains idle". Even Confucius was opposed to this, so how can we tolerate it? Exponents of the first kind of bureaucratism stand above the masses and order them about instead of trying to mobilize and enlighten them, or instead of waiting for them to become more politically aware. This is impermissible. Resorting to coercion and commandism is wrong even if the aim is to fulfil a task, and we must not encourage, approve of or support it. The more this sort of behaviour is rewarded, the more it will be utilized to "fulfil tasks", and the more likely it will lead to disaster. Bureaucratism is a reflection within a proletarian party of the thinking of the landlord and other exploiting classes, and some Party members have fallen under its influence. In addition, as the political awareness and general education of the proletariat and the working people are limited, bureaucrats can take advantage of their weaknesses and push them around. Therefore, the leading bodies should take care not to give rewards merely because a task appears to have been fulfilled; it might be that they are just being duped into rewarding bureaucrats. Those who reward bureaucratism are themselves bureaucrats. In the future, we must not only consider whether or not a task has been fulfilled, but must also examine how it has been fulfilled. Bureaucratism is interrelated with defects in our Party organizations, with the latter aggravating the former. Some bureaucrats rule the masses in the



manner of the Kuomintang. When cadres of worker or peasant background practise bureaucratism, it is because they have been influenced by the landlords and rich peasants. They should be educated, criticized and, when necessary, even subjected to disciplinary action, which is administered for educational purposes. Democracy should be promoted and a democratic system instituted so as to facilitate supervision by the people and to ensure that the people are better able to use the various means at their disposal to oppose bureaucratism.

## II

The Outline Land Law adopted at this conference embodies the basic and major part of today's land policy. It will be distributed to you after being revised and approved by the Central Committee. Meanwhile, preparations can be made in accordance with the present draft. From the draft we can see that our policy is now quite thorough. The political line of relying on the poor peasants and farm labourers and uniting with the middle peasants remains unchanged as we implement the policy of a thorough and equal distribution of land. In the implementation of this policy, it is imperative to unite with the middle peasants and to pay them more, not less, attention. Although some middle peasants have had part of their land taken from them, the majority have received land. Efforts should be made to unite even with the well-to-do middle peasants who have had part of their land taken from them and, if necessary, to compensate them in such other ways as giving them preferential treatment politically or distributing a few things to them. In order to prevent them from falling under the influence of the landlords and rich peasants and turning against us, it is advisable to adopt the method practised by the masses of appropriating part of their land. Those middle peasants who are unwilling to give up land should not be forced to do so. Of course if certain middle peasants are strongly opposed to equal distribution of land or even collaborate with the landlords and rich peasants, we must wage the necessary struggles against them. Still, the aim of doing so is to unite with them.

While in terms of policy, the Outline Land Law has made no provisions for differentiations in treatment, it is proper to make them in its implementation. For example, it is advisable to differentiate be-

tween different landlords, between landlords and rich peasants, between old rich peasants and new ones. We should be a bit tougher with the big landlords and local tyrants while showing more leniency towards the middle and small landlords who are willing to co-operate with us. Differentiation should be made not at the expense of the basic interests of the masses, but in favour of them and on the condition of implementing the policy of equal distribution of land. It is impermissible to sacrifice these interests or to refuse to carry out the policy merely for the sake of making differentiations or giving differential treatment. Differentiation must be made mainly in accordance with the opinions of the masses. To make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and split the enemy camp under the principle of meeting the demands of the poor peasants and farm labourers — these are the tactics to be adopted in the struggle.

As for pooling all the land for equal distribution, generally speaking, the Party and government should not propagate this method, but should concentrate on the Outline Land Law and nothing else. Although it has its advantages, opposition to the pooling of land will be too strong. To reduce opposition, it is better to adopt the method of taking from those who have a surplus of land and giving to those who have a shortage of it, and taking from those who have better land and giving to those who have poor land.

The landlords must be brought to their knees. They must also be put under surveillance. Land may temporarily be withheld from those landlords who refuse to yield and put up stubborn resistance, but it should be distributed to them as soon as they give in. Those who resist obdurately and oppose the revolution must be rigorously suppressed. Some rich peasants are no less strongly opposed to the policy of thorough and equal distribution of land than the landlords, and China's rich peasants are more capable than the landlords in many ways. As you know, it is very hard for the landlords to get the middle peasants to oppose the revolution, but the rich peasants, being close to the middle peasants, are more likely to influence them. Particular attention should therefore be paid to the rich peasants. In terms of both approach and policy, some differentiations should be made between the rich peasants and the landlords so that they will not join together to oppose the revolution. If the rich peasants oppose the revolution, they should be suppressed.

After it is approved by the Central Committee, the Outline Land Law should be taken directly to the masses. If the detailed rules and

regulations made by local authorities are found to be in conflict with it, this law is to prevail. Land must be equally distributed by the organized and mobilized masses themselves. The worst thing that can happen is for a few cadres to distribute the land themselves, before the masses have been aroused or have fallen out with the landlords. The experience in the period of the Soviets<sup>6</sup> shows that the policy of thorough and equal distribution of land is successful only when special contingents are formed by organizing the poor peasants and farm labourers into peasant associations and only when the masses become politically conscious. Otherwise, land distribution cannot be done well, or even if the land is distributed, the new pattern of landownership cannot be consolidated.

One policy problem which needs to be mentioned here is the question of industry and commerce. No doubt, these must be protected. As for those industrialists and businessmen who have land, their land may be distributed but not their other possessions. On the other hand, some landlords own factories or shops, which must not be subject to distribution. (But those who have moved their personal things into their shops should be ordered to surrender them to the relevant authorities.) Especially in the cities, all the factories or shops shall be kept intact. Let them go on operating.

### III

As explained earlier, there are three reasons why the agrarian reform was not thoroughly carried out in the past year or so. Today, the problem of the lack of thoroughness in policy has been solved. The problems which remain to be solved are the defects in the Party and bureaucratism. With a thoroughgoing policy, a sound Party organization to implement this policy and a good approach — not a bureaucratic one, but one based on the mass line — the agrarian reform programme can definitely be carried through to the end. Therefore, a shake-up in our ranks has become crucial. The two contingents involved here are the Party and the masses, with the Party, as the staff department of the masses, being the essential part. The consolidation of the Party will be followed by that of the ranks of the people, which will depend on their mobilization. The approach for this shake-up, as I

explained in detail in my last report, consists of “breaking down ideological barriers, consolidating the organizations and taking disciplinary action”. Landlords, rich peasants, other alien class elements who have sneaked into the Party as well as degenerate elements must all be combed out. An ideological struggle must be waged against petty-bourgeois ideas and liberalism. We should focus on the Right deviation in our inner-Party ideological struggle, while guarding against the “Left” deviation. Now that the policy of equal distribution of land is being carried out, the Leftist mood, manifested in fanaticism and opportunism characteristic of the petty bourgeoisie, is especially widespread in the Party and among the masses. Some Party cadres of landlord and rich peasant family backgrounds deliberately lean to the “Left”, for fear that others may accuse them of being Rightist. Besides, there prevails in the Party a view that “Left” deviations are better than Right. With the present circumstances and conditions favourable to the commission of “Left” errors and with the simplified method of distributing land, we are liable to commit such errors. Therefore, it is important to conduct adequate propaganda concerning the methods for consolidating the Party organizations, waging struggles and distributing land, and it is important to distinguish the correct approach from the incorrect. Ideologically, we must vigorously advocate the idea of labouring for the people. Mr. Lu Xun said, “Head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children.” Our cadres and Party members should be willing labourers, beasts of burden for the common people. Whoever is unwilling to do so may quit the Party. Party members are free to quit the Party. It is, however, not so easy to obtain membership. If Party members place themselves above the people and act arbitrarily and with impunity and if leading bodies turn a blind eye to this fact and fail to criticize them, then the leading bodies themselves are at fault and must be criticized and asked to mend their ways. At the same time, it is necessary to commend good comrades who are willing to work for the people whole-heartedly. Both commendation and criticism should be used. Undeserved commendation is worthless. Our approach is to offer commendation for a good deed and not otherwise and to conduct criticism when a mistake has been made and not otherwise. The practice in some places of relying solely on commendations is wrong. In the course of consolidating the Party organization, both commendation and criticism should be used. The consolidation of the Party will be carried out in two stages. The first stage involves break-



ing down ideological barriers, consolidating Party organizations and taking disciplinary action, all of which must be done by starting above and working downwards. Our aim is to get rid of obstacles and pave the way for a thorough implementation of agrarian reform. After the completion of this reform, the second stage will involve the further consolidation work, but at this point working from the bottom upwards. The objective of this work will be to strengthen the Party, to enhance our achievements and to establish regular institutions and a correct style of work on the basis of Mao Zedong Thought, so that the Party will take on quite a new look.

In consolidating the Party organization, on the one hand we must be strict with comrades who have made mistakes and should not take a *laissez-faire* or liberalistic attitude towards them. On the other hand, we should warm-heartedly help those comrades who are willing to correct their mistakes and who are ready to learn, and we should show concern for their livelihood by providing them with opportunities for work and study. That is, we should be both strict and warm, taking neither a *laissez-faire* nor a cold and harsh attitude. It is wrong to “mete out punishment without education”. Help and education are essential. No punishment shall be administered as a result of mistakes that are made before things have been clearly explained. However, once education is given and discipline clearly defined, punishment will be meted out in cases of repeated mistakes. The penalties should be light for persons who make a mistake for the first time, but heavier the second or third times. Those who deserve it should be punished, or the Party will be forfeiting its principled stand. The leading bodies are responsible for drawing a distinction between mistakes made before and after the clarification of Party discipline.

In the course of consolidating the Party organization, we should pay attention to ferreting out counter-revolutionaries. It is inevitable that some Kuomintang special agents sneak into a party the size of ours, but they are few in number. Cases involving special agents must be handled with great care. No cases of this nature are to be dealt with at the grass-roots level. They must be submitted to our security organs for investigation and disposal. During the agrarian reform, cases involving counter-revolutionaries must likewise be handled with great care. As for the establishment of people’s courts, we have no experience in this regard. You may go ahead and gain it through practice.

## IV

Generally speaking, our cadres have become better at keeping the mass line in mind when considering and solving problems and determining and carrying out policies, yet there is still something to be desired.

The mass viewpoint is the revolutionary viewpoint and spirit and is based on the proletarian outlook and a positive attitude towards the people. Without these, a thorough mass line is out of the question. We should have faith in the creative power of the masses; they are intelligent and capable of creating everything. Without such faith, there can be no mass viewpoint or mass line.

Some people think that the mass line denies the role of leadership. It is very naive and ignorant of them to think that way. All leading members, including those in the military, political, economic and cultural fields, must have the mass viewpoint and follow the mass line. When we talk about “following the mass line”, we mean that those in leading positions should follow it. That is, leading comrades should have the mass viewpoint in mind and follow the mass line when determining policies, considering problems and deciding on what methods to adopt. The interests of the masses should be put above everything else, and it is wrong to set the interests of the Party against those of the masses.

Our mass line is the Marxist-Leninist class line. A thorough mass line is impossible without adherence to the Marxist-Leninist and proletarian stand. Those defective in Party spirit cannot possibly follow the mass line.

The mass line is the fundamental line of the Party. Without it, there will be no correct line for the Party to follow in its political, organizational, military or other work. The mass viewpoint and the mass line are just as essential for setting policies as for carrying them out. All our efforts in determining, revising and carrying out policies and in raising and changing our slogans, must be based on the mass viewpoint and the mass line. The fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the people should be made the criteria for judging the correctness of our policies. For instance, it was out of consideration for the interests of the people that we decided to change from the policy of confiscating the land of the landlords, which we carried out in the ten years of civil war, to one of reducing rent and

interest during the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan. The same was true of the "May 4th Directive". The thorough and equal distribution of land today will benefit both the masses in the Liberated Areas and the war of self-defence; in other words, it will benefit the people throughout the country.

We formulate our policies by drawing ideas from the masses and then disseminate and explain the policies to the masses so that they will carry them out. If the policies are correct, the masses will support them; if not, no support will be forthcoming. We will know that something must be wrong with them if they are opposed, rather than supported, by the masses. The sole aim of our policies is to serve the interests of the people. Policies are to be implemented by the masses themselves, and though as the vanguard we should provide leadership, we should not act for them. It is wrong to act on their behalf before they are aroused. But once they are, they must be provided with leadership which, through persuasion and education, should help them correct erroneous views. Refraining from acting for the masses must not mean that we sit back and do nothing at all; tailism and the advocacy of spontaneous actions are no good either.

## V

Policies should be implemented in the light of the actual situations in different areas. All the policies determined by this conference can be applied to the relatively stable Liberated Areas. In areas with special conditions, such as guerrilla areas, war zones and newly liberated areas, some exceptions may be made. Our policies must be suited to local conditions and should not be carried out mechanically.

We should set about establishing Youth League organizations after the Central Committee of the Party makes its decision. But the first thing we will have to do is to select and train a number of young cadres. Youth League organizations should be set up at the grass-roots level during the agrarian reform, and activists should be selected to receive training. Bureaus of the Central Committee and area Party committees should select a number of young cadres, who are modest, amiable, free from bureaucratism and who follow the mass line, to do Youth League work.

Work among women should be stressed and carried out effectively because it is an important component of our work in the Party and among the masses. Our experience shows that it is impossible to do our work among women well by relying on women comrades alone; it needs the effort of the whole Party. Work should be done among women during the agrarian reform, and relevant policies and methods should be adopted in the light of the political awareness of the women. Our Party should stand for freedom of choice in marriage; however, while we must never oppose this freedom, it is not necessary to press for it right now. Freedom of marriage is one of the basic rights of women. Once the poor peasants and farm labourers rise up, they will not just overthrow the religious, financial and landownership authority of the landlords, but the authority of the husband as well. This is a precondition for the liberation of women today.

As for the question of production, our revered Comrade Dong has spoken about it and I agree with what he has said.<sup>224</sup> During the agrarian reform, our comrades should conduct investigation into land conditions and smooth out the financial matters of the villages and deal with the individual villagers' economic burdens. They should especially concentrate on organizing mutual-aid so as to liberate the productive forces from their feudal fetters.

As for the army, it should have a new spirit, because there is already a new spirit bolstered up by the agrarian reform among the masses as well as in the Party. It should back up the emancipated peasants while combating warlordism and bureaucratism, and it must take part in the agrarian reform since, with so many men, it constitutes a great force. Our troops maintain many fine traditions which the civilians should emulate. Furthermore, a good army-civilian relationship will add to our strength in defeating Chiang Kai-shek, and victories won by the army will in turn add to the strength of the civilians.

Now, let me just say a few more words by way of conclusion. The immediate aim of implementing the policies of thorough and equal distribution of land, consolidating the Party organizations and rectifying the style of work is to benefit the broad masses of the peasants and to carry out our basic task of agrarian reform. The solution of the land question has a direct bearing on millions, tens of millions, or even several hundred million people throughout China. It involves the immediate interests of the peasants and the interests of the nation as a whole. It is in the most fundamental and long-term interests of the



Chinese people and is, therefore, a basic task of the Chinese revolution. Only by mobilizing the masses to carry out the agrarian reform thoroughly and only by purifying Party organizations, can we defeat Chiang Kai-shek. Our Liberated Areas have a population of 150 million while the areas under Chiang Kai-shek's control are bigger than ours, having a population of more than 300 million. But the peasants under Chiang's rule are not emancipated. They oppose him and are thus like rolling pins under his feet. Our peasants here are emancipated and so we have sound footing. This will serve to bring about a fundamental change in the balance of strength between Chiang Kai-shek and ourselves. There are 300 million people in his areas, but they oppose him instead of supporting him, while the 150 million people in our areas, by voluntarily joining our army and participating in the war effort, provide us with inexhaustible manpower and material and financial resources. Since Liu and Deng<sup>225</sup> led five columns of troops out of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Liberated Area, another five columns have been organized and have been led out, too. At the same time, still another five columns are being organized, making a total of several hundred thousand who have joined the army. A similar situation occurred with the payment of grain taxes. Now that the peasants have been emancipated, production has gone up. While they used to consider 3 decalitres of grain tax too heavy a burden, they now willingly give 6 decalitres. Once 150 million people are emancipated, we will be stronger than Chiang Kai-shek and our reserve forces far greater than his. The emancipated people in our Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Liberated Area number only 7 million, yet they are already powerful. If, in the future, 70 million or double that number of people are emancipated, we will have inexhaustible power! Though there were just over 2 million people in the Central Soviet Area,<sup>226</sup> the agrarian reform was carried out thoroughly in several counties there, allowing us to sustain the war over many years and succeed in withstanding Chiang Kai-shek's attacks. The struggle there is still going on today. If agrarian reform is thorough and the masses are well mobilized, our power is inexhaustible. If this reform can produce such great power in a few counties, what will Chiang Kai-shek be able to do when we have carried it out in 300 or even 1,000 counties and when the peasants in these counties have all joined the revolution? Not even the King of Heaven himself will be able to do anything about it! If we do well in the Liberated Areas, the people in areas under Chiang Kai-shek's control will also rise against him. A change in the

balance of strength hinges on the agrarian reform. Chiang Kai-shek relies on the United States, and we rely on the people. But reliance on the people requires two conditions: the first is opposition to the landlords and equal distribution of land, and the second is democracy free of coercion from above. It is within our ability to meet these two conditions — otherwise our Party is not up to the standards of a communist party. Agrarian reform is the fundamental and decisive link in the fight for victory in our patriotic war of self-defence. We are confident that we will do a good job of it. In the main, it may be completed in about six months and followed up later by meticulous refinement. Although there are some unhealthy phenomena in our Party which should be criticized and eliminated, the majority of our comrades are good comrades, loyal to the people. Thus we are sure to bring the agrarian reform to a successful completion and defeat Chiang Kai-shek. Final victory will be ours!

## A TALK TO THE NORTH CHINA PRESS CORPS

*October 2, 1948*

Comrades,

I have long wished to have a talk with you journalists. In the past, I talked only to those comrades from the New China News Agency but not to the rest of you. I am a layman as far as the publishing of newspapers is concerned. I have never run a newspaper or written news reports; I have only read them. Therefore, I do not have a very clear idea of the difficulties you face. Nevertheless, as a reader, I would like to make some demands of you. The things you write are intended for the people to read and you are serving your readers in that sense. If they praise you, then you have done well. When they have acquired some information, learned of other people's experience and lessons and got some guidance from your newspapers, you have done a good job.

A well-run newspaper can lead people forward in the right direction, to progress, to unite and to move towards truth. A poorly-run one is very dangerous to the people since it can spread backward and erroneous ideas, bring about splits and create friction among them. Thus the influence of journalism is enormous indeed. If you do it well, that's fine; do it poorly and you will eventually have to face a day of judgement.

Journalism is of tremendous significance, and the Party attaches much importance to it. The importance of Party papers has long been explained in Party documents, books and periodicals. The

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A speech to an assembly of correspondents from the *People's Daily* newspaper and the North China General Branch of the New China News Agency. In September and October 1948, a number of correspondents were called together by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at Xibaipo Village in Pingshan County, Hebei Province to study ways of improving and strengthening journalistic work.

*History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)*<sup>141</sup> stressed the importance of newspapers by saying that they could serve to organize and unite the masses and direct the revolution and could even play the “centre” role. When the Social-Democratic Labour Party was being formed in Russia, Lenin held that it was imperative first of all to draw ideological lines of demarcation and propagate the correct ways to build the Party and formulate its policies and line.<sup>227</sup> Party building cannot be carried out successfully if matters of principle are not clarified. Well, how do we go about it? By publishing a newspaper, a national newspaper, which should serve as the central link.

Our Party must maintain close ties with the masses; otherwise, it will be in danger of being throttled to death like Antaeus.<sup>228</sup> Yes, the Communist Party could be throttled to death, too! The Party fears nothing else under the sun. We have never been afraid of U.S. imperialism, nor do we fear atom bombs. The First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was attended by only twelve delegates, who, although they were completely unarmed, called for the overthrow of imperialism and the warlords. There is nothing to fear about imperialism, the landlord class or the bourgeoisie. Basing ourselves on Marxist-Leninist analysis, we know that they are all bound to perish while the proletariat is sure to develop — this is a historical certainty. So, speaking from an overall point of view, we have nothing to fear. Still, we do have to fear alienation from the masses. That’s why we, and indeed every Party member, must make it known everywhere that we must, at all times and in all places, maintain close ties with the masses and constantly strengthen and expand these ties. At present, we do have ties with the masses, but they are inadequate. To claim that we have already established adequate ties with the masses and that we have done our work perfectly well would be more dangerous than confronting 10,000 armed U.S. troops. This would mean that we would be abandoning the demand we have set to strengthen and expand these ties. Some have gone so far as to say that the ordinary people don’t amount to much and that a little bit of bureaucratism doesn’t matter at all. Such talk is more dangerous than having a million American troops to deal with.

When we speak of ties with the masses, we refer mainly to our ties with the working people. These are ties which we should continuously strengthen and expand without letting a single day slip by. This is what we mean by keeping in touch with the masses every hour and every minute.



So much for the importance of maintaining ties with the masses. Now, then, how are we going to go about it? How are we going to strengthen and expand these ties?

Lenin said that the Party should maintain its ties with the masses through a thousand channels. That's right, that's what we should do. And your task, your occupation, constitutes one of the very important channels. The newspapers appear before the masses every day and acquaint them with the Party's policies. Likewise, the army, the people's representative conferences and the co-operatives serve as bridges linking the Party with the masses. Without these bridges, the contact between the Party and the masses would be severed, leaving a wide gap. Hence, these bridges cannot be dispensed with. And among the thousands of bridges or channels, the newspaper is an essential one.

It's a very good thing when a newspaper succeeds in forging close links with the masses. But if it spreads erroneous information and exerts a bad influence by propagating erroneous ideas, theories and policies, thereby stirring up the negative, backward and destructive proclivities among the masses, it commits a grave error indeed. Therefore, if newspaper work is done poorly, it can lead to the worst kind of alienation from the masses and to rather dangerous situations.

Running newspapers plays a very important role in maintaining our ties with the masses, and that is just what you are doing now.

Some comrades say that journalistic work is not interesting but insipid, and they worry about whether there is any future in it. Obviously, this shows that they don't see its importance and that they have too low an opinion of themselves. Of course, there are other important tasks besides journalism, such as fighting battles and taking part in production. No one can claim that his work alone is important. But it must be understood that, in addition to those fighting the enemy at the front and running factories and doing the Party's work in the rear areas, we need people like you. This is a necessary social division of labour.

The Party relies on you. How does the Party give leadership to the people? Besides relying on the army and government and mass organizations, it is counting even more heavily and more frequently on newspapers and news agencies. As our railroads and postal system are not yet in full working order, we can only depend on the New China News Agency and our broadcasting station to take the news

to the masses. The Central Committee relies on you to help it keep in touch with the masses, give them leadership and guide the work of the Party and government organizations in various places.

The people also rely on you. They want to be able to contact the Central Committee and Chairman Mao in order to put forward their opinions and present their demands and appeals. Many people don't know how to write, postal routes and telegraph lines are not open, and it's difficult for them to see Chairman Mao in person. It would be fine if they could go and see him every day, but this is impossible. Since you, as correspondents, move about the country, the people look to you to bring, through your news reports and dispatches, their appeals, demands, difficulties, experience and the errors in our work to the notice of the Party committees at all levels including the Central Committee. This helps to link the Party with the masses.

At present, we have scores of newspapers and, in the future, we will have hundreds of them throughout the country. If they can give genuine, comprehensive and profound expression to the feelings, aspirations and opinions of the people, just imagine how great a role they will play! You should live with the masses, sound out their real feelings and aspirations, get to know what they oppose, support and desire, and then report these matters. Unconcerned readers may just run through the reports and forget about them, but others will pay close attention to them and feel indebted to you. We should get to know the masses and learn from them. For this we have no alternative but to rely on our cadres who are in contact with the masses, on the people's representative conferences and on you. Any failure to do so is fraught with grave danger. So it would be very dangerous indeed for us to just sit back and relax. A question we should often ask ourselves is: Have we made any mistakes?

The Party depends on your work in order both to give guidance to the masses and to learn from them. Therefore, you will be rendering great help to the Party and the people if you do a good job, and little help if you don't. And it will be very harmful if you make mistakes by deliberately exaggerating facts and writing false reports as "Krikun" did.<sup>229</sup> So this is very serious work, and you must follow your vocation conscientiously and with a strong sense of responsibility to the Party and the people. People who act like "Krikun" will surely be punished. Some bourgeois reporters make a living by bootlicking. Are there any Gorlovs inside our Party who love others' flattery?<sup>230</sup> Yes, there are. They feel unhappy when you criticize them, but are

in high spirits when you toady to them. Therefore, the “Krikuns” still have their place, making a living out of such bourgeois influences as remain in the Party. However, this living is rather precarious, for if the Party should one day start consolidating its ranks, things would be different for those who ride high by taking advantage of the bourgeois influences. Their support would collapse all at once, and that would be a fitting end for them. If you fail to stick to the interests of the people and the truth, your career will be in jeopardy. But if you do work for the people, you will be assured of success. You won’t have to be frightened even though you have criticized others or have been abused by them. So long as you take the Party’s line and orientation as the basis of your work, there is nothing for you to fear although your labours may go unrecognized for a while. You must hold on, stand firm and have a fighting spirit. Like Lu Xun, you must possess moral backbone because without it you just cannot stand firm. For the sake of the people’s cause, you must withstand frosty winds, ride out storms, steel yourselves and learn from experience. If you don’t undergo trials and tribulations, how can you toughen yourselves?

You will soon leave here to be among the masses. I have heard that you have gained greater assurance and confidence since you began your study here, and this is all to the good. But I have also heard that you still don’t feel sufficiently assured and confident because you think you know too little and because you are worried about running into difficulties when you go among the masses. The Party is aware that you are still young, immature and inexperienced and cannot stand completely on your own yet. So, what’s to be done? You must study constantly. You can learn from each other and also from reading newspapers published by the Kuomintang and news reports from foreign news agencies, because many of their articles do not compare unfavourably with yours, and some are even better. It won’t do to base your work on this three-week course alone. You should get to know which tools and what knowledge a journalist needs, and then you should study on your own, and study hard. That way, the initiative will be in your hands.

As I see it, your work is just getting under way. Like a bean sprout in its period of early growth, your work has great vitality and will eventually become fully developed. In time you will be doing your work skilfully and smoothly. Although the Party began publishing newspapers very early, the people who manage them are not yet

skilful in their work. Do I underestimate you? If so, please excuse me. If not, you should pay attention to this matter.

Why do I say that your work is still just getting under way? I wouldn't say it without reason. In undertaking anything, the Communist Party needs to create anew and accumulate experience. If it does not succeed at first, there's nothing strange about that. Anyway, we have not lagged behind the bourgeoisie which took years before it became experienced in publishing newspapers. Our progress is not slow if we compare the *People's Daily*,<sup>231</sup> which just started publication, with the *Shen Bao*,<sup>232</sup> which has been in circulation for scores of years. Are we being conceited when we say this? No. You publish newspapers for the people and you are the people's correspondents and reporters. Have you fulfilled the tasks assigned by the people? Not yet. You have only just started. This is the yardstick I have used in making my estimate.

You are expected to be able to study on your own initiative and to do your work independently and well. Using this three-week study period as a starting point, you should continue in the same direction and study hard, increase your knowledge and create the conditions for doing your work well.

You have done much work for the Party and the people in the past, and that is to your credit. However, you have also made some mistakes which have had a very bad influence on the people. We do not, however, blame those who are running the newspapers, and still less do we blame you. Neither you nor the leading comrades of the newspapers can be held responsible because mistakes are unavoidable under present conditions. It is we who are to blame for failing to keep tabs on the New China News Agency and our newspapers. Alongside this self-criticism, however, we should make it clear that you did commit many errors in the past. The question of responsibility for them need not be pursued or, if it is, should be traced to us.

The requirement which I, as a newspaper reader, would like to propose, is that you become more mature journalists. Since your task is to write for the benefit of the readers, they are your masters. And if they say that your work is not well done, that is tantamount to a criticism by your superiors, and so there is nothing for you to say.

In order to do your work well, what requirements should you meet?

1. You should have a correct attitude. You are the people's reporters and correspondents and must serve them heart and soul.



You should be aware of the various developments and tendencies among the people and of their reactions to the Party's principles and policies. Because the people are of various social strata, distinctions should be drawn between them. You should be good at analysing concrete conditions, and you should be able to perceive the difficulties, demands and feelings of the people of various strata. You should give expression to their demands, difficulties, appeals, tendencies and trends, truthfully and comprehensively in a concise and fine style. "Concise" means without rambling, and "fine" means well-written. A well-written article is one the people will enjoy reading. They can't afford the time to read through anything that is not concise, and they just won't care to read it if it isn't well-written. So you should select the important things when writing — that is the best way to be concise. To present things truthfully, what you write should be comprehensive, for it will not be the truth if any aspect is left out.

You should consider your readers when you write. This means that before you start writing an article, you should consider who will most likely be the readers. Manuscripts intended for nationwide publication require different treatments from those to be published only in certain localities. Articles written for the New China News Agency are meant to reach readers throughout the country, in the Kuomintang areas, and in foreign countries as well. This being the case, you should consider the needs of all the readers as well as whether some topics have received too much coverage or others too little. If you write a news report about the Taihang region for publication in the various Liberated Areas, you should think about what the people in those areas want to know about Taihang and how to present it so as to arouse their interest. If your aim is to introduce some experience gained in the region, you should find out whether it is of general applicability. If so, your report will be read by people throughout the Liberated Areas, even though the experience was gained in a single village. There is no need to cover in detail experience applicable only to Taihang problems, for it will not be read by people in areas where such problems do not exist.

Your reports must convey the truth, without swagger or sensationalism, or filtering prejudices. Whether the masses oppose, welcome or misunderstand us, we should report what they think of us and not be afraid to state the truth. As materialists, you should have the courage not to dress up the facts with extraneous things, and preconceived ideas should be left behind when you go to the countryside. You may ex-

amine whether the Party's policies are actually correct or not and point out any errors which you discover. This is, in fact, your right. If you find that the policies are correct on the whole, but still contain some shortcomings, you should point these out too. Does this indicate a lack of faith in the Party's policies? No. The test of the correctness of our policies is their applicability to the masses. You have to report the results of their implementation truthfully to the Central Committee, which is always ready to have them tested. This is the Central Committee's position, and so it should be the position of Party committees at all levels. If the policies are wrong, they should be changed; if they are imperfect, they should be revised. This is the way Marxist-Leninist leaders should act. Therefore, you are encouraged to make investigations and raise questions based on your findings and views. If the policies are correct, you should say so, if not, you should say that too. You are not just entitled to do so, it is your task. You must go among the masses to investigate the implementation of the Party's policies, and you should not be afraid to report on the dark sides of things, although of course some things are not appropriate for publication. You should investigate a matter from all angles and use all kinds of data to test your conclusions. The most essential thing in your writing is to be truthful and not to exaggerate, and the second is to be comprehensive and profound.

It should be pointed out that no article can be comprehensive if it lacks profundity, that is, if it fails to raise matters to the high plane of theory. Articles which are not profound are fragmentary, superficial and unsystematic. To be comprehensive, it is necessary to synthesize and sum up data and raise the synthesis or summary to the plane of policy or theory. Without doing this, one cannot recognize the essence of things. Theory calls for "penetration" which goes beyond mere description of phenomena and superficialities to explain internal relationships.

To be comprehensive, one should not write of things in general terms, but must analyse them. When a policy is being implemented, you should find out the opinions of the various classes and strata of the people and get to know who supports, opposes or has doubts about it. If those who ought to support it oppose it, you should determine whether there is something wrong with the policy itself or whether the problem lies in its implementation. It is your duty to get a clear view of the matter from various angles before you reach any conclusions. Until things are clear, you have not completed your task.

In addition, the people will not believe your news report if it provides no data or analysis. But the problem is not whether they believe you or not, but whether or not you have clearly understood the matter yourself. You should be able to say: "You can trust my news report. There is no danger in doing so." You should be able to give this assurance.

In interviews, it is by no means easy to get people, no matter whom, to open their hearts to you. Few people speak the truth to news reporters in capitalist societies. But that won't be the major problem confronting our Marxist correspondents here. Even so, if you ask people about the grain tax this year, the answer will probably be "not bad, not bad". If you report that, however, you may not have the truth, because what you have heard is just an offhand reply. You should delve deeply into matters with the masses, make investigations from various angles and find out what is of general significance. Otherwise, your report will not be true. If you can truly, comprehensively and profoundly report the thoughts and feelings of the people, it will have a very great effect. For, in doing so you will have voiced their appeals and given vent to what they dare not or cannot say, or what they desire to say but find no way of expressing. If you can file such reports regularly, you are well on your way to becoming mature Marxist correspondents. The masses will support you and, wherever you go, will seek you out to give you information. Then it will be possible to see who among you has high or low prestige among the masses and who has great or negligible influence. At present, this is still impossible to determine. When you have done your job well, the Party and the masses will reward you. But this should not be what you are after; it is just the normal outcome of your work. If you are impatient and want to become well-known throughout the country immediately, you will only end up being a "Krikun". You must always remember that your pens are wielded for the people and that you are the eyes, ears and voices of the Party and the people. You must not adopt the irresponsible attitude of a "Krikun" who tries to please the public with claptrap. Rather, you should work in a conscientious, prudent and serious manner.

2. You must be prepared to do fairly hard work by yourselves. Anyone who is unwilling to do so will be incapable of accomplishing anything. This is a point you should always remember. It implies, first of all, that you must be mentally prepared to do hard work, namely, systematic theoretical work, and to do it independently. It's no good

for you simply to do as others bid you to do. In order to write about facts and form independent judgements on various conditions, you have to make your own observations, conduct inquiries, read Marxist-Leninist books and do a lot of research. You can't expect to do a good job in the countryside by just relying on your three weeks of study here. A lot remains for you to learn. For instance, sometimes you will find it difficult to judge the truth of or discern the real meaning of something you hear people say. You cannot form a judgement without experience and training in theory and methods of work. Some comrades say that we followed the "cadre line" in the past and that we should now follow the mass line by advocating decision by the masses instead of by cadres. Could there ever be any mass line that dispenses with cadres? Such an approach would only lead to our acting according to the whims of the masses. How do the masses make decisions? Generally speaking, they do it through representatives of their own selection since it is certainly impossible for several million people to directly take part in making decisions. The cadres are none other than their representatives. Many comrades have failed to understand this point and have made the mistake of setting the masses against the cadres as rival decision makers. And why have they failed to understand? Because they lack an understanding of Marxist theory and the power of independent thinking and because they cannot follow up the analysis of any situation with a correct judgement.

3. You should have a solid grounding in Marxist theory. You want to be Marxist correspondents and yet you do not quite understand Marxism. This is your main problem. You cannot improve your work unless you raise the level of your understanding of theory.

Some comrades who wrote a lot when they were in Beiping and had quite a readership, are unable to produce anything here. They say that there is no "freedom", that articles are revised again and again and that their "creativity" is restricted. This is not true. If your articles contain ideas which are opposed to Marxism-Leninism, I think you'll agree that we should certainly restrict them. For example, the "creativity" of an article which is vivid but calls for a decision by the masses alone and denies the role of the cadres must be restricted. The crux of the matter is that you have become correspondents for the Party's newspaper and are not writing articles for Beiping's wall newspapers or *Da Gong Bao*.<sup>233</sup> This point should be clearly understood. In the Kuomintang areas, people welcome articles that are 30 per cent Marxist in content and lavish their praises on such articles. But if our



papers were 30 per cent non-Marxist in content, they would be castigated.

You lack experience and especially a solid grounding in Marxist theory, so that you tend to look at problems, not from a Marxist viewpoint, but from other viewpoints such as that of the petty bourgeoisie. Thus you often lose your bearings in your articles.

This is the reason why you must raise the level of your theoretical grounding and acquire a thorough grasp of the Marxist-Leninist theories, including in particular the materialist conception of history, the theory of knowledge and the method of class analysis. These cannot be mastered, as you may think, by reading through the books once, but only by constant study. You have not mastered them until you are able to apply them and can tell whether others are applying them correctly. When you have accomplished this, you will be able to write with a sense of freedom. Without a good knowledge of Marxism-Leninism one cannot be free. So far, you have not yet acquired this kind of freedom and are particularly deficient in theory, which is the knowledge most valuable for Communist correspondents. So you must continue to study, not just for three weeks, but for three months, three years — even thirty years — and strive for a good grasp of Marxism-Leninism.

4. You should possess a thorough knowledge of the Party's line and policies. In order to propagate them correctly and in good time, you should always engage in study and research and pay close attention to their implementation. If there is anything you don't understand, you should make diligent inquiries, or put questions in writing to your superiors. It is impossible for you to do your work well without understanding the Party's line. What's more, you should have an understanding of the struggle against "Left" and Right deviations and be good at applying the methods of this struggle to the management of newspapers. You must firmly carry out the Party's correct line by criticizing both "Left" and Right deviations, for this is the basic method — the Marxist-Leninist method. It is impossible to affirm the truth without negating both the "Left" and the Right errors. In other words, it is necessary to negate what is false in order to affirm what is true.

You should not only propagate the Party's policy, but should also examine it against the practice of the masses to see whether it is correct or has shortcomings. Here lies the opportunity for you to show your creativeness by gauging the real feelings of the masses, propagating the

Party's policy vigorously, writing in a fine, realistic style and discovering the shortcomings of the Party's policy, all of which are things others cannot do. Far from restricting this kind of creativeness, the Party is ready to encourage it. However, we cannot let anarchism and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas spread unchecked. Those who write such things say that they want to develop their individuality. In fact, they are trying to develop the party spirit of their own class while we are trying to develop the party spirit and individuality of the proletariat. If your individuality brings you close to the masses and helps you to give comprehensive and profound expression to the thoughts and feelings of the working people, that's all to the good. But if it makes you despise the masses and if it leads you to express the thinking and class feeling of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, it just won't do.

If the four requirements I have outlined here are met, journalistic work can be done well. But in so far as you have not yet reached the required standards, you should continue to study. Of course, if one's sympathies are still with the landlords, rich peasants and the bourgeoisie, the problem is not merely caused by a lack of study, but study will do some good. We believe that you are willing to serve the people even if you unconsciously retain some viewpoints of the landlords, rich peasants and the bourgeoisie. We hope that you will continue to make efforts to remould yourselves, take a correct attitude towards serving the people, acquire the ability to draw closer to the working people, deepen your grounding in Marxism-Leninism, become thoroughly familiar with the Party's line and policies, perform your hard work independently and without hesitation, and be good journalists for the people.

# SPEECH DELIVERED TO THE FIRST CLASS OF STUDENTS OF THE INSTITUTE OF MARXISM-LENINISM

*December 14, 1948*

Comrades,

Although school started some time ago, this is the first time I've been here. I hope to have other opportunities to talk with you, but I'm not sure whether it will be possible. This Institute will be kept open, so you can pursue your studies without any worries. The length of time for schooling has been set at three semesters, that is, one year and a half, and the course of study has also been established. Some comrades are afraid that they might be sent to work before they graduate. Now I can earnestly say that we shall try our best not to send you away before you complete your studies. Nothing on earth is absolute, however, and so some of you may be sent to work, should the need arise. But generally speaking, nobody will be sent away before graduation.

Some comrades have asked me to speak on the current situation. Things in China are developing very quickly. Of central importance to the political situation is the war, which is progressing well and very much in our favour. The liberation of Beiping is just round the corner, and the cadres assigned to take over the administration of the city are already making preparations to go there. To the south of the city, Chiang Kai-shek's main forces have been surrounded, and the four

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The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party decided in July 1948 to set up an advanced Party school in north China to equip cadres in leading positions or engaged in propaganda work with adequate theoretical knowledge so as to meet the urgent needs of the developing situation and prepare for the liberation of the whole country. It was named after the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Yan'an days. Liu Shaoqi served as President of the new Institute which opened on November 8, 1948 in Lijiagoukou, Pingshan County, Hebei Province.

armies under the command of Huang Wei<sup>234</sup> and others will probably be wiped out in a week or two. When the two other sections of Chiang Kai-shek's main forces, deployed respectively in the Beiping-Tianjin area and Xuzhou, are put out of action, he will have no more main forces at his disposal, and the overall situation in China can then be considered settled. Militarily, there won't be much left to do north of the Changjiang River, and our next step will be to cross it. The troops under Hu Zongnan<sup>235</sup> and Bai Chongxi<sup>236</sup> are not part of Chiang's main forces, and they will not present any problem when we cross the river next year. Will anything unexpected happen? For example, will the United States send its troops to intervene? Not likely. The United States doesn't dare send a large number of troops, say one or two hundred thousand, to intervene in the Chinese revolution because if it did, it would stimulate the vigorous development of the revolution, rather than checking it. The United States is very much afraid of a war against us. Should such a war break out, what would it do when we captured some of its men or wiped out several thousand, say, ten thousand of its troops? If it, as an imperialist power, were to give up half-way, it would lose face. But if it were to press on, it would be unable to sustain the war. So the present international situation is favourable to us. Before long, when Beiping and Tianjin are liberated and the Xuzhou campaign is over, we will take a bit of a rest and consolidate our forces. Then we'll cross the Changjiang River next year.

Victory in the Chinese revolution is now a foregone conclusion. The revolutionary situation is developing with unexpected speed. Our worry now is not that it is developing too slowly, but too quickly. An overly rapid development will bring us a lot of difficulties. We would prefer a slower development, because it would give us more time to make preparations. For your part, you should concentrate on your studies, and as the old saying goes: "Busy oneself in the classics and turn a deaf ear to what is going on outside." You may of course pay some attention to outside things, but you should not let them affect your studies. There are only a hundred-odd of you here. Though we need cadres badly in our work, it is imperative that we allow some people to leave their work to spend one year and a half studying. Our work may suffer somewhat, but not too much. You must devote your time to the study of Marxism and theoretical knowledge, which is indispensable to the Chinese revolution, the people and the Party.



Why have we set up the Institute of Marxism-Leninism? Why should we study Marxism-Leninism? And more specifically, can any Communist Party member get along without studying it? Can he manage if he learns just a little of it? The answer is no. "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement."<sup>237</sup> These are famous words of Lenin's. Revolutionary action is guided by revolutionary theory. A revolution will succeed when it is based on correct theories and is under correct guidance; otherwise it will fail. Marxism-Leninism is the theoretical basis of our Party, and yet there have been shortcomings in our work of raising the theoretical level of our membership. Our cadres have accomplished a lot in the past few years. They have been waging arduous struggles against the Japanese imperialists, Chiang Kai-shek and the landlords. This is all very good. But they lack theoretical training. This is a serious weakness which affects many of our comrades. Is our Party as a whole armed with Marxist-Leninist theories? Yes, it is. It has been founded on the basis of these theories. The members of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao Zedong are widely renowned for their mastery of Marxism-Leninism. But most of us are far from adequate in this respect. We must raise the theoretical level of our Party cadres and help the leading cadres in various fields of work to acquire a firm grounding in Marxism-Leninism. This is a task we must fulfil, and it is the aim behind the establishment of this Institute. In the Institute, leading cadres will have the time and the facilities to learn Marxist-Leninist theories and to become more or less versed in them. When they go back to work, they will be able to do a much better job. In practical work our comrades have come across many problems that they have found difficult to solve. For instance, they have been afflicted with rural "socialism" at certain times and with landlord and rich peasant ideology and bourgeois thinking at others. They have done some work and have some achievements to their credit, but there is the other side of the coin — they have also made some mistakes. All those who have done really useful work for the revolution among the masses are aware of their own ignorance and of the consequent mistakes they have made. Their mistakes either in economic and organizational work or in agrarian reform are all due to their ignorance. Perhaps many comrades do not yet realize that these mistakes were dealt with in principle by Marx and Lenin in their works long ago. By the time they graduate from this Institute, they will know.

Some comrades have expressed a desire to listen to more reports. Though there is nothing bad about this in itself, it smacks of dependence. It seems to imply that if the comrades who have already studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin give lectures on the contents, they will save you the trouble of reading the works yourselves. Depending on others is a lazy person's approach. It is incompatible with the qualities of a Communist. A Communist should be full of initiative and drive and independent creativity. Lenin said that without an indefatigable spirit and a certain amount of independent work, it was impossible to understand any complex question or to arrive at the truth.<sup>238</sup> One has to engage in conscientious, arduous and independent work to collect and analyse data oneself; otherwise one can never ascertain the truth. Stalin also pointed out that we could not expect Marx, separated as he was from our day by a period of several decades, to have solved all the problems we now face.<sup>239</sup> They had to leave something for the succeeding generations to do. In fact, a lot has been left unfinished. If you want to take up this work, you won't find it easy, for it requires painstaking effort. It is impossible for anyone to acquire theoretical knowledge without making independent, arduous effort. That is why you should rely mainly on yourselves in your studies. You can get some help by listening to reports and lectures given by the teachers, but you can't rely entirely on these. If you want to learn something, you have to rely on your own efforts and you must adopt correct methods, without which you won't get anywhere no matter how hard you work. While you may think that you have learned something, knowledge acquired in this way is falacious and unreliable.

Many questions have been studied by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, our Central Committee and Chairman Mao Zedong, and many theoretical questions have been resolved in principle. The task for us now is to go about reading their books and understanding them. What about specific problems, which are legion, such as how to take over Beiping? Has Marx answered all these questions for us? Expecting such things is a kind of dogmatism. It is up to us to solve such concrete problems as the approach, organization and form for the taking over of the city. After our failure in the Great Revolution in 1927,<sup>30</sup> some comrades read the book *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* by Lenin. We regretted not having read it earlier when we discovered that many problems we faced had already been solved by Lenin long ago. Had we read that book and studied

carefully the questions of Party building and co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, we would not have been totally unprepared when the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek turned against the revolution. We have had many other regrets, too. During the agrarian reform we regretted not having read the Party documents on the differentiation of classes, issued in 1933.<sup>240</sup> What we want to do now is to study various questions in advance, so that we can be prepared and avoid having regrets in the future.

You have done a lot of work but have also made some mistakes. Perhaps you have not yet realized that we cannot do without studying Marxist-Leninist theories. You will when you graduate from this Institute.

There were shortcomings, specifically dogmatism, when we ran the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in the past. Those shortcomings have already been criticized. Now we have set up such an institute again, and this time we must do better, we must keep it going, and we must have a second, a third and more classes following the first. The Chinese Party, which now has more than three million members, is facing a very complex situation. Things will become even more complicated with the liberation of Shanghai, Beiping, Tianjin, Nanjing, etc. Without a high theoretical level, we will not be able to cope. The Central Committee has set before us the task of raising the theoretical level of the Party cadres and a directive to this end will soon be issued. The establishment of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism is an important measure we are taking for the attainment of this goal. The Institute will serve as the centre, playing the guiding role in a Party-wide study drive, and we will rely on it to raise the theoretical level of the whole Party. You should not only set a good example in your study but also give assistance to the whole Party in this endeavour. For instance, the Central Committee can avail itself of your essays, the periodicals you publish and the articles you write about your experience in study, in order to give guidance to the whole Party. This is a duty of all the teachers and students of the Institute. The Institute is an advanced Party school. We plan to set up a branch in the Northeast and secondary and elementary Party schools as well. Setting up such schools is an important measure for raising the theoretical level. There are other measures, too, such as publishing articles and newspapers, and organizing the cadres for in-service study. However, this Institute under the direct leadership of the Central Committee has a special role to play and special tasks to perform. It must

turn out cadres versed in Marxism-Leninism, who can do their jobs better.

Some of you may ask: "Can't I get along without studying Marxist-Leninist books? I never studied them before and yet I served as the secretary of Party committees at the county and prefectural levels all right. I can do those same jobs today without studying." The answer is that with victory in the Chinese revolution approaching, we can no longer afford not to study. Things were relatively simple when we were operating in the mountains. Now that we have come down from the mountains and entered the cities, things are getting quite complicated. We shall be confronted with much more difficult problems when we have to run the affairs of the whole country. Once we have overthrown Chiang Kai-shek and the old regime, we will lead the people of the whole country in setting up a new state. If we do poorly, we will be overthrown too. Emperor Tai Zong of the Tang Dynasty<sup>241</sup> and Wei Zheng<sup>242</sup> debated the question: Which is more difficult, to seize state power or to maintain it? It's an age-old problem. It certainly isn't easy to maintain state power after you have won it. Many people worry that while we can live plainly and work hard now in order to win state power, we might degenerate like the Kuomintang after we succeed. This is not entirely groundless. In a backward, agricultural country like China, the head of a village or the secretary of a county Party committee can lord his position over the people in his village or county. Some people are bound to become degenerate and bureaucratic after victory. But things won't be so bad if our Party keeps an eye on such things, steps up ideological education and enforces discipline. For this reason, we are taking a series of measures such as combating landlord, rich peasant and bourgeois thinking in the Party; conducting criticism and struggle against degenerate cadres; and meting out punishment including dismissal from posts. All our efforts are aimed at redeeming these cadres, who, if we did not take any measures, would grow in number and could lead to the defeat of the revolution. Marxist works, therefore, cannot be dispensed with when we have won victory. On the contrary, after victory it will be especially important to study more theoretical works and to become better versed in theories; otherwise, due to the complexity of the situation, the dangers will be even greater than before.

Some comrades are afraid that the Institute of Marxism-Leninism will go for dogmatism as its predecessor did. This is a commendable



ble caution. Is there the danger of our repeating the mistake of dogmatism? The danger is with us all the time. It is with us today and will be with us in the future. Dogmatism is subjectivism. Contradiction always exists between the subjective and the objective. There would be no idealism without subjectivism; therefore subjectivism will be with us even ten thousand years from now. However, we can avoid slipping into it or at least keep it under control if we maintain our vigilance against it. If, however, we give up study and avoid the Institute just because we are afraid of dogmatism, we will face another danger: the danger of empiricism. Which of the two deviations presents the foremost danger to the Party today? It is empiricism. More of our members are prone to this error than to the other. If we fail to study, we are bound to fall into empiricism, which, in fact, is already evident in the Party. Party members who are afraid of dogmatism are precisely those who have refused to study and so are susceptible to empiricism. They are already beset by the danger of an empiricist deviation and yet they are not aware of it. This is a pity. It seems that we have reached something of a dilemma. Giving up study leads to empiricism, while engaging in it leads to dogmatism. What shall we do, then? We should steer clear of both dogmatism and empiricism. Herein lies the virtue of a Bolshevik. It isn't easy to carry out agrarian reform without deviating to the left or to the right. Nor is it easy to follow the mass line without making the mistake of tailism. It is impossible to ascertain the truth, to find the correct line and become a true Marxist, without arduous and independent work. Hence there is the need to study and exert oneself. This is true in everything. Today, we are again confronted with Right and "Left" deviations in our economic work. While engaging in capitalism is a Right deviation, embarking on socialism straight away is a "Left" deviation. It is pretty difficult to build a kind of economy which is neither capitalist nor socialist. But we must try to find a way out. To be a Bolshevik is to face such difficulties without fear. We study Marxism-Leninism precisely for the purpose of solving such problems. If you get bogged down in day-to-day work and neglect studying, you are liable to make the mistake of routinism. But, when you do study, you are likely to make the mistake of dogmatism. In everything, there is a struggle on two fronts. Communists must engage in such struggles in all they do so as to be free from both empiricism and dogmatism. This is a normal and unavoidable aspect of Party life.

Some comrades say that it is necessary to go work in villages in order to integrate theory with practice. Actually, there are many ways of integrating the two. Working in a village is just one way. Right here in this Institute you can integrate the two, and on a much a broader scale at that.

Studying the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin means learning from the revolutionary experience of various other countries. Less than one per cent of the contents of all their works is about China. The rest is analysis of the history of other countries. Some people question the necessity of studying these foreign works when they can't even get through all the books on China or through Chairman Mao Zedong's works. Others hold that they should at least study China first, and then proceed to study other countries. These views are incorrect. We must study both in order to understand the relationship between the experience of the Chinese revolution and that of the world revolution. To neglect either is wrong. If one neglects the experience of the Chinese revolution, one will fall into dogmatism by "never opening his mouth without citing ancient Greece". There are people who believe that everything foreign is good and everything Chinese bad. Such a tendency had been found both inside and outside the Party since the May 4th Movement. But the rectification movement has set this right inside the Party.<sup>181</sup> The problem now is that our people only want to study Chinese experience and so neglect foreign experience. The question of whether or not to study the revolutionary experience of foreign countries is a question of whether or not to study the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

China is a big country with nearly 500 million people, comprising one-fourth of the world's population. It is almost equal to Europe both in population and in area. People say that though Europe is the place where Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin were born, victory in the revolution is yet to be won on part of the continent, whereas the revolution is victorious in China where none of them ever appeared. This is true. Victory for the Chinese revolution is also victory for the world revolution. Our victory will exert immense influence on the other parts of the world. It is of great importance. However, if we are satisfied only with the experience of the Chinese revolution and do not learn from the experience of other countries, not only will we be unable to shoulder the task of making world revolution, we'll also be unable to guide the Chinese revolution to final victory. I'd like to call your attention to the third of the twelve conditions listed

by Stalin in his article “The Prospects of the Communist Party of Germany and the Question of Bolshevisation”.<sup>243</sup> He tells us that people must carefully analyse the concrete conditions in their own country in order to guide the revolution there. But the last sentence in the paragraph states that it is imperative to take into account the experience of revolutions in all countries. This sentence is often neglected. Can it be dispensed with? Can it be deleted? No, it can't. Not a single major question concerning the revolution can be solved by the careful analysis of concrete conditions alone. The revolutionary and historical experience of other countries has to be taken into account. For instance, the idea of conferences of people's representatives was formulated on the basis of a study of the experience of bourgeois parliaments and of the Soviets. The Chinese revolution is a part — a considerable part — of the world revolution. It is not isolated from it. Therefore, we have to integrate our studies not only with the realities in China but also with those in other countries, and not only with the realities of the present but also with those of the past.

Some people wonder why they are required to study the history of Western countries and whether they can't just skip it. Well, they can't. We study it in order to understand Marxism-Leninism, and as Chairman Mao Zedong has said, Marxism-Leninism is a universal truth applicable everywhere in the world. We study theories for the purpose of applying this universal truth to the concrete revolutionary practice in China. Hence, we have the need for practical experience and an even greater need for theoretical knowledge: neither is dispensable. Likewise, we cannot do without either Chinese or foreign experience because to do without one or the other would make us lame Marxists. A dogmatist is a lame Marxist. An empiricist is a crawling Marxist who is unable to see beyond the end of his nose and always loses his bearings. Thus we must study Marxism-Leninism so as to apply its universal truth to concrete practice in China. Only by drawing on both Chinese and foreign experience can we give correct guidance.

Some comrades ask why we can't dispense with foreign experience since without it we have achieved successes all the same in agrarian reform and military operations. The fact is that while you may not have had any knowledge of foreign experience, the Central Committee and Chairman Mao Zedong have taken foreign experience into consideration in drawing up their directives. You just weren't aware of it. Another of your weaknesses is that you can't spot mistakes in

directives issued by the Central Committee, so you just try to carry them out mechanically. This shows that you are not of leadership calibre. It is not enough for you to do revolutionary work and lead a people's revolution just by virtue of a smattering of personal experience; you would be just crawling about. Of course, it is true that you have done a lot and have done some work quite well, but you are not yet fully qualified cadres. You can act correctly under correct leadership but not without it; that is to say, you are unable to find your bearings independently. According to Dimitrov,<sup>182</sup> one of the four main criteria of a cadre is the ability to find his bearings independently.<sup>183</sup> Because you lack this ability, you are not yet up to the mark. A good cadre who is qualified to take up a position of leadership must be able to find his bearings by himself. He must know about China and about other countries, and he must be well versed in theories and practical experience. You have been working fairly well, but you will be able to do a better job and make even greater progress after you have studied Marxism. If you neglect study, you will be in danger of falling behind, because when the Chinese revolution triumphs, the situation will become more complicated. Any failure to make progress will mean retrogression.

How do we apply foreign experience to China? Chairman Mao Zedong has advised us not to "cite ancient Greece whenever we open our mouths". Stalin said that foreign experience could serve only as a reference. So, instead of trying to mimic it, we should use it as a reference. For example, in setting up co-operatives we should make a concrete analysis of the situation in China, while considering the experience of other countries. This is the proper way to apply foreign experience.

Today, it is especially necessary to study international experience. Marxism, which is exceedingly rich in content, has given us the answers to many major questions of principle in the world, such as the national question, the workers' movement and underground work. We must, therefore, conscientiously study Marxist theories. Once we have grasped Marxism, we will be able to stand up and start walking, instead of continuing to crawl along on all fours. By straightening out the ideas which have hitherto confounded us, we will broaden our horizons.

Some people maintain that they don't need to study geography and history because they've studied them before. We have considered this problem and decided that it's better to hold these courses anyway.



There's no harm in studying them again. Our classes differ both in content and in analytical approach from the classes you attended in Beiping, and they will be especially useful for those of you who have never taken these subjects. You need to study history and geography to understand Marxist theory. You may think that you have acquired enough historical knowledge, but if we give you a test, it will show otherwise. So you still have to learn. Universal truth is conceived in history, too. We must apply the Marxist viewpoint in analysing historical phenomena.

Some comrades complain that they are required to read too many books and that they can't finish them. But I think it would be better for you to read them all through. Just work a little harder.

From the papers I have read, I can see that the educational level of many comrades is inadequate. This is a hindrance to the study of theories, and so to facilitate the study of Marxism-Leninism, we need courses for raising this level. The present educational level of many comrades is insufficient to really master theory. Although some have graduated from universities or colleges, they can't even write coherently. In writing articles, you should write the Chinese characters properly. I can't read many of your characters. There should be some rules guiding handwriting, or it will be rife with anarchism and subjectivism, so to speak, and in a sorry mess. And such a phenomenon should be regarded as disrespect for one's national language traditions. Chairman Mao Zedong once giped at someone who wrote the character “工” [*gong*, meaning working] in “工人” [*gong ren*, meaning working men] as “𠂇” with its perpendicular stroke twisted into a zigzag, and the character “人” [*ren*, meaning men] as “𠂆” with three slanting strokes added to its right leg. Chairman Mao called him a disciple of the ancient scholars who didn't care whether or not people could read what they wrote. He also called such practice subjectivism. This phenomenon should be criticized. In our examination of the reports recently sent in by various localities, no major mistakes were found, but a hundred minor ones could be pointed out in a single report. The language used in some reports is unintelligible and the terms are so ambiguous that they are often open to different interpretations. In many cases our understanding differs from yours and yours differs from the peasants'. How, then, can we unify our use of the language? By learning how to write articles well. If you don't do this, you'll find it difficult to take up the pen when you go to work after graduation.

More practice in writing will in turn help your reading. You should learn to write articles not only on theoretical but also on practical matters. The ability to write is, moreover, one of the criteria for judging how well you have done in your studies. The Institute should follow regular methods of education, such as administering examinations for which you must be prepared at the time of graduation. We must continue to run elementary and secondary Party schools, and we must make them regular schools step by step. Only in this way can our Party attain a satisfactory level in our understanding of Marxism-Leninism.

## SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING URBAN WORK

*March 12 1949*

Chairman Mao has delivered a very good report, and many comrades have made fine speeches too.<sup>244</sup> I agree with them all.

During the agrarian reform, mistakes were made in various places, for which the Central Committee is in part responsible because most are my fault. The focus at the Land Conference was on repudiating Right deviations, and although at the same time “Left” deviations were criticized and combated, not enough was done to prevent them. Although to a certain extent anarchy and a lack of discipline were noted and reproved, these deviations were not set right until Chairman Mao developed a systematic criticism and laid down methods for their correction.

From now on urban work will be the focus of our work throughout the Party. I would now like to discuss a few relevant questions.

1. *The cities and villages* We should regard the cities and villages as an integral whole. So far, we have been dealing with rural problems only, but the addition of urban problems means we now must attend to the difficulties related to large industries, state-owned enterprises which are socialist in character, state capitalism, the relationship between the cities and the countryside, and so on. In guiding the work of our Party as a whole, we must focus on urban work by keeping these problems in mind and giving them due consideration. We must change the practice of concentrating on just one area at a time or we will make mistakes.

2. *The take-over of the cities* This problem has by and large been solved. Although there are some shortcomings, the people are pleased with the results to date. Two problems remain to be solved, however.

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A speech made at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, held from March 5 to 13, 1949 in Xibaipo Village, Pingshan County, Hebei Province.

One concerns the resumption of work in private enterprises. Many private enterprises in Beiping have not yet resumed operations. It is true that some capitalists find it difficult to do so, but there are certainly others who are causing trouble and going slow in an attempt to promote their own influence with the workers by weakening the Party's. Therefore, I propose that we adopt the principle of sending cadres or military representatives to such big cities as Nanjing and Shanghai to supervise private enterprises that have a vital bearing on the national economy and people's livelihood and whose owners cause trouble or move slowly. While it is not yet advisable to issue a general decree on the supervision of private enterprises, detailed instructions should be given both to those who are sent as supervisors and to the enterprises concerned. Full preparations must be made in advance. The situation in the enterprises must be sized up (we can have talks with the capitalists) and relevant problems clarified before the supervisors are dispatched. The powers and functions of the military representatives should be specifically defined in instructions which should lay down, among other things, that the owner must submit a detailed report to the military representative without withholding anything, that trade unions should be organized to conduct education among the workers and that the capitalists should be prevented from moving slowly or engaging in sabotage. In principle, the Party has no right to ban strikes by workers. But it must suppress the disruptive activities of capitalists and reactionaries in order to safeguard production. Naturally, where necessary and feasible, it is proper to assist capitalists overcome their difficulties in resuming work and maintaining production by helping them do such things as procure raw materials and establish markets.

The second problem concerns making prompt arrangements for handing the enterprises over to the proper institutions to run so that normal production may be carried on. Of course some enterprises, such as the Shanghai textile mills, don't fit anywhere and cannot resume normal production if they are handed over to local institutions. But since the Central Government has not yet been established and there is no one available to take charge of them, the Shanghai Municipality should try to do it. Once established, the Central Government should make preparations for taking over the large enterprises in big cities like Shanghai and Hankou.

The basic problems of administration of the cities after their take-over has not yet been solved. We should study the matter earnestly



and find a solution after the current session is concluded. Our successful take-over of the cities must be followed up by their successful administration and transformation. We must get rid of some of the old things — but not too many all at once — and we should let new things grow. Successful administration of the cities means building them up and increasing production, thus bringing the workers and peasants closer to each other.

3. *Rely on the workers and increase production* With regard to administration of the cities, Chairman Mao raised two questions: On whom should we rely and to what purpose? His answer is to rely on the workers in order to increase production.

We must rely on the workers. But are they reliable? Marxism holds that the working class is most reliable. Generally speaking, this is correct, but we still have some specific problems. So we must strive to enable our working class to become completely reliable. If we ignore these problems and rely on the workers without doing any work among them, they won't necessarily be reliable.

Our Party used to have close ties with the workers, but later we were compelled to move to the countryside. The Kuomintang has been operating among the workers for so many years that, through its influence, it has made the ranks of workers more complicated. Moreover, our ties with the workers have been weakened and our cadres (including members of the Central Committee) do not know them very well and are no longer good at working among them. Hence, we must study assiduously, always bear in mind Chairman Mao's instruction to rely on the workers, strengthen our work among them and turn them into a completely reliable force. There are three principal measures we must take: do all we can to maintain the workers' living standard and prevent it from falling too low; conduct intensive education among the workers on a broad scale; and get them organized.

1) We must maintain the workers' livelihood. Whenever feasible and necessary, the People's Government should give the workers preferential treatment. For example, when we are short of goods and materials, we must ensure supplies for the workers (who come second only to the armed forces in this matter), and we should see to it that their living standard is higher than that of the staff members of our own institutions in the rear areas. Of course, it would be wrong for the workers to make unduly high demands and pursue nothing but material benefits, and we have already criticized this. Failure to protect the workers' livelihood or lack of concern for it would, however,

be an even more serious mistake. If we lead an even harder life than the workers when times are most difficult, we will be in a better position to influence the workers and gain their understanding and support. Comrade Chen Yun<sup>245</sup> told the workers in Shenyang that we were using coal tailings just as they were and that the best quality coals were being saved to run the trains which take our troops to the front. Then he posed the question, "Should good coal be used on trains or for cooking?" Once things were clarified, the workers had no complaints. That was the proper way to explain things.

There is no doubt that the Communist Party fights for the improvement of the life of the working class; this principle has not changed. If we don't give the working class anything to look forward to, they will say that things remain the same and that we are no different from the Kuomintang. We must disseminate the idea that the living standards of the workers will surely be improved in the days to come and that it is in the interest of the war effort, of construction and of the future that we are leading this hard life today.

At present, many peasants complain that the workers, being exempt from obligatory labour and grain taxes, are better-off than they and that this is unfair. The complaint is not entirely groundless, but we cannot accept it as it stands. The workers, for their part, say that the peasants have obtained land, and ask what they have received. Their wages have not been raised, nor their work-hours reduced and everything remains about the same as in the past. This is not entirely groundless either, but they should direct their attention to the future. Naturally, things are different with the workers in that handing the "factories to the individual workers" cannot be allowed. However, efforts should be made to explain to them that their living standards will be improved as soon as possible.

The wage problem has not yet been solved. We plan to either convene a special national conference after we move to Beiping, or perhaps to begin by studying one trade and trying to solve the problem there. It will involve a great deal of work, and I hope that everyone will give it their attention.

2) We must educate the workers. Once we enter the cities, we should immediately begin educational work, and we should spend a few months or half a year conducting extensive education among the workers and staff members, beginning with the workers. Old guilds and societies should be reorganized. As for the former staff members, a distinction should be made between those working in enterprises and

those in government institutions. Those in enterprises should mainly be kept where they are. In the old government institutions, however, things will be thoroughly reorganized, so those who can be kept on will generally be transferred to other institutions (excepting those who are needed for their special skills). It would be wrong to leave the old government institutions intact.

To sum up, both staff members and workers should receive education, especially political education. This can be done through short-term training classes lasting one or two, or perhaps three to four months by giving general lectures or running night schools. General lectures should be the main form at first. According to Comrade Li Lisan,<sup>246</sup> three thousand staff members and workers have attended training classes and thirty thousand have attended lectures since the liberation of Shenyang. It goes without saying that former staff members who are retained should receive retraining.

Most of our training classes have largely focused on teaching our policies. Policies have to be discussed, but the neglect of instruction in historical materialism and the failure to conduct adequate propaganda on the proletarian world outlook are major shortcomings. In the movement for pouring out grievances, the POW's changed sides within a week, courageously turning their guns against the enemy. The same was true of the peasants during agrarian reform. That is Marxist class education. Persons who have adopted the class viewpoint and stand as well as the theories of class struggle and historical materialism can stand firm; those who have not, even though they may be well aware of the policies, will become unsteady and vacillate when confronted with grave difficulties. This has happened again and again. In educating the workers, we should pay special attention to this point. We must intensify class education among them so as to enhance their class consciousness. The liberation of Beiping and Tianjin has provided favourable conditions for such education, and the workers have shown their warm enthusiasm for it by asking us to give lectures which they attend even after a day's hard work. The workers' enthusiasm will cool if, after we have been in the city for six months, we haven't undertaken this task. Therefore, we must strike while the iron is hot, that is, go all out in conducting workers' training classes and short-term training courses and in selecting fine comrades to attend workers' political colleges. The colleges should be run in the same way as colleges are run in the Northeast. At the schools there, priority is given to teaching the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism (historical

materialism, the concept that labour creates the world and the theories of surplus value and class struggle) and the basic questions of the Chinese revolution. Following instruction in those two subjects, the schools focus on our various policies and the concrete problems of organizational work. In general, these are the four subjects to be taught.

Only through such education can the workers, or at least the advanced ones, acquire a higher political consciousness. The next thing to do is set up trade unions and expand Party organizations among the workers. In principle, the Party should admit a large number of members from among their ranks. In this way we can get a grip on the industries and the cities. When the workers have raised their political consciousness and organized themselves into trade unions and when there is a large number of Party members among them, they will be the most reliable force, and we shall understand each other better. Mutual understanding is very important. We have been cut off from the workers for a long time and have lost touch with them. Just as many of our leading cadres know very little about them, they know very little about us. They are, however, eager to get to know us. So, after entering the cities, our leading comrades should go among the workers, talk with them and get close to them in order to build genuine mutual understanding.

3) We must organize trade unions. The National Federation of Trade Unions should adopt a resolution concerning the organization of trade unions. There are several million industrial workers throughout the country, and the number may amount to ten million when the handicraft workers are included. It should be stipulated that only those who live by selling their labour power are qualified for membership and that this excludes small handicraftsmen. Trade union federations of a national character, such as a federation of railway trade unions, can be organized to represent several large trades. In principle, all the workers should be organized into trade unions.

The workers' representative conference is a very good form of organization. Such conferences can be convened in any factory or government institution which has over three hundred workers and staff members. When linked together, these conferences will constitute the basis of a municipal workers' representative conference.

A municipal workers' representative conference can be convened prior to the establishment of trade unions. To begin with, it can discuss problems concerning the workers' daily life and then gradually



move to questions of production and municipal administration. Such a conference can serve as the first step in the establishment of a municipal people's representative conference. A municipal government can then report its work plans to the municipal workers' representative conference, put forward proposals, give explanations and ask the representatives to discuss them. When enough experience has been gained with the workers' representative conference, we can proceed to organize student and neighbourhood representative conferences and, after several months or a year, go further to organize a municipal people's representative conference.

The people's representative conference constitutes the principal system and form of organization for the people's political power, because it is a whole chain of conferences at different levels that will elect corresponding government councils. As a democratic form, it is the main form, and it will be in constant and general use as the link between higher and lower levels and between administrative orders and mass movements. A factory director's orders will be more readily carried out if they are discussed and approved by the workers' representative conference before being passed down to the grass roots. All localities should adopt this form and go about instituting it on a broad scale. We did not do anything like this during the Great Revolution,<sup>30</sup> nor did we do much during the civil war years and the War of Resistance Against Japan, but we cannot put it off any longer. If we do, it will be detrimental to our effort to combat bureaucratism and to effectively overcome all the maladies attendant on administrative orders. It is time for all localities to convene people's representative conferences.

To recapitulate, a guaranteed livelihood will help enhance the workers' morale, intensive education will raise their political awareness, and organization will unite them and add to their strength. This is the way to win the support of the working class and to get the workers to back us up by striving to increase production. It will lead to a mutual reliance and close ties between the Communist Party and the workers.

# GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR NEW CHINA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

*June 1949*

1. The War of Liberation is drawing to an end and has already been concluded in part of the country. The task of confiscating bureaucrat-capital and reforming the land system has been completed in some areas and will soon be completed in the rest. The crucial question for the future is how to rehabilitate and develop China's economy.

2. Economic development is a new problem for our Party, and we are not well prepared for it. Our cadres are not familiar with economic work and are especially lacking in business know-how. To this day, we still have no accurate data on China's economic situation.

3. Ours is a large country with a backward and unevenly developed economy. Most of the areas lag far behind the Northeast in economic growth. When the reform of the land system has been completed, bureaucrat-capital has been confiscated and the economic privileges of imperialists in China abolished, our economy will revive and expand rapidly. How will China develop its own economy under the leadership of the Communist Party? What line will it adopt to this end?

4. After the rule of the imperialists and the Kuomintang has been overthrown, the national economy of new China will comprise the following five sectors:

- (a) the state-owned sector;
- (b) the co-operative sector;
- (c) the state-capitalist sector;
- (d) the private capitalist sector; and
- (e) the small commodity and semi-natural sector.

In addition, there will remain some kinds of purely natural economy, but these are not very significant.

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An outline of a report distributed within the Party.

5. Of these five economic sectors, the last one is absolutely predominant. The co-operative sector is very small, but it can develop very fast. State capitalism also constitutes a very small part, but is capable of considerable expansion through organization. Being composed of both the nation's bureaucrat-capital and big enterprises which will be taken over in the future, the state-owned economy will assume substantial proportions, though it will constitute only a small part of the whole. The take-over will, however, place the economic lifelines in the hands of the state, so this sector will play a leading role in the national economy. The above five economic sectors comprise what we call a new-democratic economy under the leadership of the proletariat and the Communist Party.

6. Contradiction and struggle exist within the new-democratic economy. It is the struggle between the socialist factors and trend on the one hand and the capitalist factors and trend on the other, or, in other words, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It will constitute the fundamental contradiction within new China after the elimination of the imperialist and feudal forces. The future of China hinges on whether this contradiction and struggle will lead to a socialist or capitalist society. We hold that the new-democratic economy is transitional in character and that it will last much longer in China than in the People's Democracies in East and Central Europe.

7. In the struggle between these opposites, the co-operative sector has a vital role to play as the "aide" of the state-owned sector of the economy. The state-capitalist sector can also play the role of an "aide" to some extent, but the small commodity and semi-natural sector is a vacillating force. The new-democratic state-owned sector under the leadership of the proletariat is a socialist economy, the state-capitalist sector is very similar to it and the co-operative sector is socialist in varying degrees. The private capitalist sector is the foundation for the development of capitalism. While, on the one hand, the large number of independent small producers can accept different forms of co-operation, on the other, they "*engender* capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale".<sup>247</sup>

8. In accordance with the foregoing analysis, we think that the principles guiding economic development in new China should be as follows:

At present and for a period immediately after the war, the development of all five economic sectors should, generally speaking, be en-

couraged so as to heal the wounds of war as quickly as possible and to restore economic activities which have been hampered or interrupted. An exception should be made for those economic undertakings which engage in speculation or are harmful to the new-democratic economy and the people's livelihood. In the course of this development, priority should be given to the state-owned sector. Co-operatives should be set up everywhere and the co-operative sector should be closely linked with the state-owned sector. We should give assistance to the independent small producers so that they will gradually move towards co-operation. We should work to bring into being the state-capitalist sector while, at the same time, allowing the development of the private capitalist sector on condition that it benefits the new-democratic economy and the people's livelihood. As for those enterprises that are monopolistic in character, they should be taken over step by step and managed by the state, or should be operated in state-capitalist form under the supervision of the state. All economic undertakings which engage in speculation and are harmful to the national economy and the people's livelihood should be prohibited by law. In other words, our aim is to make a gradual and steady transition to socialism as conditions permit, by increasing the socialist factors in the national economy step by step and by improved planning. This transition will involve long, fierce and arduous struggles. We are faced with the same question — Who will triumph over whom? — which Lenin raised during the period of the New Economic Policy in the Soviet Union.<sup>248</sup>

9. We shall be taking over quite a number of large enterprises from the Kuomintang government and the war criminals, and we shall gradually nationalize imperialist-run enterprises in China, or put them under state supervision. There will not be many big, privately-owned enterprises left. Railways, banks, foreign trade, the postal and telecommunications services, the iron and steel, salt and cigarette industries, most of the mines, shipping, the textile industry, etc. will be run by the state or come under state supervision. The problems confronting us at present are: (a) we have not yet worked out comprehensive economic policies and plans; (b) our cadres do not yet know how to manage the economy and many of the best are busy fighting and so have no time to study the subject; and (c) national economic organs under unified leadership have not yet been set up, so state-owned enterprises in various places and under various departments, often found in a state of disorganization and anarchy, compete with each



other, leaving the businessmen and capitalists to profit as a result. The Central Committee will soon issue its resolutions on the principles governing our economic development, including the establishment of economic commissions at the national, provincial and county levels, departments of finance, industry, railways, shipping, postal and telecommunications, agriculture and commerce as well as a national bank and banks for special purposes. Companies and trusts<sup>249</sup> will be set up in different branches of the industry to manage state-owned factories and mines. A proper relationship should be established between enterprises at the national, provincial, county and municipal levels.

10. We have organized many mutual-aid working teams in areas where agrarian reform has been completed. We shall organize on an extensive scale consumers' co-operatives, agricultural supply and marketing co-operatives, handicrafts co-operatives and mutual-aid working teams. We shall run schools to train cadres and we will establish both a national leading organ to direct the co-operatives, and a national co-operative bank.

11. In view of China's special conditions, we think that it is both possible and necessary to adopt various forms of state capitalism on a large scale. This includes the state leasing the means of production to private enterprises and placing orders with them to process materials or manufacture goods. There are a few enterprises already operating in this way.

12. In the light of the development of state and co-operative businesses, an appropriate rationing system should be put into effect with regard to some goods, so as to ensure the needs of the troops, workers, office personnel and students. The policy of regulating market prices should be carried out against profiteers. It is necessary to expand state and co-operative businesses so that they will take the place of private businesses in an ever enlarging sphere. This will contribute to the rehabilitation and expansion of agriculture and industry and to the accumulation of funds for building state industry. Only after we have accumulated funds for a long period of time, built up state industry and made all-round preparations, can we launch the first socialist offensive against the urban bourgeoisie, that is, nationalize big, privately-owned enterprises as well as some of the medium-sized ones. Only after we have greatly expanded heavy industry and are able to produce large numbers of farm machines, can we cope with the economic practices of the rich peasants in the rural areas by socialist means, that is, collectivizing agriculture.

13. Obviously, the assistance that the proletariat of the Soviet Union and the East European countries will render to the Chinese proletariat is of great significance to the development of our economy and the fulfilment of the tasks mentioned above. I believe their assistance may include experience, technology and funds. In addition to this support, there should be a certain amount of mutual assistance in terms of a limited range of goods and materials. If there is a lot of such support and assistance, China will be able to move towards socialism more speedily.

14. Two erroneous tendencies should be combated in our future economic development. One is the tendency towards capitalism. This means regarding our economic development policy as one aimed at promoting an ordinary capitalist economy, pinning all hopes on the growth of the private capitalist sector, making unprincipled concessions to capitalists, yielding to the weaknesses of the petty bourgeoisie and trying — wittingly or unwittingly — to turn China into a bourgeois republic. Such a tendency would inevitably lead to the restoration of semi-colonial and semi-feudal rule. This is the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois line which relinquishes the leading position of the proletariat in building an economy of New Democracy. The other is the tendency towards adventurism. This means going beyond realistic limits in drawing up economic plans and measures by trying to bring in too many socialist measures too early and without preparation. This can lead to forfeiting the support of our Party by the peasants and small producers, thus undermining the alliance between the urban proletariat and the peasants and courting the failure of the new-democratic political regime led by the proletariat. Hence in our future economic development we must constantly wage struggles on two fronts and against these two tendencies so as to ensure implementation of the correct policy of building the economy.

# STRENGTHEN THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

*September 21, 1949*

Fellow Delegates,

The First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference has begun. It has ushered in a completely new era in the history of China — an era of the people's democracy. On behalf of all the members of the Chinese Communist Party, I extend the warmest and heartiest congratulations on the opening of this conference and on the founding of the People's Republic of China and the Central People's Government which this conference will bring into being!

The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is the organizational form of the Chinese people's democratic united front and a most important, concrete way for the Chinese people to achieve their great revolutionary unity. Having begun its functions today, it will continue operating for a long time to come, branching out to set up local organizations wherever necessary. Through a hundred-odd years of arduous struggles against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the Chinese people have acquired a profound understanding of the necessity for such great revolutionary unity. Only through such unity could we defeat the powerful enemy which oppressed us, consolidate the gains of victory and successfully build a new China. In the past, the imperialists and reactionaries engaged in all sorts of obstruction and sabotage and so either prevented this unity from taking shape organizationally or, as soon as it had sprouted, nipped it in the bud. Today, however, unity can be built on a completely new basis, thanks both to the rising political consciousness of

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A speech made on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party at the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. It was published in the *People's Daily* of September 22, 1949.

the people and to the heroic People's Liberation Army that has, in the main, overthrown the rule of the Kuomintang reactionaries and the imperialists and their lackeys. In itself, the convening of the CPPCC represents the new great revolutionary unity of the Chinese people and constitutes its final organizational form. The foundation of this unity is firmer and its scope broader than has ever been known before. Although the imperialists and the reactionaries are still trying to sabotage it by every possible means, we are convinced that no force on earth can now obstruct or undermine this unity. Now that the 475 million Chinese people, who were once ridiculed as a mass of loose sand, have become a force of unity under correct leadership, this force will illuminate the whole world with its radiance. It will swiftly wipe out all the remnant enemy forces, surmount every difficulty and make backward China an independent, democratic, peaceful, united, prosperous and powerful new China.

From the outset, the Chinese Communist Party has been striving for the great revolutionary unity of the Chinese people, and it will continue to do so in the future. To this end it will make unremitting efforts for the success, development and consolidation of the CPPCC. Joining the CPPCC in the capacity of a political party, it will sincerely co-operate, on the basis of the Common Programme of New Democracy, with the other democratic parties, the people's organizations, minority nationalities, overseas Chinese and other patriotic democrats in making decisions on all China's major questions. The Chinese Communist Party will firmly carry out all the resolutions of the CPPCC which it has taken part in drafting and adopting, and it will strive for their full implementation. It will work hard to enhance the prestige of the CPPCC to the highest possible level, and it will permit no one to impair it. This is the attitude of the Chinese Communist Party towards the CPPCC, henceforth. We hope that the various democratic parties, people's organizations, minority nationalities, overseas Chinese and other patriotic democrats as well as the people of the country at large will adopt the same attitude.

The great revolutionary unity of the Chinese people, which has been accomplished today, has a solid political foundation in the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. The Preparatory Committee of the CPPCC will submit this programme to the current plenary session for discussion and approval. We believe that this Common Programme will be an extremely important document in the annals of our history. It states our general programme,



determines the organs of our state power and the military system, and defines China's policies concerning the economy, culture and education, the nationalities and foreign affairs. It is written in definite and explicit terms so as to point out clearly what we ought to and ought not to do, what we must and must not do. It is a people's revolutionary programme for national reconstruction formulated on the basis of an analysis of the Chinese people's experience in revolutionary struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism over more than one hundred years, with particular attention paid to the last twenty years or so. It is a great charter for the entire people at the present stage. Upon its adoption by the plenary session of the CPPCC after discussion, the Chinese Communist Party will steadfastly adhere to all the stipulations of the Common Programme and will call on the people of the whole country to strive for its full realization. With such a political basis, the great unity of the Chinese people and the political consultative conference will be unmatched anywhere in the world.

The Chinese Communist Party supports the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and will strive to carry out its Common Programme because the programme embraces the entire minimum programme of the Communist Party. The present policy of the Party is to carry out its own minimum programme in full. Since this minimum programme has been wholly accepted by the CPPCC, it is natural for the Chinese Communist Party to support the CPPCC and strive for the realization of their Common Programme. However, as you all know, in addition to its minimum programme, the Chinese Communist Party has a maximum programme which has not been incorporated in the Common Programme of the CPPCC. In the course of consultation, some delegates proposed to include China's socialist future in the Common Programme, but we deemed it inappropriate to do so. This is because it will be quite some time before we can take any really large strides towards socialism and because this perspective, if written into the Common Programme now, could easily be confused with the concrete steps we want to take today. There is no doubt that China will take the road to socialism and communism. If industrialization fails to turn China into a socialist country, it will turn it into an imperialist one. This is an outcome which neither the people of China nor the people of the whole world will endure. But, since this is a matter for the very distant future, it may just as well be left to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference to

discuss then. Any step towards socialism can only be taken in accordance with the actual needs of China's social and economic development and the demands of the vast majority of the people throughout the country. When the time comes, the Chinese Communist Party will certainly consult the democratic parties, people's organizations, minority nationalities and other patriotic democrats in order to make decisions together with them. It will be ready to enter the era of socialism together with all who wish to do so. We are fully aware that the great revolutionary unity of the Chinese people is necessary, not only for the realization of New Democracy today, but also for the realization of socialism tomorrow.

Long live the great revolutionary unity of the Chinese people!

Long live the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference!

Long live the People's Republic of China!

Long live the Central People's Government!

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The May 30th Movement was an anti-imperialist, patriotic movement which grew out of events occurring on that date in 1925. Early that May, the Japanese imperialists and their lackeys, the northern warlords, suppressed strikes which had broken out in Japanese-owned cotton mills in Shanghai and Qingdao, and on May 15, the Japanese owners of the Shanghai No. 7 Naigai Cotton Mill shot and killed Gu Zhenghong, a well-known labour leader and Communist Party member, and wounded a dozen others. On May 30, when over two thousand students staged demonstrations along the streets of the International Settlement, the police arrested more than a hundred of them, detaining them at the Laozha Police Station on Nanjing Road. This action aroused widespread outrage and about ten thousand people rallied in front of the police station, demanding the release of the arrested students. The British imperialist police opened fire on the masses, killing and wounding many patriots. This event, which shocked China and the world, became known as the May 30th Massacre. When in June, the British and Japanese imperialists aroused fierce nationwide indignation by continuing the massacres in Shanghai and other places, large numbers of workers, students and some industrialists and businessmen held demonstrations and strikes in many cities and towns, transforming the May 30th Massacre into a nationwide anti-imperialist, patriotic movement. p. 11

<sup>2</sup> The Fengtian warlord clique of Fengtian (now Liaoning) Province was represented by Zhang Zuolin, and the Zhili warlord clique of Zhili (now Hebei) Province by Feng Guozhang and Cao Kun. At the time, Zhang Zuolin controlled the government of the northern warlords who occupied the Northeast, Beijing, Tianjin, northern Zhili and northern Shandong. Wu Peifu and Sun Chuanfang of the Zhili warlord clique controlled southern Zhili and the provinces of Henan, Hubei, Hunan, Jiangsu, Anhui, Jiangxi, Fujian and Zhejiang. p. 11

<sup>3</sup> The "Chinese bourgeoisie" here refers to the national bourgeoisie. pp. 12, 173

<sup>4</sup> Liao Zhongkai (1877-1925), from Huiyang County, Guangdong Province, joined the *Tong Meng Hui* (Chinese Revolutionary League) in 1905 and served as general counsel to the Guangdong Military Government after the 1911 Revolution. He actively assisted Dr. Sun Yat-sen to develop the Three Great Policies, which covered the alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party, and assistance to the peasants and workers. At the time of the reorganization of the Kuomintang in 1924, he was elected a member of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee, Standing Committee and Political Council. He served as head of the Labour and Peasant Departments of the Central Executive Committee, Kuomintang representative in the Whampoa Military Academy, governor of Guangdong Province, minister of finance, and general supervisor of the Military Supply Department, respectively. In August 1925, he was assassinated by Kuomintang Right-wing elements in Guangzhou. p. 15

<sup>5</sup> The Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party of China) was a political party founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. In 1905, the *Xing Zhong Hui* (Society for China's Revival) led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen united with the *Hua Xing Hui* (Society for China's Regen-

eration) and the *Guang Fu Hui* (Society for Breaking the Foreign Yoke) to form the *Tong Meng Hui*, or Chinese Revolutionary League, which led the 1911 Revolution. Uniting with a few small parties in 1912, the *Tong Meng Hui* reorganized to become the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party), reached a compromise with the northern warlord Yuan Shikai, and in the main became a group of bureaucrat politicians. In order to oppose Yuan Shikai's rule, Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1914 led part of the Kuomintang membership in organizing the Chinese Revolutionary Party, and in October 1919 this group assumed the name of Nationalist Party of China (Kuomintang). In January 1924, Dr. Sun Yat-sen reorganized the Nationalist Party with the assistance of the Communist Party of China. The reorganized Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang, adopted the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal political precepts put forward by the Chinese Communist Party, revitalized Dr. Sun's Three People's Principles and laid down the Three Great Policies, which covered the alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party, and assistance to the peasants and workers. This marked the first period of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation and the Northern Expedition, aimed at overthrowing the rule of the northern warlords, was carried out on the basis of this co-operation. While in this period the Kuomintang was a democratic revolutionary alliance of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie, after the successive counter-revolutionary coups staged by Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei in 1927, it became, in essence, a reactionary clique representing the big landlords and big bourgeoisie. pp. 15, 26, 178

<sup>6</sup> Soviet, the transliteration of the Russian Совет, which means council or conference, was the name for the organs of authority in Russia after the October Revolution. The revolutionary regimes set up in various places by the Chinese Communist Party during the Second Revolutionary Civil War were called the Soviets. The areas under the control of the Soviet regimes were known as the Soviet areas. pp. 22, 42, 49, 60, 85, 246, 319, 385

<sup>7</sup> The term "yellow unions" originally referred to trade unions bought over and controlled by the bourgeoisie. In 1887 when the workers of Montceau-les-Mines in France staged a strike, the capitalists employed scabs and set up a bogus trade union to destroy the strike. When the striking workers broke the windows of the headquarters of the bogus union, agents of the capitalists covered the windows with yellow paper and, thereafter, capitalist-controlled trade unions were called yellow unions. In China, the term referred to unions controlled by the Kuomintang after the failure of the First Revolutionary Civil War. pp. 25, 39, 48, 71

<sup>8</sup> The Shanghai Printers' Union was controlled by the Reorganization Clique of the Kuomintang [see Note 13]. In November 1931 when the workers of the Da Dong Book Company called a strike, the Printers' Union mobilized the trade unions in the Commercial Press, the Zhong Hua Book Company, the World Book Company and the Min Zhi Book Company to issue declarations in support of the strike. In order to carry out the capitalists' order to destroy the strike, the foremen of the Da Dong Book Company led the workers in withdrawing from the Printers' Union and returning to work. The responsible members of the Party organization in the Da Dong Book Company failed to see through the plot of the capitalists and the reactionary foremen and failed to understand the significance of developing revolutionary strength inside the Printers' Union. Therefore, proceeding from the erroneous viewpoint of a "Left" deviation, they agreed to withdraw from the Printers' Union in order to shake off the leadership of the yellow union. p. 25



<sup>9</sup> “Red trade unions” were unions under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. pp. 25, 39, 48, 71

<sup>10</sup> The reference here is to the Resolution on the Labour Movement adopted at the Sixth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on July 9, 1928, the Political Resolution adopted at the Second Plenary Session of the Party’s Sixth Central Committee in June 1929, and the Resolution on the Labour Movement adopted at the Third Plenary Session of the Party’s Sixth Central Committee in September 1930. p. 25

<sup>11</sup> The phrase “smashing the yellow unions” was widely used at the time in the documents of the Central Committee. p. 26

<sup>12</sup> The “Chiang Kai-shek clique” refers to the faction of the Kuomintang represented by Chiang Kai-shek. p. 26

<sup>13</sup> The Reorganization Clique was a faction of the Kuomintang, set up at the end of 1928, by Wang Jingwei, Chen Gongbo, Gu Mengyu and others because of dissatisfaction with Chiang Kai-shek’s monopolization of power. It was also known as the Society of Comrades for the Reorganization of the Kuomintang. p. 26

<sup>14</sup> Wang Jingwei (1883-1944), whose family was originally from Shanyin (now Shaoxing) County, Zhejiang Province, was born in Panyu County, Guangdong Province. He joined the *Tong Meng Hui* (Chinese Revolutionary League) in his youth and, in 1925, became president of the Guangzhou National Government. On July 15, 1927 he launched a counter-revolutionary coup in Wuhan, and following the Incident of September 18, 1931 [see Note 21], he advocated compromise with Japanese imperialism. After the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan in 1937, he served as Vice-President of the Kuomintang. At the end of 1938 he openly surrendered to Japanese imperialism, becoming the chairman of a puppet government which he set up in Nanjing in 1940. pp. 26, 174, 277

<sup>15</sup> The Fifth Congress of the Profintern, also referred to as the Fifth Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions, was held in Moscow in August 1930. p. 27

<sup>16</sup> Bolshevik is the transliteration of the Russian *Болшевик* which means the majority. In 1903, when the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party drew up its Party programme and constitution, the Marxists led by Lenin waged an intense struggle against Martov and other opportunists. Because those who supported Lenin won the majority vote in the election of the central leading organ, they were called the Bolsheviks. Henceforth, Marxist-Leninists have been called Bolsheviks, and Marxism-Leninism called Bolshevism. pp. 28, 35, 80

<sup>17</sup> V. I. Lenin, “How to Organize Competition?” *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XXVI, p. 407. p. 32

<sup>18</sup> Li Lisan (1899-1967), from Liling County, Hunan Province, was one of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party in the early period. On June 11, 1930, under his leadership, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party adopted a resolution entitled “The New Revolutionary High Tide and Winning Victory First in One or More Provinces”, which advocated that preparations be made for immediate armed insurrections throughout the country. He drew up an adventurist plan to organize such insurrections in the key cities and to amass all the forces of the Red Army to attack these cities. He subsequently combined the leading organs of the Party, the Youth League and the trade unions at all levels into action committees for insurrection. These “Left” mistakes became known as the “Li Lisan line”. In September the same year, the Third Plenary Session of the

Party's Sixth Central Committee began to correct those "Left" mistakes. Li Lisan admitted his mistakes at the session and relinquished his leading position on the Central Committee. When he proved that he had corrected his erroneous views in revolutionary practice over a long period of time, he was re-elected a member of the Central Committee at the Seventh and Eighth National Congresses of the Party.  
pp. 34, 80, 86, 298, 332

<sup>20</sup> The resolution mentioned here refers specifically to the Political Resolution adopted on July 9, 1928, at the Sixth National Congress of the Communist Party of China.  
p. 36

<sup>21</sup> The resolution mentioned here refers specifically to the resolution of the Central Committee entitled, "The Present Political Situation and the Tasks of the Party" adopted at the meeting of the Political Bureau held by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China at Wayaobu, Zichang County in northern Shaanxi in December 1935.  
pp. 36, 67, 246

<sup>22</sup> On September 18, 1931, the Japanese Guandong (Kwantung) Army in north-eastern China attacked Shenyang. The Chinese troops at Shenyang and elsewhere in the Northeast (the Northeastern Army) carried out Chiang Kai-shek's order for absolute non-resistance. The Japanese forces were therefore able rapidly to occupy the provinces of Liaoning, Jilin and Heilongjiang.  
p. 36

<sup>23</sup> On the night of January 28, 1932, the Japanese marine corps attacked Shanghai. Propelled by widespread anti-Japanese feelings among the people throughout China, the 19th Route Army stationed in Shanghai, together with the people of the city, heroically resisted the attack for more than a month, dealing a heavy blow to Japanese imperialism. The resistance ended in failure, however, because of betrayal by Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei.  
pp. 36, 254

<sup>24</sup> Wang Zhengting (1882-1961), from Fenghua County, Zhejiang Province, served as foreign minister of the Kuomintang government from June 1928. He carried out Chiang Kai-shek's policy of compromise by making concessions to Japan. After the Incident of September 18, 1931, he was beaten up by righteously indignant, patriotic students who were presenting a petition to the Foreign Ministry. He was forced to resign on September 30 of the same year.  
p. 38

<sup>25</sup> The Shanghai Federation of Labour Unions, an organization which was designed to unite the various Red trade unions in Shanghai, was established in June 1929, and dissolved in 1936.  
p. 39

<sup>25</sup> The Shanghai Anti-Imperialist League, a mass organization under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, was founded in August 1928.  
p. 39

<sup>26</sup> The Shanghai People's Federation for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation, a mass anti-Japanese organization under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, was set up on December 6, 1931.  
p. 39

<sup>27</sup> The League of Chinese Left-Wing Writers, a revolutionary literary organization led by the Chinese Communist Party, was founded in Shanghai in March 1930. In early 1936 the League declared its own dissolution in order to facilitate the organization of literary circles into a broader national anti-Japanese united front.  
p. 39

<sup>28</sup> The League of Chinese Social Scientists, a revolutionary cultural organization led by the Chinese Communist Party, was founded in Shanghai in 1930 and suspended activities immediately after the January 29th Movement in 1935, when most of its members joined the Associations for National Salvation.  
p. 39

<sup>29</sup> The neutral organizations referred to here were mass organizations which were either under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party or organized by progressives who had links with the Party. Because they did not represent themselves as revolutionary organizations, it was possible for them to avoid oppression by the reactionary Kuomintang government. pp. 41, 71

<sup>30</sup> The Great Revolution was a revolutionary movement against imperialism and feudalism lasting from 1925 to 1927. pp. 43, 59, 174, 241, 247, 293, 308, 370, 408, 423

<sup>31</sup> The author's view here reflects the general view within the Party regarding that session. At the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held in Shanghai in January 1931, Li Lisan's errors were criticized by ideologies even further to the "Left". As a result, "Left" opportunism continued to develop and Wang Ming's "Left" adventurism began to dominate the Party. The Seventh Plenary Session of the Party's Sixth Central Committee held in 1945 adopted the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party, in which a formal appraisal of the errors of the Fourth Plenary Session was made. pp. 43, 66, 248

<sup>32</sup> On August 1, 1935, the Chinese Communist Party issued "An Appeal to All Fellow-Countrymen for Resistance to Japan and for National Salvation", which is also known as the August 1st declaration. It called for the formation of a national defence government composed of all political parties, and an anti-Japanese united army composed of all anti-Japanese armed forces. This proposition failed to be realized. pp. 44, 49, 94

<sup>33</sup> The Factory Law and the Trade Union Law were promulgated by the Kuomintang government in 1929. p. 46

<sup>34</sup> The Labour Law of the Soviet Republic of China, adopted at the First All-China Soviets' Congress of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers held in 1931 and promulgated in December of the same year, put forth the principles of protecting the interests of the working class and consolidating and developing Soviet political power. pp. 47, 80

<sup>35</sup> The national grave-sweeping campaign, which was launched by the Kuomintang in 1934, involved sweeping the graves of the Yellow Emperor, Huangdi, and other historical figures at the annual Festival of Pure Brightness (Qingming Festival), April 5. p. 47

<sup>36</sup> The New Life Movement was initiated by Chiang Kai-shek in Nanchang in February 1934, while he was conducting a military campaign to "suppress the Communists". The movement propagated feudal morality and fascism by putting forth such feudal slogans as "propriety, righteousness, a sense of honour and a sense of shame" and a "military and artistic mode of living". Our Party led the workers in carrying out legal struggles for economic benefits by making use of the hypocritical slogan "live in cleanliness and orderliness", raised during the New Life Movement. p. 47

<sup>37</sup> In August and November 1936, the Japanese imperialists instigated and led two attacks by the puppet Mongolian army on northeastern Suiyuan. Under the impetus of the people's movement against Japanese aggression and for national salvation, the army led by Fu Zuoyi put up resistance, routed the Japanese and puppet Mongolian armies and, in late November, recovered Bailingmiao and other places. This was known as the Eastern Suiyuan Incident. pp. 61, 263

<sup>38</sup> The authorities referred to here are Yan Xishan, who was the director of the Kuomintang Pacification Headquarters in Taiyuan, and Fu Zuoyi, who was com-

mander of the Kuomintang 35th Army and concurrently governor of Suiyuan Province. p. 61

<sup>39</sup> The authorities referred to here are Song Zheyuan, who was chairman of the Political Council for Hebei and Qahar, and Chiang Kai-shek, who was President of the Executive Yuan of the Kuomintang government in Nanjing. p. 61

<sup>40</sup> Sacrificing the interest of the feudal landlords refers here to the policy of confiscating the land of the landlords, which was then being carried out by the Chinese Communist Party. In accordance with the changes in the situation and the need to form an anti-Japanese national united front, the Party altered its policy towards the landlord class. In February 1937, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party dispatched a telegram to the Third Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, informing the session of its decision to discontinue the policy of confiscating the land of the landlords. In August of the same year, at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC held in Luochuan, it was decided to make the reduction of rents and interest the basic policy for dealing with the land problem during the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan. p. 63

<sup>41</sup> From the report entitled "The Tasks of the Chinese Communist Party in the Period of Resistance to Japan" delivered by Mao Zedong at the National Conference of the Communist Party of China, held on May 3, 1937. pp. 66, 82

<sup>42</sup> The August 7th Meeting was an emergency meeting of the Central Committee of the CPC held in Hankou on August 7, 1927. At the meeting, a "Message to Members of the Whole Party" was endorsed, resolutions on the peasants' struggle, the workers' movement, and the Party organization were passed, and new central leading organs elected. The meeting resolutely corrected the error of Right capitulationism as represented by Chen Duxiu, and laid down the general principles of agrarian revolution and of armed resistance against the murderous policies of the Kuomintang reactionaries. However, in combating the Right capitulationist errors, the meeting paved the way for "Left" errors by failing to realize the need to organize appropriate counter-offensives or necessary tactical retreats according to differing conditions in the various localities. It also touched off excessive sectarian struggles inside the Party. p. 66

<sup>43</sup> J. V. Stalin, "Report to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) on the Work of the Central Committee", *Problems of Leninism*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953, p. 644. p. 67

<sup>44</sup> V. I. Lenin, "*Left-Wing*" *Communism, An Infantile Disorder*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1975, p. 22. p. 73

<sup>45</sup> From the report entitled "Win the Masses in Their Millions for the Anti-Japanese National United Front", delivered by Mao Zedong at the National Conference of the Communist Party of China, held on May 7, 1937. p. 78

<sup>46</sup> The Constitution of the Sixth National Congress of the Communist Party of China stipulated that "In the leading body of a government agency, trade union, peasant association, co-operative society or any other mass organization where there are three or more Party members holding responsible positions, a leading Party group shall be formed. The task of a leading Party group shall be to guide the Party members in the leading body of the said organization, to strengthen the influence of the Party and to carry out the policy of the Party." The term "leading Party group" was changed to "Party fraction" in the Constitution of the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China. p. 79



<sup>47</sup> The Xi'an Incident is also known as the December 12th Incident. At the critical juncture when the Japanese imperialists were stepping up their aggression to colonize China, the Kuomintang Northeastern Army, headed by General Zhang Xueliang, and its 17th Route Army, headed by General Yang Hucheng, having been influenced and given impetus by the Chinese Communist Party's policy of the Anti-Japanese National United Front and the people's anti-Japanese movement, demanded that Chiang Kai-shek stop the civil war and unite against Japan. He not only refused to comply but hurried to Xi'an to make active preparations for "suppressing the Communists". Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng took joint action and arrested Chiang Kai-shek on December 12, 1936 in Lintong. This became known as the famous Xi'an Incident. After the incident, the pro-Japanese faction in the Kuomintang, headed by He Yingqin, prepared to exploit this opportunity to launch a large-scale civil war and to oust Chiang Kai-shek in order to take his place. The Chinese Communist Party adhered to the principle of settling the incident peacefully. Due largely to the arduous efforts of Zhou Enlai, Bo Gu (Qin Bangxian) and Ye Jianying, all representatives of the Chinese Communist Party, a peaceful settlement was indeed reached, thus facilitating the formation of the Anti-Japanese National United Front. pp. 83, 251

<sup>48</sup> The Northeastern Army was the frontier force headed by Zhang Xueliang. The Northwestern Army was the 17th Route Army headed by Yang Hucheng. p. 84

<sup>49</sup> This feudal warlord clique was formed by Yuan Shikai. In 1895, the government of the Qing Dynasty ordered him to organize and train the New Army in Xiaozhan, Tianjin, which was to be under the control of the Minister in charge of the northern coastal provinces. In 1901 Yuan Shikai was appointed to this post and the army he built became the Northern Army. After the Revolution of 1911, he usurped the presidency of the Republic and gathered his own henchmen around him to form a military clique which controlled the central government and held local power in many provinces. After Yuan Shikai's death in 1916, this clique split into the Zhili, Anhui and Fengtian cliques. In 1926, Duan Qirui, warlord of the Anhui clique stepped down; in 1927, the warlords of the Zhili clique were overthrown by the National Revolutionary Army; and in 1928, the warlord government of the Fengtian clique collapsed, thus bringing to an end the rule of the northern warlords after seventeen years. pp. 86, 174

<sup>50</sup> During the first period of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation from 1924 to 1927, the Chinese Communist Party, in accordance with the resolution adopted at its Third National Congress, sent Party members to join the Kuomintang to serve in individual capacities as leaders at all levels of the Kuomintang. Co-operation effected within one party refers to this form of the united front. p. 86

<sup>51</sup> The Soviet movement was a revolutionary movement to overthrow Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary rule and to establish and safeguard the workers' and peasants' Soviet democratic political power. It was conducted by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party from 1927 to 1937. p. 86

<sup>52</sup> In his article "The Tasks of the Chinese Communist Party in the Period of Resistance to Japan", Mao Zedong set forth the Party's four principles of political leadership. The proletariat gives leadership:

First, by putting forward basic political slogans that accord with the course of historical development and slogans of action for each stage of development and each major turn of events in order to translate these political slogans into reality.

Second, the proletariat, and especially its vanguard the Communist Party, should set an example through its boundless enthusiasm and loyalty in achieving the specific objectives when the whole country goes into action for them.

Third, the Communist Party should establish proper relations with its allies and develop and consolidate its alliance with them, while adhering to the principle of never relinquishing its defined political objectives.

Fourth, it should expand the ranks of the Communist Party and maintain its ideological unity and strict discipline. p. 87

<sup>53</sup> The Lugouqiao Incident is also known as the Incident of July 7, 1937. Lugouqiao, over ten kilometres away from Beijing, is the southwestern gateway to the city. On July 7th, 1937, the Japanese invading forces attacked the Chinese garrison at Lugouqiao. Influenced by a vigorous nationwide anti-Japanese movement and encouraged by the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese troops there rallied to resist Japan. This incident marked the beginning of the Chinese people's heroic war of resistance against Japan, which lasted for eight years. pp. 89, 124, 229, 254

<sup>54</sup> The authorities referred to here are the Kuomintang and the ruling clique headed by Chiang Kai-shek. p. 89

<sup>55</sup> The Eighth Route Army was one of the main forces of the people's army which was led by the Chinese Communist Party in the period of resistance to Japan. As a result of political negotiations with the Kuomintang, the name of the main force of the Red Army was changed to the Eighth Route Army of the National Revolutionary Army in August 1937. Zhu De was made general commander, Peng Dehuai deputy commander, Ye Jianying chief of staff and Ren Bishi director of the Political Department. The 115th, 120th and 129th Divisions were under the Eighth Route Army. In September the Eighth Route Army changed its name again and became the Eighteenth Group Army of the National Revolutionary Army, with Zhu De as its commander-in-chief and Peng Dehuai as its deputy commander-in-chief. The Eighth Route Army continued to wage guerrilla warfare independently, and it built anti-Japanese democratic base areas behind enemy lines, including the Shanxi-Suiyuan, Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei, Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan and Shandong base areas. In the course of arduous, protracted struggle, it smashed the repeated "mopping-up" operations conducted by the Japanese and puppet troops and frustrated the attacks by the Kuomintang diehards. By the time Japan surrendered in 1945, the Eighth Route Army had grown to a force of over 900,000 strong.

pp. 90, 101, 104, 175, 230, 238, 243, 253, 306, 315

<sup>56</sup> Secret societies in old China included such popular, clandestine organizations, as the Triad Society, the Society of Brothers, the Big Sword Society, the Rational Life Society and Hongmen. Their membership consisted mainly of impoverished peasants, unemployed handicraftsmen and lumpen-proletarians. They were often drawn together by religion or superstition and some groups armed themselves. Although some of the secret societies conducted struggles against oppression by bureaucrats and landlords, such backward organizations could easily be controlled and at times utilized by the landlords, local tyrants and the reactionary ruling class. In the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, our Party adopted the strategy of simultaneous alliance and struggle with these groups in order to unite all anti-Japanese masses to form a united front. p. 92

<sup>57</sup> After the Incident of September 18, 1931 [see Note 21], the Chinese Communist Party called upon the people to resist Japan by means of armed struggle. The people and some sections of the patriotic armies in the Northeast organized themselves into anti-Japanese armed forces, such as volunteer forces, national salvation

corps and self-defence corps, which all came under the general appellation of the Northeastern Volunteers. pp. 93, 105

<sup>58</sup> The landlord class organized armed forces in the rural areas to protect its own interests. pp. 94, 100

<sup>59</sup> The Mongolian Army of the Military Government of Mongolia had the Mongolian renegade Demchukdonggrub as its chairman. p. 94

<sup>60</sup> The Associations for the Preservation of Order were provisional local governments set up in the occupied areas during the war of resistance by collaborators aided and abetted by the Japanese aggressors. p. 96

<sup>61</sup> The term, indirect elections, refers to a system whereby representatives elected at a primary election vote by ballot in the stead of their electors. p. 97

<sup>62</sup> Nie Rongzhen (1899- ), a native of Jiangjin, Sichuan Province, was commander and concurrently political commissar of the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei Military Area. p. 99

<sup>63</sup> Many of the base areas built by the Chinese Communist Party in the period of the democratic revolution were situated at the common borders of two or several provinces and so were called border areas, e.g., the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei border area, Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan border area. pp. 99, 106, 260, 357

<sup>64</sup> Song Shaowen (1910- ), a native of Taiyuan, Shanxi Province, and member of the Chinese Communist Party. After the outbreak of the war of resistance in 1937, he served as magistrate of Wutai County, leader of the Political Director Headquarters of the First Prefecture and commissioner of the Commissioner Headquarters in Shanxi. In January 1938, he was elected head of the newly-established Administrative Council of the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei border area. p. 99

<sup>65</sup> The Ten-Point Programme for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation was adopted at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC held at Luochuan, northern Shanxi Province, August 25, 1937. The programme consisted of the following points: 1) the overthrow of Japanese imperialism; 2) mobilization of the military strength of the whole nation; 3) mobilization of the people of the whole country; 4) reform of the government apparatus; 5) formation of an anti-Japanese foreign policy; 6) formation of wartime financial and economic policies for resisting Japan; 7) the improvement of the people's livelihood; 8) formation of an anti-Japanese educational policy; 9) the weeding out of traitors and pro-Japanese elements and consolidation of the rear areas; and 10) national unity against Japan. p. 100

<sup>66</sup> Progressive taxation refers to a system in which an increase in taxable income is accompanied by an increase in the tax rate, so that the higher the income, the higher the tax levied. p. 100

<sup>67</sup> The Chinese National Liberation Vanguard Corps, or the National Vanguard Corps, was a revolutionary youth organization formed under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party in February 1936 by the progressive young people who participated in the December 9th Movement of 1935. After the outbreak of the war of resistance, many of its members took part in the fighting and in building base areas behind the enemy lines. The organizations of the National Vanguard Corps in the Kuomintang areas were forcibly dissolved by the Chiang Kai-shek government in 1938. Those in the Liberated Areas were later merged into the Association of Youth for National Salvation, an organization of even broader scope.

pp. 100, 106, 250

<sup>68</sup> Suiyuan Province was abolished in 1954 and the territory originally under its jurisdiction became part of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. pp. 101, 366

<sup>69</sup> He Long (1896-1969), a native of Sangzhi, Hunan Province, was serving as commander of the 120th Division of the Eighteenth Group Army. p. 101

<sup>70</sup> Guan Xiangying (1902-46), a native of Jinxian, Liaoning Province, was serving as political commissar of the 120th Division of the Eighteenth Group Army. p. 101

<sup>71</sup> The Battlefield Mobilization Committee was an organization of a united front character set up in Shanxi and other places in the early days of the war of resistance. It not only mobilized the masses to support and participate in the resistance but also served as a leading organ in waging guerrilla warfare. In places where Kuomintang organs of state power had withdrawn, it served as an organ of political power. pp. 101, 256

<sup>72</sup> The League of Self-Sacrifice for National Salvation was a local anti-Japanese mass organization in Shanxi, which was formed in September 1936 with the encouragement and help of the Chinese Communist Party. The league, which played an important role in fighting the Japanese in Shanxi, had the support of Yan Xishan in its early days. Later, when Chiang Kai-shek and Yan Xishan adopted an attitude of appeasement towards the Japanese, and of active opposition to the Communist Party, they openly suppressed the league and brutally killed a great number of its officers and other progressives. The members of the league who persevered in the war of resistance, continued their struggle against Japan under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. pp. 102, 262

<sup>73</sup> After the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan in 1937, the Chinese Communist Party advocated total resistance by the whole nation, mobilization of the masses and the waging of a people's war for the defeat of Japanese imperialism. Fearing that the strength of the people would grow in the course of the resistance to Japan, the Kuomintang barred mass participation and insisted on using only its government and army to carry out military resistance. p. 104

<sup>74</sup> These were attempts by the imperialists of Britain, the United States and Germany to end the war between China and Japan by sacrificing Chinese interests. In August and September 1937, Britain, the United States and other countries repeatedly expressed their willingness to mediate the conflict. In November, a conference of the states signatory to the Nine-Power Treaty was convened in Brussels to discuss a peaceful settlement of the "Sino-Japanese conflict", but it failed to yield any positive results. At the same time, Oskar P. Trautmann, the German ambassador to China, by repeatedly suggesting conditions for peace talks to the Chiang Kai-shek government, tried to induce it to capitulate. This met with the firm opposition of the Chinese people. p. 104

<sup>75</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "The German Ideology", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, Vol. V, pp. 52-53. p. 108

<sup>76, 77, 78</sup> When this article was reprinted by the People's Publishing House in March 1980, the following editorial note appeared in the Chinese edition:

In the 1962 edition, after the word "counter-revolutionaries" was added "and reformists". This addition was not by the author himself, but by the editors with the approval of the author. We are now publishing it in accordance with the 1949 edition. pp. 108, 109

<sup>79</sup> Confucius (551-479 B.C.) was also known as Kong Qiu or Zhongni. A native of Zouyi in the state of Lu (now Qufu County, Shandong Province) in the Spring and



Autumn Era, he was the founder of the Confucian school of philosophy. This quotation is from the *Confucian Analects*, “Wei Zheng”. p. 110

<sup>80</sup> Mencius (372-289 B.C.), known as Meng Ke, was a native of Zou (now south-eastern Zouxian County, Shandong Province) in the era of the Warring States. He was the main proponent of the Confucian doctrine after Confucius. This quotation is from *Mencius*, Book VI, “Gao Zi”, Part II. p. 111

<sup>81</sup> See “On Practice”, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975. Vol. I, p. 308. p. 111

<sup>82</sup> On *Marx*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, pp. 17-18. p. 113

<sup>83</sup> Letter to J. P. Becker, October 15, 1884. Quoted from *Frederick Engels* by Yelena Stepanova, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, p. 221. p. 113

<sup>84</sup> J. V. Stalin, “To *Rabochaya Gazeta*”, *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. VII, p. 15. p. 114

<sup>85</sup> J. V. Stalin, *Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Voters of the Stalin Electoral Area*, Moscow, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1945, pp. 12-13. p. 114

<sup>86</sup> From *Mencius*, Book VI, “Gao Zi”, Part II. p. 115

<sup>87</sup> Zeng Zi (505-436 B.C.), also known as Zeng Shen, was a native of Wucheng in the state of Lu (now Feixian County, Shandong Province) in the Spring and Autumn Era, and one of Confucius’ disciples. This quotation is from the *Confucian Analects*, “Xue Er”. p. 118

<sup>88</sup> Originally entitled *Poems* and later, *The Book of Odes*, this is the earliest collection of poetry in China. Edited in the Spring and Autumn Era, its 305 poems fall into three categories: “ballads”, “dynastic hymns” and “sacrificial songs”. The quotation here is from the “Odes of Wei”, “Qi Ao”. p. 118

<sup>89</sup> The Three People’s Principles were the principles and programme put forward by Sun Yat-sen on the questions of nationalism, democracy and the people’s livelihood during China’s bourgeois-democratic revolution. At the First National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1924, Sun Yat-sen restated the Three People’s Principles. Thus the old Three People’s Principles were transformed into the new Three People’s Principles characterized by the Three Great Policies [cf. Note 5].

pp. 119, 175, 262

<sup>90</sup> The Testament made by Sun Yat-sen on his deathbed on March 11, 1925, reads as follows:

For forty years I have devoted myself to the cause of the national revolution with the aim of winning freedom and equality for China. My experience during these forty years has firmly convinced me that to achieve this aim we must arouse the masses of the people and unite in a common fight with those nations of the world which treat us as equals. At present the revolution is not yet completed. All my comrades must continue to exert their efforts according to the Plans for National Reconstruction, the Programme of National Reconstruction, the Three People’s Principles written by me, and the Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang, until this aim is realized. The calling of a national assembly and the abolition of the unequal treaties that I have advocated recently must be realized within the shortest possible time. This is what I wished to call your attention to. p. 119

<sup>91</sup> From the *Confucian Analects*, “Xiang Dang”. p. 119

- <sup>92</sup> "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. II, pp. 209-10. p. 120
- <sup>93</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1977, p. 49. p. 126
- <sup>94</sup> V. I. Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?* Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1978, p. 87. p. 126
- <sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100. p. 127
- <sup>96</sup> "On Practice", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. I, p. 303. p. 127
- <sup>97</sup> V. I. Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?* Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1978, p. 30. p. 127
- <sup>98</sup> "On Practice", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. I, p. 304. p. 128
- <sup>99</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, pp. 32-33. p. 133
- <sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6. p. 133
- <sup>101</sup> Emil Ludwig (1881-1948), a German writer, met Stalin while visiting the Soviet Union in December 1931. See J. V. Stalin, "Talk with the German Author Emil Ludwig", *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1955, Vol. XIII, p. 107. p. 134
- <sup>102</sup> "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. II, p. 198. p. 136
- <sup>103</sup> See *Yue Yang Lou Ji*, by Fan Zhongyan (989-1052) of the Song Dynasty. p. 137
- <sup>104</sup> From *Mencius*, Book III, "Teng Wen Gong", Part II. p. 138
- <sup>105</sup> See the *Confucian Analects*, Book XIX, "Zi Zhang", 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." p. 138
- <sup>106</sup> See 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." p. 138
- <sup>107</sup> A. G. Stakhanov (1906- ), a coal miner of Donbas in the Soviet Union, was a well-known innovator in the coal industry. He adopted new techniques and improved the organization of labour, thus setting a record pace for the mining of coal with an air pick. He was able to mine 102 tons of coal in five and three quarters hours, fourteen times the standard output. His deed was quickly given wide publicity and led to a mass movement of socialist emulation, known as the Stakhanov Movement. p. 147
- <sup>108</sup> Abyssinia is Ethiopia. p. 149
- <sup>109</sup> 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. p. 151

<sup>110</sup> Chen Duxiu (1880-1942), a native of the city of Anqing, Anhui Province (originally Huaining County), began editing the magazine *Youth*, or *New Youth* as it was later called, in September 1915. In 1918, together with Li Dazhao, he founded the *Weekly Review*, and he was an advocate of the new culture and one of the chief leaders of the May 4th new cultural movement. After the May 4th Movement, he accepted and propagated Marxism. He was one of the main founders of the Communist Party of China and served as its chief leader for the first six years after its founding. In the last period of the First Revolutionary Civil War, he committed a serious error of Right capitulationism. Later, he lost faith in the future of the revolution and denied that it was necessary for the proletariat to continue to carry out the tasks of the democratic revolution in China. He formed a faction inside the Party, engaged in anti-Party activities and was consequently expelled in November 1929. He later linked up with the Trotskyites, and in May 1931 he was made general secretary of a Trotskyite organization. In September 1932, he was arrested and imprisoned by the Kuomintang. He was released in August 1937.

pp. 152, 217, 241, 282, 298, 332

<sup>111</sup> Zhang Guotao (1897-1979), a native of Pingxiang, Jiangxi Province, attended the First National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1921 and was elected a member of the Central Committee at its Second, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth National Congresses. At the First Plenary Session of the Sixth National Congress, he was elected a member of the Political Bureau. In 1931 he served as secretary of the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Sub-Bureau of the Central Committee and vice-chairman of the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic. In June 1935, when the First Front Army of the Red Army joined forces with the Fourth Front Army in western Sichuan, he became general political commissar of the Red Army. He opposed the Central Committee's decision to have the Red Army continue its northward march. As a result, he carried out criminal activities to split the Party and the Red Army and set up a separate "party central committee". In June 1936, forced to abolish the "second party central committee", he continued the northward march with the Second and Fourth Front Armies, reaching the northern part of Shaanxi Province in December. He became vice-chairman of the Government of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region in 1937. In April 1938, while allegedly attending a ceremony to sweep the grave of Yellow Emperor, Huangdi, he fled the region, went to Wuhan via Xi'an and joined the Kuomintang secret police. He thus became a renegade from the Chinese revolution, and he was subsequently expelled from the Party.

p. 152

<sup>112</sup> J. V. Stalin, "Once More on the Social-Democratic Deviation in Our Party", *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. IX, pp. 9-11.

p. 155

<sup>113</sup> See *Marx-Engels Archives*, Book I, p. 371, quoted in J. V. Stalin, *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. IX, p. 9.

p. 156

<sup>114</sup> J. V. Stalin, "Once More on the Social-Democratic Deviation in Our Party", *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. IX, p. 4.

p. 163

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

p. 163

<sup>116</sup> "On Contradiction", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Beijing, 1975, Vol. I, p. 345.

p.163

<sup>117</sup> The New Fourth Army was one of the main forces of the people's army under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party during the War of Resistance Against Japan. In October 1937, in accordance with an agreement reached through negotiations with the Kuomintang, the Communist Party decided to concentrate the Red Army guerrilla forces in Jiangxi, Fujian, Guangdong, Hunan, Hubei, Henan,

Zhejiang and Anhui provinces respectively, and to reorganize them as the “New Fourth Army of the National Revolutionary Army”. Ye Ting was appointed commander, Xiang Ying deputy commander, Zhang Yunyi chief of staff and Yuan Guoping director of its Political Department.

In January 1938, the New Fourth Army, which had four detachments, established its headquarters. Thereafter, it immediately went behind enemy lines, carrying out anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare and setting up an anti-Japanese base area in central China. After the Southern Anhui Incident of 1941 [cf. Note 168 below], the CPC Central Committee waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the Kuomintang die-hards, reorganized the New Fourth Army and appointed Chen Yi as its acting commander and Liu Shaoqi as its political commissar. Reorganized into seven divisions, it persisted in the war of resistance, established, expanded and consolidated anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy lines in southern, central and northern Jiangsu, both north and south of the Huaihe River, in the Hubei-Henan-Anhui border area, and in central Anhui and eastern Zhejiang. In 1945, on the eve of the surrender of the Japanese imperialists, the New Fourth Army had more than 300,000 men. pp. 169, 175, 230, 244, 267, 315, 366

<sup>118</sup> The committees referred to here are the Jiangbei (an area along the north bank of the mouth of the Changjiang River) and the Northern Jiangsu Special Committees of the Communist Party of China. p. 171

<sup>119</sup> The revolutionary Three People’s Principles were also known as the new Three People’s Principles. See Note 89 above. p. 173

<sup>120</sup> The Northern Expedition was a revolutionary war waged jointly by the Chinese Communist Party and Kuomintang against the imperialists and feudal warlords. With the support and participation of the Communist Party, Dr. Sun Yat-sen convened the Kuomintang’s First National Congress, laid down the Three Great Policies of alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party, and assistance to the peasants and workers, reformed the Kuomintang, achieved Kuomintang-Communist co-operation and organized a revolutionary army. In May 1926, an independent regiment, commanded by Ye Ting and under the direct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, drove boldly into Hunan Province as the advance force of the Northern Expeditionary Army. On July 9, the National Revolutionary Army formally began its Northern Expedition. It routed the main forces of Hubei warlord Wu Peifu in August, wiped out the main forces of Jiangxi warlord Sun Chuanfang in November, occupied Fujian and Zhejiang in December and entered Nanjing and Shanghai in March 1927. The Chinese Communists played a key role in these operations and it was due to their efforts in organizing the active support of the broad masses of workers and peasants, that the revolutionary forces were able to move forward rapidly to the Changjiang and Huanghe river basins. On April 12 and July 15, 1927, Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei launched counter-revolutionary coups in Shanghai and Wuhan respectively, thus usurping the fruits of these victories. pp. 174, 293, 332

<sup>121</sup> In accordance with the Communist Party’s anti-Japanese national united front policy, it was stipulated that the anti-Japanese democratic governments in the Liberated Areas should be composed of equal numbers of Communists, non-Party Left progressives and middle forces. The system was known as the “three thirds system”. pp. 176, 224, 284

<sup>122</sup> The Programme of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction was adopted at the provisional national congress of the Kuomintang on April 1, 1938. Its contents included military, political, economic and foreign policies for the war of



resistance. It made certain concessions to the people, such as organizing people's political organs and granting freedom of speech, publication, assembly and association. However, because of Chiang Kai-shek's later policy of passive resistance to Japan and active opposition to the Communist Party, some of these concessions did not materialize. p. 177

<sup>123</sup> The Social-Democratic parties referred to here are the "Social-Democratic Parties", "Socialist Parties" and "Labour Parties" of various European countries. Most of these parties developed during the period between the failure of the Paris Commune and the beginning of the 20th century when capitalism was expanding in relative peace. In their early days, these parties played a positive role in the workers' movement. But by the end of the 19th century, as a result of the swift development of revisionism and opportunism inside the various parties, each supported its own government's imperialism during the First World War. However, the Left of many of these parties withdrew and established communist parties after 1919. pp. 181, 299

<sup>124</sup> J. V. Stalin, "Once More on the Social-Democratic Deviation in Our Party", *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. IX, p. 4. p. 182

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8. p. 182

<sup>126</sup> Established in London in September 1864, the First International, or the International Working Men's Association, was the first internationally united organization to have a mass character. It was presided over by Marx and Engels and gave guidance to the workers' movement in various countries, waged struggles against all kinds of non-proletarian socialist trends, propagated Marxism and thus consolidated international unity among the workers of all countries. Acting on a proposal by Marx, it officially dissolved itself in July 1876. p. 183

<sup>127</sup> The Second International, established in Paris in July 1889, was an internationally united organization of Socialist Parties in various countries. Under the guidance and influence of Engels, it basically adhered to the revolutionary stand in its early days. After Engels' death in 1895, opportunist ideology developed rapidly in the various Socialist Parties in the Second International, and Rightists represented by E. Bernstein and Centrists represented by Kautsky occupied positions of leadership. After the outbreak of the First World War, the Second International collapsed because most of the Social-Democratic Parties openly supported the participation of their own bourgeois governments in the imperialist war. p. 183

<sup>128</sup> In 1903, when the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party drafted the Party programme and constitution, L. Martov and other opportunists opposed the view of the Marxists led by Lenin. In the voting for the organ of the Central Committee, they received a minority of votes and so became known as the Mensheviks (from *Меньшевик*, meaning minority). Their views were known as Menshevism. pp. 185, 293

<sup>129</sup> The Economists, represented by S. N. Prokopovich and Y. D. Kuskova, were one of the factions in the late 19th century and early 20th century Russian workers' movement. Proponents of the spontaneous working-class movement, this faction held that its task was to strive for the improvement of the workers' economic conditions: hence, the name "Economists". In 1899, they issued a manifesto openly opposing Marxism and calling for renunciation of the idea of an independent political party of the proletariat and the political demand of the working class for independence. To create a Marxist, revolutionary political party, Lenin waged resolute struggles against the "Economists". p. 185

<sup>130</sup> Syndicalism, a petty-bourgeois opportunist trend in the international workers' movement, was widespread in France, Italy, Spain and Switzerland at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Its most influential representatives were Georges Sorel and Hubert Lagardelle. The Syndicalists opposed political struggle, denied the leadership role of the political party of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and advocated the leadership and organization of production by trade unions which would replace state organs. p. 185

<sup>131</sup> The "Left-Wing Communists" were a "Left" opportunist clique, primarily represented by Bukharin, Preobrazhensky, G. L. Pyatakov and K. B. Radek, which emerged inside the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks) during the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations in January 1918. They were opposed to concluding the peace treaty, believing that continuation of the war with the imperialists would promote international revolution and that the victory of socialism in Russia could be consolidated only if the countries of Western Europe rose in revolution. In April 1918, when the Soviet regime set about socialist construction, they opposed such policies as the employment of bourgeois experts, the implementation of state capitalism and the introduction of discipline and business accounting in the enterprises, holding that these policies meant a return to bourgeois order. Lenin carried out a resolute struggle against them and, in the summer of 1918, the "Left-Wing Communists" admitted their mistakes. p. 190

<sup>132</sup> The Brest-Litovsk peace treaty was concluded in March 1918 between Soviet Russia and Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Bulgaria and Turkey, in the city of Brest-Litovsk in western Russia. In accordance with the treaty, Soviet Russia had to relinquish some territory and pay an enormous indemnity. This was a revolutionary compromise made by the new-born Soviet regime in order to withdraw from the imperialist war and concentrate its forces on consolidating the victory gained in the October Revolution. After the defeat of Germany in November 1918, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee declared the abrogation of the treaty. p. 190

<sup>133</sup> The dispute on the trade union question was provoked by the opposition headed by Trotsky at the Fifth All-Russia Trade Union Conference held at the beginning of November 1920. Trotsky was against both the use of persuasion in relations with the workers and the extension of democracy in the trade unions. He favoured the introduction of military methods and demanded the immediate "unionization of the state". Lenin published successively "The Trade Unions, the Present Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky" and "Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Present Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin". p. 190

<sup>134</sup> The Otzovists, represented by A. A. Bogdanov, A. V. Lunacharsky, G. A. Alexinsky and M. N. Pokrovsky, were a "Left" opportunist faction which emerged among the Bolsheviks after the failure of the 1905-07 Revolution. They advocated giving up all legal struggles, refused to join in the trade unions, co-operatives and other legally recognized organizations and demanded the recall of the Social-Democratic deputies from the Third State Duma. They were expelled from the Bolshevik organization in June 1909. p. 190

<sup>135</sup> The Trotskyites originally constituted an anti-Leninist faction inside the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Here, however, the reference is to Chinese Trotskyites. After the failure of the revolution in 1927, a small number of capitulationists represented by Chen Duxiu, adopted the Trotskyite stand. They held that the Chinese bourgeoisie had won victory over imperialism and the feudal forces, that the bourgeois-democratic revolution had been completed, that the Chinese pro-

letariat would have to wait until the future to carry out the socialist revolution, and that for the time being the proletariat would have to call off all revolutionary movements, conducting instead legal movements calling for the convocation of a "national assembly". Hence, they were called Trotskyite Chen Duxiu liquidationists. After being expelled from the Party in November 1929, Chen Duxiu and others, with the help of Trotsky, ganged up with other Trotskyites and formed a Chinese Trotskyist clique known as the Chinese Communist League in May 1931. Chen Duxiu was made its general secretary. Soon afterwards the leaders of the league were arrested by the Kuomintang and the clique disintegrated, but some Trotskyites and small Trotskyite cliques continued their activities. p. 199

<sup>136</sup> During the ten year period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, from 1927 to 1937, the Chinese Communist Party had no legal status and so could only carry out underground revolutionary activities in the Kuomintang areas. p. 220

<sup>137</sup> "The Democratic Spirit and Bureaucratism", a speech delivered at the Party School of the Central China Bureau in 1941, was published in the periodical *Red Flag*, No. 14, 1980. p. 225

<sup>138</sup> Pang Youlan (1874-1947), born in Binhai, Jiangsu Province, was one of the enlightened gentry in northern Jiangsu. He was elected vice-chairman of the Consultative Council of the Yancheng-Funing Area in October 1942. p. 226

<sup>139</sup> The reduction of rent and interest was an agrarian policy of the Communist Party of China during the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan. It was also implemented in the newly liberated areas during the War of Liberation and in the initial period after nationwide liberation. pp. 228, 232, 285, 310, 347, 377

<sup>140</sup> In his speech "Rectify the Party's Style of Work", delivered in 1942, Mao Zedong referred to subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing as three "ill winds". He proposed to "fight subjectivism in order to rectify the style of study, fight sectarianism in order to rectify the style in Party relations, and fight Party stereotypes in order to rectify the style of writing". p. 231

<sup>141</sup> The booklet, *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course*, was edited by a special commission of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) and examined and revised by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) in 1938. pp. 233, 394

<sup>142</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "The Holy Family", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, Vol. IV, p. 37 and Marx's "General Rules of the International Working Men's Association", *The General Council of the First International, 1870-1871*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 451. pp. 238, 346

<sup>143</sup> The four mobilizations refer here to efforts in the Shanxi-Suiyuan region in 1940 to collect grain, accumulate funds, make shoes for the army and enlist recruits. p. 240

<sup>144</sup> The British Concession in Hankou was recovered in 1927. On January 3, the people in Wuhan held rallies to celebrate the National Government's decision to move north, and the victory of the Northern Expedition. When propaganda team members were making speeches in a square near the British Concession, the British imperialists brazenly dispatched a large number of armed sailors to disperse the audience. A Chinese sailor was stabbed to death and dozens of persons were wounded. The atrocities of the British imperialists and their interference in the Chinese revolution aroused great indignation among the people of various circles in Wuhan. They demanded that the representatives of the National Government

in Wuhan lodge a strong protest with the British authorities. On January 5, several hundred thousand people, organized and led by the Chinese Communist Party, held a mammoth rally in Wuhan. After the rally, the revolutionary masses drove the British police out of the Concession and occupied it. The National Government in Wuhan accepted the masses' demand and sent troops into the Concession, thus formally recovering the British Concession in Hankou. p. 241

<sup>145</sup> The August 1st declaration is a document entitled "An Appeal to All Fellow-Countrymen for Resistance to Japan and for National Salvation" issued by the Chinese Communist Party on August 1, 1935. p. 246

<sup>146</sup> The North China Incident refers to a series of events in 1935, involving Japanese imperialist aggression against north China and the betrayal of our sovereignty by the Kuomintang government headed by Chiang Kai-shek. At the end of May 1935, the Japanese imperialists issued various unreasonable demands to the Kuomintang government. In early June, He Yingqin, representative of the Kuomintang government in north China, began secret talks with the Japanese, and on July 6, he sent a letter to Yoshijiro Umezu, commander of the invading Japanese forces in north China, formally acceding to the Japanese demands. This became known as the "He-Umezu Agreement". On June 27, Qin Dechun, Kuomintang acting governor of Qahar Province, and Kenji Dohihara, head of the Japanese secret service, reached an agreement with an exchange of notes, known as the "Qin-Dohihara Agreement". Under these agreements, China forfeited most of its sovereignty in the provinces of Hebei and Qahar. Later, the Japanese imperialists helped a number of Chinese collaborators set up a so-called Movement of Autonomy in the Five Provinces of North China in an attempt to sever the five provinces of Hebei, Qahar, Suiyuan, Shandong and Shanxi from China. In October, at the instigation of the Japanese imperialists, some Chinese collaborators staged a revolt in eastern Hebei and seized for a time the county town of Xianghe. In November, the traitor Yin Rugeng, set up a so-called Anti-Communist Autonomous Council of Eastern Hebei in Tongxian County (later changed to the Anti-Communist Autonomous Administration of Eastern Hebei). In December, the Kuomintang government appointed Song Zheyuan and others to form a "Political Council for Hebei and Qahar" to meet the Japanese demand for "special administration for north China". p. 247

<sup>147</sup> Song Zheyuan (1885-1940), a native of Leling, Shandong Province, was commander of the 29th Army of the Kuomintang army, chairman of the "Political Council for Hebei and Qahar" and governor of Hebei Province. p. 247

<sup>148</sup> On December 9, 1935, when several thousand students in Beiping held a patriotic demonstration under Communist leadership, raising such slogans as "Stop the civil war and unite to resist foreign aggression!" and "Down with Japanese imperialism!", they were suppressed by the Kuomintang government. The following day, students of all schools in Beiping declared a general strike. On the 16th of the month, over ten thousand students and city residents held a second demonstration. This patriotic movement, which received a warm response from people throughout the country and brought about a new upsurge in the Chinese people's movement against Japanese aggression and for national salvation, became known as the December 9th Movement. pp. 247, 308

<sup>149</sup> The "Left" opportunist line referred to here is the "Left" adventurism of which Wang Ming was the exponent. pp. 248, 298

<sup>150</sup> The Zunyi Meeting was an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held at Zunyi, Guizhou Province in January 1935. The meeting focused on rectifying the "Left" errors in military



affairs, put an end to the domination of the “Left” adventurist line in the central leading body, established the leadership of Mao Zedong in the Red Army and in the central leading body of the Party, and saved the Red Army and the Party from destruction at that most critical juncture. p. 248

<sup>151</sup> The Sixth National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in Moscow between June and July, 1928. pp. 248, 317

<sup>152</sup> The “Declaration of the Northern Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation” was issued on March 10, 1936. p. 249

<sup>153</sup> Zhang Dongsun (1886-1973), a native of Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province, was the leader of the National Socialist Party and editor of the *Freedom Review*. On February 7, 1936, Zhang published an article entitled “On the Declaration of the Communist Party and Nationwide Co-operation” in *Freedom Review*, No. 10, in which he commented on the “Appeal to All Fellow-Countrymen for Resistance to Japan and for National Salvation” issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on August 1, 1935. Although the article expressed support for the policies of the CPC, it also stated some erroneous views. Under the name of Tao Shangxing, Liu Shaoqi wrote “A Letter About the Communist Party”, carried in *Freedom Review*, No. 22, explaining the CPC’s policy of resisting Japan and saving the nation, and criticizing Zhang’s erroneous views. p. 249

<sup>154</sup> The term smuggling here refers specifically to the intensified economic aggression carried on by Japanese imperialists against north China by transporting, illegally or under armed escort, large quantities of Japanese goods into China, flooding the Chinese market and dealing a blow to China’s national industry. p. 249

<sup>155</sup> *The Battle Front*, a restricted publication of the Hebei Provincial Committee of the CPC, began publication in Tianjin in March 1933 and was distributed underground. In 1938, it was relocated in the base area in western Beiping. p. 251

<sup>156</sup> See “Eliminate Closed-Doorism and Adventurism”, pp. 34-44 above. p. 251

<sup>157</sup> The campaign waged by the Chinese army to resist the invading Japanese army along the Great Wall around Xifengkou in eastern Hebei in March 1933, owing to the policy of conciliation pursued by the Chiang Kai-shek clique, ended in the signing of the traitorous “Tanggu Agreement”. p. 254

<sup>158</sup> On September 22, 1937, the Kuomintang was compelled to publish the “Declaration of the Communist Party of China Announcing Kuomintang-Communist Co-operation”, and on September 23, Chiang Kai-shek’s statement recognizing the legal status of the Chinese Communist Party was published. This marked the formal establishment of the anti-Japanese national united front as advocated by the Chinese Communist Party. p. 255

<sup>159</sup> Song Shilun (1907- ), a native of Liling, Hunan Province, was commander of the 4th Column of the Eighth Route Army and concurrently commander of the 12th Detachment of that column. p. 256

<sup>160</sup> The “Decision of the Northern Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Concerning the Current Situation and the Tasks of the Party in North China” was issued on November 15, 1937. It is included in this volume under the title “Independently Lead the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla War in North China”. See pp. 104-06 above. p. 257

<sup>161</sup> Qahar was originally a province. In 1952, the Qahar provincial administration was abolished and the territory under its jurisdiction incorporated into Hebei and Shanxi provinces. pp. 260, 365

<sup>162</sup> Han Fujū (1890-1938), a native of Baxian, Hebei Province, was a local Kuomintang warlord. The governor of Shandong Province at the time when the Japanese imperialists attacked, he fled without putting up any resistance. Within the dozen or so days from late December 1937 to early January 1938, he forfeited vast areas of Chinese territory in central and southwestern Shandong. p. 260

<sup>163</sup> Yan Xishan (1883-1960), a native of Wutai, Shanxi Province, was a warlord who ruled over that province for a long time. In his early years, he joined the *Tong Meng Hui* (Chinese Revolutionary League). After the Revolution of 1911, he successively assumed the offices of military governor and governor of Shanxi Province. After 1932, he became director of the Kuomintang Pacification Headquarters in Taiyuan, and during the War of Resistance Against Japan, he was commander of the 2nd War Zone. p. 263

<sup>164</sup> The Shanxi Youth Resistance "Daredevil" Corps, a popular anti-Japanese armed unit organized and led by the Chinese Communist Party, played an important role in the armed resistance in Shanxi Province in the initial stage of the war of resistance. When it was established, it won the support of Yan Xishan. But later, when Chiang Kai-shek and Yan Xishan adopted a passive attitude toward the Japanese and became active in opposing the Communists by launching the first anti-Communist onslaught, Yan engineered the December Incident in Shanxi in a vain attempt to wipe out the "Daredevil" Corps. p. 263

<sup>165</sup> On December 9, 1937, in a report to the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee on his work representing the Communist Party of China to the Communist International, Wang Ming put forth the slogan: "Everything for the resistance to Japan, everything through the anti-Japanese national united front, and everything to be subordinate to the resistance to Japan." His position on the united front and the actions he took in accordance with it were later summed up as: "Everything through the united front" and "Everything must be submitted to the united front". Practice proved the incorrectness of this slogan. In October 1938, the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the CPC criticized and rectified the slogan. p. 266

<sup>166</sup> Bo Gu (1907-46), otherwise known as Qin Bangxian, was a native of Wuxi, Jiangsu Province. After the outbreak of the war of resistance, he was appointed representative of the Communist Party of China in Nanjing. Beginning in 1938, he served as member of the Changjiang Bureau and head of its Organization Department, and he held the same posts successively in the Southern Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. p. 267

<sup>167</sup> The Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held in Yan'an in October 1938. It laid down the principle of persisting in the anti-Japanese united front and criticized the error of Right capitulationism on the question of the united front. pp. 267, 356

<sup>168</sup> In October 1940, the military authorities of the Kuomintang forcibly ordered all the units of the New Fourth and the Eighth Route Armies stationed north and south of the Changjiang River and south of the Huanghe River to move north of the Huanghe River. While rejecting this unreasonable demand, the Chinese Communist Party agreed to move the units of the New Fourth Army in southern Anhui to the north of the Changjiang River, in order to safeguard the overall interests. In January 1941, with the consent of the Kuomintang authorities, more than 9,000

officers and men of the New Fourth Army in southern Anhui started on their journey northward. When they approached Maolin Township, Jingxian County, Anhui Province, they were ambushed by 70,000 to 80,000 Kuomintang troops. After a bloody battle which lasted 7 days, the New Fourth Army's supplies of food and ammunition were exhausted and most of the men died heroically in the fighting. Only a few men, who were able to break through the enemy lines, survived. Army Commander Ye Ting was taken prisoner. This event, which shocked China and the rest of the world, became known as the Southern Anhui Incident. Soon afterwards, Chiang Kai-shek declared the cancellation of the official designation of the New Fourth Army and mounted attacks on the units of the New Fourth and the Eighth Route Armies in central and north China. The Chinese Communist Party sternly repudiated the reactionary order of Chiang Kai-shek, crushed the military attacks launched by the Kuomintang, appointed Chen Yi Acting Commander, Zhang Yunyi Deputy Commander, and Liu Shaoqi Political Commissar of the New Fourth Army, and reorganized and expanded its units. p. 267

<sup>169</sup> The *New China Daily* was a newspaper published by the Chinese Communist Party and openly distributed in the Kuomintang areas. It started publication in Hankou on January 11, 1938 and moved to Chongqing on October 25 of the same year. It was banned by the Kuomintang on February 28, 1947. p. 269

<sup>170</sup> Li Xiannian (1907- ), a native of Hong'an, Hubei Province, was commander of the Henan-Hubei Assault Troops of the New Fourth Army. p. 276

<sup>171</sup> Peng Xuefeng (1907-44), a native of Zhenping, Henan Province, was commander and political commissar of the guerrilla detachment of the New Fourth Army. In 1941, he became commander of the Fourth Division of the New Fourth Army and concurrently commander-in-chief of the Huaihe River North Military Area. He died in action in September 1944. p. 276

<sup>172</sup> Wu Zhipu (1906-67), a native of Qixian, Henan Province, was deputy commander of the guerrilla detachment of the New Fourth Army. p. 276

<sup>173</sup> "Measures for Restricting the Activities of Alien Parties" was secretly issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang in the spring of 1939. This document laid down various fascistic measures to control and persecute Communists and progressive elements and to disrupt all anti-Japanese mass organizations. It stipulated that in places where, in the opinion of the central authorities of the Kuomintang, the Communists were most active, the "law of collective responsibility and collective punishment" was to be enforced and an "information network", or counter-revolutionary secret service, was to be established within the *bao-jia* organizations, so as to keep watch on and restrict the activities of the people. p. 277

<sup>174</sup> A few years prior to the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941, the U.S. and British imperialists took steps to reach a compromise with the Japanese imperialists at the expense of China. Because this scheme was similar to the Munich Agreement whereby Britain and France betrayed Czechoslovakia in reaching a compromise with the German and Italian fascists, it became known as the "Eastern Munich" or "Far Eastern Munich" agreement. p. 277

<sup>175</sup> This attack in 1939 was the first of the anti-Communist onslaughts. After the fall of Wuhan in October 1938, the Kuomintang intensified its anti-Communist activities. In December 1939, Chiang Kai-shek ordered Jiang Dingwen's troops to occupy the five county towns of Chunhua, Xunyi, Zhengning, Ningxian and Zhenyuan in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region, and Yan Xishan launched the December Incident in Shanxi [cf. Note 164] by attacking the New Army of Shanxi including the "Daredevil" Corps. In the spring of 1940, Chiang Kai-shek ordered the troops of

Zhu Huaibing and Shi Yousan to mount large-scale attacks on the Eighth Route Army in the base areas in southern Hebei and in the Taihang Mountain region. The Communist Party of China led the army and people of the Liberated Areas in a resolute counter-attack, and in March 1940, wiped out three divisions of the Kuomintang army, effectively liquidating the anti-Communist diehards entrenched within the various Liberated Areas in north China. Thus, Chiang Kai-shek's first anti-Communist onslaught was defeated. p. 279

<sup>176</sup> The second anti-Communist onslaught was the Southern Anhui Incident [see Note 168 above]. p. 279

<sup>177</sup> Han Guojun (1857-1942), a native of Hai'an Township (now under Hai'an County), Taixian County, Jiangsu Province, was a well-known, enlightened member of the gentry who helped time and again to mediate the conflicts between the forces of the Kuomintang anti-Communist diehards in northern Jiangsu and the New Fourth Army. p. 279

<sup>178</sup> The famous Second Huangqiao Battle was a decisive battle, which occurred in early October 1940, when Han Deqin, Kuomintang governor of Jiangsu Province, led 26 regiments with more than 30,000 men in an attack on the New Fourth Army stationed in Huangqiao Township, Taixing County, aimed at completely wiping out its units operating in northern Jiangsu. Under the command of Chen Yi and Su Yu, the more than 7,000 officers and men of the New Fourth Army rose in counter-attack, and after a fierce battle which lasted four days, routed Han's forces. In this campaign more than 11,000 Kuomintang diehard troops were annihilated. p. 282

<sup>179</sup> Han Deqin (1891- ), a native of Siyang, Jiangsu Province, was the Kuomintang governor of Jiangsu Province and concurrently deputy commander-in-chief of the Jiangsu-Shandong War Zone. p. 282

<sup>180</sup> Modelled on the people's congress, consultative councils were established by the Chinese Communist Party in the anti-Japanese democratic base areas in order to encourage non-Party personages to participate in political power. p. 284

<sup>181</sup> The rectification movement was a Party-wide Marxist-Leninist ideological education movement launched by the Chinese Communist Party in 1942 [see Note 140 above]. pp. 290, 301, 318, 412

<sup>182</sup> Georgi Dimitrov (1882-1949), a renowned Bulgarian activist in the international communist movement, served as a member of the Central Council of the Red International of Labour Unions in 1921, and from 1935 to 1943 as Secretary-General of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. After returning to Bulgaria in November 1945, he worked as Secretary-General of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers. pp. 291, 414

<sup>183</sup> For details, see Georgi Dimitrov, "The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International", *Selected Articles and Speeches*, Eng. ed., Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1951, pp. 138-39. pp. 291, 414

<sup>184</sup> From J. V. Stalin, "Lenin As the Organizer and Leader of the Russian Communist Party", *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1953, Vol. IV, p. 318. p. 297

<sup>185</sup> Peng Shuzhi (1896- ), a native of Baoqing, Hunan Province, joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1921. In the last stage of the First Revolutionary Civil War, he followed Chen Duxiu closely and actively promoted the Right opportunist line. After the revolution suffered defeat, he became a liquidationist, organized a faction inside the Party and conducted anti-Party activities. He was expelled in November 1929 and subsequently became a Trotskyite. p. 298



<sup>186</sup> The Trotskyite Chen Duxiu liquidationists had direct links with Trotsky, both ideologically and organizationally. In the programme laid out in their paper entitled "Our Political Views", they indiscriminately applied the views of Trotsky to the problems of the Chinese revolution. In 1929, on his way back to China from Moscow via Europe, Liu Renjing, a Trotskyite, went to Turkey specifically to meet Trotsky, and he brought back a programme drafted by the latter for the Chinese Trotskyites. It was adopted as the political programme of the "Chinese Communist League" at the united conference of the Chinese Trotskyites held in May 1931. p. 299

<sup>187</sup> The reports referred to here are: "Reform Our Study" (delivered in May 1941); "Rectify the Party's Style of Work" (February 1, 1942); and "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing" (February 8, 1942). See *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. III, pp. 17-25, pp. 35-51, pp. 53-68, respectively.

p. 300

<sup>188</sup> This conference was held in Yan'an from May 1 to 25, 1944. It was attended by over two hundred delegates representing the directors, engineers, technicians and workers of the Border Region factories and producers' co-operatives. It summed up the achievements and experience gained in the development of industry in the Border Region, discussed and put forth the tasks for further development and formulated relevant policies and principles.

p. 303

<sup>189</sup> Deng Fa (1906-46), a native of Yunfu County, Guangdong Province, served as an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC and the secretary of the Central Committee's Trade Union Commission.

p. 306

<sup>190</sup> Tao Duanyu's (1921- ) ancestral home is Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province, but she was born in Tianjin. At the time of this speech, she was a cadre in the Education Section of the Department of Propaganda of the CPC Central Committee. While carrying out work in the rural areas, she helped to establish the Yangjiawan Primary School in Yan'an proper, which became a model school for the whole Border Region.

p. 309

<sup>191</sup> According to a legend, Bo Le was an expert judge of horses. Here it means to be good at discovering people of ability and talent.

p. 313

<sup>192</sup> The political report referred to here is "On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945). See *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. III, pp. 205-70.

p. 314

<sup>193</sup> A small group of Marxists, known as a communist group, gradually disseminated Marxism in China, following the May 4th Movement in 1919. In 1920, revolutionaries possessing a rudimentary knowledge of communist ideology established communist groups in Shanghai, Beijing and other places which propagated Marxism-Leninism and led workers in their strikes. In this way, Marxism was integrated with the Chinese workers' movement. The Chinese students studying in Tokyo and Paris also set up communist groups. Both in ideological preparation and the training of cadres, the communist groups paved the way for the founding of the Chinese Communist Party.

p. 336

<sup>194</sup> "On Coalition Government", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. III, p. 265.

p. 340

<sup>195, 196, 197</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 266.

p. 340

<sup>195</sup> J. V. Stalin, *Defects in Party Work and Measures for Liquidating Trotskyite and Other Double-Dealers*, Eng. ed., Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R., Moscow, 1937, pp. 40-41.

p. 349

<sup>199</sup> “On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party”, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. I, p. 108. p. 355

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.* p. 355

<sup>201</sup> “The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War”, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. II, pp. 204-05. p. 356

<sup>202</sup> Peace negotiations were held between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in Chongqing in 1945. After victory was won in the War of Resistance Against Japan, the country faced the crisis of civil war. In order to avert it, the Chinese Communist Party sent Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Wang Ruofei to Chongqing on August 28 to hold negotiations with the Kuomintang. On October 10, after 43 days of negotiations, the “Summary of Conversations Between the Representatives of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China” (known as the Double Tenth Agreement) was made public. In the summary, the Kuomintang had to accept the basic policy of peace and national reconstruction put forward by the Chinese Communist Party and recognize certain democratic rights of the people, but it obstinately refused to recognize the people’s army and the legal status of the democratic governments of the Liberated Areas. As a result, no agreement could be reached on these issues. On October 11, Mao Zedong returned to Yan’an, and Zhou Enlai and Wang Ruofei continued the negotiations. Shortly afterwards, Chiang Kai-shek scrapped the agreement and launched a military offensive against the Liberated Areas. p. 365

<sup>203</sup> Rehe, originally a province, was abolished in 1955. The territory formerly under its jurisdiction was incorporated into Hebei and Liaoning Provinces and the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. pp. 365, 368

<sup>204</sup> The armed forces of the Soviet Union entered northeastern China to join forces with China against Japan after the Soviet Union declared war on Japan, August 8, 1945. p. 365

<sup>205</sup> Fu Zuoyi (1894-1974), a native of Linyi County, Shanxi Province, was the commander of the 12th War Zone of the Kuomintang forces. After the founding of the People’s Republic of China, he served as a member of the Central People’s Government Council, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council, Minister of Water Conservancy and later Minister of Water Conservancy and Electric Power. p. 366

<sup>206</sup> Ma Zhanshan (1887-1950), a native of Huaide County, Jilin Province, was the commander of the Northeastern Assault Army of the Kuomintang under Fu Zuoyi, commander of the 12th War Zone. p. 366

<sup>207</sup> Hu Zongnan (1902-62), a native of Xiaofeng (now Anji) County, Zhejiang Province, was the commander of the First War Zone of the Kuomintang. His 34th Group Army entered Hebei Province from Shaanxi Province in August 1945, under Sun Lianzhong, commander of the 11th War Zone. p. 366

<sup>208</sup> Li Fuchun (1900-75), a native of Changsha, Hunan Province, was the head of the Department of Finance and Economics of the Central Committee of the CPC and Deputy Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the CPC. p. 366

<sup>209</sup> The leading body of the Party in the Hebei-Rehe-Liaoning Area was formerly called the Hebei-Rehe-Liaoning Area Party Committee of the CPC, and the military leading body was called the Hebei-Rehe-Liaoning Military Area. They were respectively under the leadership of the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei Sub-Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC and the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei Military Area. In

September 1945, the Central Committee of the Party decided to set up the Hebei-Rehe-Liaoning Bureau of the Central Committee and expand the Hebei-Rehe-Liaoning Military Area. This decision was never carried out because of changes in the situation. In October, the Central Committee decided to establish the Hebei-Rehe-Liaoning Sub-Bureau of the Central Committee and the Hebei-Rehe-Liaoning Military Area, and these were placed under the respective leadership of the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC and the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei Military Area. The former Hebei-Rehe-Liaoning Area Party Committee and the Hebei-Rehe-Liaoning Military Area were redesignated as the Eastern Hebei Area Party Committee and the Eastern Hebei Military Area. p. 366

<sup>210</sup> Lin Biao (1907-71), a native of Huanggang County, Hubei Province, had been commander of the 115th Division of the Eighth Route Army. In September 1945, he was on his way to the Northeast where he had been directed to go. p. 366

<sup>211</sup> Luo Ronghuan (1902-63), a native of Hengshan County, Hunan Province, was the secretary of the Shandong Sub-Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC and political commissar of the Shandong Military Area. p. 366

<sup>212</sup> Chen Yi (1901-72), a native of Lezhi County, Sichuan Province, was the deputy secretary of the Central China Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC and commander of the New Fourth Army. p. 366

<sup>213</sup> Rao Shushi (1903-75), a native of Linchuan County, Jiangxi Province, was the secretary of the Central China Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC and political commissar of the New Fourth Army. p. 366

<sup>214</sup> The Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Military Area was established in August 1945 with Liu Bocheng as commander and Deng Xiaoping as political commissar. Under its jurisdiction were the Taiyue, Taihang, Southern Hebei and Hebei-Shandong-Henan Military Areas. p. 366

<sup>215</sup> Huang Kecheng (1903- ), a native of Yongxing County, Hunan Province, was the commander and, concurrently, political commissar of the Third Division of the New Fourth Army, which had been transferred to the Northeast. p. 370

<sup>216</sup> Liang Xingchu (1912- ), a native of Ji'an County, Jiangxi Province, was the commander of the First Division of the Shandong Military Area, which had been transferred to the Northeast.

Luo Huasheng (1910- ), a native of Xiangtan County, Hunan Province, was the commander of the Second Division of the Shandong Military Area, which had been transferred to the Northeast. p. 370

<sup>217</sup> During the ten years' civil war (1927-37), a policy of confiscating all the land of the landlords and distributing it to peasants with little or no land was adopted. p. 376

<sup>218</sup> The "Programme for Peace and National Reconstruction" was adopted at the Political Consultative Conference held in Chongqing in January 1946. In the programme, an article on the peasant and land questions stated that "to better the life of the peasants, rents and rates of interest shall be reduced, the rights of lessees protected, the payment of farm rents ensured, agricultural credits expanded, usury strictly prohibited and an agrarian law effectuating 'land to the tiller' shall be enacted". p. 378

<sup>219</sup> The "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the Land Policy for the Anti-Japanese Base Areas" was adopted by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC on January 28, 1942. p. 378

<sup>220</sup> The Outline Land Law of China was adopted at the National Land Conference of the Communist Party of China held on September 13, 1947 and promulgated by the Central Committee of the CPC on October 10. p. 380

<sup>221</sup> The “May 4th Directive”, also known as the “Directive on the Land Question”, was issued by the Central Committee of the CPC on May 4, 1946. See pp. 372-78 above. p. 380

<sup>222</sup> In its telegram to the Third Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang in February 1937, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party proposed to discontinue its policy of forcibly confiscating the land of the landlords. In July, it repeated this proposal in the “Declaration of the Communist Party of China Announcing Kuomintang-Communist Co-operation”. In August, the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party held at Luochuan in northern Shaanxi decided on an agrarian policy of reducing rent and interest for the duration of the War of Resistance Against Japan. p. 380

<sup>223</sup> The “Report to the National Land Conference” was delivered on August 20th, and 21st, 1947. p. 382

<sup>224</sup> Dong Biwu (1886-1975), a native of Hong’an County, Hubei Province, was a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC, a member of the Standing Committee of the Working Committee of the Central Committee, and director of the Office of Finance and Economics for North China. p. 390

<sup>225</sup> Liu Bocheng (1892- ), a native of Kaixian County, Sichuan Province, was the commander of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Field Army.

Deng Xiaoping (1904- ), a native of Guang’an County, Sichuan Province, was the political commissar of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Field Army. p. 391

<sup>226</sup> The Central Soviet Area was a base area under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party during the Second Revolutionary Civil War. It was located in southern Jiangxi Province and western Fujian Province with Ruijin, the seat of the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic, as its centre. p. 391

<sup>227</sup> V. I. Lenin, “Declaration of the Editorial Board of *Iskra*”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1960, Vol. IV, p. 354. p. 394

<sup>228</sup> Antaeus, a giant in Greek mythology, was the son of the goddess of the Earth. When wrestling with his adversaries, he would derive fresh strength from contact with his mother and so remain invincible. Finally, he was lifted up from Earth and throttled to death by his adversary, Hercules. p. 394

<sup>229</sup> Krikun is the name of a reporter in the Soviet play *The Front*, who makes groundless accusations and fabricates lies. The press circles in our country used this name to refer generally to a kind of news reporting which is divorced from facts and characterized by fabrication, boasting, exaggeration and empty talk. p. 396

<sup>230</sup> Gorlov is the name of the commander-in-chief at the war front in the Soviet play *The Front*. He was conservative, arrogant, and conceited. p. 396

<sup>231</sup> The *People’s Daily* was the official newspaper of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC. It began publishing on June 15, 1948. In August 1949, the Central Committee of the Party made the *People’s Daily* the official newspaper of the Central Committee of the CPC. p. 398

<sup>232</sup> The *Shen Bao* newspaper began publishing in Shanghai in 1872 and stopped publication in 1949 when Shanghai was liberated. p. 398



<sup>233</sup> The *Da Gong Bao* newspaper began publishing in Tianjin in 1902, and later published editions in Shanghai, Hankou, Chongqing, Guilin and Hongkong. On June 17, 1949, after liberation, the Shanghai edition published the "Announcement of *Da Gong Bao's* New Life" and continued publication. It later moved to Tianjin and then Beijing, and it ended publication in 1966. A *Da Gong Bao* is now published in Hongkong. p. 402

<sup>234</sup> Huang Wei (1904- ), a native of Guixi County, Jiangxi Province, was the commander of the 12th Army of the Kuomintang forces. He was captured by the People's Liberation Army in December 1948 during the Huai-Hai campaign. Since his release by special pardon in 1975, he has served on the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and at other posts. p. 406

<sup>235</sup> Hu Zongnan was the director of the Kuomintang Pacification Headquarters in Xi'an. p. 406

<sup>236</sup> Bai Chongxi (1893-1966), a native of Guilin, Guangxi Province, belonged to the Guangxi warlord clique and was the commander-in-chief of the Central China "Bandit Suppression" Headquarters of the Kuomintang forces. p. 406

<sup>237</sup> V. I. Lenin, "What Is To Be Done?" *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1978, Vol. V, p. 369. p. 407

<sup>238</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Controversial Issues", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1963, Vol. XIX, pp. 149-50. p. 408

<sup>239</sup> J. V. Stalin, "Report to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) on the Work of the Central Committee", *Problems of Leninism*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1953, p. 794. p. 408

<sup>240</sup> The documents were "How to Differentiate the Classes in the Rural Areas" and the "Decision of the Central Government of the Soviet Republic on Some Questions of the Agrarian Struggles" as well as other related ones issued by order of the People's Council of the Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic on October 10, 1933. p. 409

<sup>241</sup> Emperor Tai Zong (599-649) of the Tang Dynasty was also known as Li Shimin. p. 410

<sup>242</sup> Wei Zheng (580-643) was a statesman in the early Tang Dynasty. During the reign of Emperor Tai Zong, he served as the public reprover and keeper of the national archives. p. 410

<sup>243</sup> J. V. Stalin, "The Prospects of the Communist Party of Germany and the Question of Bolshevization", *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. VII, p. 38. p. 413

<sup>244</sup> See the "Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. IV, pp. 361-75. p. 417

<sup>245</sup> Chen Yun (1904- ), a native of Qingpu County, Shanghai, was a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC, deputy secretary of its Northeast Bureau, deputy political commissar of the Northeast Military Area and Chairman of the Northeast Commission of Financial and Economic Affairs. p. 420

<sup>246</sup> Li Lisan was the Vice-Chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and secretary of the Party fraction in the federation. p. 421

<sup>247</sup> V. I. Lenin, *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, pp. 32-33. p. 425

<sup>248</sup> Implementation of the New Economic Policy in the Soviet Union began in 1921. Its main objectives were to: Substitute a grain tax for the requisitioning of surplus grains, develop commerce, permit freedom of trade and the existence of private trade on certain conditions, implement business accounting in state enterprises and develop state capitalism by means of leasing and renting out state enterprises. p. 426

<sup>249</sup> A trust is an organization which monopolizes business. It emerges once both capitalist production and the concentration of capital have reached a very high level. It is formed by the combination of many enterprises which produce the same commodities and have close relations with product management. In the socialist countries, it is one of the organizational forms of socialist enterprises. p. 427



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