

People's China

人民中国

July 1, 1950

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THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY'S 29th ANNIVERSARY

On July 1, this year, the Communist Party of China will be 29 years old. It will celebrate this anniversary for the first time as a party which has led the Chinese people to emancipation from the oppression of feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism. It will celebrate this occasion as a party which, by its unremitting and selfless efforts, has led the 475 million people of China to a victory that gives them the opportunity—the first after decades of almost uninterrupted warfare—to embark on the tasks of peaceful construction. It will celebrate its 29th anniversary furthermore as a party whose historic victory has not only greatly strengthened the camp that stands for a lasting world peace, but, following the examples set by the Great October Revolution, has once again confirmed the universal truth that “the kingdom of labour *can* be created by the efforts of the labouring people themselves” (Stalin).

Ever since its founding in 1921 and throughout the subsequent periods of the Great Revolution of 1925-27, the Ten Years' Civil War, the Anti-Japanese War and the present People's War of Liberation, the Party has traversed a tortuous path beset with immense difficulties, both internal and external. This party of the working class has proved itself both tenacious and indestructible in countless battles with its various enemies. In these years of heroic struggles, the Party has developed from a handful of Marxists into a 4,500,000-strong Bolshevik Communist Party, nation-wide in scope and of a broad mass character, leading a People's Republic of 475,000,000 people.

The Party owes these tremendous achievements mainly to the fact that it is a party of the proletariat, a party of a new type, dedicated wholeheartedly to serving the Chinese people and built upon the solid foundation of Marxism-Leninism as applied to China. By steadfastly carrying out the fundamental organizational line of serving the people, the Party has taken deep root among the masses and become a well-disciplined party with close links with the masses of the people. Uniting the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution, the Party has brilliantly carried out the basic policies of the united front and of armed struggle—characteristic of semi-feudal and semi-colonial China—which have assured the present victory of the Chinese revolution.

These policies of the Chinese Communist Party—the indispensable arms of victory—were all formulated under the brilliant leadership of the Party's great leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, who

has scientifically integrated the ideas and ideals of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin with the concrete conditions of the Chinese revolution. It is under the banner of Mao Tse-tung that the Party and the people have passed from victory to victory.

Under the banner of Mao Tse-tung, the War of Liberation has been successfully concluded on China's mainland and already gigantic successes have been achieved on the economic front. Less than a year after its establishment, and despite severe natural calamities, the Central People's Government, under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party, has already approached a balanced budget, has centralized its finances, ended the 12-year old inflation and basically achieved the long awaited stabilization of the national economy. Bright perspectives open out before the Chinese people. For the first time in modern history, China's financial and economic situation is beginning to take a definite turn for the better.

It can well be imagined with what elation the people celebrate this First of July, the birthday of the Party that has brought them liberation and happiness. Despite the fact that they still face many difficulties, the Chinese people are fully confident that their country will soon achieve a fundamental turn for the better because they have a well tempered Communist Party and great Mao Tse-tung as their leader.

Internationally, the victory of the Chinese revolution, led by the Communist Party, has not only broken the imperialist front in the East, but has substantially tipped the world's balance of forces in favour of the camp of peace, headed by the Soviet Union. The influence of this victory has been and is increasingly being felt everywhere in the world. The militant people of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, who are fighting heroically for national liberation, will take great encouragement from the successes of their Chinese brothers. They will also find a rich store of revolutionary experience accumulated by the Chinese Communist Party in its resolute and bitter struggle during the last 29 years.

On July 1, this year, the birthday of the Communist Party will be celebrated by the Chinese people as their own birthday. They know that without this vanguard of the working class and its leading role in the revolution, the new China could not have been brought into being.

Long Live the Communist Party of China!

Hail Comrade Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Chinese people!

REPORT TO THE PARTY PLENUM*

The Struggle for a Fundamental Turn for the Better in the Financial and Economic Situation of China

MAO TSE-TUNG

The present international situation is favourable to us. The world front of peace and democracy, headed by the Soviet Union, is still more powerful than it was last year. The people's movement for peace and against war in all countries throughout the world has made further progress. The national liberation movements, aiming at throwing off the yoke of imperialism, have greatly expanded. Especially noteworthy are the mass movements of the Japanese and the German peoples that have arisen in opposition to U.S. occupation as well as the people's liberation struggles that have developed among the oppressed nations in the East.

At the same time, the contradictions between the imperialist countries, principally between the U.S.A. and Britain, have also developed. Quarrels have also increased among the various cliques within the American bourgeoisie and among the various cliques within the British bourgeoisie. In contrast, there is strong unity in the relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. The new Sino-Soviet treaty, which is of great historic significance, has consolidated friendly relations between the two countries. On the one hand, it enables us freely and more rapidly to carry forward the reconstruction work within our country. On the other hand, it is giving an impetus to the great popular struggle throughout the world for peace and democracy and against war and oppression.

The war threat of the imperialist camp still exists. The possibility of a third world war still exists. However, the forces fighting to check the war danger, to prevent the outbreak of a third world war, are growing rapidly. The level of political consciousness of the great majority of the people in the world is rising. If only the Communist Parties of the whole world continue to unite all possible forces for peace and democracy and enable them to grow still further, a new world war can be prevented. War rumours spread by Kuomintang (KMT) reactionaries are designed to deceive the people. They are groundless.



The present situation in our country is as follows:

The Central People's Government and local people's governments at all levels of the People's

Republic of China have been set up. The Soviet Union, the New Democracies and a number of capitalist countries have established diplomatic relations with our country, one after another. Basically, war has been ended on the mainland. Only Taiwan and Tibet still remain to be liberated, which is a task involving a serious struggle.

In a number of areas on the mainland, the KMT reactionaries have been adopting a kind of bandit guerrilla warfare and have incited a section of the backward elements to struggle against the people's government. The KMT reactionaries have also organized many secret agents and spies to oppose the people's government. These spread rumours among the people in an effort to undermine the prestige of the Communist Party and the people's government and to undermine the unity and co-operation among the various nationalities, democratic classes, democratic parties and groups and the people's organizations. Special agents and spies also carry on activities to sabotage the people's economic affairs, assassinate workers of the Communist Party and the people's government and collect information for the imperialists and the KMT reactionaries. All these counter-revolutionary activities are directed from behind the scenes by imperialism, particularly by American imperialism. These bandits, special agents and spies are imperialist lackeys.

In the 13½ months since the crossing of the Yangtze began on April 20, 1949, which followed the decisive victories won in the three great campaigns of Liaohsi and Mukden, Hsuechow and Pengpu, and Peiping and Tientsin in the winter of 1948, the PLA has occupied all the territory of China apart from Tibet, Taiwan and several islands. During this period it annihilated 1,830,000 KMT reactionary troops and 980,000 bandit guerrilla forces and at the same time the people's public security organs have unearthed large numbers of secret service organizations and special agents. The People's Liberation Army (PLA) still has the task of continuing to exterminate the bandit remnants in the newly-liberated areas, while the people's public security organizations have the task of continuing the attack on the enemy secret service system.

The majority of people throughout the nation warmly support the Communist Party, the people's government and the PLA. In recent months, the people's government has put into effect unified control and unified leadership in financial and economic

* A report made on June 6, 1950, at the Third Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

work on a nation-wide scale. It has achieved financial balance in revenue and expenditure, checked inflation and stabilized prices. The people of the entire country have supported the government by delivering their grain, paying taxes and buying state bonds.

Our country suffered widespread calamities last year with about 120,000,000 *mow** of farmland and 40,000,000 people affected by flood and drought to a greater or lesser degree. The people's government has organized large-scale relief work for these people and has been carrying out water conservancy projects on a vast scale in many places. The crop this year is better than last year's and the summer harvest in general is good. If the autumn harvest is also good, then one may foresee that the situation in the coming year will be even better than this year's.

Many long years of imperialist and KMT reactionary rule have brought about an abnormal alignment in our social economy and widespread unemployment. Since the victory of the revolution, the old social economic structure as a whole has been undergoing a reorganization to varying degrees, and there is an increase in the number of unemployed. This is a grave matter and the people's government has begun to adopt measures for relieving the unemployed and fitting them into jobs so as to solve this problem methodically. The people's government has carried out widespread cultural and educational work and large numbers of intellectuals and young students have joined in study to acquire new knowledge or have taken up revolutionary work. The people's government has done some work in rationally readjusting industry and commerce and improving relations between public and private enterprise and between labour and capital. It is now continuing this work with even greater energy.

China is a vast country and conditions in it are highly complex. The revolution first gained victory in certain areas; and then victory was achieved throughout the country.

Accordingly, in the old liberated areas (with approximately 160 million population), agrarian reform has been completed, social order has been established, economic construction work has begun to proceed on the right track, improvements have been made in the standard of living of the majority of the labouring people, the problem of unemployed workers and intellectuals has been solved (as in the Northeast) or is nearing solution (as in North China and Shantung Province). In the Northeast in particular, planned economic construction has begun.

In the newly-liberated areas (with approximately 310 million population), freed only a few months, six months or one year ago, there still remain more than 400,000 bandits scattered in remote areas to be annihilated. The land problem has not yet been solved. Industry and commerce have not yet been

properly adjusted, and the phenomenon of unemployment is still serious. Social order has not yet been stabilized. In a word, conditions for carrying out economic construction in a planned way have not yet been achieved.

Therefore, as I have said, we have now attained a series of victories on the economic front, for example, the approaching balance of the national revenue and expenditure, the ending of currency inflation, the tendency of prices toward stability. All these illustrate the beginning of a turn for the better in the financial and economic situation, but not yet a fundamental turn for the better. Three conditions are required before the financial and economic situation can take a fundamental turn for the better. These are:

(1) The completion of agrarian reform; (2) the proper readjustment of existing industry and commerce; and (3) large-scale reduction in government expenditure. A certain length of time is needed to attain these three conditions. It will take about three years or a little longer. The entire Party and people throughout the country must strive to create these three conditions. Like the rest of us, I am confident that these conditions can with complete certainty be realized in about three years. Then we will be able to see the entire financial and economic situation of our country turn fundamentally for the better.

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To achieve this, the Party and all the people in the country must unite and thoroughly carry out the following tasks:

(1) The work of agrarian reform should be carried forward by stages and in an orderly manner. The war has been fundamentally ended on the mainland, and so the situation is entirely different from that of the 1946-48 period when the PLA was locked in a life-and-death struggle with the KMT reactionaries and the issue had not yet been decided. The state can now use the method of issuing loans to help poor peasants solve their difficulties, thus making up for the poor peasants' receiving less land (than under the previous land redistribution policy — Ed.). Therefore, there should be a change in our policy towards the rich peasants, a change from the policy of requisitioning the surplus land and property of the rich peasants to one of preserving a rich peasant economy in order to further the early restoration of production in the rural areas. This change of policy will also serve to isolate the landlords while protecting the middle peasants and those who rent out small plots of land.

(2) The unified control and unified leadership in our financial and economic work should be consolidated. The balance of revenue and expenditure as well as the stabilization of prices should also be consolidated. In accordance with this principle, taxes should be suitably readjusted and the people's burden lightened.

* One *mow* equals about one fifteenth of a hectare.

Blindness and anarchy in the economic field should be gradually eliminated in line with the principle of unified planning and of considering the interests of all sections. Under the leadership of the state sector of the economy, which is socialist in nature, existing industry and commerce should be rationally readjusted and relations between public and private enterprise and between labour and capital should be earnestly and properly improved. Thus the various components of the social economy will establish a division of labour and co-operation, facilitating the revival and development of the entire social economy. The view held by some people that it is possible to eliminate capitalism and introduce socialism at an early date is wrong and is not in accordance with our national conditions.

(3) The PLA, while preserving its main forces, should demobilize part of its troops in 1950, but only on condition that sufficient forces to liberate Taiwan and Tibet are guaranteed, as well as sufficient forces to consolidate the national defences and suppress the counter-revolutionaries. This demobilization must be carried out with care so that demobilized soldiers can return home and settle down to productive work. Retrenchment is necessary in administrative organizations and superfluous personnel should also be dealt with in a suitable manner so that they have the opportunity of obtaining work and of studying.

(4) The work of reforming education in long-established schools and of reforming the old social culture should be carried out methodically and carefully. All patriotic intellectuals should be won over to the service of the people. On this question, procrastination and reluctance to carry out reforms is incorrect; but rashness or attempts to carry through reforms precipitately is also incorrect.

(5) Relief work for unemployed workers and intellectuals must be carried out earnestly. The unemployed must be helped systematically to get work. Relief work for people stricken by calamities must be continued.

(6) We must earnestly unite with democratic persons of all circles and help them solve their pro-

blems in work and study. Any tendencies toward 'closed-door' policies or toward unprincipled concessions in united front work must be overcome. We must convene people's all-circles representative conferences as they are a good means for uniting the people of all strata in order to carry on our common work. All important work of the people's government should be submitted to the people's conferences for discussion and for decision. All delegates to the people's conferences must have full rights to speak; any action which hinders the people's representatives from speaking is wrong.

(7) All bandits, spies, despots and other counter-revolutionary elements must be resolutely eliminated. On this question, we must observe the policy of combining suppression and leniency, that is, the policy of punishing the principal culprits but not those forced to become accomplices, and of rewarding those who have later rendered meritorious service. None of these points should be neglected. The whole Party and all the people throughout the country must increase their vigilance against the subversive activities of counter-revolutionary elements.

(8) The Central Committee's directives on consolidating and expanding the Party organization, on strengthening relations between the Party and the masses, on extending criticism and self-criticism, and on conducting an ideological remoulding movement throughout the Party should all be resolutely carried out. In view of the fact that our Party has grown to 4,500,000 members, we must from now on adopt a policy of expanding the Party organization carefully. Opportunist elements must be resolutely kept from entering the Party and those within the Party must be expelled in a suitable manner. Attention must be paid to drawing politically-conscious workers into the Party systematically, expanding the proportion of workers in the Party organization.

In the old liberated areas, the enrolment of Party members should in general be stopped in the villages. In the newly-liberated areas, before land reform has been completed, the Party organization should not in general be expanded in the villages, thus preventing opportunist elements from having a chance to slip into the Party.

In the summer, autumn and winter of 1950, the whole Party must, in close connection with its various tasks and not in isolation, carry out a large-scale ideological remoulding movement, using such methods as reading many selected documents, summarizing work, analysing conditions, developing criticism and self-criticism, etc. This will raise the ideological and political level of the cadres and the rank-and-file Party members; it will overcome mistakes committed in our work; it will overcome feelings of arrogance and self-satisfaction in those who think themselves heroes; and it will overcome bureaucracy and authoritarianism and improve relations between the Party and the people.



Woodcut by Su Kwang

ON THE PARTY'S MASS LINE*

Liu Shao-chi

The General Programme and detailed provisions of the Party Constitution lay particular stress on the Party's mass line. This is another feature of the present revised Constitution, because the mass line is a fundamental political and organizational line of our Party. This is to say that all our Party organizations and all our Party work must be closely linked up with the masses of the people.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung 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 do our work by following the mass line. He said that one striking feature distinguishing us Communists from any other political party was our very close contact with the broadest masses of the people. He asked us "to serve the Chinese people with all our heart and soul, not to become isolated from the masses for a single moment, to proceed in all matters from the interests of the people instead of one's own personal interests or the interests of a small group."

He wanted our comrades to understand that "the highest criterion for all words and deeds of a Communist is whether or not such words and deeds conform to the greatest good of the broadest masses of the people and whether or not they are supported by the broadest masses." He further told us that we are invincible "as long as we rely upon the people, believe firmly in their boundless creative power, have faith in them and unite as one with them." He pointed out that commandism is wrong in all phases of work because it goes beyond the level of the consciousness of the masses, violates the voluntary principle of the masses, and is an expression of impetuosity. "In all our work," he added, "tailism is also wrong, because it falls behind the level of the consciousness of the masses, violates the principle of leading the masses one step forward, and is an expression of sluggishness." All these teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung are extremely important and should be carefully studied and grasped and earnestly carried out by every Party member.

A Class Line

This mass line of ours is possible only with a proletarian party. Our mass line is a class line, a mass line of the proletariat. Our views with regard to the people and our relationship to them differ basically from those of the exploiting classes.

We fully understand the decisive role which the vanguard of the masses of the people has to play in

the struggle for emancipation of the people. The complete emancipation of the masses of the people is possible only when they have such a vanguard of their own as our Party; otherwise they would be without revolutionary leadership. Without such a revolutionary leadership, the people's revolution would meet with failure. Only under the firm and correct leadership of our Party and only by carrying on the struggle in the political direction our Party has pointed out, can the Chinese people achieve their complete emancipation.

This is one aspect of the problem.

The other aspect is that the vanguard of the masses of the people must establish proper and close relations with the masses of the people. It must stand for the people's interests in every field, first of all, in the political field. It must adopt a correct attitude towards the people and lead them by correct methods. Only by so doing can the vanguard be closely united with the masses of the people; otherwise it is quite possible that the vanguard will become isolated from the masses of the people. In that case, the vanguard would not be the vanguard of the people. It would not only fail to perform its task of emancipating the masses of the people, but would also run the risk of being wiped out by the enemy. This means that the vanguard of the masses must have a thorough-going and clear-cut mass line in all its work.

What are the important circumstances under which the vanguard would become isolated from the masses of the people?

First of all, the vanguard would become isolated from the masses if it failed to perform its tasks as the vanguard of the people, if it failed to represent at all times, and under all circumstances the maximum interests of the broadest possible masses of the people, if it failed to set forth in time correct tasks, policies and style of work, if it failed to stick to the truth and if it failed to correct in time its mistakes. In other words, tailism and *laissez-faire* would lead to isolation from the masses of the people.

In our Party, there has been as yet no open advocacy of spontaneity or any tailist 'theory' of following at the heels of the spontaneous mass movement or dispensing with the leadership of the proletarian party. But *Chen Tu-hsiu-ism*** in the

** CHEN TU-HSIU-ISM: A Right opportunist line as represented by Chen Tu-hsiu, secretary-general of the Communist Party of China in 1921-27. It advocated giving up the leadership of the proletariat and sacrificing the interests of the broad masses of workers and peasants in order to get along with the bourgeoisie. After the Chinese revolution was betrayed Chen Tu-hsiu became a liquidator. Finally, Chen Tu-hsiu joined hands with the Chinese Trotskyites and turned out to be an open renegade.

* This is an extract from *On the Party*, a report made by the author at the Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1945.

latter period of the Great Revolution of 1925-27 and capitulationism in the early period of the Anti-Japanese War were both a kind of tailism, lagging far behind the mass revolutionary movement of the time, and incapable of setting forth correct tasks, policies or style of work to represent the people or inspire them to go forward, with the result that isolation from the people ensued and the revolution sustained losses and defeat. In addition, some comrades have committed errors of a tailist nature in various fields of their work.

For instance, some comrades in their practical work regarded the Party as an army, government, or trade union appendage, instead of as the highest form of class organization. Others in their practical work displayed inertia and conventionalism, remained satisfied with things as they were, let things run their own course and lost their keenness for making improvements. Instead of putting forward correct tasks, policies and style of work on the basis of the actual conditions of the masses at the given time and at the given place, in order to lead them forward, they violated the principle of leading the masses one step forward. They yielded to the backward ideas of the masses and reduced themselves to the level of an ordinary worker, peasant or even

backward element, thus abandoning their vanguard role. Sometimes they compromised with the incorrect ideas of the masses and followed at the tail of spontaneous mass movements, failing to give the masses correct and farsighted leadership. This tendency is bound to isolate us from the broad masses, because the masses do not need such people to lead them.

Secondly, the vanguard will isolate itself from the masses of the people, if and when its attitude and methods of leadership are incorrect, if it fails to make the masses realize the correctness of the Party's slogans through their own experiences and to act accordingly, or if the slogans and policy are too advanced or too 'left,' or the forms of struggle and organization it advocates are either impossible under the circumstances or unacceptable to the masses. In other words, commandism,* adventurism and 'closed-door-ism' would invariably lead to isolation from the masses.

Some comrades have committed mistakes of commandism, adventurism and 'closed-door-ism.' Some, for instance, have been irresponsible toward the masses in their work. They did not believe that it was the masses who were emancipating themselves. Instead, they stood above the masses to fight in their stead, to bestow emancipation on the masses, and to issue orders. Such comrades suffered from impetuosity. Being only superficially active, they did not know how to transform the Party's slogans and tasks into those of the people, or how to enlighten the masses and properly wait for their awakening. Nor did they know how to take steps to bring about a natural revolutionization of the masses. 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 voluntary principle of the masses. Particularly when slogans too advanced and policies too 'left' had aroused doubts and dissatisfaction among the masses, they sought all the more to carry on their work by means of issuing orders, by coercion or even by punishment. The worst kind of such practices is that wherever they went they would try to find faults, shortcomings and bad examples, subjecting these to criticism, condemnation, and punishment in order to frighten the people and the cadres, and in order to push forward the work. They refused to find out the good points and good examples, to study, develop and systematize them. They neither commended the heroes and model workers, nor recommended or disseminated the good experiences in order to encourage the progress of the Party members and the people, and in order to overcome errors and defects there. They

REVOLUTIONARY HEROISM

Revolutionary heroism places the interests of the revolution above all else and entails the highest sense of responsibility and most active enthusiasm for the revolutionary cause. It means being the first to bear the sorrows of revolution but the last to enjoy its fruits. It means devotedly and loyally waging a life-long struggle for the revolutionary cause, without taking individual gains into account. It means not merely sacrificing personal benefits to the interests and demands of the revolution; it means taking the further step of offering one's own life without the slightest hesitation. Revolution is a cause for the masses and of the masses themselves; therefore, revolutionary heroism is necessarily the heroism of the masses. The heroism of the masses is expressed in two ways: on one hand, all one's activities are for the benefit of the masses and all individual interests must be unconditionally subordinated to those of the masses; on the other hand, one believes in the strength of the masses, knowing that collective strength is the great strength that created the world and history, while individual strength is only "a drop in the ocean" of this great strength.

General Chu Teh: *The Heroism of the Eighth Route and the New Fourth Armies.*

* Commandism: The practice of attempting to carry out Party or Governmental work merely by issuing orders or merely by making use of the administrative machinery without taking the trouble to mobilize, organize, educate, and convince the masses.

struck blows at others everywhere and did things simply by issuing orders. Instead of learning from the masses of the people and benefiting by the people's new ideas and inventions, they forced others to do things in their way. Such a tendency led to serious isolation from the masses of the people and aroused the resentment of the masses against them or even against the entire Party.

In addition to the two tendencies mentioned above, other tendencies of bureaucracy and warlordism have been noticeable in some of our comrades. Such tendencies also mean serious isolation from the masses of the people.

A bureaucratic tendency was manifested by some comrades in their lack of the standpoint of serving the people and in their lack of a sense of responsibility to the people and to the Party. Typical examples are those who loafed around all day long, doing nothing but issue orders. They did not investigate, study or learn from the masses. They rejected criticism from the masses, ignored the rights of the people, or even asked the people to serve them. For their own benefit they made no scruple of sacrificing the interests of the people. They became corrupt and degenerate and lorded it over the people.

The tendency of warlordism was manifested in the ignorance, on the part of some comrades, of the fact that our army was an army or an armed force of the people, a most important instrument of the people for defeating the enemies and liberating themselves. Instead, they regarded the army as a special power standing outside or above the people, or as an instrument for building up the personal influence or position of a small number of people. As a consequence, they introduced bureaucratic and dictatorial modes of work into the people's army.

The characteristics of such practices, as manifested in the relations between officers and men and between upper and lower ranks, were to command the army by issuing orders and meting out punishment, instead of relying upon the army's consciousness and initiative. Secondly, such characteristics were manifested in the relations between the army and the people. In dealing with the people, some comrades did not ensure that their subordinates pay strict attention to discipline. These comrades lacked feelings of love for the people. Instead, the people were subjected to coercion, violence and insults, thus estranging them from the army. Thirdly, such characteristics were manifested in a purely military approach to the relationship between the revolutionary army and the revolutionary government, seeking to place the army above the government and to run the government by the army, just as a warlord would do.

It is very clear that such a tendency has nothing whatsoever in common with a people's army.

Links with the Masses

The wrong tendencies toward isolation from the masses, referred to earlier, arose in our Party out

of the cultural backwardness of the toiling people as well as from the influence exerted by the exploiting classes of the old society. The petty-bourgeois elements and other elements in our Party who were long separated from social production were often susceptible to such influences, resulting in various tendencies of isolation from the masses. These tendencies have their own deep social origin and were even mentioned in the General Programme of our Party Constitution. Further development of the revolution, involving much harder work, will offer greater opportunities for the growth of such tendencies among us. We must, therefore, wage a constant struggle against them in order to maintain and strengthen constantly our links with the broad masses of the people. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung puts it, we must constantly "sweep the floor and wash our faces" so that political dust and dirt and political germs may not cloud or poison the minds of our comrades or the body of our Party.

The masses of the people must have their own powerful vanguard, which on its part must be most closely united with the broadest possible masses of the people. Only thus will the emancipation of the masses of the people be possible. Therefore, our Party, the vanguard of the Chinese people, must constantly liquidate such tendencies which estrange the masses, as referred to earlier, and must unite more closely with the masses of the people. Such a line is our Party's mass line, the mass line of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It is a line which is designed to establish correct relationships between our Party and the people. It is a line which enables our Party to adopt a correct attitude and correct methods for leading the masses of the people. It is a line which aims at establishing a correct relationship between our Party's leading bodies and individual leaders on the one hand and the masses of the people they lead on the other.

Two-way Process

According to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the policy and methods of work of our Party must originate from the masses and go back to the masses. In other words, our Party's organizational as well as its political line should come correctly from the masses and go back correctly to the masses. 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 is meant the mass line of the Party, the line of intimately linking the Party's leading cadres with the broad masses inside and outside the Party, a two-way process between the Party and the masses, a line of combining general appeals with individual guidance as a method of leadership.

In order to carry out thoroughly the mass line of our Party and of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the

(NOTICE: Page 10 is continued on page 31)

General Programme and provisions of the Party Constitution have particularly drawn attention to the following mass standpoints which must be instilled in the mind of every Party member.

Firstly, there is the standpoint that everything is for the masses, and for serving wholeheartedly the masses. From its very beginning, our Party was founded to serve the people. All the sacrifices, efforts and struggles of Party members have been made for the welfare and emancipation of the masses of the people and for nothing else. This is the greatest glory of us Communists. This is something we are particularly proud of. Hence, any standpoint must be wrong if it sacrifices the interests of the people for personal interests or for the interests of small cliques. So long as they are devoted to their duty and have a more or less good record, all our Party members and those who have joined the revolutionary ranks are serving the people, regardless of whether or not they are aware of it, whether they occupy important, leading positions or are merely privates, cooks, or grooms. They are all of them directly or indirectly in the service of the people at different posts, and are therefore equal and honourable. We must develop, among all Party members and personnel, a higher level of consciousness so that they may serve the people and hold themselves responsible to the people on the basis of a higher level of consciousness.

Secondly, there is the standpoint of assuming full responsibility to the masses of the people. As we serve the people, we must hold ourselves responsible to them and enable them to obtain real benefit and emancipation through our service. We must try our best to avoid mistakes or reduce them to a minimum in order not to do harm to the people or cause loss to them. The tasks, policies and style of work we set forth must all be correct in order to benefit the people; otherwise, harm will be done to the people's interests. In that case we must earnestly practise self-criticism for prompt rectification. This means that we must know how to serve the people and serve them well and not badly. Hence, under no circumstances should we adopt an easy-going attitude toward the people. We must be seriously responsible to them.

Unity of Responsibility

It is also necessary to understand the unity between responsibility to the people and responsibility to the leading bodies of our Party. This means that our Party members in carrying out the instructions of a leading body or individual leaders of the Party must be held responsible to such leading body or individual leaders. But it would be wrong to separate responsibility to the Party leadership from responsibility to the people. Only by holding oneself responsible to the people can one say that one has assumed the highest and final responsibility. It must be understood that the interests of the Party are identical with the interests

of the people. Whatever benefits the people benefits the Party and must be done by every Party member with heart and soul. Likewise, whatever injures the people injures the Party and must be opposed or avoided by every Party member. The interests of the people are the interests of the Party. The Party has no particular interests of its own other than the people's interests. The maximum good for the greatest number of people is the highest criterion of truth and consequently the highest criterion of all the activities of our Party members. Any Party member who is responsible to the people is also responsible to the Party, and he who is irresponsible to the people is most irresponsible of all to the Party. What must be understood is the unity between responsibility to the Party and responsibility to the people. They should be unified, and not separated, or even set against each other.

When shortcomings or mistakes are discovered in the directives of the leading body or of individual leaders in regard to tasks, policies or style of work, suggestions for correction should be made with a sense of responsibility to the people. It is essential to distinguish between right and wrong, and not to take things easy, otherwise it would mean irresponsibility both to the people and to the Party.

The discipline of the Party must be observed and its unity maintained, because maintenance of such discipline and unity is serving the basic interest of the Chinese people. There must be no undermining of the discipline or unity of the Party on the pretext of assuming responsibility to the people. Nevertheless, any shortcoming or error committed by a leading body or individual leaders 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 errors are disadvantageous to the people, hence also to the Party. Our Party membership's spirit of sincere self-criticism, a critical attitude toward one's own errors and those of the leadership, and a spirit of observing Party discipline, are part of the spirit of being responsible to the people.

Thirdly, there is the standpoint of having faith in the people's self-emancipation. Comrade Mao Tse-tung constantly teaches us that the masses of the people are truly great, that their creative power is inexhaustible, that we are invincible only when as we rely on them, that the people alone are the real makers of history, and that real history is the history of the masses of the people. Marx pointed out long ago that the toilers emancipate themselves. Their salvation depends neither upon emperors, gods, nor heroes but upon themselves, as the *International* says. This means that only through their own struggles and efforts can their emancipation be achieved, maintained and consolidated. It cannot be bestowed or granted by any outsider. Nor can it be fought for or secured through the efforts of anyone except the people themselves. Hence, the standpoint of gratuitously bestowing emancipation

AN ARMED PEOPLE OPPOSES ARMED COUNTER-REVOLUTION

A Reply to a Reader from the Editor of the Peking People's Daily, Published on June 16, 1950

Comrade Huang Tse-chun:

We have received your letter in which you state that, having studied Chairman Mao Tse-tung's *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party* and having pondered over the nature of the Chinese revolution, you believe Stalin's statement that "the characteristic of the Chinese revolution is that an armed people opposes armed counter-revolution"* conforms to historical reality in China. But, you ask:

"Perhaps the revolution of no country in the world will diverge from this pattern. Why did Stalin not say that this was the characteristic of the revolution of all countries but instead described it as purely the characteristic of the Chinese revolution?"

Very obviously, this characteristic — an armed people opposing armed counter-revolution — is something which was not present in the revolutions of any capitalist country in the past. This characteristic first appeared during the people's liberation struggle in semi-colonial and semi-feudal China. But under certain historical conditions, it can become the common characteristic of the people's liberation struggle in many colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Stalin's famous saying on China's armed struggle which we all quote was made during an address to the Chinese Commission of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on November 80, 1926. The whole passage is as follows:

"During the 18th and 19th centuries, revolutions always started in the following way. Generally the bulk of the people, either unarmed or very poorly armed, started an insurrection and clashed with the army of the old system. They tried to crush the old army or at least win a part of it over to the people's side. This was the typical form of previous revolutionary outbreaks. This was also the case in Russia during 1905.

"But in China, it is different. In China, it is not the unarmed people but the armed people, represented by the revolutionary army, who rise up against the army of the old government. In China, armed revolution opposes armed counter-revolution. This is one of the characteristics of China's revolu-

tion. It is one of the advantages of China's revolution. Herein also lies the special significance of the revolutionary army in China."

This characteristic first appeared in China because China was the largest and most important semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. The enemies of the Chinese people were imperialism and the domestic reactionaries dependent upon imperialism. They enforced the most brutal military despotism. Moreover, it was not merely one imperialist country, but many imperialist countries, that invaded and dominated China. They had contradictions among themselves, which caused disunity, schisms and struggle among the domestic reactionaries. This in turn provided the people with convenient conditions for launching and resolutely sustaining an armed struggle. In the chapter of *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party* which you are now studying, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has clearly pointed out:

"In the face of such enemies, it is a pre-determined fact that the method and major form of the Chinese revolution cannot be peaceful but must be armed. This is because our enemies do not leave the Chinese people any possibility of peaceful activity and the Chinese people have no political freedom at all. Stalin said, 'The characteristic of the Chinese revolution is that an armed people opposes armed counter-revolution.' This is an extraordinarily correct formulation."

War and Strategy

In *Problems of War and Strategy*, a part of his summation at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (on Nov. 6, 1938), Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out still more precisely:

"During periods when there is neither Fascism nor war, the conditions in all capitalist countries are as follows: internally, the country does not have a feudal system, but a bourgeois-democratic system; externally, it oppresses other nations and does not experience national oppression. On the basis of these characteristics, the task of proletarian parties in all capitalist countries lies in passing through a long period of legal struggle, of educating the workers, of building strength and of preparing for the final overthrow of capitalism.

"In those places, a long period of legal struggle means making use of parliamentary rostrums; it means economic and political strikes; it means organizing trade unions and educating the workers.

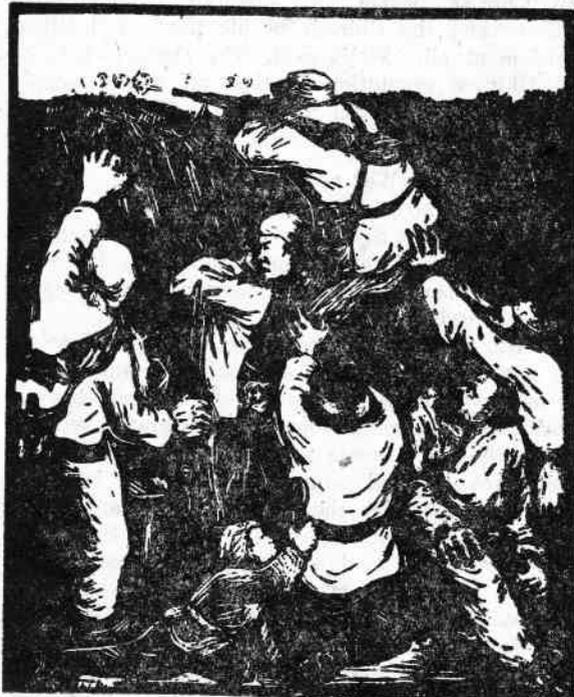
* With the exception of the passages from *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*, all quotations not originally in Chinese have been retranslated from Chinese texts.

There the form of organization is legal and the form of struggle is bloodless (non-warlike). To the Communist Party of those places, war means opposing the imperialist wars of one's own country. If such wars occur, the Party's policy will be one of ensuring the defeat of its own country.

"The only war that the Party itself wants is the internal war which is being prepared. But such a war should not be undertaken until the bourgeoisie is actually powerless, until the majority of the proletariat are firmly determined to have an armed insurrection and wage war, and until the peasant masses are already willing to help the proletariat. When the time comes for an insurrection and war, cities should first be occupied and afterwards the country-side should be attacked. This absolutely cannot be reversed. All of these things have been practised by the Communist parties of capitalist countries and were confirmed during the October Revolution in Russia.

"But China is not the same. The characteristic of China is that she is not an independent, democratic country, but is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. Internally, there is no democratic system, but the oppression of the feudal system; externally, there is no national independence, but the oppression of imperialism. Therefore, there are no parliaments to utilize, and no legal right to organize workers for carrying out strikes.

"Here the task of the Communist Party is not basically one of undergoing a long period of legal struggle in order to carry out insurrection and war, nor is it to occupy the cities first and then the countryside. Our path is just the opposite."



Support Our Fighters!

Yen Han

This was Comrade Mao Tse-tung's penetrating summation of the problems of war and strategy, based upon the theories of Lenin and Stalin and the experiences of the Chinese revolution.

The victory of the Chinese people's revolution has entirely proven the correctness of Mao Tse-tung's reasoning. During the past 20-odd years, most of those who committed errors in the Chinese revolution did so because they did not understand the laws of China's society and revolution, and violated Mao Tse-tung's theories. This was the case both politically and militarily.

One of the reasons for the failure of the first domestic revolutionary war in China from 1925 to 1927 was the opportunistic leadership of Chen Tu-hsiu, who overlooked the great significance of armed struggle. After the failure of this revolution, Chen Tu-hsiu still advocated carrying on legal activities under Chiang Kai-shek's reign of White Terror, taking the so-called 'National Congress' as the central slogan. Moreover, he slandered peasant guerrilla warfare, led by the Chinese Communist Party, by calling it the behaviour of 'bandits.' Thus, Chen Tu-hsiu and his small clique of collaborators sank to becoming counter-revolutionaries.

China's Experience

Those who committed 'leftist' errors in the second revolutionary civil war from 1927 to 1937 also underestimated the military struggle, especially the importance of peasant guerrilla warfare and of rural revolutionary bases. They wrongly imagined that the Chinese revolution might attain victory by relying upon the development, under the high pressure of counter-revolution, of mass struggles in the cities, such as the strikes staged by workers and students. They did not rely on the development of the armed peasant struggle in the countryside, where the counter-revolutionary forces were comparatively weak. Consequently, they did not subordinate the secret revolutionary work and the mass struggle of the cities to the armed struggle of the countryside. On the contrary, they demanded that the work of the rural armed struggle be subordinated to the underground work and mass struggles of the cities. The result was that not only the urban work suffered a serious set-back but the rural work was harmed as well. Had it not been for the correct leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and his comrades-in-arms, which overcame the mistakes of the opportunist deviations that occurred at various times, the present victory of the Chinese revolution would be unimaginable.

This experience of China's revolutionary victory is very important for the people of the countries which are still under the rule of imperialism and their domestic reactionaries. That is to say, this characteristic of armed struggle which appeared in the course of China's revolution can under certain historical conditions become the common characteristic of all revolutions of other colonial and semi-colonial countries. This has been explained in the

Outline of the Colonial and Semi-Colonial Revolutionary Movement issued by the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in August 1928.

In this outline, the following subjects were analysed: "Imperialism still continues to intensify its war preparations," "World capitalism develops post-war crisis" and "The socialist construction of the Soviet Union has a revolutionizing influence; the Communist movements in all capitalist countries grow steadily more consolidated and proceed to support the struggles of colonial peoples."

Continuing, the outline points out: "All these conditions have immeasurably accelerated the political awakening of the broad masses in colonial and semi-colonial countries and has given rise to many large-scale revolutionary armed insurrections on the part of the masses. Moreover, in the majority of cases, these revolutionary armed insurrections have been closely co-ordinated with the development of the anti-imperialist liberation struggle and with the development of the intensity of the class struggle within the country."

Lessons for Colonial Lands

On the basis of China's revolutionary experience and a correct analysis of the world's political situation after World War II, Comrade Liu Shao-chi further pointed out last December in his opening address at the Trade Union Conference of Asian and Australasian Countries:

"The imperialists and their lackeys do not give the people under colonial and semi-colonial domination any democratic rights whatsoever. For instance, this was formerly the case in China. We revolutionaries, hunted down by the imperialists and their henchmen, could not maintain a foothold in the cities under the White Terror. Consequently, we could only flee to the countryside or to mountain-tops and defend our lives with arms. . . .

"In a colony or a semi-colony, if the people have no arms to defend themselves, they have nothing. The existence and development of proletarian organizations and the existence and development of a national united front is intimately linked to the existence and development of such an armed struggle. This is the sole path for many colonial and semi-colonial peoples in their struggle for independence and liberation."

Hence, it becomes absolutely clear that the characteristic of an armed people opposing armed counter-revolution does not pertain to China's revolution alone. Under the present conditions, it can and should become the common characteristic of the liberation struggles waged by many colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

In an editorial published on January 27 this year, *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*, organ of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties, commented that the path taken by the Chinese people, as Comrade

Liu Shao-chi noted, "should be the path taken by the people of many colonial and dependent countries in their struggle for national independence and people's democracy." The editorial further pointed out:

"As the example of China, Viet-Nam, Malaya and other countries shows, armed struggle is now becoming the main form of the national liberation movement in many colonial and dependent countries."

It went on to stress the significance of China's revolutionary experience for India. After the publication of this editorial, Ranadive, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, issued a statement expressing "full acceptance of the conclusions drawn by this editorial." He added:

"Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist Party has successfully applied the teachings of Lenin and Stalin in the course of the victorious liberation struggle of the Chinese people. The lessons of this victorious liberation struggle of the Chinese people will serve as an infallible compass for the Indian Communist Party and working class, which are responsible for the task of leading the national liberation struggle."

Armed struggle against imperialist aggression is essential for the liberation of many colonies and semi-colonies. But the time and place for conducting this kind of revolutionary armed struggle must be decided according to concrete conditions. It can by no means be conducted in any colony or semi-colony at any time without the necessary conditions and preparations. In those countries where the objective conditions allow this armed struggle, whether or not this armed struggle attains victory is determined by the subjective conditions of whether or not the people of these countries have a working class party to lead them and whether its leadership is correct or not. It is only because of the correct political and military line of the Chinese Communist Party, headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, that the Chinese people could win their great victory.

Today, the people of Viet-Nam have already scored tremendous successes in their armed struggle. In Burma, Malaya, the Philippine Islands, etc., the people's armed struggle is just in the process of wide expansion. All these struggles are being conducted in each country under the leadership of the revolutionary working class.

The people in other colonial and dependent countries who are experiencing strong oppression and attack from imperialism and its lackeys—the domestic reactionaries—have no "democratic rights," and all illusions about "legal struggles" are fast vanishing. They will also take the path of armed struggle when conditions permit. One may be certain that if only they have the correct leadership of a working class party and gain experience from their struggles, the national liberation movements of these countries can march on to victory.

A PEASANTS' LETTER TO CHAIRMAN MAO

People from all parts of China are writing letters to their great and beloved leader — Mao Tse-tung. They tell him about their lives, their work and their opinions on many questions. The following is one of the numerous letters that are daily pouring into Chairman Mao's office.

Dear Chairman Mao:

Our village lies in the remotest part of Pingchen county, in a narrow stony valley between high hills. Here in the old days we were oppressed and exploited by the landlords. Of our 20 families, six were hired hands of the landlords, seven were tenants and all the rest were short of food for half the year. Two households only had just enough to eat regularly throughout the year. We suffered hunger and cold. Our usual food was corn husks and wild herbs.

Then the Communist Party came and helped us. Our life improved. But in 1942, drought brought us famine. You called on us to organize to conquer the famine, and we began to organize our mutual-aid group. Six families joined at first. We planned to plant 30 *mow* of land together, but the work went so well that 120 *mow* were sown with potatoes. We were amply rewarded. Our Model Worker Li Shen-ta alone gathered more than 9,000 catties of potatoes. Altogether we gathered and shared 100,000 catties. The famine was overcome.

The next year we reaped 12,000 catties of grain. We spent 4,000 catties to buy more land, five more oxen and farm implements. Others profited from our example and four more mutual-aid groups were formed. At that time we were still faced with important military tasks. When Changchih county was being liberated, only one able-bodied male adult could be spared for each group. But the women

and children eagerly mobilized themselves for the autumn harvest. Thus, by mutual aid we overcame the shortage of manpower and of draft animals.

The land reform gave the land back to its rightful owners. Before, we toiled on land which belonged to others. Others ate the fruits we planted. Now, the land on which we work is ours. Can we help working more enthusiastically? Also there are fewer and fewer wartime obligations to meet,

We have always made it our practice to work according to the government's directives. We practise intensive cultivation and use manure more extensively. We select the best seed available and we have learned how to treat the seed before sowing. We no longer hold our old belief that the secret of good farming lies in physical strength alone. Now we realize how important and useful it is to apply modern agricultural techniques as the government advised. By improved technique we have been able to reap much bigger crops than ever before. Now 19 out of the 20 families in our village have become members of mutual-aid groups. We work collectively of our free will and share the profits fairly.

Eight years of collective labour have strengthened the ties between us. We are like members of one family. Everyone's lot has improved as our production has increased. As a result, Li Shen-ta

and four other families have doubled their prewar output, while the rest of us have increased our prewar output by 50 per cent. In the past we had only 18 cattle between us. Now we have 39. We had only 50 sheep. Now we have 120. Every household has a reserve of hundreds of catties of grain, while four households have 1,000 to 1,500 catties laid aside.

We are proud of these achievements, dear Chairman Mao, and we know that we owe all this to none other than you. For it was you who pointed out the correct path for us to follow.

In reviewing the advantages of our mutual-aid groups, everyone of us feels the greatest satisfaction. These are the words of Wang Chia-tse: "In the old days we left the table hungry; our clothes were patched rags; there was only a single wretched quilt for the whole family; our hut was nothing but a pen of maize stalks. Now we are properly dressed; everyone has a quilt and a cotton-padded gown in the winter. This year I have built a new house with three rooms. And I hardly felt the cost. These are the rewards of the mutual aid that Chairman Mao advised."

Now indeed we realize that to do what Chairman Mao advocates is always right and good. We see the proof before our eyes. Our poor valley is growing richer and richer.

Last autumn, Li Shen-ta, the Model Worker of our village, paid a visit to Peking. When he returned, he told us that he had seen you and shaken hands with you. You asked him to give your greetings to us all and asked us to produce still more for the sake of our country. We want to tell you that we pledged ourselves to do this.

We wish you always to enjoy the best of health!

Warmest greetings from
Members of the Mutual-Aid Groups
of Hsikow Village, Pingchen
County, Shansi.



Mao Tse-tung



Liu Shao-chi



Chou En-lai



Chu Teh

Village Communists Lead Production

Cheng Lien-tuan

Changchiachuang, a small village in southern Hopei Province, has gained national renown since the villagers sent two letters to Chairman Mao about their cotton planting. Written in plain peasant language and not without grammatical errors, the letters have nevertheless been widely reprinted throughout China.

There is nothing very unusual about Changchiachuang, or about its two letters. This village of 204 families is typical of the thousands of liberated rural communities which, under Communist Party leadership, work to produce more and still more. But that is the very reason for the widespread interest in its letters to Chairman Mao that describe in detail how the village surpassed its cotton production plan.

Millet vs Cotton

After Changchiachuang completed land reform in the winter of 1948, the peasants started planning their spring work with greater enthusiasm than ever before. But the villagers were all obsessed with planting more grain, for this

represented to them the only way to banish the threat of starvation.

However, taking a broad view of the nation's economic needs, the government was urging the peasantry to increase cotton production. In line with this policy, the county government asked Changchiachuang to plant cotton on 76 hectares of its 188 hectares of crop lands. The villagers reacted to this suggestion coldly at first. The general attitude ran somewhat along these lines: "If you harvest plenty of millet, you can always buy cotton and cloth. But if you plant a lot of cotton, then you may run short of food and in the end the merchants will get your cotton for almost nothing."

Even after the village government announced that the state trading companies guaranteed to buy cotton with millet at favourable exchange rates, the peasants were still reluctant to plant more cotton.

As the village branch of the Communist Party quickly realized, here was a challenge for its 20-odd members. If Changchiachuang was to meet its cotton planting quota, it was up to the Communists to provide the necessary leadership and to mobilize the peasants for carrying out the task. At a branch meeting, each member undertook responsibility for persuading a given number of families to increase their cotton acreage.

Liu Tsun-yu, one of the women Party members, displayed particular skill and persuasiveness in carrying out this assignment. In talking to a peasant whose great ambition was to send his son to school, she said:

"Well, if you grow grain, it is true you will not run out of food.

But that is all you will have. If you grow cotton, however, you can make enough money to send your boy to school."

And when talking to an experienced cotton grower, she said: "What a pity you don't want to grow more cotton this year. With your experience, you would certainly become a cotton-growing hero and bring honour to our village. Besides, it is more profitable to grow cotton than grain nowadays."

Some families objected that they did not have enough manpower to handle a cotton crop. In such cases, Liu promised to help them on their fields.

As more peasants decided to plant cotton, it became easier to persuade the conservative ones who still hung back. In the end, Changchiachuang planted 84 hectares to cotton, or 45 per cent of its entire cultivated lands.

Fighting Pests

Then as soon as the green shoots appeared, pests attacked the cotton fields. This was a frequent occurrence, and the peasants took it for granted that pests would destroy a part of the crop. The more superstitious of them believed that these pests were heaven-sent creatures which took 10 per cent of their crop, no more and no less.

But Hou Kwei-chin, the Party branch secretary, was worried and he went to the district government to ask advice. There he learned that a solution made from tobacco leaves was effective against these pests. Hou returned with a load of tobacco leaves which the government had loaned his village and he then taught others how to use the solution.

During the following months, the Party members continued to set



Woodcut by Huang Yung-yu

the pace in the production drive, whether the task was hoeing and weeding or fighting other plant diseases. By personally setting an example, they also showed the villagers how to co-operate, thus overcoming the problem of insufficient manpower or draught animals.

In the autumn, Changchiachuang reaped 88,200 kilogrammes of raw cotton. The average yield was 1,050 kilogrammes per hectare, or 225 kilogrammes more than the prewar level. The government bought the cotton as promised, and the village found itself with a net profit of 58,500 kilogrammes of millet. As a result, more than half of the families were able to store enough grain to last for two years.

When lunar New Year's time came, the villagers voted to send their greetings to Chairman Mao in a letter describing how prosperous they had become through following his advice.

Long before sowing season this year, the Party branch and the village government helped the villagers draw up individual production plans and make specific arrangements concerning the exchange of labour between families. The Party branch also arranged for lectures by experienced cotton growers and organized frequent discussions on farming technique.

1950 Targets

Even though the village's cotton planting quota was higher this year than last, the peasants overfulfilled it by 40 hectares — planting an area of 135 hectares or 71 per cent of their total crop lands. The villagers are also determined to raise their average yield to 1,350 kilogrammes per hectare, bringing the total planned harvest to 182,250 kilogrammes this year. These are the targets which Changchiachuang set for itself in its second letter to Chairman Mao, which concluded with justifiable pride:

"Thanks to your leadership and that of the Communist Party, we victoriously completed our cotton planting programme within six days."

A WOUNDED FIGHTER GETS HIS WISH



One day during the Anti-Japanese War, the army base hospital in Yenan's suburbs received a fresh group of wounded soldiers. Among the stretcher cases was one seriously injured soldier with a bullet lodged in his abdomen. He was delirious and groaned incessantly. His condition was already too serious to operate, and the doctors were helpless.

Suddenly the soldier opened his eyes and cried out:

"Comrade Mao Tse-tung, I wish I could look at you just once. It is seven years since I joined the revolution, but in all these years of fighting, I have never had a chance to see you."

Several nurses came over to quiet him. One of them said gently:

"Comrade, you must remember that Comrade Mao Tse-tung is very busy. Perhaps it would not be easy for him to leave his work and come to see you."

"I know, I know," said the soldier, sighing deeply. "Many lives depend on him, and how could he leave his work. But if I could only see him just once, it would be so much easier to die."

He again sank into semi-consciousness. Periodically he broke off his groans and began calling Mao Tse-tung's name. Since the wounded comrade was so eager for one glimpse of his leader before he died, the nurses decided that it was their duty to report the matter to Chairman Mao by telephone.

Chairman Mao personally received the call and questioned the nurse carefully about the soldier's condition, displaying the same intimate concern as a member of the soldier's own family. Then he put on his cap, called for his horse and started off at full gallop.

All the wounded looked up with half-unbelieving wonder and joy as Chairman Mao walked into the ward where the soldier lay dying. A nurse said:

"Comrade Mao Tse-tung is here to see you."

The soldier opened his eyes and recognized his cherished leader. His mouth twisted into a great smile and he tried to say something, but he was already too weak to make his voice heard. Summoning all his remaining strength, he reached out for Chairman Mao's hand.

Chairman Mao grasped the outstretched hand in both of his own. With tears glistening in his eyes, he leaned down and said:

"You are one of our great and glorious comrades. I shall never forget you. . . ."

A few minutes afterwards, the soldier died with his hand still pressed in Chairman Mao's. Even in death, his face bore an expression of peace and contentment.

Later Chairman Mao visited all the wards and chatted with the soldiers, inquiring into the care they were receiving and asking the patients' opinions on a wide variety of matters.

For days after Chairman Mao's memorable visit, the soldiers talked of nothing else. One soldier summed up the feelings of all when he said:

"Comrade Mao Tse-tung cares for us in every respect!"

(From *Stories of Mao Tse-tung*.)

CURRENT CHINA

June 11—25, 1950



MacArthur Warned

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party vigorously denounced 'the lawless brutalities of MacArthur and the Yoshida government' in a statement released on June 12. Expressing warm sympathy for the Japanese Communist Party and the patriotic Japanese people who are resisting the American imperialists' efforts to turn Japan into a base for aggressive war, the Central Committee called on all the people of China, of Asia and of the world to support Japan's democratic forces.

Summarizing the lessons of history, the statement concluded that "American imperialism and its jackals—vicious in desperation—must finally fall and the revolutionary struggles of the Japanese people and of the other peoples of the world will attain victory in the end."

Expulsion Demanded

Foreign Minister Chou En-lai demanded the expulsion of the KMT bogus "delegate" from the Allied Council for Japan in a telegram sent on June 19 to that body. The Foreign Minister also announced the appointment of Gen. Chou Sze-ti as China's Chief Delegate to the Allied Council for Japan.

Protest to Truman

Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee, cabled Truman on June 23 urging the U.S. President to commute the sentences of the eleven leaders of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. Kuo Mo-jo has also informed this Committee's headquarters in New York of his hearty support for the calling of an international protest on July 4 to free Dr. Barsky and the others from prison.

The imprisonment of two progressive Hollywood writers, Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo, was vigorously protested in a statement

issued by the All-China Association of Writers and Artists.

New Szechuan Line

Construction of a 530-kilometre railway from Chungking to Chengtu commenced on June 16. Plans call for completion of the project before 1952. The 125-kilometre section between Chungking and Chuyangki is expected to open for traffic by the end of this year.

Thus, within the first year of its existence, the people's government has taken action to carry out plans which remained in the talking stage for the last 40 years. Furthermore, the vast job is being tackled without reliance upon foreign imperialist assistance, the basis for all KMT railway construction plans.

* * *

Repairs have been completed on the Tatung-Fenglingtu (Tungpu) Railway that bisects Shansi Province from north to south. The line had been extensively damaged by the KMT.

Private Industry

Private industry is steadily reviving as a result of (1) substantial government aid, (2) improved methods of factory management, and (3) better labour-capital relations which heighten production enthusiasm on the part of the workers.

In Shanghai, two-thirds of the private spindles are at work, mainly on government contracts. Of the 31 privately-owned steel mills, 29 have resumed operations and 18 are working on government orders. Keeping pace with industrial expansion, power output in May rose 11% above the April figure.

In Peking, more than half the machine shops, knitwear and dyeing workshops and flour mills are at present working on government contracts.

In Chungking, state trading companies have spent \$128,400,000,000 (people's currency) buying such local products as cloth, bristles, goat skins and tung oil. Forty rice mills are busy processing rice for the government.

Workers Recruited

Northeast China's industries recruited 240,000 workers from other parts of China during the first five months of 1950—as many as during the entire year of 1949.

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In a directive on unemployment relief, the Government Administrative Council announced that 200,000 tons of grain had been budgeted for this purpose. Local governments are also contributing to this unemployment fund, while public and private enterprises are to lay aside 1% of their payrolls and wage earners are also to pay 1% of their income. Relief will be distributed mainly in the form of jobs on government construction projects.

INTERNATIONAL

Czechoslovakia: A Sino-Czechoslovak trade agreement for 1950 was signed in Peking on June 14. According to this agreement, China will exchange raw materials for industrial equipment and products from Czechoslovakia.

Appointments: General Huang Chen has been appointed Chinese Ambassador to Hungary, while Wang Jen-shu was appointed Chinese Ambassador to Indonesia.

Credentials Presented: On June 12, Polish Ambassador Juliusz Burgin and Swedish Ambassador T. L. Hammarstrom and on June 24, German Ambassador Johannes Konig and Danish Minister Alex Morch presented their credentials to Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

ON THE PEACE FRONT



The week from July 1 to 7 was proclaimed Peace Signature Campaign Week in a resolution proposed by the China Committee of the World Peace Congress which was adopted at the closing session of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. According to incomplete reports, 11,239,713 people in China had already endorsed the Stockholm Peace Appeal by June 19. Two days earlier, Peking achieved its goal of 1,000,000 signatures. Tientsin has also topped this figure while 930,000 of Chungking's 1,200,000 population have signed for peace. Northeast China reported that over 3,900,000 signatures have been collected there.

Many of the signers took this occasion to raise their voices against all who would plunge mankind into a new world war. Here is what they said:

Chang Yi, a soldier with several decorations, joined the people's army when he was 13. In the course of 12 years of fighting, he was wounded seven times. Even now there is a piece of shrapnel from a U.S. shell lodged in his left lung. When he signed the peace appeal in Mukden, he added the words: "We are fully entitled to demand peace."

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Chang Jih-shen, of the Nanking Military Academy, wrote: "The U.S.S.R. has utilized atomic energy for peaceful purposes, while the American imperialists plan to use it to wage a new war. From this anyone can clearly see who really stands for the cause of peace and who wants war."

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At an International Children's Day rally in Lanchow, Kansu Province, over 20,000 children signed the peace appeal. A third-grade pupil wrote: "If all our little friends the world over sign their names, the imperialists must become very scared."

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Tien Kwei-ying, one of China's first women locomotive drivers, said in Dairen: "We women love peace because it safeguards our lives and our work. We are strongly opposed to the imperialists' plot to start a new war."

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With an aged and trembling hand, Yen Yu-pu, a retired Nanking professor, wrote indignantly: "Science must be used to promote the well-being of humanity. It must not be used as a means of exterminating mankind. I oppose the use of atomic weapons."

Yin An-yuan, a dock worker at Pukow across from Nanking, said when he signed: "We have worked hard to repair our wharves. One can't estimate how much sweat we have put into them. Only by outlawing war can we prevent their destruction again."

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When a mobile unit to collect signatures reached the countryside near Canton, a peasant stopped in the midst of his ploughing to sign the peace appeal. He said: "We farmers want peace and we hate war. Tell that to the American warmongers. I think the American imperialists will be frightened when they learn that so many people have signed the peace appeal."

* * *

Peasant Shui Kuo-lung of Hsiangfang, near Harbin, said at a local peace meeting: "The Japs used germs to slaughter us people and we have suffered enough from imperialism. If anyone dares to start another war, death awaits him."

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A Honan peasant of Shangfatse village who brought his family to sign with him wrote: "The more people sign for peace, the more firmly will our newly-won lands and rights be safeguarded."

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Sixty-two foreign nationals of 12 countries signed for peace in Peking. All of them expressed their enthusiasm for peace. "Indeed, we want peace," said a Greek merchant as he was writing down his signature. An Australian woman said: "I have witnessed the horror and devastation of war. That is why I fervently hope for lasting peace."

WRITERS OF THE PEOPLE



CHU CHIU-PAI, brilliant literary critic, pamphleteer, translator of Soviet literature and one of the earliest Communist leaders, was shot on the morning of June 18, 1935, by the KMT after months of imprisonment and torture. It was a heavy blow to the revolutionary cultural movement. The anniversary of his death this year has been marked by commemorative poems and articles in the press throughout the country.

Chu Chiu-pai lived and died a true Communist intellectual and fighter. He began his literary work as Moscow correspondent for the Peking *Morning Post*. His *Tour in the U.S.S.R.* and *Hearty Stories from the Red Capital* had a great influence inside China. His third book extolling the laud of Socialism was banned by the KMT censors. He joined the Communist Party of China on its foundation in 1921, was a member of its Central Committee from 1923 onwards and was Secretary-General in 1927-28. In the Great Revolution of 1925-27 he was one of the first to raise the banner of Bolshevism in the struggle against the Right opportunist line of Chen Tu-hsiu. A dozen political pamphlets written by him in this struggle for a Bolshevik revolutionary Party and policy put him in the front rank of political writers.

In 1928, he returned to Moscow as Chinese delegate to the Communist International and was a member of its Executive Committee until 1930. He never ceased his literary work. During the preceding ten years he had been an enthusiastic pioneer of the Latinization of Chinese script and in that year he published the basic form of Latinization which is still in use to-day.



Returned to Shanghai in 1931, he formed a lasting friendship with the late Lu Hsun, who up to this time had bitterly denounced the evils of reaction but was still a reformist. Under the influence of Chu Chiu-pai, Lu Hsun developed into a dauntless tribune of the proletarian revolution. The two writers published many essays on the need and methods of a real mass literature. They fought side by side against the 'middle-of-the-roads' in the literary world. At the same time, Chu Chiu-pai produced several translations of literary criticism by Engels, Lenin, Plekhanov and Gorky as well as poems by Pushkin and others.

In 1932, Chu left Shanghai for the Soviet Areas of Kiangsi. Here he became Education Commissar and Director of the Art Bureau. Li Po-chao, Director of the People's Art Theatre of Peking, recalls, in a recent article in the *People's Daily*, how Chu founded the Gorky Dramatic School in Juichin, capital of Red China. Here he taught that dramatic art should serve the people: the workers, the peasants and the defenders of the people's cause. He suggested that the school be dedicated to Gorky, because he said it would follow the path of revolutionary literature and art that Gorky had pioneered.

When the Long March began in 1934, Chu Chiu-pai was seriously ill. In February the following year, as he was making his way to receive medical treatment, he was trapped by the KMT in Tingchow, Fukien. For four months he was barbarously tortured. When told he was to be shot, he merely responded: "To die for China's revolution is not death, but glory!"

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MAXIM GORKY memorial meetings were held this year on June 18, by the Sino-Soviet Friendship Associations in many cities of China to commemorate the great Soviet writer's death. Chinese writers and Soviet citizens in

China joined in tributes. Exhibitions of his works and films of his stories and life marked the occasion.

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LU HSUN'S residence in Peking has recently been presented by his widow to the nation, together with his library of 5,000 books, his collection of 274 paintings and sculptures and other *objets d'art*, his manuscripts and 4,030 specimens of calligraphic rubbings.

Lu Hsun lived in this house from 1923 to 1926. It was here that he wrote his lyrical prose-poem *Wild Grass* and the impassioned stories published under the title of *Wandering*. The house has already been restored to its original condition by the people's government. A stone tablet inscribed by Vice-Premier Kuo Mo-jo has been mounted at its entrance.

HIGHER EDUCATION

The Conference on Higher Education which met in Peking for a busy session from June 1-9 has drafted temporary regulations for higher educational institutions and technical and vocational colleges, both state and private.

Outlining the government's policy, Ma Hsu-lun, Minister of Education, stated that the higher schools must open their doors wide to the workers and peasants; their teaching must be linked with the needs of the national economy, political and cultural construction and of defence.

The Conference discussed the reform of curricula in detail. In general, curricula have been revised to conform more closely to the needs of economic construction, and to realize the principle of the unity of theory and practice. Universities and technical schools are encouraged to co-operate closely with government departments and state industrial enterprises so that practical work in industrial establishments can become an integral part of their training.

THE PEOPLE'S PCC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

— SECOND SESSION —



The National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference concluded its second session on June 23 after meeting in Peking for ten days. During this period, the National Committee summarized the experiences of the Central People's Government since its establishment eight months ago, and laid down the guiding principles for the government's work in the coming period.

After intensive discussions which led to certain alterations, this body unanimously endorsed the Draft Agrarian Reform Law and sent it to the Central People's Government Council for ratification. It also approved seven comprehensive reports on the major spheres of government activity. In addition, it selected the national emblem of the People's Republic of China, decided to set aside the week from July

1 to 7 as a national peace signature campaign week and sent a message of greetings to the PLA.

The steady consolidation of China's democratic united front was vividly demonstrated by the broad representation achieved at the recent session, as well as by the unanimity displayed in passing proposals to be submitted to the government. The 149 committee members and 273 guests, who participated in the discussions, jointly constituted the widest possible cross-section of China's new society, with all strata represented except for counter-revolutionary elements.

The National Committee held its first session last September immediately following its establishment by the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's PCC, which serves as the supreme organ of state power until such time as the All-China People's Congress can be convened.

Chairman Mao's Closing Speech

(An Abridged Text)

Our meeting this time has had many subjects for discussion of which the central subject has been the question of reforming the old land-ownership system. Everyone endorsed the report of Vice-Chairman Liu Shao-chi and the Draft Agrarian Reform Law proposed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and a number of useful amendments and supplements to the Draft Agrarian Reform Law were made. This is very good.

I am filled with elation and joy at the fact that hundreds of millions of China's rural population are to have the opportunity to get up off their knees and that the country will secure the basic conditions for industrialization.

The majority of China's population are peasants. The revolution was won with the help of the peasants, and the industrialization of the country must again depend on their assistance for its success. Therefore the working class should actively help the peasants carry out the agrarian reform. The petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie should also support this reform and still more should all democratic parties and groups and people's organizations adopt the same attitude.

War and land reform are two tests for every Chinese and every party in the era of New Democracy. Whoever stands on the side of the revolutionary people is a revolutionary. Whoever stands on the side of imperialism, feudalism and bureau-

cratic capitalism is a counter-revolutionary. Whoever stands on the side of the revolutionary people only with words and acts differently is a verbal revolutionary. Whoever stands on the side of the people not only with words but also with deeds is a complete revolutionary.

The test of war has been largely passed, and passed very well by all of us, and the people throughout the country are satisfied. Now that we have to pass the test of the agrarian reform, I hope all of us shall also pass it very well, just as we passed the test of war.

Let us have more study and more consultation, clarify our thoughts and march in step in a great anti-feudal united front. Then we can lead the people and help them pass this test successfully.

When the tests of war and land reform are passed, the only remaining test — the test of Socialism, of carrying out Socialist reform throughout the nation — will be passed easily.

When the time for nationalizing industry and socializing agriculture arrives in the distant future, the people will never forget those who have made contributions during the revolutionary war, the revolutionary reform of the agrarian system, and during the many years of economic and cultural construction that lie ahead. Their future will be bright.

This is how our country is advancing steadily, passing through the war, passing through New

Democratic reforms and, in the future, advancing gradually and smoothly into the new era of Socialism, after we have a flourishing national economy and culture, after all conditions are ripe and it has been considered and endorsed by the whole nation.

I think it is necessary to make this point clear. This will enable people to have confidence without hesitating and worrying: "One day you will need me no more; I shall have no chance, even if I wish to serve the people." No, it will not happen like that. If those who really wish to serve the people, really help the people when they still face difficulties, if they do good deeds and do them consistently without breaking down halfway, then there will be no reason for the people and the people's government to reject them or refuse them the opportunity to live and work.

Internationally, we must firmly unite with the Soviet Union, the various People's Democracies and all the peaceful and democratic forces throughout the world, in order to achieve our great aim. There cannot be the slightest indecision or wavering on this question.

At home we must unite the various nationalities, democratic classes, democratic parties and groups, people's organizations and all patriotic democrats and consolidate the great revolutionary united front which has been built and has won prestige.

We welcome anyone who contributes to the work of consolidating this revolutionary united front, no matter who he may be — he is correct. We oppose anyone who harms the work of consolidating this revolutionary united front — he is wrong.

To attain the objective of consolidating the revolutionary united front, we must adopt the method of criticism and self-criticism. The main criterion when adopting this method is our present great basic law — the Common Programme. We have adopted the method of criticism and self-criticism at this meeting, in accordance with the Common Programme. This is an excellent method, which prompts everyone of us to uphold truth and correct errors. This is the only correct method for all the revolutionary people in a people's state to carry out self-education and self-reformation.

The people's democratic dictatorship has two methods. Toward the enemy, it uses the method of dictatorship, namely: it does not allow them to take part in political activities for certain necessary periods; it compels them to obey the law of the people's government and compels them to work and to remould themselves into new men through labour. Toward the people, it is the opposite, it does not use compulsion, but democratic methods, namely: it enables them to take part in political activities; it does not compel them to do this or that, but uses democratic methods in educating and persuading them.

This kind of educational work consists of self-education within the ranks of the people, and criticism and self-criticism is the fundamental method of self-education. I hope that the various nationalities, democratic classes, democratic parties and groups, people's organizations and all patriotic democrats throughout the country will adopt this method.

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE MAJOR PPCC REPORTS

Chen Yun, Chairman of the Committee of Financial and Economic Affairs, analysed the nation's current economic difficulties and reported on progress in overcoming them.

The government, he said, should centralize the allocation of government contracts, apportioning them suitably between public and private industry and placing the orders every six months to permit planned factory operations.

Through its purchase programme, the government must ensure a supply of raw materials for essential industries as well as a reliable market for industrial and agricultural goods.

Government price policy must be suitably adjusted from time to time in order to maintain a suitable differentiation between wholesale and retail prices and those of various areas.

To protect private commerce, the number of state retail and department stores should be limited to those necessary for stabilizing prices. State retail stores should only handle six kinds of daily necessities.

Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the Committee of Cultural and Educational Affairs, reported that over 500,000 workers are now studying at night schools or spare-time schools, while over 10 million peasants were enrolled in winter study earlier this year. Quoting incomplete statistics, he said that China now has 227 higher schools with 134,000 students; 3,690 middle schools with 1,090,000 students; and 212,890 primary schools with 16 million students.

Shen Chun-ju, President of the Supreme People's Court, announced that legal procedures are being simplified. He listed the two main tasks of the people's courts as (1) suppressing all counter-revolutionary activities and (2) adjusting relations among the people so as to help consolidate their unity.

Other major reports, such as Vice-Chairman Liu Shao-chi's on agrarian reform, Premier Chou En-lai's on the political situation and General Nieh Jung-chen's on the military situation, will be dealt with in later issues when more comprehensive treatment is possible.

INTRODUCING 'THE COMMUNIST'

MAO TSE-TUNG

This is the introductory article which Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote in 1939 for the first issue of the Party journal THE COMMUNIST. Summarizing the chief revolutionary experiences and lessons of the preceding 18 years, from the founding of the Party to the time of writing (1921-1939), Comrade Mao then wrote: "Experiences of 18 years have made us understand: the united front, armed struggle and Party-building are the three indispensable arms with which the Chinese Communist Party will conquer the enemy."

Wielding these three indispensable arms, the Chinese Communist Party has led the Chinese people to achieve today's mighty revolutionary victory, thus confirming Comrade Mao's foresight.

As this article was written three years after the outbreak of the Chinese War of Resistance against Japan, it could not but reflect the actual conditions of China and her requirements at that time in regard to concrete methods for dealing with certain problems such as that of the Chinese bourgeoisie. But this in no way impairs the correctness and the integrity of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis. Moreover, Comrade Mao has in subsequent writings further developed his thesis on these subjects. — Editor.

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The Central Committee has long planned a publication for Party members and this plan has now been realized.

For the building up of a Bolshevik Communist Party of China, nation-wide in scope and of a broad mass character, fully consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally, such a publication is needed.

This need is more evident than ever at the present moment which is distinguished on the one hand by the growing dangers of capitulation, splits and retrogression within the ranks of the Anti-Japanese national united front and, on the other hand, by our Party's emergence from a narrow circle to become a major party of a national character. Furthermore, the task of the Party is to mobilize the people to overcome these dangers as well as to prepare to cope with any sudden incidents in order that the Party and the revolution may be preserved from unexpected losses when such incidents occur. At such a moment the appearance of a Party publication such as this is indeed very essential.

What is the task of this publication entitled *The Communist*? What will it write about and in what respect will it differ from other Party organs?

Its task is to help build a Communist Party of China, nation-wide in scope and of a broad mass character, fully consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally.

To achieve victory in the Chinese revolution, the building of such a party is urgently necessary.

This is the task on which we are now actually engaged. Both the subjective and objective conditions for success in this task are on the whole present, and this great task is now being developed. As this is an undertaking beyond the capacity of ordinary Party organs, a specialized organ is needed. This is the reason for the publication of *The Communist*.

To a certain extent our Party is already a party that is nation-wide in scope and with a broad mass character, and, so far as concerns the core of its leadership, a certain part of its membership, the general line of its policy, and its revolutionary work, it is already a Bolshevik Party that is consolidated ideologically, politically, and organizationally.

What new task is there then and what is the reason for raising this question now?

The reason lies in the fact that, at present, we have a large new membership and many new organizations which cannot yet be considered as being of a broad mass character, or ideologically, politically and organizationally consolidated or bolshevized. Meanwhile, there also arises the question of raising the level of the older members and the old organizations and of their further ideological, political, and organizational consolidation and bolshevization. The circumstances in which the Party finds itself and the tasks it now shoulders are quite different from those of the civil war period of 1927-37; the circumstances are much more complex and the tasks much more difficult.

The present time is the time of a national united front, and we have formed a united front with the bourgeoisie; the present is the time of the Anti-Japanese War, and the armed forces of our Party are co-operating with friendly armies at the front in the prosecution of a relentless war against the enemy; the present is the time of our Party's development into a party of a nation-wide scope, since it has outgrown its old proportions. When these conditions are viewed in relation to each other, we will understand what an honourable and momentous task it is to build a Bolshevik Communist Party of China of a nation-wide scope and broad mass character, fully consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally, such as we have proposed.

How shall we proceed to build such a party now? Having determined to build such a party now, what should we do to achieve this end? The answer is inseparable from the history of our Party — a fighting history of 18 years.

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Dating from the First National Congress in July 1921, our Party is now exactly 18 years old. In these 18 years the Party has been through many great struggles. The membership, the cadres and the organizations of the Party have tempered themselves in these great struggles. They have experienced great revolutionary victories as well as serious revolutionary defeats. They have been through the formation of the national united front with the bourgeoisie as well as its break-up, and serious armed struggles against the bourgeoisie and its allies. For the last three years they have again been in a period of a national united front with the bourgeoisie. The course of development of the Chinese revolution and that of the Communist Party of China has wound its way through complex relations with the bourgeoisie. This is a historical characteristic, a characteristic of the course of the revolution in a colony or a semi-colony, which is absent from the revolutionary history of any capitalist country.

Furthermore, China is a country which is semi-colonial and semi-feudal, a country with an uneven political, economic and cultural development, a country with a predominantly semi-feudal economy and a vast territory. These conditions determine the bourgeois-democratic character of the Chinese revolution at the present stage; they determine the principal objects of the revolution to be imperialism and the feudal forces; they determine the basic motivating forces of the revolution as the proletariat, the peasantry, the urban petty-bourgeoisie, and, in certain periods and to a certain extent, the national bourgeoisie; they also determine that the principal form of struggle of the Chinese revolution is armed struggle. The 18-year history of the Party may be well said to be a history of armed struggle. Comrade Stalin said: "The characteristic of the Chinese revolution is that an armed people opposes armed counter-revolution." This remark is perfectly correct, and this feature which is characteristic of semi-colonial China is one which either does not confront any of the Communist parties in capitalist countries or differs from any such feature which does confront them.

Thus, (1) the establishment with the bourgeoisie of a revolutionary national united front or its enforced break-up, and (2) the principal form of revolution which is armed struggle, have become the two special characteristics which confronted the Chinese proletariat and the Communist Party of China in the course of the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution. Here we have not considered the Party's relations with the peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeoisie as a basic feature, because, firstly, such relations are in principle the same with

the Communist parties of all the countries in the world; and secondly, in China, to mention armed struggle at all is, in substance, to imply peasant war and the Party's close relations with the peasant war are virtually its relations with the peasantry.

Because of these two basic features, and precisely because of them, the course of the building up of our Party and of its bolshevization has taken place under special circumstances. Its failure or success, retrogression or progress, contraction or expansion, and its development and consolidation, cannot but be linked with the Party's relations with the bourgeoisie and with armed struggle. When the political line of the Party deals correctly with the establishment or enforced break-up of the united front with the bourgeoisie, the development, consolidation and bolshevization of the Party move one step forward. On the contrary, if it deals incorrectly with its relations with the bourgeoisie, the development, consolidation and bolshevization of the Party will move a step backward. Likewise, when the Party deals with the question of armed struggle correctly, its development, consolidation and bolshevization move one step forward; and when it incorrectly deals with this question, then the development, consolidation and bolshevization of the Party will move a step backward. For the last 18 years, the course of the building up and bolshevization of the Party has thus been closely connected with the Party's political line, with the correct or incorrect dealing with the questions of the united front and the armed struggle. This assertion has been clearly confirmed by the 18 years of the Party's history. And conversely, the more bolshevized the Party is, the more correctly it is able to, and will, deal with its political line and the questions of the united front and armed struggle. This assertion has also been clearly confirmed by the 18 years of the Party's history.

Therefore, the questions of the united front, of armed struggle and of Party-building are the three fundamental questions of the Party in the Chinese revolution. A correct understanding of these questions and their inter-relationship is equivalent to giving correct leadership to the whole Chinese revolution. By virtue of our rich experiences — the profound and rich experiences of failures and successes, retrogression and progress, and contraction and expansion in the 18 years of our Party's history — we are already able to draw correct conclusions. This means that we are already able to treat correctly the question of the united front and the question of armed struggle, as well as the question of Party-building. That is to say also that the experiences of 18 years have enabled us to understand that the united front, armed struggle, and Party-building are the three — the principal three — indispensable arms for the Chinese Communist Party to vanquish its foes in the Chinese revolution. This is a great achievement of the Chinese Communist Party as well as of the Chinese revolution.

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Here let us briefly deal with each of these three indispensable arms or three questions.

During the past 18 years, the united front of the Chinese proletariat with the bourgeoisie and other classes has developed under three different situations and in three different stages, viz., the stage of the First Great Revolution (1925-27), the Ten Years' Civil War (1927-37) and the present Anti-Japanese War. In these three stages the following laws have been established:

1) Because the greatest oppression suffered by China is national oppression, the Chinese national bourgeoisie can, in certain periods and to a certain extent, participate in the struggles against imperialism and feudal warlords. Therefore, the proletariat should, in such periods, form a united front with the national bourgeoisie and maintain it by all possible means.

2) Yet because of the economic and political weakness of the Chinese national bourgeoisie, it will waver and desert to the enemy under certain historical circumstances, hence the content of China's revolutionary united front cannot remain constant but is subject to change. At a certain period it may include the bourgeoisie and at another it may not.

3) Due to its vacillation, the bourgeoisie (especially the big bourgeoisie), even when it has joined the united front with the proletariat and is engaged in struggles against the common foe, will still regard the ideological, political and organizational development of the proletariat and the proletarian political party as detrimental to it. It will try to restrict this development and use such undermining policies as deception, enticement, disruption and attacks, with which it prepares for its capitulation to the enemy and the splitting of the united front.

4) The firm ally of the proletariat is the peasantry.

5) The urban petty-bourgeoisie is also a reliable ally.

These laws have not only been confirmed during the periods of the First Great Revolution and the Ten Years' Civil War, but are also being confirmed during the three years of the Anti-Japanese War. Therefore, on the question of forming a united front with the bourgeoisie (especially the big bourgeoisie), the party of the proletariat must carry on a resolute and stern struggle on two fronts.

On the one hand, it must oppose the 'leftist' 'closed-door-ism' which ignores the fact that the bourgeoisie has certain revolutionary possibilities to a certain extent at certain periods, and which makes no differentiation between the Chinese bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries, thus rejecting the policy of forming a united front with the bourgeoisie and of maintaining it by all means. On the other hand, it must oppose the view which regards the revolutionary qualities and revolutionary programme, policy, ideology and practice of the

proletariat, and those of the bourgeoisie, as the same thing. It must oppose the view which ignores the differences in principle between the two and which ignores the fact that the bourgeoisie is making every effort to influence not only the petty-bourgeoisie and the peasantry but also the proletariat and the Chinese Communist Party, thus trying hard to obliterate the latter's ideological, political and organizational independence and to turn the proletariat and the Communist Party into an appendage of the bourgeoisie and its political party, and thus trying hard also to expropriate the fruits of the revolution for the cliques or factions of the bourgeoisie. It must oppose the view which ignores the fact that as soon as the revolution runs counter to the interests of bourgeois cliques or factions, the bourgeoisie betrays the revolution.

For us to ignore these points is right opportunism. The characteristic of *Chen Tu-hsiu-ism** in the past is this right opportunism which led the proletariat to conform to the private interests of a clique or a faction of the bourgeoisie. This was the subjective cause of the failure of the First Great Revolution.

The duplicity of the Chinese bourgeoisie in the bourgeois-democratic revolution enormously affects the political line and Party-building of the Chinese Communist Party. Without understanding this duplicity, it is impossible to understand the political line and Party-building of the Chinese Communist Party. An important part of the political line of the Chinese Communist Party is to unite with, as well as to struggle against, the bourgeoisie. An important part of the Party-building of the Chinese Communist Party is its development and tempering through unity with, as well as struggle against, the bourgeoisie.

Here unity means the united front; struggle means, during the time of unity, "peaceful" and "bloodless" ideological, political and organizational struggle, which will be transformed into an armed struggle when the proletariat is forced to break with the bourgeoisie. If the Party does not know how to unite at a certain period with the bourgeoisie, it will not be able to advance, and the revolution will not develop. If the Party does not know how to carry on a resolute, stern, 'peaceful' struggle against the bourgeoisie in time of unity, it will disintegrate ideologically, politically and organizationally, and the revolution will end in failure; and if the Party, when forced to break with the bourgeoisie does not carry on a resolute, stern, armed struggle against the latter, it will also disintegrate and the revolution will fail. All this has been borne out by the history of the past 18 years.

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The armed struggle of the Chinese Communist Party is a peasant war under the leadership of the proletariat. This phase of its history may also be divided into three stages:

* See Footnote on Page 7.

The first stage was the participation in the bourgeoisie's Northern Expedition (1926). At that time our Party did not thoroughly understand, though it was already beginning to realize, the importance of armed struggle; it did not understand that armed struggle was to be the principal form of struggle of the Chinese revolution.

The second stage was the Ten Years' Civil War. The Party had already established its own independent armed forces; it had learned the art of fighting independently; it had set up bases of the people's political power and was able to co-ordinate directly or indirectly the armed struggle—the principal form of struggle—with many other necessary forms of struggle. This means that the Party was able to co-ordinate the armed struggle on a national scale, directly or indirectly, with the struggle of the workers, the struggle of the peasants (the principal form among these); the struggle of youth, of women, and of all the people, with the struggle for political power, with struggles on the economic, anti-espionage, and ideological fronts, and with various other forms of struggle. This armed struggle, which was in fact the peasants' agrarian revolution under the leadership of the proletariat, constituted the second stage of the Party's history of armed struggle.

The third stage is the present stage of the Anti-Japanese War. In this stage, we are able to make use of the experience gained in the armed struggle of the first, and especially the second stage, as well as of the experience gained in co-ordinating armed struggle with the other necessary forms of struggle.

The total concept of this kind of struggle is guerrilla warfare.

What is guerrilla warfare? It is the inevitable and hence the best form of struggle waged in a backward, vast, semi-colonial country and over a long period of time by the people's armed forces to overcome the armed enemy and to create their own bases. For the last 18 years our political line and Party-building have been closely linked with this form of struggle. It is impossible to understand our political line or Party-building apart from the armed struggle and guerrilla warfare.

An important component of our political line is armed struggle. For 18 years our Party has learned more and more about this line of armed struggle and has persisted in it. We know that without armed struggle there will be no place in China for the proletariat, or the people, or the Communist Party, and the revolution will not attain victory. For 18 years the development, consolidation, and bolshevization of our Party have been carried on amidst revolutionary wars and are inseparable from guerrilla warfare; without armed struggle and guerrilla warfare there could be no Communist Party of today. This experience gained at a cost in blood must never be forgotten by Party members.

The course of Party-building, the course of the Party's development, consolidation and bolshevization also falls into three stages with their respective characteristics.

In the first stage the Party was in its infancy. In the early and middle periods of this stage the Party line was correct, and the revolutionary zeal and activity of both the rank and file and the cadres of the Party was on an exceedingly high level, resulting in the victories of the First Great Revolution. But the Party was then after all still a party in its infancy, a party inexperienced in the three basic questions of the united front, armed struggle, and Party-building, a party having little or no knowledge of the characteristics and laws of the Chinese revolution or about Chinese history and society, and a party still lacking an integrated, unified understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory on the one hand and the practice of the Chinese revolution on the other. Hence in the last period and at the critical juncture of this stage, the dominant elements within the Party's leadership failed to lead the Party to consolidate the victories of the revolution, but instead fell victim to the deceptions of the bourgeoisie and brought defeat to the revolution.

This stage witnessed the development of the Party's organization but this, however, was not consolidated. Party members, Party cadres and Party organization were not consolidated ideologically or politically. There were many new members but they were not given the necessary Marxist-Leninist education. Practical experience was by no means lacking, but it was not thoroughly summarized. Large numbers of opportunists sneaked into the Party and were not purged. Both our enemies and our allies were plotting against our Party, yet vigilance was absent. Within the Party, there emerged a large number of active elements, but no time was found to make them the mainstay of the Party. The Party had considerable revolutionary armed forces under its control but was not able to make the most effective use of them. All these were the consequences of the lack of experience, of the lack of a profound revolutionary insight, and of the lack of understanding in uniting Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution. Such was the first stage of Party-building.

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The second stage was that of the Ten Years' Civil War. With the experience of the first stage, and with a step forward both in the understanding of the characteristics and laws of the Chinese revolution as well as of the knowledge of Chinese history and society and a closer unity of Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution, our Party was able to carry on the victorious ten-year Soviet struggle. In spite of the betrayal of the bourgeoisie, the Party was able to rely closely on the peasantry. The Party organization was not only developed anew but was also consolidated.

Despite the enemy's daily sabotage, the Party drove out the saboteurs. Not only was there again an emergence of large numbers of cadres in the Party but these cadres were transformed into its mainstay. The Party opened the path of the people's political power and thereby learned the art of administering the State and maintaining public order. It created strong armed forces and thereby learned the art of war. All these were momentous advances and achievements of the Party.

But during this great struggle some members were slipping or had slipped into the bog of opportunism. This was due to their lack of humility in appreciating the experiences of the past, due to their ignorance of the characteristics and laws of the Chinese revolution, due to their inadequate knowledge of Chinese history and society, and due to the absence of understanding in uniting Marxist-Leninist theories with the practice of the Chinese revolution. Hence a section of the Party leadership was unable to grasp the correct political and organizational line at all times throughout this entire stage. At one time the Party and the revolution were endangered by the 'leftist' opportunism of Li Li-san,* and at another time by 'leftist' opportunism in the revolutionary war and in the work in the White areas.

But all these were successively overcome at the two historic meetings of the Party, the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee and the Tsunyi Conference. After the Tsunyi Conference (held at Tsunyi, Kweichow Province, in Jan. 1935) the Party was set squarely on the road of bolshevization, and the foundations were laid for the subsequent victory over Chang Kuo-tao's right opportunism and for the establishment of the Anti-Japanese national united front. Such was the second stage in the Party's course of development.

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The third stage in the course of the Party's development is the stage of the Anti-Japanese national united front. This stage is already in its third year and the struggle during these years has been of great significance. Thanks to the experiences of the past two revolutionary stages, thanks to its organizational and armed strength, its high political prestige among the people of the whole nation, and its more profound and unified understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of the Chinese revolution, the Party has not only established the Anti-Japanese national united front, but has also carried on the great Anti-Japan-

* LI LI-SAN'S LINE: A form of "left" opportunism as represented by Comrade Li Li-san. It denied the necessity for making a correct estimate of the relative strength of the contending forces, and the relationship between the different classes in each mass revolutionary action. It advocated conducting armed uprisings in the leading cities under the White terror of the enemy. Later on Comrade Li Li-san admitted and corrected his mistakes.

ese War. The organization of the Party has emerged from a narrow circle and it has become a nationwide major party. The Party's armed forces are again increasing and are being further strengthened in the struggle against the Japanese. The Party's influence among the people throughout the nation has become more widespread. All these are great achievements.

However, though the Party has been developed, large numbers of new members and many new Party organizations are not yet consolidated. There is still a considerable gap between them and the old members and organizations. They are still lacking in revolutionary experience. They still know little or nothing about the characteristics and laws of the Chinese revolution or about Chinese history and society. They are still far from having a complete and unified understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of the Chinese revolution.

The Central Committee had emphatically raised the slogan "Expand the Party far and wide, but do not let in a single undesirable!", yet in expanding the Party organization in the past, many opportunists and enemy saboteurs did sneak in. Although the united front has been established and sustained for three years now, the bourgeoisie, especially the big bourgeoisie, is constantly attempting to destroy our Party. Serious friction instigated under the direction of the capitulationists and die-hards of the big bourgeoisie is raging throughout the country, and anti-Communist agitation can be heard in various places. The capitulationists and die-hards of the big bourgeoisie are seeking thereby to prepare for surrendering to Japanese imperialism, disrupting the united front, and dragging China backwards. Ideologically, the bourgeoisie attempts to abolish Communism, while politically and organizationally it attempts to liquidate the Communist Party, the Border Regions and the Party's armed forces.

Under these circumstances our task undoubtedly is to overcome the dangers of capitulation, of a split in the united front and retrogression, to maintain by all possible means the national united front and the co-operation between the KMT and the Chinese Communist Party, and to strive for the continuation of the resistance against Japan, for the continuation of unity and progress; and meanwhile to prepare to cope with possible incidents so as to preserve the Party and the revolution from unexpected losses when they occur.

To achieve this goal, it is imperative to consolidate the organization and the armed forces of the Party and to mobilize the whole nation for a resolute struggle against capitulation, against splitting and retrogression. The accomplishment of this task depends upon the efforts of the whole Party and upon the indomitable and ceaseless struggle of all the Party members, the Party cadres, and the Party organizations everywhere and at every level.

We are confident that, with the 18 years' experience of the Chinese Communist Party, and with the co-ordinated efforts of its experienced veteran members and cadres on the one hand and its fresh and vigorous new members and cadres on the other; with the co-ordinated efforts of its well-tested Bolshevik Central Committee and the local organizations; with the co-ordinated efforts of its powerful armed forces and the progressive masses of the people, these aims can be achieved.

Such are the main features of the experiences as well as the principal problems of our Party in the three stages of the past 18 years.

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The experience of these 18 years tells us that the united front and armed struggle are the two basic weapons with which to overcome the enemy. The united front is a united front which carries on armed struggle, and the Party organization is the valiant warrior that wields the two weapons of the united front and armed struggle to storm and shatter the positions of the enemy. Such are the inter-relationships of these three factors.

How we are to build our Party today and how we can build a Bolshevik Communist Party of China of nation-wide scope and mass character completely consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally can be readily understood by reviewing the Party's history. It can be readily understood by making a comprehensive review of the inter-related problems of Party-building, the united front and armed struggle and also of the inter-related problems of Party-building, unity with and struggle against the bourgeoisie, and the persistence of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army in prosecuting the Anti-Japanese guerrilla war and establishing the Anti-Japanese bases.

On the basis of an understanding of uniting Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution, to recapitulate the experiences of the past 18 years together with the new experiences of the present time and to impart this experience to the entire Party, to make the Party as strong as steel and to avoid repeating the errors committed in its past history — this is our task.

ON THE PARTY'S MASS LINE

(Continued from page 10)

on the masses or of fighting in their stead is wrong.

The masses of the people make their own history. Their emancipation must be based on their own consciousness and willingness. They select their own vanguard. And, under the leadership of this vanguard, they must organize themselves and fight for their emancipation by their own efforts. Only then can they consciously secure the gains of their struggle and retain and consolidate them. The enemies of the people can be overthrown only by the people themselves. It cannot be done in any other way. Merely through the efforts of the van-

guard and without the people's own genuine consciousness and mobilization, emancipation of the people is impossible, history will not move forward, and nothing can be accomplished. Even such things as reduction in rent and interest, mutual aid in work, or co-operative societies, all of which concern the immediate interests of the people, will become just so much empty talk and so superficial that reduction appears only on paper and not in fact, and that co-operative societies and mutual-aid teams exist only in form, unless they are consciously and voluntarily taken up by the masses themselves, instead of having such things bestowed upon them or organized for them by outsiders.

The cause of the Communists is nothing but the cause of the masses of the people. However correct our programme and policy may be, they cannot be realized without the direct support and consistent struggle of the masses.

With us, therefore, everything is dependent on and determined by the people's consciousness and willingness without which we can accomplish nothing, and all our efforts will be in vain. But as long as we rely upon the consciousness and willingness of the masses and as long as such consciousness and willingness are genuine, then, with the addition of the Party's correct leadership, every aspect of the great cause of the Party will finally triumph. Therefore, when the masses are not fully conscious, the duty of Communists — the vanguard of the masses 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 which must be well done no matter how difficult it is or how much time it will take.

Only when the first step has been taken can we enter upon the second step. In other words, when the masses have reached the necessary level of consciousness, it is then our responsibility to guide them in their action — to guide them to organize and to fight. When this is brought about we may further develop their consciousness through their actions. This is how we lead the masses step by step to fight for the basic slogans of the people as put forward by our Party. This is the utmost part that we Communists and all advanced elements and outstanding figures among the masses can play in the people's cause. Nothing more than this can be expected. All kinds of errors, such as acting-the-hero, commandism, managing things in an arbitrary fashion and 'bestowing favours on the masses' may ensue if attempts are made to perform a greater part.

In the struggle for the emancipation of the people, a Communist should act and can only act as a leader or guide to the masses of the people. He should not and cannot act as a 'hero' to replace the people in the task of 'conquering the world.' In their revolutionary struggle, the masses of the people are in urgent need of farsighted and steadfast leaders and guides as an indispensable factor for their success. But they do not need 'heroes' to

conquer the world for them, for such 'heroes', isolated from the masses, can achieve nothing for the cause of emancipation of the people.

Fourthly, there is the standpoint of learning from the masses of the people. In order to serve the people well, to kindle their consciousness and to give guidance to their actions, we Communists must, first of all, possess certain qualities. We must have foresight, or forethought. This means that we must be the harbingers of enlightenment, the only people capable of helping the less enlightened. Aside from our wholehearted devotion to the cause of the people's emancipation, our inexhaustible enthusiasm and our spirit of sacrifice, we must have adequate knowledge and must be sufficiently experienced and vigilant before we can successfully raise the people's consciousness, lead their actions and serve them well. Learning is indispensable, if we are to acquire knowledge, experience and foresight.

We may enrich our knowledge by studying Marxist-Leninist theories and by studying the history and lessons of the people's struggles in foreign lands. We can also learn from our enemies. But what is most important is to learn from the masses of the people, since their knowledge and experiences are the most abundant and most practical and their creative power is the greatest. This is why Comrade Mao Tse-tung has time and again told us to learn from the masses before we can educate them.

Only when our comrades have humbly learned from the masses of the people, crystallized the knowledge and experience of the people and turned it into systematic knowledge of a higher order, will they be able to take positive steps to develop the consciousness of the people and give guidance to the people's activities. It will certainly be futile, if instead we should self-conceitedly devise a set of schemes out of our own imagination, or mechanically introduce a set of schemes from historical or foreign experiences in order to develop the consciousness of the masses and to guide them. In order to learn unceasingly from the masses, we must not stand isolated from the people for a single moment. If we do so, our knowledge will be greatly limited and certainly we cannot be intelligent, informed, capable, or competent to give them leadership.

"An ordinary person is *ipso facto* often nearer to truth than some of our higher bodies.

"In order to give leadership to our cause, it is far from enough to rely solely on our own experiences or on those of the leaders. In order to exercise correct leadership, to the experiences of the leaders, there must be added the experiences of the rank and file of the Party membership, of the working class, of the toilers, as well as of the so-called 'persons of no consequence'". . .

To achieve this, "there must be intimate connections between the leaders and the masses, between the leaders and the rank and file of the Party membership, the working class, the peasantry, and the working intelligentsia.

"To maintain and consolidate the connections with the masses, to be ever-ready and willing to listen to the voice of the masses — this is wherein lies the strength of the Bolshevik leadership and the reason for its sure success." (Selected Works of Stalin, Vol. V. p. 322.)

Such is Stalin's advice to the Communists of the Soviet Union. It is a universal truth.

The tasks of leaders and leading bodies are to exercise correct leadership, have a correct idea of the situation, grasp its essence, set forth the tasks, make decisions, and mobilize and organize the masses to carry out these decisions as well as to organize them to supervise their execution. To do this well, it is necessary to learn from the masses and follow the line of "coming from the masses" and "going back to the masses," otherwise no leadership can be satisfactorily exercised.

This is what the standpoint of learning from the masses means.

The standpoints of "everything for the people," of holding oneself responsible to the people, of having faith in the people's ability to emancipate themselves, and of learning from the people constitute our mass standpoints. These are the standpoints of the vanguard of the people in regard to the people. Only with such standpoints, such firm and unequivocal mass standpoints, can our comrades carry out a clear-cut mass line in their work and exercise correct leadership.

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