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1

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Long Live the Communist Party of China!

July 1, this year, is the 30th anniversary of the Communist Party of China, the day of commemoration of the Party that has led the Chinese people to a glorious liberation, that has made brighter the beacon of hope kindled for all the oppressed peoples by the great socialist October Revolution.

Inseparably linked with the people and wholly loyal to their interests, the Chinese Communist Party's history is the history of the Chinese people in their struggle for emancipation. At the same time, the victories of that Party are the victories of Marxism-Leninism, the brilliant demonstration of the genius of its leader Mao Tse-tung in applying Marxism-Leninism to carry out the practical tasks of the Chinese revolution.

Devoting our pages to articles by leading members of the Party dealing with vital issues in its fighting history and achievements, we dedicate this number of our magazine to these events of universal significance.

The Victory of Marxism-Leninism in China

Peng Chen

Member, Political Bureau, Central Committee, Communist Party of China

As a result of their steadfast struggle for more than a century and especially of their hard struggle during the past 30 years under the leadership of the great Chinese Communist Party headed by Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people have at last won a nation-wide victory of world historical significance. The victory of the Chinese people's revolution is inseparable from the Chinese Communist Party which, since the very day of its birth, has been armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism. It is inseparable from this great theory. The victory of the Chinese people's revolution is at the same time the victory of Marxism-Leninism in China.

What is Marxism-Leninism? The practical experiences of the Chinese people have taught us that Marxism-Leninism is an omnipotent scientific weapon. It enables us to clear away the mists obscuring history, to recognise correctly the character of contemporary Chinese society and the Chinese revolution as well as the reactionary character of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. It enables us rapidly and thoroughly to expose the real nature of the varied kinds of swindlers and traitors who put on a revolutionary mask but who actually serve as the tools of our enemies. Thus it enables us to determine resolutely and adhere consistently to the correct path throughout the most complex revolutionary struggles in China. It elevates the Chinese working class from the stage of being a class in itself to a class for itself. It transforms the spontaneous struggles of the Chinese people into conscious revolutionary struggles guided with scientific foresight. It enables the Chinese



Peng Chen

working class to draw accurate lines of demarcation between enemies, friends and ourselves, firmly organise the revolutionary ranks, win over and unite all those that can possibly be our allies, and establish a broad united front so that our enemies are completely isolated and can be defeated one by one. It also enables us to estimate the situation accurately and to take either the offensive or defensive against our enemies without missing a single opportunity. Thus the Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party have become invincible. The history of the Chinese revolution has fully proved that Marxism-Leninism is "a universal truth which is applicable

anywhere." (Mao Tse-tung: *On People's Democratic Dictatorship*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1950, page 7.)

Today, all the world knows that without the Chinese Communist Party, there would be no New China today. But, how exactly has the Chinese Communist Party been able to lead the Chinese people, who have long been slandered by the imperialists and their lackeys as "barbarous," "backward" and "the sickmen of East Asia," to overthrow the combined and once so powerful rule of domestic and foreign reactionaries in China, and to build up such an independent, democratic, peaceful, united, prosperous and strong country as the People's Republic of China of today? There is no other reason than that:

"The Communist Party of China guides its entire work by the teachings which unite the theories of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution—the teachings of Mao Tse-tung,

and fights against any doctrinaire or empiricist deviations. Basing itself on Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism, the Chinese Communist Party accepts critically the legacies of both Chinese and foreign history and opposes the world outlook of idealism or mechanical materialism." (*General Programme of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China.*)

It is because the Chinese Communist Party has been the vanguard and organised detachment of the Chinese working class, armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, organised in accordance with the principles of party construction of Lenin and Stalin.

Precisely for this reason, since the day Marxism-Leninism began to influence China, all the enemies of the Chinese people—the domestic and foreign reactionaries and their lackeys—and all those reformists who feared that the Chinese people would actually rise in revolution, have ceaselessly slandered and condemned Marxism-Leninism in every possible way. They have sought to obstruct and prevent the labouring people of China in their approach and adherence to it. Both domestic and foreign reactionaries, and first of all, the arch-villains—the imperialist gangsters—slander and hate Marxism-Leninism for fear that its victory in China will certainly put an end to their existence. This is one side of the matter.

Another side is that the labouring people of China and primarily the working class, which leads the Chinese revolution, enthusiastically welcome and support Marxism-Leninism. They see Marxism-Leninism as the science of the struggle for their own liberation as well as of the whole of mankind. This has been so since Marxism-Leninism first appeared in China. And this fully demonstrates the great significance of Marxism-Leninism to the development of Chinese society.

II

In what way have the domestic and foreign reactionaries and their lackeys opposed this "universal truth which is applicable anywhere"?

Their favourite "theories" or "secret weapons" turn out to be: "Marxism-Leninism and Communism are alien and inapplicable to Chinese conditions;" "the Chinese Communist Party is internationalist and therefore unpatriotic." The domestic and foreign reactionaries are at their best in fabricating rumours, and can lie without blushing. Obviously, the history of Chinese society, in common with the social history of all other countries, is "a history of class struggles," and class struggle is "the basis and motive power of the entire process of the development of society" in China. Yet, the reactionaries reiterate: "China has no classes." Even a part of the revolutionary democrats harp on the same theme, propagating the idea that classes do not exist, but only the differences between greater and lesser poverty.

The reactionaries not only deliberately gloss over the great class struggles, particularly the peasant wars, which took place throughout the thousands of years of Chinese history, but dogmatically deny that the Chinese people and the imperial-

ists stand sharply opposed to each other and that sharp class antagonisms exist in Chinese society. They dogmatically state that what China needs is not such things as a class struggle against feudalism and a national struggle against imperialism, but class compromise between landlords and peasants, and "friendship," the "lending of helping hands," and "co-existence and co-prosperity" between the Chinese people and the imperialist aggressors who have robbed China of her sovereignty, exploited the Chinese people, and even invaded China with their armed forces.

How do they explain the great anti-imperialist struggles of the Chinese people which have shaken the whole world for more than a century, and the peasant struggles which have shaken Chinese society again and again for thousands of years? According to their "theory," they are nothing but the struggles invented by Marxism-Leninism and the Chinese Communist Party. They seek to paralyse the Chinese people with such nonsense, disarm them ideologically, subject them permanently to enslavement and oppression by imperialism and feudalism, and force them into permanent "peaceful co-existence" with a pack of domestic and foreign reactionary gangsters.

Nevertheless, the domestic and foreign reactionaries are not entirely unaware of their own limitations. They know very well that the absurdities with which they aim to deceive both themselves and others can by no means paralyse the wise and valiant labouring people of China. So they turn to the Trotskyite gang to undermine the Chinese people's struggle against imperialism and feudalism from the "left." Assuming a "leftist" pose, they deny the existence of landlord and peasant classes, and the class antagonism between the two. They deny the antagonism between imperialism and the Chinese nation.

Following the defeat of China's Great Revolution in 1927, the Trotskyite gang shamelessly declared that the rabid aggressions of the imperialists against China were "concessions to China." With brazen faces they declared that Chinese society is "what remains of the remnants to which the feudal system has been reduced." This, of a country in which the landlords and rich peasants, constituting less than 10 per cent of the rural population, occupy from 70 to 80 per cent of the land; while the farm-labourers, poor peasants, middle peasants and others, constituting more than 90 per cent of the rural population, occupy a total of only approximately from 20 to 30 per cent of the land! From these "theories" it would appear that the antagonisms between the Chinese people and imperialism, and the class antagonisms between the Chinese peasants and landlords are non-existent and there is no need for such a thing as a struggle! It would also appear that the great anti-imperialist, anti-feudal agrarian revolution and movement to develop the Red Army under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Mao Tse-tung are entirely artificial, engineered, and so could be arbitrarily slandered as the campaigns of "bandits" and "roaming rebels," and ought therefore to be all "liquidated"!



Vladimir Ilyich Lenin Woodcut by M. Motorin

But, the march of history advances along the path of class struggle in accordance with the laws expounded by Marxism-Leninism. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China headed by Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people, by resolutely employing the theories of Marxism-Leninism, have not only smashed all the dogmatic propaganda and slanders of the domestic and foreign reactionaries, but by a heroic class struggle, by uniting the class struggle with the national struggle, that is to say, by uniting patriotism and internationalism, have also defeated imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and their reactionary rule, have driven out whatever influence imperialism once had in China, and thereby transformed a semi-colonial China into an independent and free New China; and have overthrown the landlord class and confiscated its land, thereby transforming a semi-feudal Chinese society into a New Democratic society.

The hard facts of the practice of the Chinese revolution show that the class struggle is the motive force of the development of Chinese society, and the history of China is likewise the history of class struggles. Marxism-Leninism is not only perfectly applicable to China but it is a brilliant ideological weapon with which the Chinese people can defeat all their enemies. Like a powerful beam lighting up monsters, this weapon in the hands of the fighting Chinese people can compel the enemy, regardless of any concealing smoke-screen or whatever mask it wears, to expose its nakedness and become the target for the concentrated fire of the Chinese people. At the same time, the hard facts of the practice of the Chinese revolution also show that the internationalist Communist Party of China is also most resolutely and thoroughly patriotic, and that the internationalism and patriotism of the Chinese Communist Party are inseparably integrated with one another. All

slanders and lies levelled at the Chinese Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism by both the domestic and foreign reactionaries have now been utterly smashed by the great wheels of Chinese history.

III

People ask: Since both are political parties of the working class and both follow the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, why is it that Lenin and Stalin led the Soviet people to defeat Russian capitalism whereas the Chinese Communist Party led by Mao Tse-tung co-operates with the Chinese national bourgeoisie and establishes the united front and the state power of the Chinese working class, peasantry, petty-bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie?

Some members of the reaction seem to have discovered evidence of what they call the "essential difference" between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and evidence that Marxism-Leninism has "gone bankrupt in China," and they have attempted to drive a wedge and sow dissension—on one occasion approving the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and belittling the Communist Party of China, and at another doing exactly the opposite. There is no limit to their lies and slander so that even some people of good-will who are not familiar with the true situation find themselves half-believing and half-doubting their stories. Yet, this, as a matter of fact, is a very simple question.

The foundation of Marxism-Leninism is dialectical materialism and historical materialism; in other words, this matter should be viewed according to the actual conditions, and in this particular case, it should be approached from the basis of class analysis. Russia has her own historical conditions, and China has her own, too. Chinese society was a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society; the revolution that overthrew this social system was an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. Since in China a bureaucratic capitalist class emerged which was counter-revolutionary in character, the revolution therefore is anti-bureaucratic capitalist as well as anti-imperialist and anti-feudal. This revolution takes place in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The Chinese proletariat is a powerful moving force of the revolution in China, whereas the national bourgeoisie is weak. The peasantry is in dire need of emancipation, but its emancipation and bright future are possible only under the leadership of the proletariat. The circumstances being such, they dictate that the first stage of the Chinese revolution must be a revolution led by the proletariat and based on the alliance of the workers and peasants; it must be a New Democratic revolution of the people against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. Such a revolution is dictated by the character of Chinese society and by objective conditions at home and abroad; it conforms with the principle of "the greatest good to the greatest number of the Chinese people."

In addition to this, a revolution of this character not only should not, and at the same time need not, hurt the interests of the national bourgeoisie, but is actually consistent with the needs of the national

bourgeoisie, that is to say, is beneficial to the national bourgeoisie. In the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, despite its complex ties with the comprador class and feudal forces, the Chinese national bourgeoisie constitutes a very weak class in the process of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle. Thus not only are the bureaucratic capitalist class and comprador class out-and-out counter-revolutionary classes, which have long become the mortal enemy of the people, but even the national bourgeoisie at one time sided with the counter-revolution, or wavered between revolution and counter-revolution. However, at a certain historical stage and under certain conditions, the national bourgeoisie could still take part in or sympathise with the people's democratic revolution; for instance, during the Anti-Japanese War and during the War of Liberation which defeated the joint American and Chiang Kai-shek reactionary rule, a certain section of the national bourgeoisie not only did not go along with the "Japanese-Wang Ching-wei" and "American-Chiang Kai-shek" regimes, but gradually and in the end came over to the side of the Chinese people's revolution. Such are the actual historical facts. It is by virtue of this that we now co-operate with the national bourgeoisie. In this "anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, bourgeois democratic revolution of a new type" in China, the proletariat not only can, but must, co-operate as far as possible with such of the national bourgeoisie as are willing to oppose imperialism and feudalism. This is fully consistent with Marxism-Leninism.

As Marx and Engels put it in the *Communist Manifesto*, the Communists "fight with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way, against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squirearchy. . ."

Lenin and Stalin make "a strict differentiation between revolution in imperialist countries, countries that oppress other peoples, and revolution in colonial and dependent countries, countries that suffer from the imperialist oppression of other states." (Stalin: Speech on *The International Situation and the Defence of the U.S.S.R.* delivered at a Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the CPSU(B), in August 1927, Lawrence and Wishart, 1942.) Because in colonial and dependent countries, "the oppression exercised by the imperialism of other states is one of the factors of revolution; this oppression cannot but affect the national bourgeoisie also; the national bourgeoisie, at a certain stage and for a certain period, may support the revolutionary movement of its country against imperialism, and the national element, as an element in the struggle for emancipation, is a revolutionary factory." (*Ibid.*) Therefore, "the Communist International should form a temporary alliance with the bourgeois democrats in colonial and backward countries." (Lenin)

On the basis of this same standpoint, Comrade Stalin stated as an example that: the anti-imperialist united front may include the businessmen of Egypt and the King of Afghanistan. In the Anti-fascist Second World War which decided the fate of history, Stalin personally organised the broadest anti-fascist, that is, anti-imperialist united front in history.

"Practice is the criterion of truth." "The greatest good to the greatest number of the people is the criterion of truth in the history of mankind." Under the leadership of the proletariat, we must aim at winning over and must strive to unite all possible allies, and together deal with the enemy at hand, or isolate him to the greatest possible extent, with a view to smashing him completely. To defeat a formidable enemy and hasten the victory of the people's revolution, such a tactical principle and method has all the advantages and nothing bad about it.

The pivot of the problem is that a concrete analysis must be applied to a concrete matter. The policy of the proletariat towards the bourgeoisie in an imperialist country differs from that in a colonial and dependent country; in the same colonial and dependent country the policy towards the comprador class differs from that towards the national bourgeoisie; among the same national bourgeoisie, the policy towards the big bourgeoisie differs from that towards the middle and petty bourgeoisie; the policy adopted in one phase or stage of a struggle differs from that in another phase or stage of the same struggle. On the question of tactics, decisions must never be made one-sidedly and mechanically according to subjectivist doctrines, or on the basis of limited experience.

The Chinese national bourgeoisie occupied a special position before the victory of the Chinese revolution, that is to say, on the one hand it came under the oppression of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, while on the other it exploited and oppressed the proletariat. This gave it its weak and two-faced character. Therefore the proletariat could not but adopt the tactical principle of simultaneously struggling against and uniting with it, in order to overcome its wavering and reactionary character and to strive for and consolidate its revolutionary unity with the labouring people. Under the leadership of the great Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people have now, after having gone through extremely hard, long and tortuous struggles, at last won over a large section of the national bourgeoisie from the control and contagion of the reactionary American-Chiang Kai-shek rule, and thereby encompassed the complete isolation and defeat of the American-Chiang Kai-shek forces.

For this reason we consider that the united front in China today—a united front led by the working class, based on the alliance of the workers and peasants, and which includes the urban petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and other patriotic democratic elements—to be an undertaking which isolates to the greatest possible extent imperialism and the domestic reactionaries and helps to achieve the victory of the people's democratic revolution. This is one of the examples of how Comrade Mao Tse-tung integrates the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, thereby advancing the Chinese revolution. This is also a great victory of Marxism-Leninism in China, a victory not only over the bourgeois reactionaries and capitulationists, imperialism and feudalism, but also a victory over various kinds of opportunist ideologies in the proletarian camp. The facts have fully proved that those opportunists who

give up the struggle for the hegemony of the revolution because they consider the proletarian class to be incapable of leading the national bourgeoisie which is willing to participate in the struggle against imperialism during the stage of the New Democratic revolution, are wrong. The facts have also fully proved that those advocates of the "closed-door," who abandoned leading the national bourgeoisie because they refuse or fear to co-operate with the national bourgeoisie, are wrong. The facts have proved that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Marxist-Leninist tactical principle in the united front of "struggle and at the same time unite" is completely correct. There is not the least doubt that a united front of this kind in no way negates Marxism-Leninism, but in fact proves that the ideas of the great Lenin and Stalin are completely correct.

IV

"The Chinese Communist Party," which has led the Chinese people's revolution to victory," is the vanguard and organised detachment of the working class of China and the highest form of its class organisations. The Party represents the interests of the Chinese nation and the Chinese people. At the present stage it is fighting for the realisation of the system of New Democracy in China. Its final aim is to realise the system of Communism in China." (*The General Programme of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China*.) This means that the Chinese Communist Party is organised wholly in accordance with the principles of party construction of Lenin and Stalin. This is not only written down in the Party Constitution, the practice of the Chinese revolution fully demonstrates that the Chinese Communist Party is such a revolutionary party.

But China is a country whose industry is relatively backward. She has comparatively few industrial workers. At the same time, the Chinese revolution in its victorious development has followed a course of waging a long-term struggle in the rural areas where it established powerful bases on which it relied to liberate the cities. As a result of this, nearly 80 per cent of the Party members were of peasant origin. Some good-hearted people doubt whether a party with this kind of social composition can ensure that it will be a pure "vanguard and organised detachment of the working class." The views held by these sceptics are groundless. They fail to understand:

Firstly, that from the very first day of its birth, the Chinese Communist Party has been organised according to the firm and perfect principles of party construction given by Lenin and Stalin. The Party grew up in the midst of protracted, bitter and complex struggles and especially in armed struggle against the enemy. It has a strict collective life and organisational discipline such as is seldom seen in the world. It has a strict ideological and political education, the class education of the proletariat. Its world outlook is that of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and it takes as the compass for all its work the teachings of Mao Tse-tung which integrate the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of the Chinese revolution. It consistently uses these teachings to educate its Party members.



Mao Tse-tung in 1928

Secondly, the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership and tuition of the great Mao Tse-tung has trained up a core of large numbers of leaders in the course of the protracted struggle. This group has successfully undergone the tests of the most bitter struggles. It has a firm proletarian stand, i. e., the stand of Marxism-Leninism, and has a correspondingly high level of political consciousness, knowledge of political tactics and working ability. Although a great number of them were of peasant origin, they have long since rid themselves of the restrictions and limitations deriving from small-holdings and small-scale production. They have long become professional revolutionaries.

Thirdly, what we call Party members of peasant origin were not born of rich peasants; on the contrary, the overwhelming majority of them were born of farm-labourers or poor peasants—the proletarians and semi-proletarians of the countryside. Furthermore, more than 30 per cent of these Party members of peasant origin have long left their native villages and have been working whole-heartedly for the Party, the people and the country. Many of them have been serving as officers and fighters of the battle-steeled Chinese People's Liberation Army. Since they left their villages, they have been living in a revolutionary military organisation. They have been living a life based on a special kind of "supply system" of military Communism. They have been leading such a life for many years and have had to work in many parts of China. Thus, they have not only had a constant and strict ideological and political education and the tests of struggle, but have also been living a strict collective life. Their sense

of organisation, discipline as well as political consciousness are at least no less than those of the industrial workers. At present, the actual social origin of these Party members is no longer that of a peasant but rather that of a revolutionary cadre or revolutionary armyman. To them, their "peasant origin" is merely a factor in their past history. In China, the number of people who have lived under this kind of "supply system" over a long period of time in the military and professional revolutionary organisations amounted to several tens of thousands at the beginning. Then gradually it grew to hundreds of thousands and then to several millions. Now they number eight million—more than double the number of the industrial proletarian class in China. The longest time that some of them have been leading such a life is as much as 24 years. This type of military and professional revolutionary organisations is the main form of organisation in the Chinese revolution and has been organised during the long-term armed revolutionary struggle.

Fourthly, we Marxist-Leninists pay great attention to class origin, but we do not hold class origin as the only determining factor. Social origin, in general, has a decisive significance. But it is not of the same decisive significance to everybody. Nor is it the only determining factor. Otherwise, we would be unable to explain why some great proletarian leaders of the world are not of working class origin, whereas some of the reactionary elements of the Second International are. We would also be unable to explain why the Communist Party, as a political party of the working class, does not include all or the majority of the workers among its membership. The party of Lenin and Stalin, in fact, does not refuse to give admission to those peasants who are politically awakened and who are willing to abide by the programme and constitution of the Party. Meanwhile, the practice of the Chinese revolution and the advanced practice of the Russian revolution have both proved that some peasants, especially after they have left the rural communities, can become good Communists. Therefore, whether the Chinese Communist Party is a vanguard and organised detachment of the working class must be judged not simply from the social composition of its members, and especially not on the basis of their past social origin. The Party must be also judged on the basis of its ideology and action, the political qualities of its core of leadership, the political and fighting life of its members and their present material conditions of life and on the basis of its revolutionary practice. The Chinese Communist Party has never been subjected to social-democratic influences. It has been firmly built on the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism from its very inception and has lived under hard and complex fighting conditions. The tests of struggle have made it imperative for it to grasp firmly the weapon of Marxism-Leninism and strictly adhere to Bolshevik organisational principles. As a result of this, it has been capable of thoroughly reforming, in accordance with a Communist spirit, those of its members who were formerly non-proletarian labouring people or intellectuals, thus enabling them to abandon their original way of life and repudiate their original class stand. Furthermore, after a long period of life under the "supply system" which does not even

provide for any wages, they have been gradually enabled to take a completely proletarian stand.

Of course, this task is a very hard one. Particularly, the fact must not be neglected that China is industrially backward, with small-scale production forming the mainstay of its economy; that it has a vast number of petty bourgeoisie; and that it is a culturally backward country.

Furthermore, in the past the Chinese Communist Party remained for a long time in the rural areas which were split up by the enemy. For this reason the slackness, subjectivism, sectarianism, bureaucracy, liberalism, adventurism, capitulationism and other tendencies characteristic of the rural community and petty bourgeoisie are sometimes reflected in our Party. In order to constantly overcome such tendencies so as to preserve the ideological, political and organisational integrity of the party, we have, under the leadership of the great Mao Tse-tung, carried out within the Party a long-term and uniquely difficult fight on two fronts, as well as many ideological remoulding movements. By ideological remoulding movement is meant the practice of criticism and self-criticism so as to overcome, with the theoretical weapon of Marxism-Leninism and through self-education among the ranks of the Party members, non-proletarian, that is, non-Marxist-Leninist tendencies and ideologies within the Party. It also means to rely on the enthusiasm among the ranks of Party members to purge the Party of alien elements. Experiences have fully proved that such ideological remoulding movements are extremely effective in reforming all sorts of Party members who do not have a proletarian background and in overcoming all kinds of non-proletarian trends within the Party; and that the role played by this movement in building and consolidating the Party is extremely great.

But this means only to explain the historical conditions and political qualities of the Chinese Communist Party. It in no way implies that a political party of the working class may overlook the social composition of its membership; that it may neglect to fully utilise all possible conditions to improve its social composition, that is, to increase the proportion of workers among its membership. On the contrary, although a Marxist-Leninist Party does not regard its social composition as the sole determining factor, it must nonetheless pay very great attention to the composition of its membership. The Chinese Communist Party has always paid great attention to the class origin of its members, and this is clearly and definitely indicated in its Constitution.

After the Chinese revolution achieved complete victory on the mainland, the core of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Democratic rule in China has been shifted from the countryside to the cities, to the areas where industries and the working class are concentrated. With this change of circumstances, the social composition of the membership of the Chinese Communist Party has also begun to change rapidly. There has been a gradual increase of the proportion of workers in the Party membership. While three

(Continued on page 39)

The World Significance of the Chinese Revolution

Lu Ting-yi

Member, Central Committee, Communist Party of China

It is 30 years since the birth of the Communist Party of China—the political party of the Chinese working class. Beginning as small Communist groups and after going through four revolutionary wars, the Communist Party of China has now become the leading political party in the People's Republic of China. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people, who constitute one quarter of the world's population, have united, overthrown the joint rule of international imperialism and Chinese feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, and founded the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of the workers and peasants.

China has been completely transformed. It has been changed from a semi-colonial country into a really independent country; from a dismembered nation into a peaceful, united nation; from a state where the people enjoyed no rights into a state where people's democracy reigns; from a country which suffered from natural calamities, poverty, inflation and cultural backwardness into a country which is growing ever stronger and increasingly prosperous. As far as China is concerned, this is a radical change in her history. Internationally, it is also the greatest event in world history since the October Socialist Revolution.

In speaking of the world significance of the Chinese revolution, we must bear in mind the October Revolution of 1917, the greatest event in the history of mankind. As Stalin has said:

"The victory of the October Revolution signifies a radical change in the history of mankind, a radical change in the historical destiny of world capitalism, a radical change in the liberation movement of the world proletariat, a radical change in the methods of struggle and the forms of organisation, in the life and traditions, in the culture and ideology of the exploited masses throughout the world." (Stalin: *The International Character of the October Revolution*.)

The birth of the Chinese Communist Party and the victory of the Chinese revolution have borne out Stalin's appraisal of the October Revolution, which points to the October Revolution as, in the first place, a revolution of an international, world character.

For more than a century since 1840, the Chinese people have struggled continuously. But



Lu Ting-yi

"before the October Revolution, the Chinese were not only unaware of Lenin and Stalin but did not even know of Marx and Engels. The salvos of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism." (Mao Tse-tung: *On People's Democratic Dictatorship*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1950, p. 7.)

The Communist Party of China was born under the influence of the October Revolution. It took up the weapon of Marxism-Leninism and carried on the revolutionary task left unfinished by China's finest sons. It has guided the people's democratic revolution of China to victory through bitter, long-drawn-out struggles.

The victory of China's people's democratic revolution has further broadened and deepened the great influence of the October Revolution over the whole of mankind.

Firstly, the victory of the Chinese people's revolution has enabled the country with the largest population in the world, following in the wake of the Soviet Union and the New Democratic countries, to break off the chains of international capitalism, to achieve its liberation, and to stand firm in the world camp of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union in opposing the imperialist camp of aggression. Thus, a tremendous change in the world situation has been brought about.

In 1923, Lenin said:

"In the last analysis, the upshot of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And it is precisely this majority that, during the past few years, has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest shadow of doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense, the complete victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured." (Lenin: *Better Fewer, But Better*, from the *Selected Works of Lenin*, two volume edition, published by Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1947, Vol. II, p. 854.)

The population of China is equal to that of Europe as a whole and much larger than the total of the three main surviving imperialist countries, the United States, Britain and France combined. Since the victory of the Chinese revolution, the total population of the socialist and the New Democratic countries has reached 800 million, two-fifths of the

population of the whole world. Politically they are united as one. So strong are the Soviet Army and the Chinese People's Liberation Army that they wiped out a total of 20 million fascist troops of Germany, Japan and the Chiang Kai-shek gang in the world war against fascism and in the Chinese people's liberation war. These fascist armies were the cream of the capitalist world's armed forces.

Everybody has the feeling that the whole world has undergone a tremendous change. The victory of the Chinese people's revolution has brought about the obvious superiority of the world camp of peace and democracy over the imperialist camp of aggression. The day is here when the situation is going utterly against imperialism and when all roads lead to Communism. This is precisely the reason why the victory of the Chinese revolution and the conclusion of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance were enthusiastically hailed by the peoples throughout the world and why they have made the imperialists tremble. This is also the reason why the American imperialists and their lackeys are doomed to failure in their aggressive war against Korea and in their other aggressive plots.

Secondly, the victory of the Chinese people's revolution has set an example of victory in the struggle for liberation to the working class and the broad masses of the people in the colonial and semi-colonial countries and, primarily, to the working class and the one billion people of the Asian countries.

In the course of the century-old, world-wide Marxist movement, numerous prototypes have come into existence. Up to now two of them are of the greatest importance, the October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the people's democratic revolution in China.

The October Revolution, socialist construction and the Patriotic War under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Lenin and Stalin will stand for all time as the most important example for the labouring people of the world. The characteristic feature of the October Revolution lies precisely in its being a revolution in the biggest imperialist country. The characteristic feature of the Chinese revolution under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Mao Tse-tung lies in its being a revolution in the biggest colonial and semi-colonial country. In addition, the Chinese revolution took place in the East where a population of more than one billion has been living under the long-term oppression of imperialism. This cannot but arouse the jubilation and enthusiasm of the oppressed peoples and enhance their confidence in victory.

Because of imperialist oppression and exploitation, a colonial or semi-colonial country is economically backward. In such countries as these, from the moment the people rise in revolution, they will come up against the most ruthless repression by the imperialists and their lackeys who are armed to the teeth.

How can the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries defeat their powerful enemies and liberate themselves? What are the most important

experiences that have been gained from the victory of the Chinese revolution?

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has answered this question in many of his writings. In his *On People's Democratic Dictatorship*, he says:

"We have had much valuable experience, the essence of which consists of the following three factors: one is a disciplined party armed with the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, employing the method of self-criticism and closely linked with the masses; another is an army led by such a party; and the third is a united front of all revolutionary strata and all revolutionary parties and groups, led by such a party...."

"Summarising our experiences and condensing them into one point, we have the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class (through the Communist Party) and based upon the alliance of the workers and peasants. Our dictatorship must unite with all international revolutionary forces. This then is our formula, our main experience, our main programme." (*Ibid.*, p. 24.)

Among the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the peoples of Viet-Nam, Burma, Indonesia, Malaya and the Philippines have been carrying on their national liberation wars against imperialism while the national liberation movement is growing in India, Japan and other countries. China's example and experiences have strengthened the fighting will of the peoples of these countries and their confidence in victory.

These rear bases of the imperialist countries, on which they have depended as their life-lines and from which they have drawn their super-profits, have turned or are turning into sources of the revolutionary storms which are sweeping against imperialism.

Thirdly, the victory of the Chinese people's revolution is a new victory of Marxism-Leninism. The integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution constitutes Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution.

In the revolutionary movement of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the most fundamental problem is one of the leadership of the revolution. If the revolutionary movement comes under the leadership of the political party of the bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeoisie, the revolution will fail, or will be liquidated or betrayed. It is only under the leadership of the working class that the revolution can win real victory.

The bourgeoisie in the colonial and semi-colonial countries can generally be divided into two categories.

The bureaucratic capitalists or the comprador capitalists are closely linked up with foreign imperialism and domestic feudal forces, and are the enemy which has to be overthrown by the people's democratic revolution.

The national bourgeoisie, who are repressed and squeezed out by imperialism and feudalism, have fewer ties or no ties at all with foreign imperialism. They may participate in the people's democratic revolution or remain neutral. The working class in colonial and semi-colonial countries must pay close attention to the peasants, because they are the natural

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

In its next issue, *People's China* will begin publication of *Thirty Years of the Communist Party of China*, an important work by Hu Chiao-mu, Vice-Director of the Propaganda Department, Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Thirty Years of the Communist Party of China begins with the founding of the Party in 1921 and briefly relates the heroic story of how the great Mao Tse-tung and his Party brilliantly led the Chinese people to achieve final victory over their domestic and foreign enemies and founded the People's Republic of China in October, 1949. This 40,000-word history will be serialised in the coming issues of *People's China*.

and most reliable ally of the working class. It must pay close attention to the petty bourgeoisie, because they are a reliable ally of the working class. It must also pay close attention to the national bourgeoisie, and unite them in a common struggle against imperialism. The working class in colonial and semi-colonial countries can and must lead the national bourgeoisie; it cannot and must never allow the national bourgeoisie to lead the revolution. This is because in the era of imperialism, "with the exception of the working class, "no other class in any country can lead any genuine revolution to victory." (*Ibid.*, p. 22.)

One of the most important conditions for the victory of the revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries is the complete exposure of the bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy of the old type in the eyes of the masses, that is to say, the ideological and political victory of Marxism-Leninism over bourgeois democracy of the old type. To bring about this condition is to exercise both politically and ideologically the leadership of the working class in the revolution and to ensure the victory of the revolution.

In China, bourgeois democracy of the old type has gone bankrupt, while Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution have been recognised as the sole truth which has guided the Chinese people in achieving their liberation. This is an important achievement of the protracted revolutionary struggle during the last hundred odd years and especially during the last 30 years.

The people of Asia have seen for themselves how great and glorious is the victory of the Chinese people's democratic revolution.

The future development of New China will lead to socialism and Communism. China will take a path different from that of Japan which, after the Meiji Restoration, became an imperialist country and later on an actual colony of American imperialism. China will also take a path different from that of Turkey, which since the Kemal Revolution has become a satellite and henchman of the imperialist aggressive bloc. In the light of the great victory of the people's democratic revolution in China guided by Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution, all the bourgeois

democratic movements of the old type in the history of Asia—such as the Meiji Restoration in Japan, the Kemal Revolution in Turkey, the Gandhian movement in India, etc.—become pale and colourless. The victory in China of Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution will help the people of the Asian countries to free themselves from the influence of bourgeois democracy of the old type, resolutely take the path of the new democratic revolution of the people, and, after the victory of the people's democratic revolution, continue their march forward towards a better social system—the system of socialism and Communism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution is a new development of Marxism-Leninism in the revolutions of the colonial and semi-colonial countries and especially in the Chinese revolution. This theory has significance not only for China and Asia—they are of a universal significance for the world Communist movement. They are indeed a new contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

In the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the basic content of the world revolution is the socialist revolution. In this revolution, every awakened worker is concerned with the revolutionary movement in the imperialist countries and at the same time cannot but be concerned with the revolutionary movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. This is because the colonial and semi-colonial countries form "the most important reserve and the most significant source of strength of imperialism" (Stalin) and account for more than half the population of the world. However, in this general world socialist revolution, there are distinct differences between the revolutions in the imperialist countries on the one hand and the revolutions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries on the other. Lenin and Stalin differentiate them into two prototypes of revolution.

In a speech delivered at the joint plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the CPSU(B), on August 9, 1927, Stalin said:

"What is the fundamental position from which the Comintern and the Communist Parties generally approach the problems of the revolutionary movement in colonial and dependent countries?

"It is a strict differentiation between revolution in imperialist countries, countries that oppress other peoples, and revolutions in colonial and dependent countries, countries that suffer from the imperialist oppression of other states. Revolution in imperialist countries is one thing: in those countries the bourgeoisie is the oppressor of other peoples; it is counter-revolutionary in all stages of the revolution; the national element, as an element in the struggle for emancipation, is absent in these countries. Revolution in colonial and dependent countries is another thing: in these countries the oppression exercised by the imperialism of other states is one of the factors of revolution; this oppression cannot but affect the national bourgeoisie also; the national bourgeoisie, at a certain stage and for a certain period, may support the revolutionary movement of its country against imperialism, and the national element, as an element in the struggle for emancipation, is a revolutionary factor.

"Not to make this differentiation, not to understand this difference and to identify revolution in im-

perialist countries with revolution in colonial countries, is to depart from the road of Marxism, from the road of Leninism, and adopt the road of those who support the Second International.

"This is what Lenin said on the subject in his report on the national and colonial question at the Second Congress of the Comintern:

'What is the most important and fundamental idea of our theses? It is the distinction between oppressed and oppressor peoples. We emphasise this distinction, unlike the Second International and the bourgeois democracy.' (*Collected Works of Lenin*, Vol. XXV, p. 351.)

"The fundamental mistake of the opposition is that they do not understand and will not admit this difference between the one type of revolution and the other type of revolution." (Stalin: *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, Lawrence and Wishart, London.)

The prototype of the revolutions in imperialist countries is the October Revolution.

The prototype of the revolutions in colonial and semi-colonial countries is the Chinese revolution.

To use the standpoint, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism to solve the problems of the Chin-

ese revolution scientifically, systematically, and in an exemplary way and thereby solve in general a series of concrete problems of the revolutions in colonial and semi-colonial countries—such constitutes Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution.

It is clear that this is a further development and enrichment of Marxism-Leninism, and that this is a contribution of universal significance to the world Communist movement.

For the awakened workers and the members of Communist Parties in various countries to study Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution means to be more fully armed with the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and to strengthen confidence in the victory of the revolution.

The study of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution will help the Communists of various countries in their struggle against doctrinaireism and empiricism, to link together the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete revolutionary practice of their respective countries, to overthrow imperialism and achieve the liberation of all mankind.

The Communist Party of China Leads the Work of National Construction

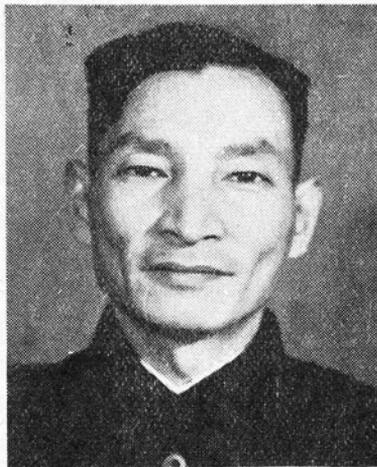
Chen Yun

Member, Political Bureau, Central Committee, Communist Party of China

After carrying on the struggle for 30 years, the Communist Party of China has led the Chinese people to victory in the revolution, and since then has been leading the work of national construction. A review of New China's national construction efforts in the past year and a half and the degree of progress achieved requires, first, an understanding of the old foundations on which this national construction is carried out, that is, what kind of country was the old China on which the new China is being built.

Our country has a vast territory, abundant products and resources. It has a history of 5,000 years. Our country has a population of 475,000,000. We are a great nation.

But in the past one hundred odd years, our country has been characterised by the following conditions. Firstly, we suffered from imperialist aggression for more than a century, with Japanese imperialism occupying Northeast China for 14 years. Feudalism and monopoly bureaucratic capitalism served as the tools of imperialism in ruling over the Chinese people, who for long years groaned under the oppression of all three.



Chen Yun

Secondly, as the result of imperialist aggression and long years of reactionary rule, the economy of our country is backward, with modern industrial production constituting only about 10 per cent of the total value of national production. Although this figure is based on rough calculations and estimates and is subject to certain revision when more precise calculations and estimates or more accurate computations are made, it is certain that the relative weight of modern industry is very small, and that of agriculture and handicrafts very big. But this alone does not give a complete picture of the gravity of the situation, resulting from the fact that a very large proportion of these few modern industries were

controlled by imperialism. The Northeast was the principal area of China's heavy industry, but the industry there was under the direct control of Japanese imperialism. By means of armed invasion and economic aggression, imperialism directly or indirectly gained control of many industries in China. On the other hand, with agriculture and handicrafts making up such a high percentage of China's national economy, China was known as an agricultural coun-

try, and should have been self-supporting in agricultural production. But on the contrary, our country used to import considerable quantities of grain and cotton each year.

Thirdly, after 25 years of militarists' wars and long years of the revolutionary civil war, our country then had to undertake another eight years of War of Resistance against Japan and four years of the people's War of Liberation. As a result of all this our national economy was badly damaged. The year 1949 was marked by floods, the total agricultural output amounting to only 75 per cent of the average output before the War of Resistance against Japan. Industrial production in 1949 was even worse, as compared with the highest level of 1943. The 12 years of war in the immediate past also greatly undermined the commercial relations affecting the exchange of goods between the town and the countryside and between China and foreign countries. This is a rough sketch of the old China. It is on such an old foundation that the Central People's Government, led by the Communist Party of China, has been building up the new China.

In the past one and half years since its establishment, the work accomplished by the Central People's Government covers the political, economic and cultural fields. In the political field, the important work has been the following:

1. A unified people's government has been established from the central down to the provincial, city, county and village levels.

2. About a million bandits and remnants of Kuomintang armed forces have been annihilated, and the small remaining number of scattered bandits will soon be completely cleared away.

3. Of the 400 million agricultural population, 290 million have carried out the reform in land ownership. The peasants have distributed the land of the landlords among themselves. Except for the areas inhabited predominantly by national minorities, agrarian reform will be completed throughout the country next year.

4. The suppression of counter-revolutionaries including KMT secret agents, bandit leaders, local tyrants, etc., has been carried out on a nation-wide scale. A large number of such counter-revolutionaries have been arrested, and some of them have been sentenced to death. Those sentenced to death were the incorrigible elements who rode roughshod over the people and wrought havoc among them under the rule of the warlords, under KMT rule, and under Japanese occupation, men who owed a heavy debt of blood, and who, even in the days of the people's government, still refused to acknowledge their crimes and repent, but continued to carry on their subversive activities. Those counter-revolutionaries sentenced to imprisonment will go to work so that they may be reformed through labour.

5. Since June of last year, when the American imperialists attacked Korea and invaded China's territory, Taiwan, a great patriotic movement has arisen among the Chinese people. The Chinese people have organised volunteer units to resist America and aid Korea. The movement to resist America, aid Korea and defend our homes and

Motherland has spread to every section of the population and every part of the country.

In the economic field, we have carried out the following important work:

1. All factories, mines, railways, ships and banks owned by Japanese imperialism or KMT bureaucratic capital have been taken over and turned into state-operated enterprises owned by the People's Republic of China. In the state-operated enterprises, we rely on the masses of workers, and unite with the technicians and office staffs, thus transforming the bureaucratic enterprises into people's enterprises. The enthusiasm for work on the part of the workers, technicians and office staffs has been greatly enhanced because of the elevation of the workers' political status and the concern shown by the state for the welfare of the workers and staffs. Labour productivity has in general surpassed the levels reached under the Japanese and KMT.

2. The runaway inflation which lasted for 12 years has been ended. This was brought about by centralised administration of the state finances and economy, by the control of the total cash holdings of government organs by the state bank, by re-adjusting revenue and cutting down expenditure so as to achieve an approximate balance between income and expenditure. Because inflation has been ended, state-operated trading has taken over the dominant position in the market formerly occupied by speculating merchants, and the national finances have been stabilised, the people's livelihood has been made secure.

3. Agricultural production has been increased. Thanks to the land reform, the adoption by the state of policies to promote agriculture, the rise of the peasants' enthusiasm for production and the generally normal weather conditions, the total grain output of the country in 1950 was 14 per cent above that of 1949. Taking the country as a whole, agricultural output has not yet reached the pre-war level, but in most of the old liberated areas it has reached the pre-war level. Although cotton output in 1950 was lower than in 1936, the only outstanding record year of cotton output in China's history, nonetheless, it exceeded all the other pre-war years. If there is no natural calamity this year's cotton output is expected to exceed that of 1936.

To increase grain and cotton production is important to this country not only because agriculture makes up the greater part of our national economy, but also because in the past we relied on importing grain and cotton in large quantities. As regards grain, we have not only overcome the difficulties caused by the serious floods of 1949, but we are in a position this year to help the people of our neighbour, India, who are short of grain and we have signed agreements with the government of India for the export of 516,000 tons of grain to India.

The U.S. imperialists have imposed an economic blockade in an attempt to prevent the Chinese people from exchanging their own products for foreign cotton. But we are confident of our ability to meet our people's needs entirely with our own cotton, just as we have done in the case of food. The foreign exchange thus saved by being self-sufficient in

grain and cotton will greatly increase our ability to purchase industrial equipment.

4. The interflow of goods between the town and the countryside and between China and foreign countries has been developed. In the old China, the peasants' saleable grain and industrial raw materials were subject to purchase at compulsory, low prices by the landlords, merchants' usurious capital and imperialism. The proverbial sayings, "a good harvest becomes a calamity" and "cheap grain harms the peasants" described traditional sufferings of the Chinese peasantry. Now the interests of the peasants have been safeguarded by means of purchases by the people's government of large quantities of agricultural products at reasonable prices. The products of the peasants' spare-time occupations generally make up at least 10 per cent of the peasants' total annual income. So the sale of these products is of great importance to their livelihood. The government is therefore making the greatest efforts to help the peasants to dispose of their products from such occupations.

Trade relations between the town and the countryside, between China and foreign countries, which had been strangled by 12 years of war, have now been restored. The total value of our foreign trade for 1950 exceeded that of any year since the Mukden Incident in 1931 when Northeast China was occupied by the Japanese. It was also the first time in 73 years that China had a favourable trade balance.

Sovereignty over the customs so eagerly desired by the people from 1842 onwards is now fully established. The imperialists are now blockading China's foreign trade, but the countries taking up the bulk of China's foreign trade are no longer the capitalist countries, but the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies.

5. The state has invested in economic rehabilitation. The Central People's Government has been in existence less than two years; its finances do not yet permit any large-scale state investments. Nevertheless, the total annual value of state economic investments, both in 1950 and 1951, surpass those of any year under KMT rule. Our investments are mainly in railways, water conservancy and heavy industry. All but 9 per cent of the railways on the mainland have been repaired and opened to traffic; new railways are under construction. Already 130 kilometres of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway, for whose construction the people of Szechuan Province had vainly shed their blood in struggles over the past 40 years, have been built and opened to traffic. As for floods and drought, the scourge of the Chinese peasants, the total value of state investments and loans for agriculture and water conservancy during the past two years far exceeds all the sums the KMT regime spent in this sphere during the whole 22 years of its existence. Heavy industry is recovering. Two years of economic investments by the Central People's Government has aroused in the whole nation a general feeling that this is the only government that serves the people and that only this government is able to lead the Chinese people to happiness.

Economic rehabilitation and cultural development in our country has dispelled the old worry of the

students that "graduation means the beginning of unemployment." There are now not too many, but too few, graduates from senior middle schools. The graduates from universities and colleges fall far short of the demands of the economic, cultural, educational and administrative organisations. The state can guarantee employment for every university graduate. Land reform and the improved livelihood of the peasants have resulted in a considerable rise in the number of primary schools and continuation schools for adults. The state has taken over the schools and hospitals that American imperialism hypocritically founded for its aggression in China, and these institutions have refused subsidies from American imperialism. The planning of a completely new type of cultural construction in line with the future needs of China's economic construction is one of the present tasks of Chinese cultural development.

What has been said in the above is but a brief account of New China's achievements in the political, economic and cultural fields over the past one and a half years. These achievements are of tremendous importance to our country signifying as they do gigantic accomplishments in national construction. But all these mark only the beginning of our national construction. The objective our people have striven to attain for a century has been to transform China from a country outraged by imperialism into a country which is independent and prosperous. Driving the imperialists out of China and overthrowing the reactionary KMT rule constitute only a part of the struggle to achieve this objective. The complete achievement of this objective requires that China be transformed from an agricultural into an industrial country and that economic construction be undertaken on a colossal scale. The time for economic construction on such a scale has not yet come and we are still in the preparatory stage. All the work we have done in the past year and a half, including the consolidation of the people's power, the reform in the system of land ownership, the rehabilitation of the national economy and the movement to resist America and aid Korea, is, in a sense, preparing the ground for such large-scale national economic construction. It will still take some time before the preparatory stage comes to an end. However, we shall complete our preparatory work successfully and so usher in the coming large-scale, planned economic construction of our state.

Our people have boundless faith in their economic construction. We have 475 million industrious and hard-working people, and rich resources. Leading the Chinese people in the carrying out of economic construction are the well-trying Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung who is richly endowed with the great wisdom of Marxism-Leninism. The Chinese people believe that they will successfully carry forward economic construction just as their armed struggle has successfully overthrown the reactionary regime of the imperialists and the KMT. At present, the living standards of our people are still low. But the people understand that this is to be attributed to imperialist aggression in the past hundred years, to long years of reactionary rule and to continual wars. Imperialism and reactionary rule have halted and slowed down our economic develop-

ment for scores of years or even a century. Our people will continue to work hard and redouble their efforts to make up for this. Now that our country is united, there will be no more wars at home. Our economic development will overtake, and even outstrip that of the imperialist countries in a number of years if we can safeguard world peace together with other peace-loving peoples of the world.

The final goal of our country's progress is socialism and Communism, for socialism and Communism are the best and perfect social systems for mankind. Our people will fight for the realisation of the socialist and Communist social systems. But to reach the goal of socialism and Communism, we must go through the present stage—the stage of New Democracy—and not try to jump over it. The nature of state power at the present stage is the people's democratic dictatorship, led by the working class, based on the alliance of the workers and peasants and uniting all democratic classes and all nationalities of the country. The economic system at this stage is characterised by the co-existence of five kinds of economy: state-operated economy, co-operative economy, the individual economy of peasants and handicraftsmen, private capitalist economy and state capitalist economy, with the state-operated economy, which is socialist in nature, assuming the leadership. Due to special historical conditions, the present class relations and economic relations in our country need to be and can be dealt with in this way.

Hence, in carrying out national economic construction in the stage of New Democracy, a new task presents itself, that is, each one of these five kinds of economy must be enabled to play its full part and, at the same time, must not run counter to, but must fit into the general plans of the major branches of national economy, public and private, as formulated by the state. Since there are different systems of ownership in enterprises, some disharmony is bound to occur. But there exist two favourable conditions. In the first place, our country is not only led by the working class through the political system of the people's democratic dictatorship, but also led economically by the state-operated economy which is socialist in nature. The progress of national economic construction will not weaken, but greatly strengthen, the state-operated sector of the national economy. Therefore, we firmly believe that economically as well as politically, the state-operated sector of the national economy which is socialist in nature will have ample strength to lead the other sectors of the national economy in co-ordinated action. Secondly, the private capitalist sector of the national economy has already felt and will continue to feel that under the New Democratic state power, their opportunities for development are not diminishing but greatly increasing, as compared with the days of imperialist or KMT reactionary rule, now that they are protected from the economic aggression of the imperialists and the home market is unprecedented in scope. Therefore, they too support this power



A Master of Production Woodcut by Ku Yuan

and in suitable conditions are able to conform with the national economic plan.

Our national economic construction must depend on our people's own efforts. Of course this does not mean that we need no technical or other help from outside. We do need such help, but it cannot come from imperialism. Many labouring and progressive people in the imperialist countries sympathise with us, but those who decide the policy in these countries are imperialist elements hostile to us. Therefore, the Chinese people realise that those who can help us in our national economic construction are none other than the socialist Soviet Union and the fraternal countries of New Democracy. The two camps of the world are sharply defined. We stand in the camp which is fighting for lasting peace and People's Democracy. Our struggle to overthrow the imperialist-KMT reactionary rule is part of the struggle of that whole camp, and our national economic construction is an extension of this struggle.

The 30-year-old Communist Party of China—the political party of the Chinese proletariat—has led the Chinese people in overthrowing the imperialist-KMT reactionary rule in twenty-eight and a half years of struggle and since then for a year and a half, has led the way in national construction. National economic construction is a new kind of work for us. We have to learn hard. But we firmly believe that our Party, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, will victoriously build up our country just as it has victoriously overthrown the imperialist-KMT reactionary rule in armed struggle. In order to liberate themselves and build up their country, the Chinese people, having tried every way in the past century and having tested all leading groups, have finally chosen the Communist Party of China.

How the Chinese People Defeated the Chiang Kai-shek Reactionary Clique Armed By American Imperialism

Chu Teh

*Member, Political Bureau, Central Committee, Communist Party of China,
and Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese People's Liberation Army*

At this moment as we celebrate the 30th anniversary of the heroic struggle of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese revolution has already attained the nation-wide victory. The powerful enemy of the Chinese people, the combined reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, has finally been overthrown. A great New China of the people's democratic dictatorship has been firmly established and developed. It is a great victory with the whole of Chinese history entering on a new era. At the same time, it is a victory of great historical significance, changing the whole aspect of the East and of the world, following on the victories of the October Revolution and of the anti-fascist world war. This victory has greatly strengthened the world camp of peace and democracy and shaken the whole aggressive camp of imperialism.

It is significant to recall at this moment how the Chinese people finally won the nation-wide victory by defeating the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary Kuomintang clique which was armed by American imperialism.

Armed with Marxism-Leninism and led by the great Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Communist Party of China, following the defeat of the 1924-27 Revolution, has on its own led the Chinese people through the ten years of civil war (1927-1936), created a people's revolutionary force and the political and military policy adapted to the practical conditions of the Chinese revolutionary struggles; and through the eight years of the Anti-Japanese War (1937-1945), further developed and strengthened this people's revolutionary force and created liberated areas with a population of approximately 100 million, as well as a People's Liberation Army of one million troops and a militia of 2,200,000. All these formed the solid foundation on which the Chinese people defeated the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary KMT clique, which was armed by American imperialism.

Since the conclusion of the Second World War, the people of the world have been urgently demand-



Chu Teh

ing the preservation of peace. After suffering long years of war and threatened by a new civil war, the Chinese people, in particular, had an urgent desire to make peace a reality. However, since the end of the Second World War, American imperialism, which replaced fascist Germany, Italy and Japan, has been fanatically pushing forward with its plans for enslaving the world, threatening the people of the world with war and directly fomenting war in China and other places.

At the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Britain and the United States, held in Moscow in December, 1945, American imperialism agreed on non-interference in China's internal affairs and expressed its hope for the realisation of peace and democracy in China. But in reality, after the surrender of Japanese imperialism, American imperialism despatched its army, navy and air force as well as military missions to China and occupied most of the vital strategic points throughout the country. It supplied the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek bloc with large quantities of military equipment and war materials. By various means, it helped Chiang Kai-shek, who had hidden far in the rear during the Anti-Japanese War, to transport his troops to the major cities along the coast and to the civil war front against the people. In doing so, American imperialism intended through Chiang Kai-shek to seize the fruits of victory from the Chinese people and to turn China into an American colony. With the support and instigation of American imperialism, Chiang Kai-shek devoted all his efforts to pursuing his traitorous and dictatorial reactionary policies. At that time, the American imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary bloc regarded the Chinese PLA as the main obstacle to the realisation of their reactionary plans, and believed that, without the elimination of the PLA, the American imperialist aggression and the dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek could never be realised. At the same time, they regarded the action of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people in demanding peace in the country as a sign that they were weak and vulnerable. They thought that the PLA, which was

smaller in numbers and inferior in equipment, could not withstand any attack, while the many millions of KMT troops with their large quantities of supplies from American imperialism could do whatever they liked in the country. They therefore decided to unleash the civil war in China against the people. It was merely for the sake of gaining time to prepare this civil war that they temporarily pretended to agree to the desire of the people throughout China for peace.

In these circumstances, the Communist Party of China firmly held aloft its banner of peace, democracy and unity and exerted very great efforts to lead the Chinese people to find a way of avoiding war and achieving peace; at the same time, it mobilised the whole Party and the army and people throughout the liberated areas, as well as the people of the whole country, to make adequate preparations, so that they would be ready to defeat Chiang Kai-shek's military attack against the people and the revolution whenever he decided to break the peace. Expressing the demand of the broad masses of the people, the Communist Party of China successively issued many calls for peace, democracy and unity. Comrade Mao Tse-tung personally went to Chungking to conduct peace talks with Chiang Kai-shek. This compelled Chiang Kai-shek to issue a cease-fire order and convene the Political Consultative Conference of all parties at which resolutions were formulated concerning the achievement of peace, democracy and unity. These resolutions were passed with the participation of the representatives of the KMT government who also raised their hands in favour. All these steps completely conformed with the demand of the broad masses of the people in their yearning for domestic peace, democracy and unity.

The broad masses of the people were able, as a result of their own experiences, to shed their illusions about American imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique, because of the firm, impartial and just stand taken by the Communist Party of China in this vigorous struggle and because Chiang Kai-shek and his boss, American imperialism, time and again laid bare their perfidy and unveiled their intrigues of "mediating" in the civil conflict on the one hand while making active arrangements for civil war on the other. For this reason, when American imperialism and the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek KMT clique felt that they had completed their preparations for large-scale, anti-popular, counter-revolutionary civil war, they were isolated politically and lost the sympathy of the people throughout the country.

In early July, 1946, with the vigorous assistance of America and disregarding the opposition of the Chinese people and the democratic public opinion of the whole world, Chiang Kai-shek launched a great all-out civil war against the PLA on a scale unprecedented in China's history.

During its initial stage, the civil war situation was serious for the Chinese people. The greatest imperialism of the world was giving its full support to the greatest group of traitors in the world. The traitorous Chiang Kai-shek bloc at that time had a

total armed force of 4,300,000 men with aeroplanes, artillery, tanks and modern equipment and materials worth six billion U.S. dollars provided by American imperialism. It had under its rule areas with a population of over 300 million. It had the major cities, rich resources, modern industry and modern means of communication. The armed forces on the side of the Chinese PLA were then less than one-third of the KMT troops. In equipment and resources they were in an even more inferior position. In the liberated areas, the population was less than one-third that of the areas under Chiang Kai-shek's rule. Comparing the military strength of the two sides, all the conditions on the PLA side were unfavourable, except that the PLA was superior to Chiang Kai-shek's troops in political quality and in its ties with the people; for this reason, Chiang Kai-shek dared to employ the 1,800,000 troops of his regular army at the very beginning of the war in an imposing manner, launching an all-out attack on the liberated areas in Northeast, Central, East and North China in an attempt to wipe out the PLA at one blow. But as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said:

"On the basis of the science of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of China has soberly weighed up the international and domestic situation and realised that all the attacks of the reactionaries at home and abroad not only must, but also can, be defeated."

"The enemy's superiority in military strength is only a temporary phenomenon, a factor that operates only temporarily; the aid from American imperialism is also a factor that operates only temporarily. But the anti-popular character of Chiang Kai-shek's war and the support or opposition of the people are factors that operate constantly. In these respects, the PLA enjoys superiority. The patriotic, just and revolutionary nature of the war waged by the PLA is bound to gain the support of the people all over the country. This is the political foundation for victory over Chiang Kai-shek."

The progress and the outcome of the war fully proved the correctness of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's judgment.

In accordance with this scientific analysis and judgment of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Communist Party of China and the PLA, on the one hand, closely united with the broad masses of the people in the liberated areas and throughout the country to give material and moral support to this large-scale people's revolutionary war; on the other hand, they firmly carried out the guiding military principles laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung himself of concentrating overwhelmingly superior armed forces to annihilate the enemy forces separately one by one. At the same time, such revolutionary political work as unity with the masses of people, unity between the officers and men, demoralising the enemy troops and reforming the prisoners of war was fully carried out in the Army. We therefore were able continuously to weaken the KMT troops, increase our own strength and arm ourselves with the arms captured from the KMT troops, in the course of the people's War of Liberation. In the initial period of the war, when Chiang Kai-shek

launched his all-out attack and penetrated into our liberated areas, although we had lost many cities and vast rural areas, yet the PLA annihilated every month an average of eight brigades of the manpower of the KMT troops. After eight months, because his forces were greatly weakened, Chiang Kai-shek was compelled to abandon his all-out attack; he could merely carry out so-called "attacks on key points" in Shantung and North Shensi. The two wings of the war front. The forces used by Chiang Kai-shek for attacking the liberated areas in Shantung were 60 brigades, about one-third of his total forces used in these attacks. The enemy troops attacking the liberated area in North Shensi were ten times the PLA forces there. Nevertheless, because the PLA carried out the correct strategic policy in every operation, concentrating overwhelmingly superior armed forces to annihilate the enemy forces separately one by one, not taking the defence of a city or a locality as the main objective, the Chinese PLA not only rapidly smashed Chiang Kai-shek's "attacks on key points," but also launched partial counter-offensives during this period against Chiang Kai-shek on the Northeast and North China battle fronts.

By the end of the first year of war, the PLA had wiped out ninety seven and a half enemy brigades, totalling 1,120,000 troops, and enabled its own regular army forces of 1,200,000 to 1,300,000 to grow to two million. A fundamental change thus took place in the war situation: the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek bloc, which had lost tremendous manpower, had to switch from the strategic offensive to the strategic defensive.

With the start of the second year of the Chinese people's War of Liberation, the Chinese PLA passed over from the strategic defensive to the strategic offensive. This was an over-all change that affected the history of the Chinese people's revolution. At that time Comrade Mao Tse-tung declared:

"It is the turning point from the growth to the extinction of Chiang Kai-shek's 20 years' counter-revolutionary rule. It is also the turning point from the growth to the extinction of more than one hundred years' rule of imperialism in China."

In launching their attacks against the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, the powerful forces of the PLA crossed the Yellow River into the south, smashing the defence system of the KMT troops, thrusting into the areas under the KMT rule, and pushing the front line down to the Yangtse River. This upset Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary plan to destroy the Chinese people's liberated areas by a civil war against the people. It also spread the flames of revolution to the bases from which Chiang Kai-shek had started the civil war against the people, thus shaking the KMT reactionary rule to its very foundations and pushing forward the upsurge of the people's revolutionary struggle throughout the country.



The Human Bridge

Woodcut by Ku Yuan

At the same time, with the continual wiping out of the KMT troops, the PLA on various sectors of the front recovered the greater part of the liberated areas such as the Northeast, Shantung, North Shensi and North China, and began its successful attacks on the KMT's strongly fortified cities—cities with populations of over one hundred thousand to several hundred thousand—and wiped out from several tens of thousands to over a hundred thousand KMT troops in each campaign. In annihilating the KMT troops, the PLA again and again captured large quantities of modern weapons, strengthening its own equipment and building up strong artillery and engineering units.

This enabled the PLA later to attack main strongpoints and in the great battles of annihilation to destroy the enemy's defence system with overwhelming fire-power and swiftly accomplish its combat tasks.

As regards troop replenishments, the PLA depended mainly on prisoners of war and the large numbers of KMT soldiers who surrendered. They came from the labouring classes; and, after being educated and reformed, they could swiftly be transformed into loyal and brave fighters of the PLA.

By means of these struggles and endeavours, the PLA, though engaged in continual fierce battles from the very beginning of the war, did not, as American imperialism and its jackals expected, lose strength and grow weaker, but on the contrary, gained in strength and expanded rapidly.

In November, 1948, nearly two and a half years after the KMT reactionaries, backed by American imperialism, launched the war, another fundamental change took place in the war situation: the Chinese PLA, which had gone through nearly a hundred campaigns of annihilation against the KMT troops, won a great victory in the campaign in the west of Liaoning Province of Northeast China, sweeping away in a single campaign the troops of the KMT reactionaries in Northeast China and annihilating the majority of Chiang Kai-shek's crack units which were directly equipped and trained by American imperialism. After this campaign, the KMT army

passed over from the numerical superiority which it had held for a long time to numerical inferiority, and the PLA from numerical inferiority to superiority. By that time the total KMT forces had been reduced to 2,900,000 while the PLA had grown to over three million. After this, the tide of war turned very swiftly all over the country.

In January, 1949, the Chinese PLA again successfully concluded a decisive battle in the area around Hsuehchow against the main forces of the KMT troops on the southern front, annihilating seven army groups of Chiang Kai-shek's crack troops which were mainly armed with American equipment; and Nanking, the ruling centre of Chiang Kai-shek's bloc of traitors, was thus directly exposed to our mighty attacking forces. At the same time, the PLA also took Kalgan, Tientsin and other cities on the North China battle front, successfully achieved the peaceful liberation of Peking and wiped out the KMT troops in the North China area. Thus, after the West-Liaoning-Mukden, Huaihai (Hsuehchow-Pengpu area) and Peking-Tientsin campaigns, the nationwide victory of the Chinese people's revolution was already a foregone conclusion.

At this time, the remnant KMT counter-revolutionary bloc south of the Yangtse River, at the instigation of American imperialism, attempted to prevent the PLA from crossing the Yangtse in order to fulfil its dream of gaining a respite for staging a comeback. It used the delaying tactics of Chiang Kai-shek temporarily retiring from the scene and of Li Tsung-jen coming forward to conduct peace talks with the Communist Party of China. The Communist Party of China agreed to carry on the peace talks with the Nanking KMT government. However, the draft peace agreement drawn up by the Communist Party of China in negotiations jointly with Nanking's delegates was rejected by the Nanking KMT government. The phony "peace" scheme of American imperialism was thus exposed.

On April 21, 1949, the Chinese PLA advanced to the South and Northwest to liberate the whole of China. It took only three days' fighting to liberate Nanking, the centre of 22 years of the reactionary rule of the Chiang Kai-shek KMT clique against the Chinese people. Then, from the latter part of April to the end of December, 1949, Taiyuan, Hangchow, Wuhan, Sian, Shanghai, Lanchow, Canton, Chungking, Chengtu, Kweiyang and other important key cities were successively liberated. Hunan, Suiyuan, Sinkiang, Sikang, Yunnan and other places were liberated by peaceful means. The reactionary rule of the Chiang Kai-shek bloc of traitors completely perished. Its remnants escaped like rats to Taiwan Island which was under American armed protection.

In 1950, the Chinese PLA liberated Hainan Island and the Chusan Archipelago and started its victorious advance to Tibet. In May, 1951, the Central People's Government signed an agreement with the delegates of the Local Government of Tibet on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet. At the present time, the whole of China has been

liberated except for Taiwan which is still occupied by the American imperialists.

In nearly four years of war, the PLA annihilated over 8,070,000 KMT troops; won over more than 1,770,000 KMT troops who rose up and crossed over to our side, or surrendered and accepted reorganisation; killed or took prisoner 1,668 high-ranking KMT army officers; captured over 50,000 artillery pieces of various kinds, over 300,000 machine guns, over 1,000 tanks and armoured cars, over 20,000 motor vehicles and all kinds of other weapons and equipment. It is clear that this result was of no small concern to American imperialism.

It is no accident that Chiang Kai-shek, running dog of American imperialism, met such a swift and disastrous doom. It is the inevitable end for reactionaries who ignore the will and the strength of the people. It is the inevitable end for the adventurers who see only the temporary, superficial strength of their own armed forces, while not seeing their own political isolation and therefore act against the people. This is a long over-due verdict of history on the 22 years of Chiang Kai-shek's blood-thirsty reactionary rule and on the century and more of bloody, reactionary rule of the imperialists in China.

But the liberation war of the Chinese people is not completely ended, because, as already mentioned, Taiwan Province, the territory of the People's Republic of China, has not yet been liberated. In June, 1950, the American aggressors announced their armed control of our Taiwan at the same time as they started their brutal armed intervention against Korea. This is the same barbarous, shameless aggression as the seizure of Northeast China in 1931 by Japanese imperialism. Without doubt, the heroic Chinese people will certainly liberate Taiwan from the hands of American imperialism and enable their 6,700,000 compatriots in Taiwan to return to the bosom of their great Motherland.

Actually, American imperialist aggression against Taiwan is only a part of the entire American plot of armed aggression against our country. The real objective of American aggression against Korea is to threaten our Northeast through Korea, and make it possible for the American aggressive armies to invade our country from there as Japanese imperialism did before. In October, 1950, the American aggressive army in Korea marched fiercely towards the borders of our country, to the bank of the Yalu River and the vicinity of the Tumen River. American aeroplanes bombed and strafed the northeastern borders of our country, inflicting loss of life and property on our fellow countrymen. Under this grave menace, the people of our country could not but form volunteer forces to resist American aggression, aid Korea, protect our homes and our country and fight shoulder to shoulder with the Korean People's Army against the American aggressors.

Our people's volunteer forces are displaying the greatest heroism and valour on the anti-aggression front in Korea. Despite the overwhelming superio-

rity of the American aggressors in terms of aeroplanes, tanks and artillery, despite the difficulties caused by the atrocity bombings of the American air force, the Chinese people's volunteers and the Korean People's Army have won great victories in the five campaigns since they began to fight shoulder to shoulder on October 25, 1950. From that time to June 3, this year, the Korean People's Army and the Chinese people's volunteers have annihilated over 193,000 enemy troops, including over 89,000 aggressive American troops.

The initial frantic plan of the American aggressors to occupy northern Korea and invade our Northeast was smashed and MacArthur, the notorious American arch-criminal of aggression in the East, was dismissed after this defeat. Apart from withdrawing from Korea, the American aggressive army can find no other solution. Without doubt, the heroic Chinese people will certainly assist the Korean people to repulse aggression, so as to safeguard the security of the northeastern borders of China, and we can certainly fulfil this glorious task.

Victory in the Chinese people's war of liberation has changed the fate of the Chinese people and has changed their international status. The Chinese people are exerting all their strength to consolidate their own national defence and will not allow the imperialist aggressors to do as they please on Chinese territory as they did in the past century or more. The Chinese people will certainly make foreign governments respect their territorial sovereignty and proper interests and will certainly not tolerate American imperialist invasion of Taiwan and Korea, the schemes for the signing of a separate peace treaty with Japan and the military occupation and rearming of Japan. At this moment, the American imperialists should especially review the history of how Chiang Kai-shek, whom they armed and commanded, was thoroughly defeated by the Chinese people and the Chinese PLA. Since the American imperialists have not yet learnt the lesson they should have learnt, the Chinese people will certainly make any adventurer who follows the example of Chiang Kai-shek, suffer the same ignominious end.

How the Chinese People Defeated the Japanese Fascist Aggressors

Nieh Jung-chen

Member, Central Committee, Communist Party of China and Deputy Chief-of-Staff, Chinese People's Liberation Army

"The war has educated the people and the people will win the war as well as peace and progress."—Mao Tse-tung.

In the eight years from 1937 to 1945, the Chinese Communist Party led the Chinese people through the most difficult, tortuous and intricate path of struggle to carry on the heroic and victorious War of Resistance against Japan and finally fought in co-operation with the Allies, especially with the Soviet Union, and defeated the Japanese fascist aggressors. In this great patriotic war, the Chinese Communist Party mobilised, organised and educated the broad masses of the Chinese people, thus greatly reinforcing the people's democratic forces and laying a firm foundation for the subsequent victory of the great revolution of the Chinese people.

The great War of Resistance was a severe historic test for the Chinese people. The war steeled not only the people and the people's army, but the Chinese Communist Party as well. During the War of Resistance, the Communist Party of China, guided by Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution, which integrates Marxism-Leninism with China's



Nieh Jung-chen

concrete revolutionary practice, developed and enriched the experiences of the Chinese revolution, especially the experiences in the united front, armed struggle and Party-building. It became further Bolshevised politically and ideologically, grew still stronger organisationally, and became the outstanding leader enjoying the highest prestige among the Chinese people. The Chinese people fully understand from their actual experience that without the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, victory in the War of Resistance would have been impossible, and that without the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people would have lost everything.

I

The War of Resistance against the Japanese aggressors brought about important changes and regroupings in the fronts and strengths of our enemies, our allies and ourselves in the Chinese revolution.

The history of the Chinese people's War of Resistance has shown that imperialism is the mortal enemy of the peace-loving peoples of China and the world. During the eight years of war, the Japanese

invaders ruthlessly massacred the Chinese people and destroyed their property. The barbarous and shameful aggression committed by Japanese imperialism against China, however, was encouraged by the "appeasement" policy of the American and British imperialists. Following the Mukden Incident in 1931, the American and British imperialists on the one hand tried to reduce their contradictions with Japan in order to convert Japan into an outpost in the East to attack the socialist Soviet Union; on the other hand they backed up Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary government to intensify the anti-Communist and anti-popular civil war in order to achieve their aim of enslaving the Chinese people through that government. At that time, the "Lytton Commission," sent by the "League of Nations" under imperialist manipulation concluded its report with a request for international control of Northeast China in place of the Japanese monopoly. American imperialism in addition to "persuading the Chinese government to take conciliatory steps," made a shameless statement following the Chinchow Incident to the effect: "(1) that the United States has not the slightest intention of interfering with Japan's legitimate rights in Manchuria; (2) that the United States does not want to interfere with Japan's settlement of any issue, provided such issue does not encroach upon American rights." The true countenance of American and British imperialist collusion with the Japanese aggressors has long been fully exposed.

At that time, the reactionary Kuomintang government of Chiang Kai-shek adopted a shameless policy of non-resistance to the military offensive of the Japanese fascist invaders. It also declared that "resistance to foreign aggression must be proceeded by preserving security at home" and ordered its troops to "execute without mercy anyone who talks about resisting Japan." It concentrated all its forces on continuing to attack the people's Red Army led by the Chinese Communist Party.

However, the serious national crisis made the Chinese people ever more revolutionary. The Chinese workers and peasants became more and more awakened and launched nation-wide struggles to resist Japan and save China. The broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals enthusiastically joined the ranks of the revolution and the students launched anti-Japanese demonstrations in the leading cities. In addition to that, new vacillations, splits and conflicts occurred within the feudal classes and the bourgeoisie. A section of the national bourgeoisie, rich peasants and small land-owners in the rural districts and even part of the local rulers who came into conflict with Japanese imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek ruling clique, began to take part in, or sympathise with the national revolutionary movement or remained neutral. The broad masses of the people, learning as they did, from their actual experiences, became more and more disappointed in the reactionary rule of the KMT and came more and more to place their hopes on the Chinese Communist Party, on the people's revolutionary state power and the people's revolutionary army under the Party's guidance.

II

The policy of the revolutionary united front of the Communist Party of China developed and achieved enormous success in the War of Resistance against Japanese aggression. Immediately after the Mukden Incident in 1931, the Communist Party of China issued a call to resist the aggression of Japanese imperialism, organised guerillas in Northeast China and put forward three terms—the ending of the civil war, protection of the people's freedom and rights, and the arming of the people—in the hope of entering into an anti-Japanese agreement with those sections of the KMT which were willing to co-operate in fighting against Japan. But Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary government answered this declaration by attacking the Red Army and suppressing the anti-Japanese movements. In October, 1934, the main forces of the Revolution, the people's Red Army led by the Communist Party of China, began the 25,000-li Long March which was completed in 12 months in spite of Chiang Kai-shek's long pursuit, breaking all historical records of military marches, and successfully arrived at the front to fight the Japanese, joining forces with the Red Army's units in the Northwest. This outstanding, heroic exploit became a main component of the new revolutionary upsurge in China and preserved the backbone of the national anti-Japanese united front and the anti-Japanese war.

The anti-Japanese national united front policy of the Communist Party of China won widespread sympathy and support among the people throughout the country and swiftly became the programme of the people's patriotic movements which began with the December 9 Movement (December 9, 1935) in Peiping and spread over all the big cities throughout the country, and even gained the approval of some of the KMT army officers. These officers were opposed to civil war and called for resistance to Japan. As a result, Chiang Kai-shek's "Communist-suppression" armies at the front—the Northeast Army under Chang Hsueh-liang and the Northwest Army under Yang Hu-cheng—rejected Chiang Kai-shek's mischievous order to "suppress the Communists" and fraternised instead with the people's Red Army. On December 12, 1936, the "Sian Incident" occurred. Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng, supported by the people and soldiers, arrested Chiang Kai-shek.

The "Sian Incident," on the one hand, indicated the sharpening of the national contradictions between China and Japan and, on the other hand, showed that the reactionary traitorous policy pursued by Chiang Kai-shek for many years was not only deeply hated and rejected by the broad masses of the people but also had caused sharp dissension within the KMT and its armies. But the critical situation was not yet over. The reactionary clique in the KMT, under the pretext of rescuing Chiang Kai-shek, attempted to launch a large-scale civil war, while the Japanese invaders were waiting for a chance to slip in. Therefore, the correct solution of the "Sian Incident" became the key to averting a perilous situation and starting the War of Resistance against Japan. The Communist Party of China adopted a clear-cut, firm policy towards the "Sian

Incident," strongly advocated a peaceful solution so as to put an end to Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary policy of "settling internal problems first and expelling foreign aggressors afterwards," to bring about peace in the country and to start an all-out War of Resistance. We criticised the "left" adventurism of some people and won them over. We smashed the intrigues of the reactionary cliques and Trotskyites to extend the civil war, thus peacefully solving the "Sian Incident" and creating the conditions for establishing a country-wide anti-Japanese national united front.

The achievement of the anti-Japanese national united front testified to the great strategic foresight of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, who has pointed out long ago that the development of the contradictions between China and Japan altered the relation between the national contradictions and internal class contradictions. The contradictions between imperialism and China were characterised by the particularly outstanding, particularly sharp contradictions between Japanese imperialism and China. As a result of the aggressive policy of Japanese imperialism to colonise and occupy the whole of China, the contradictions between other imperialists and the Japanese imperialists widened and the contradictions between those other imperialists and China were relegated to a secondary place. Within the country, Japanese aggression raised the question of life or death for the bourgeoisie, and some people among them and in their parties could not but change their political attitude. Although internal class contradictions still existed, the national contradictions reduced them to a secondary and subordinate place.

III

However, throughout the entire course of the War of Resistance, the struggle between the democratic forces and the anti-democratic forces at home continued.

Because the KMT reactionaries refused to mobilise the Chinese people throughout the country to participate in the War of Resistance, refused to give democratic rights to the people, refused to carry out thorough-going political reforms and refused to purge the KMT and its government of pro-Japanese forces, the hidden danger of defeat or compromise half-way in the War of Resistance still remained at the time. To overcome this danger, the Communist Party of China resolutely led the Chinese people and the people's armed forces and stood in the forefront of the struggle, thus making itself the centre of leadership in the War of Resistance. Moreover, it freely initiated anti-Japanese mass movements and organised millions of people to join the anti-Japanese national united front to fight for democratic rights. As a result, the War of Resistance possessed both a clear national character and a profound popular character. As early as May, 1937, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out the importance of the fight for democracy. He said:

"In the new stage, democracy is also the most essential thing for the task of resistance against Japan. The struggle for democracy is also the struggle against Japan. Democracy and resistance condition each other, just as resist-

ance and peace, or peace and democracy. Democracy is the guarantee for resistance, just as resistance in turn can create conditions favourable to the spread of the democratic movement."

Therefore, shortly after the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War on July 7, 1937, Comrade Mao Tse-tung published an article entitled *The Policies, Ways and Means and Prospects of Combatting the Invasion of the Japanese Imperialists*. In this article, he explicitly pointed out two kinds of policies, two sets of measures and two prospects and criticised the wrong measures of the KMT in suppressing the people's movement and its dangerous prospects and demanded that the War of Resistance should be developed into an all-out War of Resistance of the entire nation. Immediately afterwards, he announced the "10-point National Salvation Programme," (August 25, 1937) and mobilised the whole Chinese people to struggle for the realisation of this programme and for the victory in the War of Resistance. (The 10-point Programme proposed: (1) "Japanese imperialism," (2) general mobilisation of the armed forces throughout the country, (3) general mobilisation of the people throughout the country, (4) reform of the government structure, (5) an anti-Japanese foreign policy, (6) a wartime financial and economic policy, (7) betterment of the people's livelihood, (8) an anti-Japanese educational policy, (9) consolidation of the rear areas by purging them of spies, traitors, and pro-Japanese factions, (10) national unity against Japan.)

From beginning to end of the War of Resistance the Chinese Communist Party observed this political programme. In accordance with this programme, the people's army, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, became closely linked with the broad masses of the people as soon as it reached the front of the Anti-Japanese War. It continuously dealt blows to the Japanese invaders in triumphant battles. It carried out propaganda among the masses, organised the masses and armed them. It developed and established vast anti-Japanese bases in the enemy's rear and made them the focal points of

(Continued on page 27)



Peasant Fighters to the Front! Woodcut by Yu Cha (1937)



J. V. Stalin and Mao Tse-tung in the Kremlin

Painting by A. Kirillov



Mao Tse-tung in 1919 at the time of the May 4th Movement which marked the beginning of China's New Democratic revolution.



Mao Tse-tung (third from left) with cadres of the First Division Workers' and Peasants' Red Army organised after the 1927 Autumn Harvest Uprising.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh in 1937, at Yen-an, North Shensi, then centre of liberated China.



Chairman Mao (second from right) in 1939, with members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Seated from left to right are: Chen Yun, Wang Chia-hsiang, Liu Shao-chi, the late Teng Fa, Chen Shao-yu and Chang Wen-tien (far right).

The Great Leader of

MAO TSE-TUNG



Chairman Mao, making his speech at the formation of the Coalition Government at the 7th National Congress of the Communist Party of China.



Members of the First Army of the Chinese Communist Party during the Hunan Harvest Uprising in Hunan.



Mao Tse-tung (standing, right) in 1933, at a poor peasants' representative conference in Juichin, Kiangsi Province, the capital of the Soviet areas.

of the Chinese People MAO TSE-TUNG

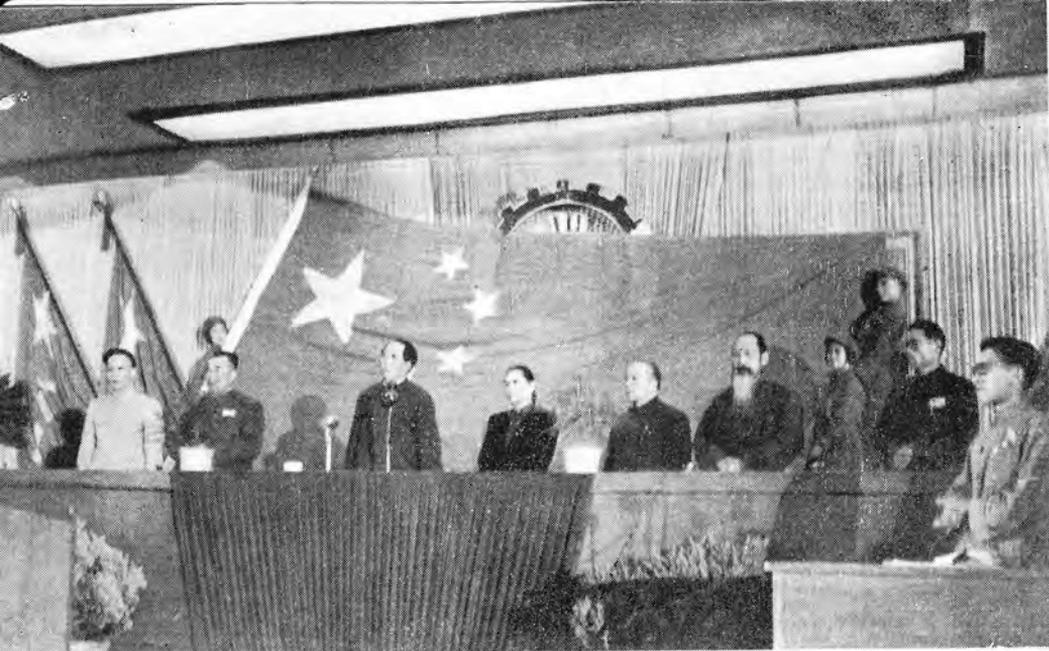
The great leader at work in his room in Yen-an, 1946.



Mao Tse-tung during his famous political report On the 7th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in China at Yen-an, in 1945.



Chairman Mao reviewing the victorious PLA on his arrival in Peking in 1949.



Chairman Mao (3rd from left) and (from left to right) Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh, Soong Ching Ling, Li Chi-shen, Chang Lan and Kao Kang on their election as Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Central People's Government on Sept. 30, 1949, by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.



Chairman Mao Tse-tung at a historic moment—the proclamation of the founding of the People's Republic of China on October, 1, 1949, from the terrace of the Tien An Men in Peking.

upholding the War of Resistance. The two entirely different lines—the “partial war” policy of the KMT and the “all-out war” policy of the Communist Party—brought about two entirely different battle fronts—the front of the KMT-held areas and the front of the liberated areas.

After the fall of Wuhan in October, 1938, the Japanese invaders stopped their strategic offensive against the front in the KMT-held areas and indicated their willingness to seek peace through compromise, obviously with an eye to the defeatist sentiment of the KMT government. They induced Wang Ching-wei, then Deputy Director-General of the KMT, to flee from Chungking, and set up a puppet government in Nanking to carry out a policy of national deception. From that time onwards, the KMT government began to change its policy more definitely and gradually shifted the centre of gravity from external problems to internal problems. In the areas under KMT rule, the Communist Party of China and other progressive organisations were driven underground and the people were deprived of certain democratic rights which they had gained at the beginning of

the War of Resistance. The prisons and concentration camps were filled with Communists, patriotic youths and democrats. Within the five years from 1939 to the autumn of 1943, the KMT launched three large-scale “anti-Communist campaigns.” It was in this period that the notorious incident of “disbanding” the New Fourth Army and annihilating over 9,000 troops of the New Fourth Army in southern Anhwei Province took place. The KMT openly adopted a passive policy towards the War of Resistance in order to preserve their military strength and shifted the burden of fighting to the fronts in the liberated areas. It permitted the Japanese invaders to launch large-scale attacks on the liberated areas and ordered its crack Hu Chung-nan army, to encircle, blockade and attack the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region—the anti-Japanese rear led by the Chinese Communist Party. Besides ordering its troops to attack the forces of the liberated areas ceaselessly, the KMT government systematically ordered them to surrender to and collaborate with the Japanese invaders in attacking the liberated areas. Moreover, secret emissaries entrusted with the mission of negotiating a compromise and sur-

A Biographical Note on Mao Tse-tung

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, is concurrently Chairman of the Political Bureau, and Chairman of the Secretariat of the Central Committee. He was born in 1893 in Hsiangtan County, Hunan Province. In 1920, he joined the Socialist Youth League, predecessor of the Chinese Communist Party, and from that moment has devoted his life to the revolutionary movement of the workers.

In 1921, he attended the First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. From 1921 to 1923, he served as Secretary of the Hunan Regional Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and in 1922 became Secretary-General of the Association of Labour Organisations of Hunan Province. At the Third National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, convened in 1923, he was elected a member of the Central Committee and also became Director of its Organisational Department.

From 1925-27 he was mainly active in the peasant movement. He became Chairman of the Peasant Movement Committee of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Principal of the Training Centre of the All-China Peasant Movement at Canton, and Secretary-General of the All-China Peasants' Association at Wuhan, Hupei Province.

During the ten years following the defeat of the Great Revolution of 1925-27, his chief task lay in leading the anti-Kuomintang revolutionary war, with the rural areas as its base. He stayed in Kiangsi Province for the greater part of this period until the winter of 1934 when he withdrew with the Red Army from Kiangsi on the Long March to northern Shensi Province. Since 1932, he has been a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and since 1935 has served as Chairman of the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Council.

From the end of 1935 to the end of 1947 he was in North Shensi. Here he led the War of Resistance against Japan and the people's War of Liberation that overthrew the reactionary Kuomintang regime. In 1943 and again in 1944 he was elected Chairman of the Political Bureau and of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. In 1945 after the Party's Seventh National Congress, he was re-elected Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

In 1949 when basic victory was achieved in the Chinese people's War of Liberation, he was elected Chairman of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, convened in Peking. He was also appointed Chairman of the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Council by the Central People's Government.



**Attack on Langyashan Mountain—an Exploit
of the Anti-Japanese War**

Woodcut by Yen Han

render ran back and forth incessantly between the KMT government and the Japanese invaders. As a result, in the period of the Anti-Japanese War, the responsibility of carrying on the War of Resistance and fighting against capitulation fell on the liberated areas.

IV

How did the people of the liberated areas uphold the war against Japan and the struggle against capitulation during the period of the War of Resistance?

The people's army and guerilla units under the leadership of the Communist Party of China conducted active and widespread armed struggle against the enemy in most of the areas where the enemy penetrated, from Inner Mongolia in the north to Hainan Island in the south. Like a sharp blade thrust into the heart of the enemy, they engaged more than half of the enemy troops (as much as 64 per cent) and almost all the puppet troops, presenting a serious menace to the Japanese aggressors. Furthermore, the people and army of the liberated areas waged their struggle against the enemy under the gravest and most bitter circumstances. After the occupation of Wuhan, in October, 1938, the Japanese invaders stopped their strategic offensive against the KMT areas and turned their aggressive forces mainly against the liberated areas, conducting the cruel "mopping-up" campaigns. They usually used 100,000 troops in each "mopping-up" campaign. Their

methods of carrying out the "mopping-up" campaign were the so-called "iron ring encirclement, catching by surprise attack, mopping-up in breadth and depth, lightning strikes over and over again, repeated combing-out." Wherever the enemy went, they put into effect the "three-all" policy (kill all, burn all and loot all). To deprive the people's army of the means of existence, they created "ghost areas," several hundred kilometres in length and scores of kilometres in width, in the border regions of the puppet state of Manchukuo and other places such as the Wutai Mountain in Shansi Province. Apart from this it carved up, blockaded and ate into our liberated areas. The 1944 statistics of the liberated areas in North China alone showed that in an area of 830,000 square kilometres with a population of over 83,000,000 the enemy built more than 10,000 strong-points, more than 30,000 block-houses, more than 10,000 kilometres of blockade trenches and more than 600 kilometres of blockade walls, in addition to the railways and highways occupied by them. As a result of relentless struggles aggravated by natural calamities, the people and army in the liberated areas were sometimes compelled to live on tree leaves and grass roots.

But all the vicious schemes of the Japanese aggressors eventually failed. Despite the pressure of the strong enemy and blockade and attack by the KMT troops, the Chinese liberated areas and the people's army stood rock-like, grew stronger and stronger, narrowed down the enemy-held areas, expanded the liberated areas, increased the people's army and the people's armed forces and gained brilliant war achievements. In 1945, the population of the liberated areas totaled 95,500,000, the people's army increased to 910,000 and the people's militia to 2,200,000. From September, 1937 to March, 1945 more than 115,000 minor and major engagements were fought. The enemy and puppet armies lost over 960,000 in killed or wounded, over 280,000 taken prisoner and over 100,000 surrendered or crossed over. The total losses of the enemy and puppet armies reached more than 1,360,000 men.

How did the liberated areas and the people's army win such victories? It was because the liberated areas and the people's army under the leadership of the Communist Party of China carried out the correct policy and the strategic guiding principles of a people's war as laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and put into practice various New Democratic policies.

In May, 1938 Comrade Mao Tse-tung published two brilliant works in succession: *Strategic Problems in the Anti-Japanese Guerilla War* and *On Protracted War*. In the former work, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, on the basis of the experience gained in the revolutionary wars in the second revolutionary war period of 1927 to 1937 (such experience had already been admirably summed up in Comrade Mao Tse-tung's *Strategic Problems of China's Revolutionary War*, published in 1936) and the new developments in the Anti-Japanese War, raised guerilla warfare in the Anti-Japanese War from the category of tactics to the category of strategy, and set down concretely

the guiding strategic principles of guerilla warfare. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

"The strategic problems in guerilla warfare arise out of the fact that China is not a small but a big country, yet unlike the Soviet Union, she is weak. While in a period of progress, this big but weak country is attacked by a small but strong country. When that happens, a whole set of problems arises.

"It was under such circumstances that the territory seized by our enemy became rather extensive and the war took on a protracted character.

"When our enemy, a small country with insufficient armed forces, seizes an extensive area in this big country of ours, he cannot but leave many sections of that area ungarrisoned. The anti-Japanese guerilla war is conducted, therefore, primarily not on interior lines to coordinate with the regulars in their campaigns, but independently on exterior lines. Furthermore, owing to China's progress, and the fact that there are a determined army and broad masses of people under the leadership of the Communist Party, the anti-Japanese guerilla war is not on a small but a large scale. Consequently, a complete series of problems such as those of the strategic defensive and strategic offensive, come to the fore.

"The protractedness and consequently the ruthlessness of the war have imposed upon guerilla warfare numerous unusual tasks, leading to such problems as that of bases, and the development towards mobile warfare.

"Because of all this, China's anti-Japanese guerilla war steps out of the bounds of tactics and demands entry into the realm of strategy, requiring an examination of its problems from the strategic point of view.

"What deserves particular attention is that such an extensive as well as protracted guerilla war is something of a novelty in man's entire military history and this state of affairs is inseparable from the fact that times have progressed to the thirties' and forties' of the 20th century. Herein lies the crux of the matter."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung reiterated on many occasions:

"Initiative, flexibility, and planning in the execution of the offensive in a defensive war, of battles of quick decision in a protracted war, and of exterior line operations within interior line operations constitute the central problem regarding the strategic principles of guerilla warfare."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung prophetically pointed out that "our enemy, if he fails to take into account guerilla warfare which is rather new, will get himself into serious trouble indeed." Subsequent developments fully bore out this brilliant forecast made by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

In the latter work, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, with the express aim of clearing up the confusion of thinking among the Chinese people, made a comprehensive analysis of the Anti-Japanese War situation from both the military and political standpoints, and clearly set forth the strategic policy of a protracted war. He pointed out the three stages of the War of Resistance: strategic defensive, strategic stalemate and strategic counter-offensive. He pointed

out that the prerequisites for victory were the great unity of the Chinese people (this is the main one), the international anti-Japanese united front, and the revolutionary movements of the Japanese people and of the oppressed nations.

He criticised both the viewpoints of national subjugation and of swift victory. He denounced the policy of compromise and the state of corruption within the KMT. The whole history of China's War of Resistance also bears out fully the correctness of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's views.

In accordance with the instructions of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the political programme of the Chinese Communist Party, the governments of the liberated areas in China carried out democratic reforms and reforms to improve the people's livelihood and general mobilisation of the whole country, created a solid national unity and laid a true basis for the people's war. Through universal suffrage, the liberated areas established everywhere local people's democratic governments under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party based on the "three-threes representation system" (in which Communists occupy one-third, progressives one-third and middle elements one-third of the seats in those governments—Translator's note) and thereby strengthened the unity between the classes.

The liberated areas universally carried out the policy of reducing rent and interest and ensuring the payment of rent and interest. This greatly enhanced the peasants' participation in the War of Resistance and in production and ensured solid co-operation between the peasants and the landlords during the war. The liberated areas universally carried out the policy of production and economy, organised mutual-aid labour among the peasants (labour exchange teams, work exchange teams, etc.). The troops also participated in production and helped the peasants in production. The liberated areas carried out the policy of picked troops and simplifying government administration in order to lighten the people's burden. They practised economy and mutual aid to offer relief during natural calamities. Thus it was possible to smash the enemy's blockade policy and conquer all grave difficulties caused by the enemy as well as by natural calamities, and successfully sustain a prolonged war. The armies and people in all the liberated areas carried out the policy of supporting the government and caring for the people and the policy of supporting the army and helping the families of the army men who were fighting Japan. This strengthened the unity between the army and the people and raised the fighting spirit of the army. The liberated areas carried out the policy of demoralising the enemy and disintegrating and winning over the puppet troops. All-out political offensives were launched which broke the enemy morale and caused large numbers of puppet troops to surrender and cross over.

But the crucial question was that of reliance upon the peasants. Without the support of the broad peasant masses, victory in the ruthless Anti-Japanese War would have been impossible. This again proves the statement of Comrade Stalin: "the national problem is essentially a peasant problem." "The more

quickly and more thoroughly the Chinese peasants are involved in revolution, the stronger and greater will the Chinese anti-imperialist united front become." This also proves the statement of Comrade Mao Tse-tung: "Armed struggle is essentially the peasants' struggle."

Militarily, in all the liberated areas throughout the country we persisted in conducting widespread guerilla warfare by co-ordination between the main forces of the army, the local guerilla units and people's armed forces (the people's militia and people's self-defence corps), and thus carried out the strategic policy of the people's war. This corresponded to what Chairman Mao Tse-tung said in *On Protracted War*: "With the people of the whole country mobilised, we will have spread out like a multitudinous sea to drown the enemy. We will have created conditions to remedy our inferiority in arms, etc., and the prerequisite to overcome every difficulty in the war." This is the starting point of the strategy and tactics adopted by the people's army in the liberated areas, thereby creating the whole system of strategy and tactics of the people's Anti-Japanese War. The people's army, in co-ordination with the local guerilla units and people's armed forces, was able to fight both interior-line and exterior-line battles, strive for the initiative of command in operations and tactics, and repeatedly smash the enemy's "mopping-up" operations and "nibbling operations," finally wiping out the enemy and emerging victorious. Thanks to its unified command, the people's army units at the various bases were able to act in co-ordination with one another and come to one another's aid. Consequently, we were able to utilise the weak spots of the enemy where it had insufficient troops and smash the enemy's encircling attack in "mopping up" any given area. Attaching great importance to creating and consolidating bases, the people's army engaged actively in carrying out propaganda among the masses, organising and arming them, for the purpose of enlarging and consolidating the bases and narrowing down the enemy-occupied areas. To smash the enemy's blockade policy, the people's army frequently sent armed work teams to penetrate deep into the enemy-occupied areas and carry out work there. Laying stress on the creation and development of local guerilla units and people's armed units, the people's army enthusiastically helped educate and train such units and provided them with the necessary cadres and arms, thus securing the co-ordination of these units and reinforcing their strength to harass and strike the enemy. At the same time, the local guerilla units and the people's armed units, steeled in the war, became the source of manpower of the people's army and ensured the growth of the people's army. In the liberated areas, land mine warfare, village warfare, disruption of the enemy's communication lines, laying siege to enemy block-houses and tunnel warfare on the plains became large-scale mass movements, making it difficult for the enemy to move and striking and threatening the enemy militarily and morally.

But, apart from this, there was another aspect of the struggle: the resolute struggle against the capitulation of the KMT and against its splitting and retrogression. This struggle was extremely neces-

sary because it would have been unimaginable or extremely disadvantageous, to say the least, to have the civil war going on while fighting against our powerful enemy—the Japanese invader, our main enemy. In order to defeat such an enemy, we must rally all anti-Japanese forces. But since the KMT headed by Chiang Kai-shek, was a temporary ally who was vacillating, unsteady and unreliable, it was therefore necessary for us to co-operate with the KMT and struggle against it at the same time. The object of the struggle was to further the co-operation and to subordinate the class struggle to the national struggle in the interests of the protracted national revolutionary war. Therefore, struggle had to take into account tactics. In the words of Mao Tse-tung, the struggle should be "justifiable, favourable and under control."

The main method of struggle consisted in giving full play to mobilising and organising the broad masses, expanding and strengthening the people's army under the leadership of the Party and thereby consolidating the anti-Japanese national united front. Further, the right to criticise the KMT was maintained so that the masses of the people would be able to realise the unreliable, reactionary and counter-revolutionary nature of the KMT authorities on the basis of their own political experience. This was a question of maintaining the leadership of the Communist Party and the independent character of the proletariat in the anti-Japanese united front. Right after the outbreak of the War of Resistance, the Communist Party of China carried on the fight against capitulation, split and retrogression on the part of the KMT. On July 7, 1939, the Communist Party of China, in order to mobilise the people, set forth clearly and timely the slogan "persist in the War of Resistance and oppose capitulation, uphold unity and oppose split, stand firm for progress and oppose retrogression," and succeeded in repulsing the three reactionary, anti-popular "anti-Communist campaigns" engineered by the KMT in the later years of the war. Thus the danger of civil war and capitulation in the course of the War of Resistance was overcome. At the same time, the reactionary nature of Chiang Kai-shek and the KMT was further laid bare owing to their reactionary activities and they became isolated politically.

The victory won on the liberated area battle fronts finally smashed the plots of the KMT reactionaries to compromise and surrender and brought about nation-wide victory in the War of Resistance.

V

Of course, the victory of the War of Resistance against Japan with which the fate of the Chinese people was bound up cannot be separated from the aid given by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was the only country in the world which upheld justice and condemned Japan as an aggressor following the Mukden Incident in 1931. In the period between 1937 and 1941, the most difficult years in China's War of Resistance, the American and British imperialists sold large quantities of strategic materials to the Japanese imperialists for slaughtering the Chinese people, and compelled the KMT government to negotiate peace with Japan in order to close a Munich deal in the East.

The Soviet Union not only extended its deepest sympathy to China's War of Resistance, but also gave the Chinese people practical assistance in every way. The volunteer air squadron formed by Soviet nationals helped China in the fight against Japan. A great number of heroic Soviet people shed their blood in our land.

Throughout the eight years of war, the Soviet Union maintained mighty armed forces on its Far Eastern frontiers, thus pinning down one million of the Japanese Kwantung Army, the so-called "cream of the Japanese Imperial Army," and greatly lightening the war burden of our country.

After defeating the German invaders in 1945 and winning decisive victory in the anti-fascist world war, the Soviet Union, to bring about the speedy liberation of China, immediately declared war against Japan. It annihilated the whole of the Japanese Kwantung Army, forced the Japanese invaders to surrender and helped China to win an early victory over Japan.

The Chinese people who have undergone many trials and tribulations in their long-drawn-out, hard struggle for national liberation, understand very well that in the era of imperialism it is impossible for the Chinese revolution to emerge victorious without aid in various forms from the socialist Soviet Union and the revolutionary forces of the world proletariat.

Stalin said:

"The October Revolution awoke the oppressed nations and labouring people in the East from their deep slumber of a hundred years and drew them into the anti-imperialist struggle."

He also said:

"Side by side there exists the Soviet Union, whose revolutionary experience and help cannot but facilitate the fight of the Chinese proletariat against imperialism and against the feudal-medieval remnants in China."

This statement is completely correct. The history of one hundred years of the Chinese revolution has proved that the Chinese revolution could develop and be victorious only after the successful October Revolution had set an example to the Chinese revolution, indicated the right path towards independence and liberation to the Chinese people and helped them to find Marxism-Leninism, a universal truth which is applicable everywhere. Precisely as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "Then and only then did the Chinese enter an entirely new era,

The Long March

Mao Tse-tung

The Red Army is undaunted by the Long March's trials.

It takes in its stride the ten thousand rivers
and a thousand hills,

The Five Mountains rising peak on peak,
the rippling streams between,

The massy, misty Wu Mong—a clod underfoot,

The River of Golden Sands lapping its warm cliffs,
The Ta Tu Bridge's iron cold chains. . .

But there is greater joy when Mien Shan's thousand li of snows
are crossed,

And the Army is wreathed in smiles.

Translated by Yao Hua

both in thought and in life." In the past 30 years and more, the Soviet Union and the world proletariat have, in different ways, given the Chinese people both spiritual and material aid, and encouraged the Chinese revolution to march forward. This aid constitutes one of the indispensable conditions for the victory of the Chinese revolution. The Chinese people will never

forget this faithful, unselfish and great internationalist friendship which has been extended to them.

At the same time, the Chinese people who have gone through eight years of ruthless struggle against Japan and emerged victorious from tremendous suffering and hardships will never forget the bloody havoc wrought by the Japanese imperialists in China and will never tolerate the revival of Japan's aggressive forces. The world imperialist camp, headed by the United States, having suffered continual setbacks in the Far East, has time and again torn to pieces the Yalta Agreement and the Potsdam Declaration to which these imperialist countries were also signatories. Now they are plotting to sign a separate peace treaty with and rear Japan in an effort to convert Japan into a military base and its people into cannon fodder in order to extend their criminal war of aggression further into Asia. But this plot of the American imperialists will inevitably meet with shameful defeat in the face of the joint opposition of the peace-loving peoples of China, Asia and all the world.

The Chinese people are great and invincible. After the victory over Japan, the Chinese people went through four years of the War of Liberation, and finally succeeded in overthrowing the rule of imperialism and its henchmen—the KMT reactionaries, and establishing a people's democratic state. Furthermore, they have made great achievements in the nearly two years of peaceful construction. The relative strengths of the world camp of peace and democracy and the world camp of imperialism have been further altered as a result of the victory of the Chinese people and of the firm alliance between China and the Soviet Union. The forces of the camp of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union have become unprecedentedly strong—strong enough to safeguard world peace and to smash any aggressive war that might be waged by the imperialists. The Chinese people are firmly convinced that any treacherous plot or intrigue on the part of the imperialists will meet with disastrous defeat at the hands of these mighty forces.

To Maintain Close Ties with the Masses Is Our Party's Glorious Tradition

Teng Hsiao-ping

Member, Central Committee, Communist Party of China

We greet the 30th anniversary of the Communist Party of China with great joy.

Since the day of its birth, our Party has been built up in the workers' movement in China and in accordance with Marxism-Leninism and the Party-building principles of the Russian Bolsheviks. Thus, even in its early days our Party possessed a high degree of discipline and fighting spirit and maintained inseparable ties with the Chinese people. As soon as it appeared on the political scene, it assumed the responsibility of leading the Chinese revolution. Stricken with grave calamities, but industrious, wise and courageous, the Chinese people had shed much blood in ceaseless heroic struggles against the rule of imperialism and feudalism; but they could not discover the right road of advance. Only our Party pointed out this road to them; only our Party set forth a correct political line for the Chinese people on the basis of the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete revolutionary practice in China.

"Theory becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses." The Chinese working class and all the labouring people have learned from their personal experience that a programme of fighting against imperialism and feudalism under the leadership of the proletariat is the only correct path to enable them to achieve liberation, and that the Communist Party is their hope. Their faith in our Party has been consistent throughout the past 30 years. The selfless and indomitable fighting spirit of the Communist Party members has served as an example for the revolutionary masses, and the Communists have become the closest comrades-in-arms of the masses. Since then, the Chinese revolution has assumed an unprecedented scale. It has such organisation and tenacity that slaughter by the reactionary ruling class could not disrupt our ranks, and a series of setbacks could not shake the confidence of Communist Party members and of the revolutionary people in the ultimate victory of the revolution. Even in the most critical years of the reign of white terror, "the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people were not frightened, not conquered and not annihilated. They stood up again, wiped off the bloodstains, buried their fallen comrades, and went on to fight." (Mao Tse-tung: *On Coalition*



Teng Hsiao-ping

Government.) The blood shed by countless Communist Party members and revolutionary people flowed together and formed unbreakable ties. Such ties of blood gave boundless vitality to the Chinese revolution and thus gained the further great victory of the Chinese revolution following that of the mighty October Socialist Revolution.

The Chinese Communists fully realise that the victory of the Chinese revolution and such intimate relations between the Party and the Chinese people are inseparable from the name of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. There is no doubt that the publication of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's *On Practice* is laying more solidly the ideological and theoretical foundation for the Chi-

nese Communist Party. It is a brilliant development of Marxism-Leninism, and the summing-up of the practical experiences of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has set an outstanding example in applying Marxism-Leninism to the actual situation in China, in applying the principles of Lenin and Stalin in building up and leading the Bolshevik Party to building up and leading the Chinese Communist Party. Time and again, he has nurtured the Communist Party and educated its members with the teachings "see things as they are"; "always proceed from realities"; "from the masses and back to the masses; crystallising (what you have learnt from the masses) and firmly putting (this new knowledge) into practice."

In his report *On Coalition Government* delivered at the Seventh Congress of the Party, Comrade Mao pointed out:

"Another outstanding mark which distinguishes us Communists from any other political party is that we maintain the closest possible ties with the broadest masses of the people. We serve the Chinese people whole-heartedly and do not stand apart from the people for a single moment. We always proceed from the interests of the people and not from the interests of our own small group or from our personal interests. We maintain unity in assuming responsibility to the people and to the leading organs. These are our points of departure. Communists must be always prepared to uphold the truth firmly, because all truths correspond with the interests of the people. Communists must always be prepared to correct their mistakes, because all mistakes are against the interests of the people. The experience of the past 24 years has taught us that all tasks, policies and working styles that were correct met the demands of the people

at a given time and place and were therefore at one with the people. All tasks, policies and working styles that were wrong contradicted the demands of the people at a given time and place and were therefore divorced from the people. The reason why such evil practices as doctrinairism, empiricism, authoritarianism, tailism, sectarianism, bureaucracy, warlordism and self-conceit in the working attitude are decidedly bad and intolerable, and that anybody who makes such mistakes must correct them, is that these mistakes estrange us from the masses."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung also pointed out in the same report:

"Armed with Marxist theory and ideology, the Chinese Communist Party has created among the Chinese people a new working style—a style which primarily consists in the integration of theory and practice, in the maintenance of the closest connections with the people and in self-criticism."

It is with such thorough-going ideas of materialism and warm love for the masses that Comrade Mao Tse-tung has led the whole Party in defeating opportunism of every description, in correcting both in the past and at present all kinds of working styles derived from the feudal, bourgeois or petty bourgeois classes, which cause estrangement from the masses, and in establishing a correct working style of the Bolshevikist type.

The Chinese Communists have realised from their own experience the greatness of these directives of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It is precisely because they have fundamentally followed such directives that they are able to do good work under the leadership of the Party's correct line. But whenever they violated such directives, they would unavoidably make mistakes, meet with broken heads in the actual struggle and cause damage to the revolution. It is the glorious tradition of our Party to keep close ties with the masses. The local organisations of our Party have in general learned the method of working "from the masses and back to the masses; crystallising (what you have learnt from the masses) and firmly putting (this new knowledge) into practice." They know how to apply the policies of the Central Committee to the actual situation in their locality. They know how to use the reaction of the masses as a yardstick in judging the correctness of the Party's policies and working methods, thereby correcting their own mistakes, brushing off the dust of bureaucracy and improving their working methods. Consequently, the policies of the Party can meet the demands of the masses, its slogans can immediately be turned into mass action, and every side of our concrete work and tasks can overcome all difficulties and obstacles and can be successfully accomplished on the basis of voluntary mass action. At every step of the movement, the Party should patiently educate the masses, raise their political consciousness and lead them forward.

The history of our Party has proved that as long as we keep in close contact with the masses and do not stand apart from them, we shall be victorious wherever we go. This can be proved not only in the workers' movement, the peasants' movement and all other movements, but also in the work of the revolutionary army where the leadership of our Party is most centralised. The people's army, personally created by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, is a model in maintaining close contact with the masses.

Regarding the relations between officers and men of the army, the principles of political, economic and military democracy are properly and suitably carried out on the basis of centralism. In consequence, this has thoroughly eliminated the warlordism of the old army, greatly developed the consciousness and creativeness of the troops, consolidated the unity between officers and men, enhanced discipline, and thus tempered our army into a force with great combat power.

In regard to the relation between the army and the people, the people's army carried out the principle of solidarity between the army and the people, the principle that the army is not only a fighting unit, but also a working unit to mobilise, organise, and protect the masses and to safeguard the interests of the masses. As a result, the army has established inseparable relations with the masses, mobilised the masses and gained their support. It is not only a powerful combat army which has defeated American imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries and won victory in the revolution, but also a powerful political force armed with the teachings of Mao Tse-tung and trained in the revolutionary spirit of the Chinese people.

The style of work of maintaining connections with the masses, and remaining unflinchingly loyal and highly responsible to the cause of the people, has naturally exerted a constant, profound influence on our inner Party life. With the Central Committee of our Party as its example, the Communist Party of China, armed with Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung, is skilful in analysing and sizing up the concrete, vital conditions of the actual revolution, in determining and reviewing the principles, policies and tactics of the Party in accordance with the consciousness and organisation of the masses, and in educating the workers, peasants and all labouring people in proletarian ideology. And, in consequence, every movement, every step of the movement, is of a broad, mass character and every step of the movement raises the political consciousness and revolutionary initiative of the masses, welds closer the connections between the Party and the people and consolidates the leadership of the proletariat and its political party.

Our Party is also skilful in examining the standpoint, viewpoint and the style of work of its organisations at all levels and of every individual Party member on the basis of the actual effects of the mass movements. In this way, the Party is able to discover and develop achievements, to find out and correct shortcomings; to seek out all kinds of opportunism and non-proletarian ideology and overcome them swiftly; to spot elements of alien classes and opportunists who have sneaked into the Party and clear them out. The lively revolutionary actions of the masses have nurtured our Party, constantly infused fresh blood into the Party, educated our Party members, raised their political consciousness and ideological levels and furthered the Bolshevisation of the Party.

The victorious Chinese people are now engaged in a series of sharp struggles to consolidate the victory of the revolution, eradicate imperialist influences and sweep away the vestiges of feudalism. These struggles find their concentrated expression in the

three great movements: the movement to resist America and aid Korea, the land reform and the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. The broadness of these movements, the swiftness of their results and their profound influence on the minds of the people are without precedent in history. These movements will certainly lay a rock-like foundation for our country, pave a broad way for its industrialisation, bring a happy life to the people and greatly strengthen the fight against imperialism and in defence of world peace. These movements have been crowned with remarkable successes because the principles laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of the Party are completely in conformity with the demands of the people, and also because our local organisations and Communist Party members have a better understanding of the teachings of Mao Tse-tung and have carried through and developed the working method of keeping close mass contacts in uniting the leadership and the masses.

The masses of people are so enthusiastic that they have accepted every task from the Party and the people's government with the highest confidence and have responded to every call in resisting America and helping Korea. They have confiscated and distributed land on their own initiative, within the bounds of the government's laws and decrees. They have on their own initiative reported and tracked down counter-revolutionaries and participated in their trials. They have shown high labour enthusiasm in industrial and agricultural production. They regard Chairman Mao Tse-tung as their saviour. They tear down the icons and put up his portrait. All these are inseparable from the faith of the people in the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They are also inseparable from the correct policies of the Party in the present movements and the correct working method of maintaining close connections with the masses.

Of course this does not mean that everything is all right or that everything is well done. On the contrary, there still exist many important shortcomings in our Party. As a whole, the Communist Party of China, fully armed with Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung, is a glorious and great Party, and the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung is brilliant and correct. But many of our local organisations often make mistakes and it is often only with the help of the Central Committee that we have been able to correct our mistakes and continue to advance. As regards the Party members, we have still greater shortcomings. We have a large number of Party members from the petty bourgeois intelligentsia and the peasantry. We have a large number of new Party members. They have revolutionary enthusiasm but do not understand revolu-



Villagers Say Farewell to Their Anti-Japanese Volunteers

Woodcut by Chi Kuei-shen

tionary theory or methods. They know little or nothing about Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung. There are even a few Party members of bad calibre who are lacking in warm feeling for the workers, peasants and other labouring masses. Their actions are not only divorced from the masses but also they have impaired the prestige of the Party. Some of our Party members even with a longer history in the Party are still lacking in theoretical training. Many comrades have rich but only fragmentary experiences of struggle. They fail to consolidate these experiences by systematic theoretical study so that sometimes they cannot avoid committing errors of doctrinairism, empiricism, authoritarianism or tailism. Sometimes they are able to link themselves with the masses and do very good work but at other times they divorce themselves from the masses and do very bad work. And also some of our comrades become conceited over victories. They think that they are rich in experience and do not study the actual conditions when dealing with a matter nor consult the masses. They merely sit aloft and issue orders. Thus they commit errors and encounter setbacks.

To overcome these shortcomings, to strengthen the theoretical study of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung, to raise the level of Party members and purify the Party organisations—these are the constant directives of the Central Committee of our Party. We have already carried on incessant work in this respect. However, because this task is even harder than overthrowing imperialism, Chiang Kai-shek and feudalism, and is more fundamental in safeguarding the progress of the revolution, it demands the most tireless efforts of the whole Party.

The further Bolshevisation of the Party in ideology and organisation and its constant preservation of the closest connections with the masses are both the guarantee of the victory of the Chinese people's cause and an inexhaustible source of vigour for the revolution.

Comrade Stalin, after quoting a vivid myth of ancient Greece, taught us at the end of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*:

"I think that the Bolsheviks remind us of the hero of Greek mythology, Antaeus. They, like Antaeus, are strong because they maintain connection with their mother, the masses, who gave birth to them, suckled them and reared them. And as long as they maintain connection with their mother, with the people, they have every chance of remaining invincible.

"That is the clue to the invincibility of Bolshevik leadership." (*Ibid.*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1948, p. 447.)

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says that our victory over the imperialist and KMT reactionary rule is but

the "accomplishment of the first step in the ten-thousand li march of the Chinese revolution." Therefore we should not become conceited over victories and we must strictly abide by the teachings of Stalin and Mao Tse-tung, uphold the glorious traditions of our Party, closely link ourselves with the masses and lead them towards still greater victories.

The radiance of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung is shining over the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people. Our Party will always advance together with the Chinese people, unceasingly defeat all conspiracies and plots of the enemy both at home and abroad, build up our country and advance onwards to socialism and Communism.

The Chinese Communist Party and the People's Democratic United Front of China

Li Wei-han

Director, United Front Work Department, Central Committee, Communist Party of China.

As a result of the great struggles it has waged in 30 years which have been filled with difficulties and hardships, the Communist Party of China has led the Chinese people to fundamental victory in the New Democratic revolution—the people's democratic revolution. In this many-sided, complex and protracted revolutionary struggle the Communist Party of China has accumulated abundant and valuable experiences. And one of the most important experiences, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, is that:

"The victory of China's New Democratic revolution cannot be won without the broadest united front which includes the overwhelming majority of the population of the whole nation. And what is more, this united front must be under the firm and strong leadership of the Communist Party of China. Without the firm and strong leadership of the Communist Party of China, no victory is possible for any revolutionary united front." (Mao Tse-tung: *The Present Situation and Our Tasks*, 1947.)

It is just because the people's democratic united front is a question of allies for the working class and is one of the basic problems of the Chinese revolution, that it has always been one of the most important constituent parts of the general line and general policy of the Communist Party of China.

Ever since its birth, the Communist Party of China has been engaged in the New Democratic revolution—the people's democratic revolution—putting forward the slogan of opposing imperialism and feudalism, and striving to form an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal united front.



Li Wei-han

As is well known, it was the Communist Party that inaugurated the national united front during the first revolutionary war and the anti-Japanese national united front during the Anti-Japanese War, both of which have become historically famous. Due to various causes, both subjective and objective—but chiefly because of the strength of the imperialist forces and of the reactionary forces in China—the people's democratic united front encountered serious difficulties and suffered reverses during its formation and development. The Chinese big bourgeoisie twice joined the united front under the pressure of circumstances, but later betrayed and withdrew from it. There were instances of serious vacillations and even splits

among the middle forces of the united front. For instance, the national bourgeoisie has gone through the process of joining, withdrawing and then re-joining the front. These many-sided and serious struggles have educated the broad masses of the people—first of all, the Communist Party and the workers and peasants. An unprecedentedly broad and consolidated foundation for the people's democratic united front was thus secured at the time when, based on the alliance of the workers and peasants, the people's great revolution and the people's War of Liberation had gradually developed to the point where decisive victory on a nation-wide scale would soon be achieved.

The convening of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September, 1949, the *Common Programme* that it formulated and the Central People's Government that it formed have

not only perfectly summed up the development of the people's great revolution and the people's democratic united front, but have also opened up infinitely bright prospects for the people's democratic China and the people's democratic united front.

In less than two years since the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China, the whole Chinese people have secured a clearer orientation and their will has been strengthened. Within the people's democratic united front itself, from the standpoint of relations between the classes, between the parties and groups and between the nationalities—that is from the standpoint of the base and strength of the people's democratic dictatorship—it has been and is continuously being developed and consolidated.

Together with the rapid rise in the political consciousness and level of organisation of the working class, model workers are constantly arising from among the workers, and the leadership of the working class in the state and in national construction is being daily strengthened.

The land reform programme, which will be completed through the coming winter or spring, is bringing emancipation and political organisation to several hundred million peasants. Thus the alliance of the workers and peasants will be extended still further and doubly consolidated—which means, in turn, that the foundation of the people's democratic united front will be further widened and consolidated.

With such a deepening of the people's revolutionary movement and the development of the study campaign, the broad masses of intellectuals are also gradually undergoing a change of character. They are passing from the influence of imperialism and feudalism to the side of the people, from the old democracy to the new democracy, from the reactionary to the progressive world outlook and methodology. The number of progressive intellectuals is increasing daily. They welcome the leadership of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung, and are willing to serve the people.

With the correct carrying out of the financial and economic policies laid down in the *Common Programme* and with the gradual reorganisation of the economy of the old society, not only is the state economy steadily consolidating its leading position but privately-owned industry and trade are also undergoing a steady, healthy and normal development. A great number of private industrialists and businessmen, including the national bourgeoisie, have already willingly joined the people's democratic united front and are fast developing an active spirit in political and economic life.

After the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, the Central People's Government, in accordance with the *Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference*, decreed the abolition of national oppression and carried out a policy of national equality. After just over a year's work, the emancipated fraternal nationalities in our country have become united within the great family of the Motherland. All barriers

between the nationalities, jealousy, suspicion, discrimination and distrust, evil legacies of the past, are gradually disappearing or diminishing. National regional autonomy is being introduced in areas where national minorities are concentrated. In these areas the domestic affairs of the various nationalities are being administered by themselves under the leadership of the Central People's Government and the people's government of the higher levels, in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the people of the respective nationalities and in forms of their choosing. In areas inhabited by several nationalities, a system of democratic coalition government of the nationalities is being introduced whereby participation in the people's government is based on proportional representation. The Central People's Government and local people's governments extend all possible help to the national minorities to develop their economic, cultural and educational affairs, and also train a large number of cadres from among all nationalities with a view to eliminating, step by step, the actual inequalities between the various nationalities which have resulted from historical conditions over a long period.

The various nationalities have to carry through a national-democratic revolution. When political equality has been established, the various national minorities will gradually introduce democratic reforms in their own regions, in accordance with their respective requirements and on their own initiative. When the content of the New Democracy is united with suitable national forms, the future holds great and bright prospects for the development of the national minorities.

The present upsurge of the great patriotic movement gives a most concentrated expression to the unprecedentedly wide and vigorous development of the people's democratic united front. This movement now reaches out to include everyone in every corner of the land, uniting the majority of all sections of the community and all professions under the banner of patriotism against imperialist aggression. People of all religious beliefs, people living on the remote frontiers, and all who hitherto never even concerned themselves with political affairs, are steadily rallying under this banner. The profound content of this great patriotic movement is expressed by the Peking's *People's Daily* in its editorial dated January 1, 1951:

“For the Chinese people today, patriotism is not something abstract. It means opposing imperialist aggression and feudal oppression; it means safeguarding the fruits of the people's democratic revolution of China; it means supporting New Democracy; it means standing for progress and opposing backwardness; it means supporting the labouring people; it means supporting the internationalist alliance of the labouring peoples of China, the U.S.S.R., the People's Democracies and the whole world; it means striving for the socialist future.”

As a result of the educative impulse of the three great movements—to resist America and aid Korea, to suppress counter-revolutionaries and to carry through the land reform—the great revolutionary unity of the Chinese people has shown itself to be unprecedentedly consolidated and powerful. The

various democratic parties and groups, people's organisations and democratic personalities of all circles are all doing their glorious best in advancing the three great movements and the great revolutionary unity.

The various democratic parties and groups and democratic personalities who take part in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference all have, in different degrees, a splendid fighting history behind them. Since the convocation of the People's Political Consultative Conference they have exerted their efforts in various fields on the basis of the *Common Programme*. There can be no doubt that they will continue to shoulder this glorious and historic task. In order to meet the needs of this historic task, the various democratic parties and groups accepted the suggestion of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and decided to continue to expand their organisations, aiming at the middle and lower sections of the strata and classes most closely related to them as their principal source of recruitment. There cannot be the slightest doubt that this is entirely correct. The various parties and groups are thus enabled to acquire organisationally a necessary and definite mass character so that they can play a more active part in the people's democratic united front. The general policy of the Chinese Communist Party in relation to the various democratic parties and groups and democratic personalities is to assist them to unite, progress and develop. It also aims at bringing about the most sincere co-operation in the people's revolutionary movement and in the national construction programme so that all can successfully play their role. Meanwhile, this general policy of the Chinese Communist Party has consolidated the unity and co-operation among the democratic parties and groups and democratic personalities.

The revolutionary experience of the Chinese people during the last hundred odd years and especially during the New Democratic revolution—the people's democratic revolution of the past 30 years—has fully proved that had it not been for the firm leadership of the working class and its vanguard—the Communist Party of China—there could have been no victory for the revolution.

In the history of the revolutionary movement in modern China, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie on occasions assumed political leadership of the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution. But as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has so brilliantly and incisively pointed out in summarising the causes of the failure of Sun Yat-sen in his 40 years of revolutionary work:

"In the era of imperialism, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie are not capable of leading any genuine revolution to victory." (Mao Tse-tung: *On People's Democratic Dictatorship*, p. 25.)

The reason why the national bourgeoisie in China is not capable of leading the revolution is "because the social and economic status of the national bourgeoisie has determined its weak character, its lack of foresight and of sufficient courage. In addition, quite a few members of this class fear the masses." (*Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.) Therefore, "the role of initiator and guide of the Chinese revolution, the role of the leader of the Chinese peasantry, must inevitably pass into the hands of the Chinese proletariat and its party." (Stalin: *On the Future of China's Revolution*, Collected works, Volume VIII, p. 359, Russian Edition.)

The Communist Party of China—the party of the working class—is great, glorious and correct. It has been generally acknowledged by the people of the various nationalities and by the various democratic parties as their political leader. That the Chinese Communist Party can attain to such glorious achievements must first of all be attributed to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people. On the basis of integrating the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has created and is leading the Chinese Communist Party, the people's democratic united front of China, and the People's Liberation Army, which developed out of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. The People's Liberation Army is the pillar of the people's democratic united front and the people's democratic dictatorship. Without the People's Liberation Army, it is impossible to envisage the victory of the people's democratic united front and of the people's democratic revolution.

The people's democratic united front of China has undergone serious tests in different historic periods. Every major change in history has gone to



Miao Peasants Deliver Their "Public Grain" Tax to Their People's Government

Woodcut by Mai Kan

verify the scientific foresight of Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the revolution as well as in the united front. Comrade Mao Tse-tung considers the people's democratic united front as one of the three indispensable weapons of the people's democratic revolution of China, and as part of the general line and general policy of the Party. He has also clearly pointed out that the victory of China's New Democratic revolution cannot be won without the broadest possible united front which includes the overwhelming majority of the entire population of the country. Hence, Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the latter period of the second revolutionary war (1931—1934) waged a resolute struggle against the adventurism then existing in the leading bodies of our Party, for the adventurists, who wanted to overthrow everything and did not want a united front, had caused serious setbacks to the revolution. At the same time, according to the teachings of Mao Tse-tung, this broadest united front, including the overwhelming majority of the entire population, can secure victory



A Village Election

Drawing by Li Chun

only when it is based on the alliance of the workers and peasants, under the leadership of the working class and firmly led by the Chinese Communist Party. It was for this reason that Comrade Mao Tse-tung waged a resolute struggle against the Chen Tu-shiists in the latter period of the first revolutionary war (1927) and the capitulationists in the early period (1937—1938) of the Anti-Japanese War. The common characteristic of these people is that they do not rely on the alliance of the workers and peasants and that they give up the responsibility of the leadership of the working class.

In the period of the Anti-Japanese War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the policy of "developing the progressive elements, winning over the middle elements, and isolating the diehard elements." He also developed the principle of "unite and at the same time struggle; struggle in order to unite" in the united front. Not long ago, Comrade Mao Tse-tung again explicitly pointed out that "in order to achieve the purpose of the consolidation of the united front, the method of criticism and self-criticism must be employed." We should be adept at com-

prehending and employing these brilliant weapons proposed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The people's democratic united front of China has been widened to such an extent that, with the exception of the reactionary forces, it will soon embrace the entire people. In its continuous effort to strengthen the leadership of the working class and expand and consolidate the basis of the alliance of the workers and peasants, the Chinese Communist Party will use every means to win over and unite all the middle classes as well as forces which include the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic elements. The strata and elements that are the most likely to be neglected in the united front are exactly those strata and elements which are relatively backward, but since they are also part of the Chinese people they cannot be neglected. We Communists must learn to work among the backward strata and elements. In dealing with them, we must take a positive attitude and be adept at educating them and at leading them forward.

So rich has the content of China's people's democratic united front become that it is related to every aspect of work in our country and the activities of all the democratic parties and groups and people's organisations. That is why it is not only the people's governments at various levels and the democratic parties and groups, but also the people's organisations which must pay attention to the policy and carry out the work of the united front.

To the Communists who cherish the great ideal of Communism, the crowning victory already achieved by the people's democratic revolution and the people's democratic united front of China marks but a new starting point, the "first step in a ten thousand li march." In his preface to the *Communist Manifesto* (in the German edition of 1883) Engels pointed out that the basic idea underlying the *Manifesto* is that the working class can attain their own liberation only when they liberate the whole of mankind at the same time.

In order to achieve the purpose of thoroughly liberating themselves, the Chinese working class must, in the first place, ceaselessly remould and elevate their own class so that they will be able to liberate and remould the other democratic classes, primarily the peasant class. The Chinese working class has led the peasants in carrying out land reform and abolishing the feudal land system. But this signifies only the first step in the liberation of the peasants. Only when the industrialisation of the nation has been achieved and the peasants have been helped to transform their individual economy step by step into a collective economy, i. e., after the socialist reconstruction of industry and agriculture, can the peasants achieve their complete liberation.

After the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie have been liberated from the oppression and exploitation of, or restrictions imposed by, imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism the necessary education and remoulding should be extended to them in a democratic way

and for a long period of time. Particularly with regard to the national bourgeoisie, Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out:

"... In the present stage a great deal of suitable educational work can be carried on among many of them. When the time comes to realise socialism, that is, to nationalise private enterprise, we will go a step further in our work of educating and reforming them." (Mao Tse-tung: *On People's Democratic Dictatorship*, p. 18.)

With the leadership of their vanguard—the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung—the Chinese working class will assuredly be able to shoulder the gigantic task of liberating the entire people and to treat the other democratic classes in the noble spirit of this task.

At the first plenary session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Comrade Liu Shao-chi stated:

"The process of adopting socialism in China must be based on the actual needs of the social and economic developments in China and the demand of the great majority of the people of the nation. When that time comes, the Chinese Communist Party must also consult with all other democratic parties and groups, people's organisations, national minorities and other patriotic, democratic personalities, and make decisions jointly. The Chinese Communist Party also wishes to advance to socialism in the future hand in hand with all those who wish to advance to socialism."

The victory of the great people's revolution, the consolidation and development of the people's democratic united front will influence not only the destiny of all nationalities within China but also the historic destiny of all other peoples both in the East and West. The Chinese people's victory has further

changed the balance of force between the two great camps of the world—the imperialist camp of aggression and the camp of peace and democracy. It has strengthened the will to struggle and the confidence in victory of the labouring people all over the world and the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries.

The alliance of the victorious Chinese people and the Soviet people provides the most powerful guarantee of world peace. The Chinese people love peace deeply. They eagerly desire to carry out the great work of national construction under peaceful conditions. Yet they realise that peace does not wait on them; it must be won.

The struggle to resist America and aid Korea in which the Chinese people are now engaged is a struggle to defend their victory and preserve their Motherland from aggression. It is also a struggle of the most effective kind to defend world peace and democracy. Under the banner of patriotism and struggle against aggression, the liberated Chinese people have formed an anti-imperialist united front of all the people. "This united front is so consolidated that it has the staunch will-power and inexhaustible capacity to vanquish all enemies and overcome all difficulties." (Mao Tse-tung: *Speech at the Inaugural Meeting of the Preparatory Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference*.) If imperialism does not cease its aggressive plots, it will certainly hasten its own destruction and be smashed to smithereens by the united Chinese people. Under the banner of great Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people will advance from victory to greater victory.

Unite under the banner of Mao Tse-tung and advance together!

THE VICTORY OF MARXISM-LENINISM IN CHINA

(Continued from page 8)

years ago, nearly 90 per cent of our Party membership was of peasant origin, now the present situation is that already less than 80 per cent of our Party members are of peasant origin. If, at a time when the leading centre of the Chinese revolution was in the countryside and when nearly 90 per cent of our Party members were of peasant origin, we could still preserve our integrity as the fighting "vanguard and organised detachment of the working class" by relying on the great leadership of the Central Committee headed by Mao Tse-tung, on the core of leadership of the Party and the theoretical weapon of Marxism-Leninism, then why should it not be possible for us to "preserve our integrity as the vanguard and organised detachment of the working class" at present and in the future—under the conditions that the proportion of workers among our membership is greatly increasing, our core of leadership is greatly strengthened, the Marxist-Leninist theoretical level within the Party is further enhanced and we are keeping a closer and more direct contact with the working class of the world, the fraternal parties of the various countries, and,

in particular, with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union? It is therefore patently clear that such doubts are entirely groundless and quite uncalled for.

Now the whole world has witnessed the victory of the Chinese revolution. By relying firmly on the theoretical weapon of Marxism-Leninism, the leader of this revolution—the Chinese Communist Party—has grown and become powerful through its splendid and determined struggle against the enemy and its resolute fight against inner-Party deviations. It has preserved its integrity and its hegemony of the Chinese people's revolution.

Let the imperialist bandits, the remnants of feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and their hirelings continue to yelp that "Marxism-Leninism is inapplicable to conditions in China"! Let them console themselves with that in their hopeless grief and despair! The Chinese people have employed the theoretical weapon of Marxism-Leninism to guide themselves to victory over their powerful enemies both at home and abroad. They have proved by the revolutionary practice of China that Marxism-Leninism is "a universal truth which is applicable anywhere"; that it is an omnipotent, revolutionary, scientific weapon; and that it is the banner of the victory of the Chinese people.

A WORKER AND PEASANT

Dear Chairman Mao,

The 30th birthday of the Communist Party of China will be here soon. Everyone of us is looking forward eagerly to the day. I am an old repairman at the Peking Tram Repair Factory, operated by the people's government of Peking. You know, of course, that during most of my life, I was down-trodden and exploited. It couldn't be any other way in the old society. But now! Ah! Since the Communist Party and Chairman Mao have come, my life has changed completely.

These past two eventful years have taught me much. The time was 1949. By voluntarily increasing our working hours, we workers readied scores of tramcars to welcome the first May Day after liberation. Some rotten reactionary elements set fire to all our "master-pieces" ruining them completely. I was foolish then and thought, "Ah, now that our rice-bowl is broken, everything's finished. Guess I'd better hunt up another job!"

But suddenly out of the blue the people's government quickly made a big loan to the factory and sent in an order to build more cars and more attractive ones at that. My mind went back to an incident which showed how the old reactionary government treated our Tram Company. Those were the days when only a few cars were in decent running condition—cars that should have been repaired lay exposed in the depot to weather rain and wind. The "mayor" of Peking ordered the few working trams to carry the city's rubbish while he pocketed the "sanitation dues" levied on and collected from Peking's citizens. What a contrast with the way our people's government runs the people's enterprises! It's like comparing hell with paradise!

There's another matter, too. Nowadays prices never jump upwards the way they used to. Production in our factory is soaring. Our living standards have been greatly raised. My elder son and I together earn more than 800 catties of millet a month. There's a glow on our cheeks now! Besides the items we buy for daily use, the food we eat, the clothes we wear, we can even put aside a little for future use.

One night after my shift had just gone off when I stayed on to put the finishing touches on a tram, Director Wang came in and said to me in a friendly way, "Lao Sun! What's the rush? Don't overwork!"

Seeing that I wasn't in a hurry, he sat down and had a talk with me, asking me a lot of questions about how I was getting along, about conditions in the factory and what I thought about them, and about life at home. That evening when I was in bed, I just couldn't close my eyes and sleep. Ever since my first day as an apprentice when I was 15, this was the first time I'd ever met a Director who was concerned over the workers. I remember when I was first taken to a master to be trained as an apprentice, he told me to have a deed drawn up which said that no matter what happened, no matter how hard the conditions, the apprentice had no redress. And the conditions were truly foul. The master's whip and curse were in daily use. But my hard times were by no means over when I finished my apprenticeship. Oh, no! I worked as a repairman in this very factory in the day time and as a rickshaw puller on the streets at night. Still, the money I earned wasn't enough to pay for even enough grain to keep our bellies full.



Had it not been for the Communist Party and you, Chairman Mao, could my sufferings have come to an end?

One evening in February of this year, my eldest son rushed home and cried happily, "The government has passed the 'Labour Insurance Regulations' and the factory has decided that the old staff members and workers are to enjoy old-age pensions!" And that was not all! I was asked to attend a "Respect for the Older Workers party."

Now, do you know what happened! The next day they pinned a red flower of honour on my jacket amidst thunderous applause. From now on I get a pension of 20 per cent in addition to my regular pay each month. And mind you, that's while I'm still employed and able to work. Yes, it's some change for me! In the old days when you got old, you were simply kicked out of the factory. But now, old age has crowned me with honour.

We, members of the working class, have grown and are continuing to grow. Over the past 30 years the Communist Party has fought so faithfully for us working people, and we know it and will never forget it.

Today we workers are putting every ounce of our strength into increasing production to safeguard the fruits of our victorious revolution and to protect our glorious Motherland.

Peking. June 23, 1951.

Lao Sun

WRITE TO CHAIRMAN MAO

Dear Chairman Mao,

Yesterday on my way home from work in the field, I began thinking that soon it would be July 1. The thought of this great day, the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, brought back to me all at once memories of those miserable days of the past under the KMT regime. Then I thought of our happy life since liberation under the leadership of the Communist Party. I understand very well that the happy life we enjoy today has been possible only because of the Party's leadership and your guidance.

In 1931, my family of five rented six *mou* of land from Sung Lo-yin and owed landlords Yang Lo-tung and Chang Lo-shu of the Peichung Village a debt of 300 dollars. As we didn't have the money to pay the interest on the debt, my nephew was forced to become a hired hand for landlord Chang Lo-shu. I myself also became a hired hand at another landlord's place. The 50 dollars which I earned each year with the greatest toil and sweat was hardly enough to pay the interest on the debt. My family was hungry. Later I left the landlord and together with my brother found other work to do during the slack seasons in spring and winter. Then during busy farming seasons I worked as a short-term farmhand, always still trying to pay the interest on my debt to the landlord. The six *mou* of rented land I tilled every day during my rest time. Still the family was half-starving, living mainly on herbs and husks.

In those days the village was run by the landlords. They could do just as they liked. They would rent out barren land to tenants and when the land became fertile through hard and diligent cultivation on the part of the tenants, they would take the land back. For the whole of those 30 years, my life was one of endless suffering.

It was only when the Anti-Japanese War began, and the Communist Party established an anti-Japanese democratic base here, that life began to look up a bit. I joined the Communist Party in 1941, and two years later was elected chairman of the Peasants' Association. With the guidance of the Party and the people's government, we carried out the rent and interest reduction campaign, increased wages and carried out a reasonable distribution of taxes as decreed by the people's government. The feudal exploitation of the landlord class was thus greatly weakened. I was able to purchase 10 *mou* of land. Later in 1947, I was given eight *mou* of land in the land reform and a piece of land on which to build a house.

During these past few years, thanks to the guidance and help from the Party and the people's government, and also due to my own active work in increasing production, I have been able to buy a mule and two more *mou* of land. I also own a part share in a water-wheel. This year I built two new rooms. Life is getting better and better. The year before last I was elected a labour hero. Last year I attended the first national conference of labour heroes in Peking. Efforts to increase production are encouraged. When I think of the past, I can't help comparing it with today. Life is blossoming! We are prospering!

To whom do we owe these good times and promise of an even happier tomorrow? To you and to the Communist Party which has guided and educated us!

The Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and Against American Aggression is calling for contributions to buy aeroplanes and guns to support the Chinese people's volunteers, to help them drive the U.S. aggressive armies out of Korea sooner and to defend our country. I responded heartily to this call and contributed 210 catties of millet towards buying planes and guns. And I will continue to contribute, to donate half of the profits from my increased production until the war in Korea comes to a victorious end.

To salute the Party on its birthday, to encourage more contributions, I have now revised my plan to increase output. With regard to fertilisers, I shall add 680 catties of cotton-seed fertiliser to my eight and a half *mou* planted to cotton which have already been fertilised with 130 catties of night soil and 77 car-loads of animal dung used as fertilisers. The two *mou* planted to yams have already received 20 cart-loads of fertiliser, but are going to receive six more. The two *mou* of maize will have an additional 12 cart-loads of fertiliser put on. The cotton field shall be hoed nine times; the yams, eight times; and the other crops, four times. Before sowing, the seeds will be properly treated. I will have an adequate supply of insecticides for ready use. For all crops there will be seed selection in the fields.

Once the above points of the plan are fully realised, the cotton yield will be 350 catties per *mou*; the yam, 4,000 catties; and the other crops, 200 catties each.

To greet the Party's birthday I am determined to increase production, thus strengthening our country's construction work.

Manchen County, Hopei Province
June 13, 1951

Sung Lo-hsueh (Labour Hero)

Episodes from the Long March

Agnes Smedley

On October 16, 1934, the Central Red Army of more than 100,000 men began their historic Long March from the original Kiangsi Soviet area to North Shensi to build the new revolutionary base against the Japanese invaders. In a single year they marched 25,000 li—8,000 miles—across 11 provinces, routing over 411 KMT regiments on the way.

The 25,000-li Long March, a feat unprecedented in military history, was an astounding demonstration of the indomitable courage of the Chinese people led by the Chinese Communist Party. It was one of the decisive military actions in the history of the Chinese revolution, founding the base from which the people were mobilised to fight the Anti-Japanese War and finally win the nation-wide victory against the KMT clique and its imperialist backers.

In the following episode, the crossing of Laoshan in Kiangsi Province is described by a veteran of the Long March. It is retold by the late Agnes Smedley and taken from her posthumous papers, now in the possession of the All-China Association of Writers and Artists.

When there was no moon, and if the enemy was not near, we always used torches on the march. In the afternoon, after everyone had slept, we prepared for another night of marching. Around our encampments we could usually find dry bamboo which could be used as torches. Our technique in making them improved each day. Some of our men would cut sections of big bamboo, knock out the segments except for the bottom one, then fill the hollow with kerosene or oil. This kind of torch lasted a long time. Some men used pine branches, which are rich in resin, but such torches burn more quickly than bamboo and were more difficult to find. The best method was to use three sticks of slender bamboo, tie them together segment by segment, and then split the ends into a spray. Such torches burned slowly, gave a good light, and the wind did not blow them out.

Marching with torches at night is a magnificent spectacle. When we walked along a valley we could look up the forested mountain and see miles of flaming torches coiling upward, appearing and disappearing and flickering through the night. They looked like a long twisting snake of fire passing through mountain caves. Over the entire line of our ranks of march there was a rosy glow.

When we ourselves reached the mountain top we could look down on our advance troops far below, the column of marchers moving downward, across valleys and up other mountains like a fire dragon with its golden scales gleaming and dancing in long serpentine coils. We could see tens of thousands of lights always moving forward, wave after wave, column after column.

But night marching was sometimes a bitter experience. When the narrow mountain paths were difficult, we would often take one step forward and stop for ten while the advance troops tried to find the way. This was very tedious and irritating. Sometimes we could cover only a few li. We could not move forward as we wanted to do nor could we sit down to rest. Walking a few steps and then stopping for a few minutes was much more fatiguing than steady marching. When we stopped and waited, some of our men fell asleep as they stood. Another bitter experience was to march at night through a

storm, with the rain pouring and a strong wind whipping our bodies.

We became accustomed to night marching and improved our methods. To enable the man behind to see us we would fasten a white cloth or our face towel on our packs and, with the additional aid of sticks, we could march well.

When we were very near enemy positions or passing through enemy blockade lines we made no noise and showed no lights. All talk, smoking, or the use of torches was forbidden. But when the enemy lines were at a distance and when there was moonlight and a gentle wind, and when the path or road was wide enough to enable us to march abreast, it was a joy to march at night. Sometimes whole companies would strike up a song. Their voices reached the clouds, and when they finished another company would follow. The eastern skies would become light before we knew it.

To make marching less tedious a group of men in the Central Political Bureau formed what they called a "Boasters Corporation," while a number of other men established a "Walking Experts Society." The "Walking Experts" made up tall tales about their past exploits in marching, while some talked about marching from ancient times down to the present—long distance and short distance walking, marching up and marching down. The "Boasters," to which I belonged, blew themselves up so big that others called us the "Cow Bladder Society." In this way we forgot our fatigue and stopped wishing we had horses to ride.

Later, in the Great Snow Mountains when we had nothing but corn to eat and often little of that, we also formed new groups such as the "Eaters Society," regaling one another with tales of the fine dinners we had in the great cities. We spread it on thick.

We offered one another great delicacies, telling how we had cooked them and how long it took, and our comrades would delicately take a grain of corn from our hand, eat it slowly and critically and complain of the seasoning.

Dressed in dirty, ragged uniforms and as thin as ghosts, we would look out on the wild sea of mountains of eternal snow and offer one another a

dish of ice-cream, laughing hollowly at our hollow jokes. But it helped keep up our spirits.

Climbing Old Mountain

Laoshan (Old Mountain), rising before us, was 30 li from base to summit.

Climbing slowly, we passed a hut of one of the Tao tribes, but when the men saw our troops approaching they fled and only the mother of the family remained behind. A comrade and I went in and began talking with her. She listened in silence for a long time, before saying she understood everything we had said. She began telling us of the hard life and sufferings of her family. She hated the Kwangsi militarists particularly, saying that her family used to own a little piece of land in a valley but had been driven into the mountains by the Kwangsi militarists. After we told her our ideas, she began to cry, saying: "If your Red Army had only come sooner we would not have had to suffer so much."

She then began to cook a little rice, talking all the while of her hardships. "I have very little rice and no big kettle," she said, "otherwise I would cook for your whole army."

After the rice was cooked, she placed it before us and insisted that we eat. We finally ate, but placed money on the table in payment. She protested, refusing the money, but we told her she must take it. She still refused and we could not move her. I went out and found a comrade who carried a bag of rice over his shoulder, and this we presented to her, and she took it with endless thanks, tears flowing down her cheeks.

Our Army still slowly made its way forward. Sitting before the hut I noticed a small bamboo grove behind it. It was already late in the afternoon and I knew that our troops would cut down bamboo for torches; we had already received word that we would march through the night. The old woman told us that there was a bamboo forest not far ahead and that her family needed this grove. I therefore put up a notice forbidding anyone to cut down her bamboo, adding that a forest lay a short distance ahead where we could find all we needed.

When night fell we came to the bamboo forest and made torches. As we climbed upward through the darkness I heard voices:

"Climb up!... Hurry up! Don't fall behind like a turtle!... Ai-yoh, we are climbing so high that my head is scraping the sky!"

The path was so steep that I could look right at the soles of the man ahead of me. Time and again the whole column stopped and waited, and

after a time it stopped entirely. News came down the line that our advance column was facing a sheer cliff and there was no way to get the horses up. After a long time the order came back that we would have to sleep where we were and continue climbing at daybreak.

To sleep here! How was that possible! The path we were on was covered with sharp stones and no more than two feet wide at any point. If one even succeeded in lying down he could not turn over in his sleep without rolling down the mountain side!

I folded my blanket, lay it beneath me and tried to curl up across the path. I was so tired that I actually fell asleep! Sometime during the night the cold awoke me. I was shaking all over and the cold had penetrated my very bones. I rolled the blanket around myself and tried to roll into a little round ball, but I still could not sleep. I lay and watched the gleaming stars in the sky—they looked like jade stones on a black curtain.

Up and down the path were small fires lit by men awakened by the cold. They were sitting around the fires and talking in low voices.

Somehow I fell asleep again.

Next morning we continued toiling up the mountain. It was so difficult and discouraging that our Political Department sent men up and down the line to deliver speeches, shout slogans and start singing.

My group finally reached the sheer cliff that had stopped us the night before. This cliff was called Leikungyai—Thunder God Rock. It was a solid block of stone jutting into the sky at about a 90 degree angle. Stone steps no more than a foot wide had been carved up the face of this cliff and up this we had to climb without anything to hold onto except the face of the stone itself.

When all my unit had passed, I followed, and at the top looked back. About us was a sea of mountains, all of them dwarfs compared to the one we were on. Suddenly I heard machine guns sputtering far below in our rear. Apparently our rear guard was fighting at the place we left yesterday. Also, from far away I heard the sigh of aeroplanes, as if they too were lamenting their inability to go to the front to fight the Japanese instead of fighting their own countrymen.

It was two in the afternoon when my unit reached the summit. I felt we should erect a monument here stating that on a certain day in a certain month and year the Red Army crossed Thunder God Rock.

On the way down the mountain I saw many beautiful sights and thought this would be a wonder place for a summer resort of the workers. There were fine forests, and clear springs welled out of the mountain side and tumbled down in silver streams.

Old Mountain was the first difficult mountain we climbed on the Long March. But after crossing the River of Golden Sands, the Ta Tu River, the Great Snow Mountains and the Grass Lands on the Tibetan Borderland, the difficulty of crossing Old Mountain seemed very small indeed.



Book Review

On Inner-Party Struggle

D. F. Springhall

In 30 years the Communist Party of China has accumulated rich experience, full of valuable lessons. Particularly is this so in the field of criticism and self-criticism and inner-Party struggle which has been a ceaseless factor in the life of the Party from the very first days after its birth in 1921. In the struggle to eliminate harmful, anti-proletarian ideas and practices from the Party ranks, errors were made in the early days of the Party.

Both the harmful tendencies and the errors in combating them arose out of the special conditions in China when the Party was born. This book, which is a very valuable addition to Marxist theoretical writings and to the growing literature on the history of the Chinese revolution and the evolution of the Chinese Communist Party, now appears for the first time in a foreign language. It explains the character of the inner-Party struggle whose aim was the preservation and consolidation of unity in the Party on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Without these stubborn struggles, in which a whole series of petty bourgeois ideas were overcome and eliminated, the Party could not have fulfilled its tasks as the leader of the Chinese working class and the nation in carrying through the New Democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism.

Profiting from the experiences of the long years of struggle against opportunism waged by the Bolsheviks, the Communist Parties which were formed in the years following the imperialist World War I had learnt from Lenin that it was also absolutely indispensable to wage an irreconcilable struggle against all anti-proletarian ideas if they were to succeed in building themselves up as parties which were consolidated ideologically, politically and organisationally upon the firm foundations of Marxist theory.

This represented one of Lenin's greatest contributions to the cause of the international labour movement. His book "*Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder*" was devoted to explaining how Bolshevism grew up, took shape and became steered in long years of struggle against opportunism of every kind. It was and remains a treasure house of knowledge and guidance for all Communists.

The Chinese Communists eagerly studied and endeavoured to apply the lessons of this book. But not all Party members mastered its teachings in the formative years of the Party. Comrade Liu Shao-chi analyses the reasons for this and shows that, although the members were very familiar with Lenin's teachings on the organisational principles of

a Party of a new type, and could even recite them from memory, in practice they applied them in a sectarian and rigid manner that was productive of great harm. Particularly, the teachings on the imperative necessity of carrying on inner-Party struggle were misunderstood. Some members made a fetish of inner-Party struggle, carried it to extreme lengths, and falsified its real content and meaning.

Why and how this occurred is discussed by the author, who gives many examples of wrong application. His book consists of a series of lectures delivered at a Party school in 1941.

A Party Text-book

The series was one of the important steps taken by the Party leadership to bring about a true understanding of the real meaning and significance of inner-Party struggle and of how it should be carried on correctly. In the same year, on the initiative of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, a campaign was carried on throughout the Party to raise the ideological and political level of each individual member and to correct a number of serious errors which were then current in the Party. *On Inner-Party Struggle* was used as one of the textbooks in the Party in the course of this campaign.

In imperialist and capitalist countries the principal source of the deviations from the theories and principles of Marxism-Leninism which the Communist Parties had to combat originated in the period of the "peaceful" development of capitalism. This left illusions of attaining socialism through parliamentary means and a whole range of other harmful Social Democratic theories. At the same time, the growth of an aristocracy of labour further fed and strengthened opportunist ideology.

None of these factors applied in China and their absence formed a favourable ground for the building up of a revolutionary Party of the Chinese proletariat. Lenin's teachings on the absolute need for the Communist Party to be based on the organisational principles of democratic centralism and strict discipline, on criticism and self-criticism and ideological struggle and the avoidance of factions were readily accepted.

But there were also unfavourable factors which were associated with the special conditions of China as a colonial and semi-colonial country. The working class being small, young and inexperienced and the peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie numerically greater, it was natural that a relatively large number of Party members should be of peasant and urban petty bourgeois origin. Such elements provided the social basis for Right and "left" opportunism in the Party. The newly formed Party

plunged immediately into the practical revolutionary fight in the extremely acute and swift moving political situation in China in the early 1920's. There was thus little opportunity for adequate theoretical study and it became possible for the more "educated" petty bourgeois elements of the Party to put forward opportunist views under the cloak of Marxism and to take advantage of the ideological and political backwardness of many Party members. At certain stages serious Right and "left" errors gained the upper hand even in the leadership of the Party and did great damage to the Party's prestige before they were fought and routed by the genuine Marxists led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Before this, however, the difficult inner-Party situation had been exacerbated because many Party members of low political level, who were not able to detect divergences in matters of principle, nevertheless had taken Lenin's teaching on the imperative need for carrying on inner-Party struggle very literally and made a fetish of it. Their methods of conducting inner-Party struggle were distorted and were in fact "leftist" deviations in themselves. Certain leading comrades, also, were themselves guilty of errors, and for personal opportunist reasons adopted methods to suppress self-criticism.

Inner-Party struggle, therefore, had many distinctive and peculiar features in the Chinese Party. The author classifies three kinds of deviations which showed themselves in the inner-Party struggle. In essence they were virtually identical, differing only in their outward expression.

First is the tendency on the part of some members to hide their mistakes instead of honestly admitting them and examining their cause with a view to avoiding them in future, and also of being party to covering up the mistakes of other comrades on a reciprocal basis. This he characterises as liberalism and conciliationism.

Second is mechanical and excessive inner-Party struggle, by which it is meant that comrades felt their duty to be to carry on a struggle inside the Party at all costs and thus direct their energies not to bringing to light and analysing various incorrect tendencies and principles but to attacking comrades who had made errors and penalising them, without any attempt to get at the root of the question at issue, and, on the basis of an appropriate examination of all the facts, elaborating methods of remedying the faults. This negated inner-Party democracy; liquidated self-criticism and spread antagonism and dissension in the Party organisations. This mistaken attitude to inner-Party struggle even reached the point where regular so-called "struggle meetings" were organised. Such comrades completely failed to understand that inner-Party struggle is expressly for the purpose of bringing about ideological unity; that it is an educational process; that only if ideological unity is achieved can Party unity be maintained and that problems must be solved ideologically and in principle before they can be solved organisationally.

The third deviation is that of unprincipled struggle within the Party, in which comrades engage for personal or clique interests and not from the standpoint of the general interests of the Party.

Comrade Liu Shao-chi deals extensively with the latter two deviations and quotes many examples showing how this completely wrong approach did great harm to the Party.

Particular attention is drawn to the fact that the enemy deliberately smuggled Trotskyite traitors and counter-revolutionary elements into the Party in order to take advantage of incorrectly conducted inner-Party struggles.

Nevertheless, despite all mistakes, the conclusion is drawn that the inner-Party struggle had positive results in raising the theoretical level of the Party and also that this and self-criticism developed into a force which advanced the Party.

How to Profit from Errors

Comrade Liu Shao-chi therefore devotes the concluding part of his lecture to the question of how to profit from past errors by setting right the various deviations and mistakes in previous inner-Party struggles and ensuring that future inner-Party struggles should be properly and effectively conducted in order to make further achievements for the Party.

The readers will undoubtedly find this the most valuable part of the book. The author first stresses that inner-Party struggle is a matter of the greatest seriousness and responsibility, that it must be conducted with the most responsible attitude and never carelessly. It is pointed out that those who wish to rectify the incorrect behaviour of others must themselves first adopt the correct Party standpoint, and that the incorrect principles and theories of others can only be overcome by comrades who are themselves armed with correct principles and theories.

Secondly it must be understood that inner-Party struggle consists basically of a struggle between different ideologies and principles inside the Party. Warning is given that upholding Party discipline and unity does not mainly depend upon meting out Party penalties (if this were so, it is added, it would signify a crisis in the Party), but depends on the actual realisation of unity in the Party in ideology and principle and on the consciousness of the vast majority of the Party members.

The correct method of conducting inner-Party struggle is laid down as: militancy without compromise in the struggle over principles and ideologies. All problems must be submitted to the test of reason: the interests of the Party and of the proletarian struggle, subordination of the interests of the part to those of the whole and the subordination of immediate to long-range interests.

The Chinese Party has led the Chinese people to victory through all the difficulties and complexities of the past decades largely because of the successes that have attended its work of criticism, self-criticism and inner-Party struggle.

This work, based on the experience of this tested proletarian Party, makes the lessons of that struggle available to all progressive fighters. It is a valuable contribution to the literature of Marxism-Leninism.

CURRENT CHINA

June 11—25, 1951

For Victory in Korea

A Year of War: The whole nation marked June 25 as the end of a year of victory for the people against U.S. aggression. The Chinese people's volunteers in Korea greeting Kim Il Sung pledged "to aid the KPA until final victory."

The Peking *People's Daily* analysing the results of the past year in Korea pointed out the vastly weakened position of the aggressor camp before the mighty and growing forces of the liberated peoples. The Chinese people fully endorse the June 23 proposal made by Soviet U.N. delegate Malik for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question which is "another test for America to see whether she accepts the lessons of the past and whether she is willing to settle the Korean question peacefully," states its editorial.

Leading members of the democratic parties hailed the year's successes in fighting the U.S. aggressors. Women and youth organisations exchanged greetings with the Korean people. Special exhibitions on the Korean war opened in Peking and Shanghai.

Donation Drive: The voluntary nation-wide drive for contributions to buy planes and heavy arms for the Chinese people's volunteers in Korea is setting impressive new totals with every passing day. By June 25, the nation had contributed over 1,180 planes, 77 cannon, etc. Northeast China has donated 100 planes, while Shantung Province contributed 130 fighter planes.

Delegation from Korea: An 88-member Korean People's Delegation headed by Won Tong Gun arrived in Peking on June 21. Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee, was among the many prominent leaders who welcomed the delegation at the station.

Volunteers' Families: On the Dragon Boat Festival, which this year fell on June 9, Peking residents honoured the families of the Chinese people's volunteers in Korea and PLA fighters. Thousands of students presented "bouquets of glory" to these families.

CCP's 30th Anniversary

Nation-wide celebrations mark the 30th birthday of the Communist Party, leader of the Chinese people's liberation and victories in New Democratic construction.

Workers, peasants, people's volunteers, PLA units, organisations and government institutions prepared for this July 1, with greater production and efforts in the movement against U.S. aggression.

Greeting Chairman Mao and the CCP, Chinese people's volunteers in Korea pledged to fight on to final victory.

The role of the Party in the Chinese people's revolution is the main theme of lectures, mass meetings and exhibitions. Leading newspapers are carrying special articles on the Party by its leading members.

Agricultural Achievements

Aircraft Kill Locusts: The People's Air Force of China on June 13 sent four aeroplanes to wipe out locusts in northern Anhwei. This is the first time in China's history that planes have been used to help agricultural production.

The Peking *People's Daily* commented on the striking contrast between the Chinese People's Air Force used to eradicate pests and the Air Forces of the reactionaries both in Taiwan and foreign countries employed to slaughter human beings. It also recalled how aerial bombardment this spring broke the ice dams on the Yellow River.

Wheat Harvesting: Harvesting has begun in China's main wheat-producing provinces. This year's crops in all areas surpass last year's bumper yields, states a report in the June 11 Peking *People's Daily*. Reports from Chekiang show that this year's yields are 20 per cent higher than last year.

Southwest Land Reform: The first stage of land reform was completed in May in areas inhabited by more than 13,000,000 people in Southwest China.

Peace Campaign

The peace campaign in China grows steadily. On June 16, the China Peace Committee announced that 260,773,871 people, or 54.9% of the population, had signed in support of a Five-Power Peace Pact and 260,525,809, or 54.8% of the population, had voted against Japanese rearmament.

Representative to Tibet

Chang Ching-wu, representative of the Central People's Government, left Peking on June 13 for Tibet with the three delegates of the Local Government of Tibet.

Working Team: A working team left Peking on June 7 for Tibet to assist the Tibetan people in their economic and cultural construction.

The team was composed of 47 scientists, economists, artists and others, selected from leading universities, research institutes and technical departments.

Compulsory Insurance

All properties of state organisations and enterprises, co-operatives, ships and trains must be insured as from June 24 against accidents, state the recently-issued regulations of the Committee of Financial and Economic Affairs.

Equality for Women

The Ministry of Personnel issued a directive recently ordering all government institutions throughout China to cancel any regulations discriminating against the entering of pregnant women into service or training. This is to safeguard women's "equal rights with men in political, economic, cultural, educational and social life" as stipulated in the *Common Programme*.

Pioneers to U.S.S.R.

A group of Young Pioneers left Peking on June 11 to attend a summer camp sponsored by the Soviet Young Communist League in the Crimea. The group includes 21 children from all parts of China.

Since its founding in October 1949, two million children of New China, between the ages of nine and 15, have joined the Pioneers.

Trade Agreements

With the U.S.S.R.: A Sino-Soviet Trade Agreement for 1951 was signed in Moscow on June 15. According to the Agreement, the volume of trade between the two countries for 1951 will greatly exceed that of 1950.

An agreement on the supply of equipment and materials by the Soviet Union to the People's Republic of China was signed at the same time. This is in accordance with the Sino-Soviet Agreement of February 14, 1950 on the granting of credits to China.

With Czechoslovakia: A Sino-Czechoslovak Trade Agreement for 1951 was signed in Peking on June 21. According to this Agreement, China will export various materials in exchange for Czech industrial equipment. The total value of goods exchanged in 1951 will exceed that in 1950 by four times.

British Delegation Departs

The British People's Delegation left Peking by air for Britain on June 12. In their 6-week stay in China, they visited many towns and villages in North and East China.

At the airport, Jock Kane, Chairman of the Delegation, said that they were deeply moved by the sincere desire of the Chinese people for peace and friendship between the two nations.

The Delegation was seen off by leaders of people's organisations.

Chinese Musicians' Success

Ma Sitson and six other Chinese musicians who participated in the Prague Spring Musical Festival left Prague for home on June 16, after many successful performances.

People's Election Victories

France: The victory of the Communist Party of France in the elections to the National Assembly was hailed by Peking *People's Daily* on June 21, as "a mighty obstruction to American imperialism's criminal plots to enslave France and manufacture war." Despite election swindles, the paper commented, the French Communist Party won the largest number of votes of any single party.

Italy: The victory of Italy's People's Democratic Front headed by the Italian Communist Party in the recent municipal elections was greeted enthusiastically in the June 17 Peking *People's Daily*.

The Growth Of People's Power

People's conferences will be held this year in all cities with a population of over 100,000, Peng Chen, Vice-Chairman of the Committee of Political and Legal Affairs, told the Government Administration Council at a recent meeting in Peking.

Conditions will be created as soon as possible for the people's conferences to exercise the powers of people's congresses, he said. Village or *hsiang* people's conferences will also be held this year to elect village or *hsiang* people's governments in areas where agrarian reform has been completed.

In reviewing the great advances made in the building up of the people's state power in the past year and more, he said that the broad masses have begun to take an active part in running state and local affairs through the people's conferences.

Up to the present, people's conferences have been held in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, in 25 provinces, eight regions, 10 sub-regions, 129 cities, 1,961 counties and 65 banners. Autonomous regional people's governments have been established through the people's conferences in areas populated by various national minorities. (There are 31 provinces, and 2,068 counties in China.—Ed.)

From last autumn to the present, he pointed out, land reform has been carried out in more than 500 newly-liberated counties with a population of over 130 million. About 80 million poor peasants have been distributed nearly 10 million hectares of land. Up to the present land distribution has been carried out in China over an area with a rural population of 270 million and the feudal land ownership system has been abolished there. This is a basic factor in consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship, he said.

A total of 300,000 cadres have taken part in the land reform, which is scheduled to be completed by 1952 in all newly-liberated areas except in areas inhabited by national minorities.

The land reform has been a vigorous struggle following the people's War of Liberation and the result of its completion has been the elimination of bandits, the suppression of bandit ring-leaders, local tyrants and secret agents in the rural areas and the consolidation of the revolutionary order; the immediate raising of rural productivity, and the changing of despotic villages into democratic villages. It has not only prepared reliable conditions for China's industrialisation, but has also laid a solid foundation for democracy in China.

He drew the conclusion that experience has proved once again that the swift completion of agrarian reform and the thorough elimination of feudalism cannot be attained merely by the "peaceful distribution of the land." The peasant masses must be set in motion under leadership to confiscate and distribute the land themselves in a mass struggle.

By implementing the correct policy among the national minorities, a new friendly unity has replaced the old relations of feuds between the peoples left by former governments. Public health, trade, cultural work and the training of cadres will be strengthened among the national minorities.

Another central factor is the suppression of counter-revolutionary elements.

The continued development of all these measures, Peng Chen said, would be the principal tasks for 1951 in the consolidation and development of the people's democratic dictatorship. Supplementary to these are the training of large numbers of administrative and juridical cadres and the strengthening of supervisory and control work in the people's governments of all levels.

People's China



A Peasant Underground Fighter Takes the Oath on Joining the Communist Party

Oil Painting by Mu Pu