

# THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

BY  
MAO TZE-TUNG

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By

Mao Tze-tung\*

## Part I - The Chinese Society

### The Chinese People

China is one of the largest countries in the world, its area is larger than the whole of Europe. Within this wide expanse of land, there are large stretches of fertile paddy fields, which feed and clothe us; there are both high and low mountain ranges transversing the whole country, large and small plateaux and plains where great forests grow, and with rich minerals in store; there are innumerable rivers, streams and lakes, which provide us with waterways and facilities for irrigation; there is a long coast line, which enables us to communicate with the rest of the world. And in such a wide expanse of land had our forefathers labored, harvested and brought up children since very early times.

The present boundaries of China are: Northeast, Northwest and a part of West China meet the U.S.S.R.; a part of West and Southwest China meet India, Bhutan and Nepal; in the south lie Siam, Burma and Annam, which are not far from Taiwan; in the east lie Japan and Korea. This geographical situation has lent both favorable and unfavorable external conditions to the Chinese revolution. On the favorable side, China is close to U.S.S.R., and is far from the American and European imperialistic countries; as to the countries on the border of China, many are colonial and semi-colonial. Adversely, Japanese imperialism taking advantage of the short distance by sea, land and air, had in the past continually threatened China's existence and the Chinese revolution.

China has at present a population of four hundred and fifty million, approximately one quarter of the World's population. Ninety per cent of China's population are of the Han race. Apart from these are other minorities, namely, the Mohammedans, Mongols, Tibetans, Manchu, Miao, Shans and Li peoples. Though the standard of civilization of these people vary, they all have a long period of history. China is a country composed of a conglomeration of peoples, and it has an enormous population.

The development of the Chinese nation (chiefly the development of the Hans), is the same as any great nation in the world, in that it had gone through thousands of years of primitive communist society, equal and classless. Since the collapse of the primitive communist society, the era of class distinction began, first, a society of serfdom, then, a feudal society. This process, up to the present, has lasted five thousand years. In the history of the development of the Chinese people, chiefly of the Hans, well known achievements have been made in the fields of agriculture and handicraft, a host of thinkers, scientists, inventors, politicians and strategists were produced, also a mine of classical works were accumulated. Three thousand years ago, the compass was invented in China. One thousand and seven hundred years ago, the art of paper-making was invented. One thousand and two hundred years ago, plate-printing was invented. Gunpowder was used in China much earlier than in Europe. Thus China is one of the earliest civilized countries in the world, as China has five thousand years of civilization.

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\* Written in 1939. (see note p. 20)

Not only are the Chinese people well known for endurance and tenacity, but they are also a people who love liberty and possess revolutionary traditions. Taking the history of the Han people as an example, we can see that the Chinese people cannot tolerate the rule of corruption, time and again they have overthrown and reconstructed the ruling class by revolutions. In thousands of years of Han history, hundreds of peasant revolts occurred, overthrowing the corrupt rule of the nobles and landlords, and the change of each dynastic rule was always the direct result of peasant revolts. The various peoples of the Chinese nation are never willing to bow their heads to the oppression of the outside world, and they have always used revolutionary means to emancipate themselves. They only approve of cooperation under equal terms, and disapprove of oppression. In the five thousand years of Chinese history, many national heroes and revolutionary leaders have been produced; in addition, we can boast of many revolutionary military leaders, statesmen, writers and thinkers. Consequently, the Chinese people possess a glorious revolutionary heritage and fine historical traditions.

### Ancient Feudal Society

Although China is a great country, with vast areas, a long period of history and a fine revolutionary heritage, yet, ever since China overthrew serfdom, emerging into a feudal society, she has remained stationary. Since the Chow dynasty (1126 B.C.-221 B.C.), this feudal society lasted for three thousand years. On account of the duration of feudalism in China, the development of China's economy, politics and culture became retarded or even remained at a standstill for an immensely long period. For the last three thousand years, the Chinese society has been a feudalistic one.

The economic and political systems of feudal China were formed by the following important characteristics:

(1) The self-sufficient natural economy has played the most important role in the Chinese economy. Not only did the peasants produce their own food, but most of the articles they use are made by their own hands. The landlords spent the rents paid to them by the peasants mostly for their personal enjoyment, such rents were never used for bartering. Although bartering was done at that time, it never had any decisive effect.

(2) While the feudal ruling class, i.e., landlords, nobles and Emperors, owned most of the land, the peasants only owned a very small fraction of it, or none at all. The peasants used their own tools to plough the land of their landlords, nobles and Emperor, presenting forty, fifty, sixty or even seventy per cent of the crop to their landlords, nobles and Emperor. In fact, these peasants were really serfs.

(3) Not only did the landlords, nobles and Emperors live on the exploitation of the peasants in the form of rents, but the government monopolised by the land-owning class forced the peasants to support a large number of nobles and bureaucrats, and an army to suppress the peasants, by paying tribute and taxes, and by conscripting labor.

(4) It was exactly such feudal government of the land-owning class which protected this kind of feudal exploitation. In the Chow dynasty, China was a feudal country ruled by feudal lords: after being united by Chin Shih Huangti (221 B.C.), China became a despotic and centralized feudal country, but at the same time, to a certain extent, feudal lords continued to exist. In such a feudal state, the sovereign was all-powerful. All over the country, Yamens (county government offices) were set up in order to run the army, the criminal courts, and to collect taxes in cash and in kind. Such feudal rule depended also upon the support of landlords and officials.

In the past, under the economic exploitations and oppressive measures of these feudalistic regimes, Chinese peasants had never enjoyed any personal liberty, physical or political. Landlords had the right to whip and scourge peasants at will, and could even inflict death penalties. Of course, the peasants had no part in politics whatsoever. The severe hardships and backwardness of peasants caused by the unscrupulous exploitations and oppressions of the land-owning class clearly explains why these economic and social orders in the Chinese society had remained stagnant for thousands of years.

The chief conflict in the feudal society was the conflict between the peasantry and the land-owning class. But in such a society, only the peasantry and handicraftsmen formed the basic class which was responsible for the enrichment of national resources and the development of culture.

The unscrupulous economic exploitations and political oppression of the peasantry carried out by the land-owning class, had time and again unavoidably resulted in innumerable peasant revolts, rebelling against the rule of the land-owning class. Since the Chin dynasty (221-202 B.C.), there had been revolts led by Chen Sheng, Wu Kwang, Hsiang Yu, Liu Pang; in the Han dynasty (203 BC-265 AD) there had been revolts led by Hsin Shih, Ping Lin, Chih Mei, Huang Chin, Tong Ma. In the Sui dynasty (581-618 A.D.), by Li Mi Tou Chien-teh; in the Tang dynasty (619-899 A.D.), by Huang Ch'ao; in the Sung dynasty (960-1260 A.D.) by Sung Kiang, Fang Lah; in the Yuan dynasty (1261-1367 A.D.), by Chu Yuan-chang; in the Ming dynasty (1369-1644 A.D.), by Li Chih-cheng; right up to the Taiping Rebellion of the Ching dynasty (1645-1911 A.D.), hundreds of peasant revolts had broken out, all of which were agrarian revolutions. In scale, peasant revolts and peasant revolutions found in the history of China are unprecedented in the world. Only such peasant revolts and peasant revolutions could form the actual motive force for the progress of Chinese history. Because resulting from each peasant revolt and peasant revolution, the contemporaneous feudal rule received severe blows, consequently, the productive relationship of society went through a change, and the development of the social productivity somehow promoted. But in the past, due to the absence of new productivity and new productive methods, the lack of a progressive political party, these peasant revolts and peasant revolutions suffered from having no leadership, unlike the present peasant revolts and peasant revolutions led by proletariat and the Communist Party. As a result, all peasant revolutions of the past were invariably failures, and the peasants during the revolutions or after, were used by the landlords and nobles, as mere stepping stones for effecting changes of regime in the interest of their own. Consequently, although after each peasant revolution some progress was made, fundamentally, the feudal economic relations and the feudal political system remained the same.

Such conditions continued, and new changes appeared only during the last hundred years.

## The Colonial, Semi-Colonial and Semi-feudal Society of Modern Days

The Chinese society of the past three thousand years was a feudal society, with which we have already dealt. But is the present Chinese society still a purely feudal society? Definitely not. China has already been transformed. After the Opium War in 1840, the Chinese society was gradually turned into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. After the Mukden Incident in 1931, when the Japanese imperialist launched their invasion of China, Chinese society became a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. We shall now analyse the process of this transformation.

As we have said, the Chinese feudal society lasted three thousand odd years. In the middle of the nineteenth century, as a result of the invasion of foreign capitalism, the internal structure of this society experienced a fundamental change.

The invasion of foreign capitalism broke up the economy of the Chinese Society. This invasion of foreign capitalism had, on the one hand, destroyed the self-sufficient natural economy of China, the town handicraft and the rural home handicraft; whilst on the other hand, it had promoted the development of the town and rural commodity economy.

Not only had these conditions shaken the very foundation of the Chinese feudal economy, but they had also created certain objective conditions and possibilities for the rise of Chinese capitalism. The destruction of the natural economy had created markets for the capitalistic commodities, whilst the widespread bankruptcy of the peasants and handicraftsmen enabled capitalists to exploit cheap labor.

In fact, because of the effect of foreign capitalism and the destruction of the feudal economic structure, as early as the latter part of the nineteenth century, that is, sixty years ago, some businessmen, landlords and bureaucrats had invested in the new industries. Towards the end of the same century and at the dawn of the twentieth century, that is, forty years ago, Chinese national capitalism began to emerge. Twenty years ago, during the imperialistic World War I, when the European and American imperialistic countries were busy at war, and for the time being, had loosened their hold over China, the native industries of China, especially spinning and weaving, flour and silk industries got a chance to develop. In this period, the number of factories in the spinning and weaving industry, rose from 22 in 1913 to 44 in 1922; the flour industry's mills in 1916 were increased to 107; while 60 new factories of the silk industry had sprung up. At the same time, one hundred and eight Chinese banks were established.

The process of the rise and development of the Chinese national capitalism coincides with the process of the rise and development of the Chinese bourgeoisie and proletariat. If we say that part of the businessmen, landlords and bureaucrats were the predecessors of the Chinese bourgeoisie, then part of the peasants and handicraftsmen were the predecessors of the Chinese proletariat. Regarding the Chinese bourgeoisie and proletariat as two distinct classes, they are not to be found in the history of China, and yet are natural children of the feudal society. They are two closely related yet opposing classes. They are twins of the traditional society, namely the feudal society. But not only did the rise and development of the Chinese proletariat co-exist with the rise and

development of Chinese bourgeoisie, but the former had already come into existence before imperialism had taken firm roots in China. Thus, compared with the Chinese bourgeoisie, the Chinese proletariat is older and more matured, and its social foundation is much wider.

However, the development of Chinese capitalism, as mentioned above, only concerns one aspect of the changes caused by the invasion of foreign imperialism in China; another aspect, which existed with the former, but which also retards its development, is the oppression sustained by Chinese capitalism as a result of the cooperation between foreign imperialism and the remaining feudal elements of China.

The invasion of the imperialistic powers in China is definitely not for the purpose of converting China into a capitalistic country. Contrarily, the object of the imperialistic powers is to reduce China to their semi-colony and colony.

With this object in mind, the imperialistic powers have carried and are still carrying out the following military, political, economic and cultural devices and methods to gradually turn China into their semi-colony and colony:

(1) In defeating China in war, the imperialistic powers took many Chinese dependent states and a part of her territories. Japan took Korea, Taiwan, the Ryukyu Islands, Pescadores Islands, Port Arthur. England seized Burma, Bhutan, Nepal and Hongkong. France occupied Annam; and even an insignificant country like Portugal, took Macau. After losing her territories, China had to pay large sums of war indemnity as well. All these were severe blows to the colossal Chinese feudal empire.

(2) By virtue of the unequal treaties, the imperialistic powers obtained the right to station armies and navies in China, and establish consular jurisdiction. China was thus divided into sections under their spheres of influence.

(3) On the strength of the same treaties, the imperialistic powers gained control over all important ports in China, establishing concessions in many municipalities directly under their control. They controlled China's customs and foreign trade, and China's communications (by sea, land, air and inland waterways). Thus they could force the Chinese peasant to fill their needs.

(4) The imperialistic powers set up many light industries and some heavy industries in China. They are thus able to exploit Chinese raw materials and cheap labor, to compete directly with Chinese national industries.

(5) The imperialistic powers, by means of granting loans to China, and establishing banks in this country, have gained control over China's finance. Thus, not only have they killed China's national capitalism by commercial competition, but they have also gained control over China's finance.

(6) The imperialistic powers have woven a large compradore and usurious exploiting net, stretching over all important cities and the poor remote countryside as well. Nurturing a class of compradore and a class of usurers for their service they have been able to exploit the large Chinese peasantry with ease.

(7) Apart from the compradore class, the imperialistic powers need a greater social force to support their rule over China, and this social force is none other than the remaining feudal elements of China. "In oppressing the people, they

must first and foremost cooperate with the past ruling class -- namely, the feudal lords, and the commercial and usurious bourgeoisie. The imperialistic powers plan to maintain the exploiting devices of early capitalism (particularly of remote villages), to build up a foundation for their reactionary alliance."\* "In China, imperialism and all its financial and military powers are to support and stimulate the upper structure of the remaining feudal elements and all warlords and bureaucrats, Europeanizing and encouraging them to remain conservative." \*\*

(8) To encourage civil wars between warlords, and to oppress the Chinese people, the imperialistic powers supply large quantities of munitions and a large number of military advisers to the Chinese government.

(9) Apart from the above, the imperialistic powers have not overlooked the mental poisoning of the Chinese people, and in this, they carry out their cultural policies, such as missionary activities, the opening of schools, the establishment of newspapers and the encouragement of Chinese students to study abroad. Their aim is to create an obedient intelligentsia and to lead the Chinese people astray.

(10) By means of the above mentioned devices, the imperialistic powers have gradually turned China into a semi-colony. Such a state of affairs was the direct result of the many fatal wars fought between China and the imperialistic powers. For example, the Opium War fought with England in 1840, the attack of Peking by England and France in 1857, the Sino-French War in 1884, the attack of Peking by the eight powers--Japan, Russia, England, the United States, France, Germany, Italy and Austria. Resulting from these wars, China became the luscious fruit of the foreign imperialistic powers who separately fought to seize her territories. Consequently, China became a semi-colony and the above state of affairs was created. Then, after the Mukden Incident in 1931, the large scale invasion of the Japanese imperialists turned a large part of China into a Japanese colony.

The above state of affairs is a new aspect of the change caused by the imperialistic invasion of China, that is, to paint a bloody picture showing the conversion of feudal China into a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country.

Thus, we can understand that, on the one hand, the imperialistic invasion of China broke up the Chinese feudal society, paving the way for capitalism and turning the old feudal society into a semi-feudal society, while on the other hand, it oppressively dominated China, reducing China from an independent state into a colony and semi-colony.

Summing up these two aspects, this colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society has the following characteristics:

(1) The self-sufficient natural economy of the feudal society has been destroyed, but whether in Japanese-occupied areas, or in Free China now resisting Japan, foundations of feudal exploitation -- namely, the exploitation of the peasants by the landlords, has not only been preserved, but also consolidated with the compradore and usurious capitalistic exploitations, taking a conspicuous and important role in the Chinese social economy.

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\* Ref. "The Outline of the Colonial and Semi-colonial Movements of the 6th Communist International Assembly."

\*\* Ref. Speech by Stalin before the Communist International Executive Committee, 1927. (Translated from the Chinese text.)

(2) National capitalism has already developed to a certain extent in China, and it has some influence on Chinese politics and culture. But it does not play a major part in the Chinese social economy. Its power is weak and it is related to foreign imperialism and the remains of Chinese feudalism. After the Mukden Incident most of the Chinese national industries were either destroyed or seized by Japanese imperialism. Thus an even greater change took place in China.

(3) The tyrannical rule of kings and nobles was overthrown and in its place we find either the rule of warlords and bureaucrats, or the rule of landlords and the upper bourgeoisie. During the war, Japanese imperialism and its puppets ruled over the occupied areas.

(4) Not only have the imperialistic powers gained control over China's finance and economy, but political and military affairs as well. During the war, the occupied areas were completely in the hands of Japanese imperialism.

(5) On account of the fact that China is under the rule or control of many imperialistic powers, that for a long period she has remained diunited, and also that her area is vast, China's economic, political and cultural developments have been unbalanced.

(6) Under the twofold oppressions of imperialism and the remains of feudalism, especially that of Japanese imperialism, the Chinese people, chiefly the peasants, become poorer and poorer daily, fast approaching bankruptcy. They endure both hunger and cold, and are completely deprived of political rights. The extreme hardships and oppression of the Chinese people are not to be found elsewhere in the world.

Such are the characteristics of the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal Chinese society.

The cooperation of foreign imperialism and the remains of feudalism in China determines the above characteristics, and the chief factor is really the power of international imperialism and Japanese imperialism.

The chief conflicts in the present Chinese society are the conflict between imperialism and the Chinese nation, and the conflict between the remains of the feudal elements and the Chinese people. (Naturally there are other conflicts as well, such as the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and the conflict within the ruling class). Of all these conflicts, the most important is the conflict between imperialism and the Chinese nation. These growing conflicts resulted in the development of revolutions. The great Chinese revolutions of today and of the past have originated and developed from these conflicts.

## Part II - The Chinese Revolution

### The Revolutionary Movements of the Last Hundred Years

The process of the transformation of China into a semi-colony and colony by the consolidation of imperialism and the remains of the Chinese feudalism is one and the same with the process of the resistance of the Chinese people against imperialism and its underlings. Since the Opium War (1840), the Taiping Revolution (1350-65), the Sino-French War (1873), the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895, Consti-



tutional Reforms (1898-99), the Boxer Uprising (1900), the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty (1911), the May 4th Movement (1919), the May 30th Movement (1925), the Northern Expedition (1925-27), Land Revolution (1928-37), and the present Sino-Japanese War (1937-45), all of which clearly show that, not only will the Chinese people not bow before imperialism and its underlings, but that they will continually try to drive them out of China for ever.

The dauntless and continual struggles of the Chinese people in the last hundred years prevented the whole of China from being over-run by imperialism, and China shall never be subdued.

Although Japanese imperialists are invading China with all their might, and many landlords and politicians belonging to the upper bourgeoisie, like the open and hidden Wang Ching-wei, have surrendered or are preparing to surrender to the enemy, yet for three years, the heroic Chinese people have fought vigorously, and will continue to fight -- not until the day when Japanese imperialism is driven out of China and China is completely liberated, will they stop fighting.

Since the Opium War in 1840, the revolution of the Chinese people has had a history of a hundred odd years, and since the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in 1911, it has had a history of thirty-eight years. The process of this revolution has not yet come to an end, neither has it attained prominent results. Thus the Chinese people, especially the Communist Party of China, must fight to the very end.

But who are the object of this revolution? What are its tasks? What are its forces? Its characteristics and its future? All these questions will be dealt with in the following paragraphs.

### The Enemies of the Chinese Revolution

According to the analysis in the third section of part one, we have come to the conclusion that the present Chinese society is a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. We must now understand the characteristics of the Chinese society before we can understand the object of the Chinese revolution, its tasks, its forces, its characteristics and its future. Consequently, to understand the characteristics of the Chinese society, in other words, to understand China's state of affairs, forms the fundamental basis in understanding the revolutionary problems.

Since admittedly the present Chinese society is imbued with colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal characteristics, then who are the chief enemies of the Chinese revolution at its present stage?

They are none other than imperialism and semi-feudalism, in other words, foreign bourgeoisie and the Chinese land-owning class, because these two classes are oppressing and retarding the development of the Chinese society. They conspire hand in hand to oppress the Chinese people; and as imperialistic oppressions are the severest, imperialists then are the most deadly enemy of the Chinese people.

Since Japan's military invasion into China, the chief enemies of the Chinese people have been Japanese imperialism and the traitors that openly surrendered and are preparing to surrender to Japan. Originally, the Chinese bourgeoisie were also oppressed by imperialism, and played a leading part in some glorious revolutions, e.g. the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, the Northern Expedition,

and the present Sino-Japanese War. But from 1927-37, within this long period, the Chinese bourgeoisie cooperated with imperialists and formed a reactionary alliance with the land-owning class, betraying their friends and helpers -- peasantry and petty bourgeoisie. They betrayed the Chinese revolution, and became the common enemy of the people, causing the revolution to fail. Thus the revolutionaries and the revolutionary party (the Communist Party) have been forced to regard the bourgeoisie as one of the enemies of the revolution. During the Sino-Japanese War, a section of the great landlords and upper bourgeoisie, represented by Wang Ching-wei, had already betrayed China, and had become traitors, thus the Chinese people cannot but regard these elements of the upper bourgeoisie that had betrayed the interests of the people, as another group of enemies of the revolution.

Thus we can understand that the strength of the enemies of the Chinese revolution is extraordinarily formidable. The enemies of the Chinese revolution not only include the great imperialistic powers, but also the powerful semi-feudal force as well, and within a certain period, the bourgeoisie who betrayed the people by cooperating with imperialism and semi-feudalism, are also included. It is erroneous to underestimate the power of the enemies of the Chinese revolution.

Faced with such enemies, the prolonged and bloody state of the Chinese revolution becomes inevitable. As our enemies are so powerful, the revolutionary force can only be strengthened and accumulated after a very long period, so that it may become an invincible force in achieving ultimate victory over the enemies. As the enemies are ferociously suppressing the Chinese revolution, thus the revolutionary force must be persistent and strong, in guarding its own camp, and in defeating the enemy. It is erroneous to think that the revolutionary force could quickly become overwhelming and that the Chinese revolution could easily succeed.

Faced with such enemies, it goes without saying that the method to be adopted and the predominant pattern of the Chinese revolution cannot be a peaceful one but only through armed struggle. Our enemies do not allow the Chinese people to carry out peaceful activities or to possess any political freedom. Stalin has rightly said: "The special feature of the Chinese revolution is the revolt of the armed masses against the armed reactionaries." It is erroneous to ignore the principles of armed struggles, the revolutionary wars, guerilla warfare and political work in the army.

Faced with such enemies, questions arise concerning the special revolutionary bases. The great imperialistic power and their reactionary allied armies in China have always indefinitely occupied the important Chinese cities. If the revolutionary force refuses to compromise with foreign imperialism and its servile underlings, but on the contrary struggles to the very end, and if the revolutionary force accumulates and nurtures its own strength and avoids fighting decisive battles with the powerful enemies when its own strength is not yet ascertained, then it must turn the backward remote rural areas into progressive strong bases, great military, political, economic and cultural revolutionary strongholds. Then from these strongholds, the revolutionary force can start to drive out the malicious enemies based on the large cities encroaching upon the villages; also from these strongholds, the revolutionary force may, through prolonged struggles, gradually achieve total success. Under such conditions, and because of the unbal-

anced condition of the Chinese economic development, (the rural economy is not entirely dependent upon urban economy) and of the vastness of China's territories (there is immense space for the revolutionary forces to fall back to) and of the disunity and conflicts existing in the Chinese anti-revolutionary camp and of the fact that the main force of the Chinese revolution, the Chinese peasantry, is under the leadership of the Communist Party, thus, on the one hand, there is a great possibility for the Chinese revolution to succeed first and foremost in the countryside. Thus it plunges the revolution into an unbalanced state and prolongs its total success as well as increasing its difficulties. Thus we can understand why these prolonged revolutionary struggles, starting out from such special strongholds, are composed chiefly of peasant guerilla warfare under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. It is erroneous to ignore the principles of rural districts as revolutionary bases, the strenuous work amongst the peasantry and guerilla warfare.

But in stressing the importance of armed struggle, we must not overlook the other form which revolutionary struggle must take, for without the other form of revolutionary struggle, armed struggle alone cannot be victorious. In stressing the importance of the work in rural bases, we do not mean to give up the work in cities and towns or in other rural districts which have not yet become bases, for without these, the revolutionary strongholds would become isolated, and the revolution would be a failure. Because the ultimate aim of the revolution is to secure the town strongholds from the enemies, and without sufficient work done in the cities and towns, this aim can never be achieved.

We can thus understand, that in order that the revolution may be victorious in rural districts as well as in towns, we must destroy the essential tool of our enemies, that is, their army. Therefore, to destroy their army is our task of first importance.

Again, we can understand, that in carrying out propaganda and organization work of the Communist Party in the reactionary and corrupt cities, towns and rural districts long occupied by our enemies, we must not adopt a line of impatient adventurism, but on the contrary, we must lie low to prepare ourselves, waiting for the opportune moment. The tactic of the revolution, led by the Communist Party is always to take advantage of situations permitted by public laws and social customs. By reasonable, profitable and systematic means, the Communist Party must step by step carry out the revolution, as no success can be achieved by unplanned and haphazard action.

### The Tasks of the Chinese Revolution

Since imperialism and the remaining feudal elements are the chief enemies of the Chinese Revolution at the present stage, then what are the tasks of the Chinese Revolution during the same stage?

Undoubtedly, its most important role is to defeat these two enemies; externally it must carry out a national revolution to overthrow the oppression of imperialism, while internally it must carry out a democratic revolution to overthrow the oppression of the remaining feudal elements; but to carry out national revolution in order to overthrow imperialism is its first and foremost mission.

These two important tasks of the Chinese Revolution are correlated. As the imperialists are chief supporters of the remaining feudal elements, thus, unless the imperialists are overthrown, the remaining feudal elements cannot be eradicated. Conversely because the remaining feudal elements form the mainstay of the Chinese society under the rule of imperialism, thus, unless they are completely wiped out, the rule of imperialism cannot be overthrown. Consequently, although the national revolution and democratic revolution are two separate basic tasks of the Chinese Revolution, they are complementary to each other.

At present, the main task of the national revolution in China is to defend against the invasion of imperialistic Japan, while the democratic revolution must be fulfilled in the course of achieving final victory in the anti-Japanese war. Therefore the tasks of both the democratic and national revolutions are bound together. The conception that these two revolutions are two separate stages of the Chinese Revolution is out of date.

### The Forces of the Chinese Revolution

Judging by the analysis of the characteristics of Chinese society at its present stage, the objects (enemies) and the tasks of the Chinese Revolution, what are the forces of the Chinese Revolution?

Since the Chinese society is a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, since the chief enemies of the Chinese Revolution are the foreign imperialists ruling China and the internal semi-feudal influence, and since the tasks of the Chinese Revolution are to carry out national and democratic revolutions by overthrowing these two oppressors, then, what classes or class strata among the various classes and class strata of the Chinese society can form the forces in overthrowing imperialism and feudalism? This is the problem concerning the forces of the Chinese Revolution at its present stage, and we must fully understand these forces of the Revolution before we can correctly solve the problem of fundamental strategy.

What classes are there in the present Chinese society? There are the land-owning class and the bourgeoisie; these two classes are the upper ruling classes. Besides, there are the proletariat, the peasantry and the various categories of petty bourgeoisie. The latter three classes, in most parts of China today, are still ruled by the former two classes.

The attitude and the viewpoint of all these classes towards the Chinese Revolution are determined by their roles in the social economy. Thus the characteristics of the social economy not only determine the enemies and tasks of the revolution, but its forces as well.

Let us now analyse the different classes of the Chinese society.

(1) The Land-Ownning Class: This class represents the remaining feudal elements. It forms the mainstay of the Chinese society under the imperialistic rule. It is the class that exploits and oppresses the peasantry and it retards the progress of Chinese society in the spheres of politics, economy and culture, without making any contribution towards the Chinese society.

Thus, the land-owning class as a class is one of the enemies of the revolution, and is not its force.

But within the land-owning class, the most reactionary stratum is that of the big landlord. The situation of the petty landlords, especially the bankrupt and semi-bankrupt petty landlords, varies. When the work of the revolution was limited to the overthrowing of imperialism and great landlords, they either remained neutral or even temporarily took part in the revolution. This is true especially of the intelligentsia who sprung from this class stratum and who have had a scientific education.

During the War of Resistance against Japan, some big landlords and a part of the upper bourgeoisie have become traitors, having surrendered to Japan; while others of the same class stratum although they remained within the resistance are extremely unreliable. But many enlightened people belonging to the middle or petty land-owning class, in spite of their capitalistic ideas, have vigorously supported the war of resistance, and therefore deserve our cooperation in the task of driving out the Japanese enemy.

(2) The bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie is divided into two different groups. One is the upper bourgeoisie of the compradore stratum and the other is the national bourgeoisie.

The compradore upper bourgeoisie directly serves the imperialistic foreign capitalists who in turn support and nurture this class. Hence it is closely related to the semi-feudal elements in the rural districts. Therefore, in the history of the Chinese Revolution, the upper bourgeoisie has never been a force of the Chinese Revolution, but remain its enemy.

But as the Chinese compradore upper bourgeoisie is divided into the spheres of various imperialistic powers, when the different imperialistic powers clash with one another and when the task of the revolution is to overthrow a certain imperialistic power, then the compradore class under the rule of other imperialistic power may, to a certain extent and within a certain time, take part in the anti-imperialistic revolution. But once their imperialistic masters turn against the Chinese Revolution, they will immediately become anti-revolutionary.

During the War of Resistance against Japan, a large part of the pro-Japanese upper bourgeoisie surrendered to Japan, or are going to do so. Although the pro-European and pro-American upper bourgeoisie remain in the anti-Japanese camp, they are extremely unreliable. They were anti-Japanese on the one hand and anti-Communist on the other. Our strategy in coping with these traitors of the upper bourgeoisie is to regard them as enemies, and to crush them resolutely. As to the diehards of the upper bourgeoisie (pro-European and pro-American), we must carry out a twofold policy; namely to cooperate with them inasmuch as they are still anti-Japanese, so as to take advantage of whatever vigor they have in resisting Japan, while we must fight against them, because they are carrying out an anti-communist and anti-democratic oppressive policy which is detrimental to unity. For without such fighting, the Resistance War and the unity of the whole country may be endangered.

The national bourgeoisie is a class possessing a dual idiosyncrasy.

On the one hand, since the national bourgeoisie is under the oppression of imperialism and in the bondage of the remaining feudal elements, thus it clashes

with imperialism and the remaining feudal elements. In this sense, it is a part of the revolutionary forces. In the history of the Chinese Revolution, they have shown their vigor in the struggle against imperialism, bureaucracy and war-lordism.

On the other hand, since it is feeble both economically and politically, and has not completely broken away from its economic ties with imperialism and the remaining feudal elements, it lacks the courage in taking part in anti-imperialistic and anti-feudalistic revolutions. This becomes especially obvious when the People's Revolution has reached a powerful stage.

From this dual idiosyncrasy of the national bourgeoisie, we can conclude that at a certain period and under certain circumstances, it can take part in anti-imperialistic, anti-bureaucratic and anti-warlord revolutions, and it can become a part of the revolutionary forces. But at other times, it might serve the upper bourgeoisie by assisting the anti-revolutionary forces.

But the Chinese national bourgeoisie is mainly a middle bourgeoisie. Although from 1927 to 1931 (the Mukden Incident), it had cooperated with the upper land-owning class and upper bourgeoisie in fighting against the revolution; fundamentally, this class had never held any political power. Instead, they were controlled by the reactionary policy of the ruling upper land-owning class and upper bourgeoisie. During the Resistance War, not only is this group different from the traitorous upper bourgeoisie, but it is also different from the diehards of the upper bourgeoisie. Up to the present, it is still a comparatively good ally of ours, thus it is essential that we must exercise caution in dealing with this class stratum.

(3) The various categories of the petty bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeoisie includes the intelligentsia, paupers in the cities, employees, handicraftsmen, free professional men and small businessmen.

All these types of petty bourgeoisie along with the peasantry have been oppressed by imperialism, the remaining feudal elements and the upper bourgeoisie, and are being increasingly reduced to bankruptcy and ruin.

Consequently, the petty bourgeoisie is one of the forces of the revolution. It is a reliable ally of the proletariat, and it is only under the leadership of the proletariat that the petty bourgeoisie can hope to be emancipated.

Let us now analyse the various categories of the petty bourgeoisie, not including the peasantry.

(a) The intelligentsia and the students. In the space of several decades China has produced a large group of intelligentsia and students. Within this group, with the exception of those who are in touch with and in the service of imperialism, the remaining feudal elements and the upper bourgeoisie, are threatened with unemployment or the suspension of their schooling. Therefore this group is quite revolutionary. They possess a certain amount of scientific knowledge, a good political consciousness, and are able to become the vanguards and exponent of the revolution. The Returned Students' Movement before the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, the May 4th Movement in 1919, the May 30th Movement in 1925, the December 9th Movement in 1935, are good examples. It is particularly true that

large numbers of poverty stricken intelligentsia can cooperate with the peasants and laborers and take part in the revolution. The popularization and widespread reception of Marxism-Leninism in China started among the intelligentsia and students. Without the participation of the revolutionary intelligentsia, the organization of the revolutionary forces, and the implementation of the revolutionary schemes would not be able to succeed.

But before the intelligentsia has joined in the People's Revolution, when it has not yet determined to serve the interests of the people and to live like the people, its thoughts are usually void, and actions inconsistent. Although a large part of the intelligentsia served as revolutionary vanguards and exponents, not all of it has fought to the end. Part of the intelligentsia has deserted the revolutionary rank and file at critical junctures, and some even became the enemies of the revolution, like Chen Tu-hsiu, Chang Kuo-tao. The intelligentsia usually possesses a subjective individualism and this shortcoming can only be cured in the course of prolonged struggle in the midst of the masses.

(b) The poor people of urban districts. This class stratum includes bankrupt handicraftsmen, hawkers, peasants who left their homes and remain unemployed in towns, and other laborers without fixed jobs. This is a large group in number and their status is on the whole similar to that of the poor peasants. They thus form the semi-proletariat. Their social status forces them to support the revolution, and enables them to accept the leadership of the proletariat. Therefore, they form a very sound force of the revolution, and like the poor peasants, they are a natural ally of the proletariat.

(c) The Employees. Employees of industrial and commercial organizations and the salary earning employees of government offices and cultural institutions, belong to this class stratum. They earn their living through their mental labor or technical abilities, exploiting no one. They are greatly threatened by unemployment, thus they also form an important force of the revolution. There is a large number of people in this class stratum and they are indispensable in all economic and cultural reconstruction.

(d) Handicraftsmen and Free Professional Men. Handicraftsmen are independent producers and are also very numerous. They are now bearing the burden of Chinese economic reconstruction. Not only do they receive severe blows from the competition of foreign commodities, but also they are unable to escape from the net of commercial usury. Thus they can stand on the side of the revolution and serve as one of its important forces. Some of them hire small numbers of laborers, while others work on their own. The latter type is especially reliable as an ally of the revolution.

Free professional men are doctors and others. Although ideologically they are often influenced by the bourgeoisie, yet they belong to the same category as the handicraftsmen and form an indispensable part of the social life. They are also oppressed by imperialism and the remaining feudal elements, thus they can become a part of the revolutionary force.

(4) The Peasantry. The peasants in China form 80 per cent of the population and bear the main burden of the national economy of China today.

Most of the peasants belong to the petty bourgeoisie, but at present they are undergoing a drastic disintegration.

We can divide the peasantry into three classes:

(a) The rich farmers take up approximately 5 per cent of the rural population (including the landlords they take up 10 per cent of the peasantry), and are known as the country bourgeoisie. Most of the rich farmers in China are imbued with semi-feudal characteristics and are related to the town bourgeoisie. But the revolutionary government should not regard rich farmers as the same class stratum with the landlords and should not prematurely start the policy of crushing the economy of rich farmers because, within a certain period, the products of rich farmers are indispensable.

(b) The medium peasants take up approximately 20 per cent of the rural population. By and large, the medium peasants do not exploit others and economically speaking, they are self-sufficient (but when they get a good harvest they may make enough profit to hire laborers or lend out small amounts of credits). They are also exploited by imperialism, landlords and the upper bourgeoisie. With the exception of the well-to-do medium peasants, most of these medium peasants do not own enough land and enjoy no political privileges at all. They not only resolutely take part in the anti-imperialist revolution and agrarian revolution but can also take part in the socialist revolution. Therefore the entire medium peasants form a reliable ally of the proletariat. They form a good revolutionary force, and their attitude towards the revolution (whether they are for or against it), determines whether the revolution will succeed or not, particularly because after the agrarian revolution has been effectively carried out, the majority of the peasantry would be medium peasants.

(c) The poor peasants and the farm laborers take up approximately 70 per cent of the peasantry. The poor peasants either do not possess any land or do not possess enough land and form a semi-proletariat of the peasantry. They form the strongest force of the Chinese Revolution, the natural and most reliable ally of the proletariat and the main force of the Chinese Revolution. It is only under the leadership of the proletariat that the medium peasants and the poor peasants can be emancipated; and the proletariat must unite solidly with the medium peasants and the poor peasants before it can lead the revolution to a victorious end, not otherwise. It is just the medium and poor peasants that the term "peasantry" chiefly applies.

(5) The Proletariat. The Chinese proletariat includes approximately two and a half to three million modern industrial workers, twelve million town handicraftsmen and hired laborers and also a large number of the country proletariat.

The Chinese proletariat possesses some very outstanding characteristics which enables it to take up a leading role in the Chinese Revolution.

What are the outstanding characteristics of the Chinese proletariat?

(a) The Chinese proletariat is oppressed by three forces; namely, the imperialistic, bourgeoisie and feudal oppressors. The gravity and the ferocity of these forces are seldom found elsewhere in the world. Consequently, the Chinese proletariat is carrying out the Revolution more resolutely and thoroughly than any other classes. In this colonial and semi-colonial state of China, there is no economic foundation for social reform similar to that of Western Europe. Thus except for a few working class traitors the whole proletariat is revolutionary



(but we must note that the "Reformers" in China can sometimes have considerable influence on a part of the proletariat).

(b) The Chinese proletariat was led by the proletariat revolutionary party, that is, the Communist Party of China, from the outset when it took part in the revolution and became the most awakened class in Chinese society.

(c) There is a natural affinity between the Chinese proletariat and the peasantry because the majority of the proletariat had been bankrupt farmers from the country, thus the proletariat finds it easy to form a close revolutionary alliance with the peasantry.

Consequently, although the Chinese proletariat possesses some inevitable weaknesses, such as the fact that its size is smaller (as compared with the peasantry), it is still young in age (as compared with the proletariat in capitalist countries), its cultural standard is lower (as compared with that of the bourgeoisie), but ultimately it is the fundamental force of the Chinese Revolution. Without the participation and leadership of the Chinese proletariat, the Chinese Revolution can never succeed. As a remote example, let us take the Revolution of 1911 which overthrew the Manchu Dynasty. Because the proletariat did not consciously take part in it, and there was no Communist Party at that time, thus the revolution became abortive. A recent example would be the Northern Expedition of 1925-27, in which the proletariat did take part consciously, and there was already a Communist Party, thus for a time it was exceedingly successful, but later because the bourgeoisie had betrayed its alliance with the proletariat, and the common principles of the revolution, and also because at that time the Chinese proletariat and its political party still lacked rich revolutionary experience, the result was a setback. Since the Sino-Japanese War, because the proletariat and the Communist Party have taken the leading role in the Anti-Japanese National United Front, it has united the nation, initiated and tenaciously maintained the magnificent war of resistance.

The Chinese proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party, fully understands that although it is the most awakened and best organized class, yet if it were to depend upon its own strength alone, it could never succeed, and before it can succeed, it must unite with all other potentially revolutionary classes and class strata under various circumstances, and organize a Revolutionary United Front. Among the various classes of the Chinese Society, the peasantry remains the solid ally of the working class, the town petty bourgeoisie is also a reliable ally, and the national bourgeoisie is an ally only at certain times, and to a certain degree. This is one of the fundamental formulae proven by the modern Chinese revolution.

The colonial and semi-colonial status of China has caused a large mass of unemployed men both in country places and towns. Of this mass of unemployed, many have been compelled to earn their living by doing dishonourable and improper work. This is the origin of begging, stealing, blackguarding, prostituting and other professions depending on superstition. This class stratum is vacillating. One part is easily bribed by the reactionaries, while another part possesses considerable revolutionary characteristics. But it lacks in creativeness. It constructs little but destroys much, and forms also the origin of brigandism and anarchism. Thus the Communist Party must carefully lead and guide it, organize its revolutionary qualities and prevent its unwholesome destructiveness.

The above is an analysis of the force of the Chinese Revolution.

## The Nature of the Chinese Revolution

Having understood the nature of Chinese society, i.e., the specific conditions of China, we have already got the fundamental basis for solving all problems concerning the Chinese revolution. We have understood the enemies of the Chinese revolution, its tasks and its force; all these basic problems of the Chinese revolution at its present stage arise out of the special characteristics of the Chinese society, the special conditions in China. Now, we can approach another basic problem of Chinese revolution at its present stage, i.e. the nature of the Chinese revolution.

What kind of a revolution is the Chinese revolution at its present stage? Is it a bourgeois democratic revolution or is it a proletariat socialist revolution? Evidently it is not the latter but the former.

Since the present Chinese society is still a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, the chief enemies of the Chinese revolution are still the imperialists and the semi-feudal forces. Since the task of the Chinese revolution is to carry out national and democratic revolutions to overthrow these two enemies, and since the forces in overthrowing these two enemies are sometimes still joined by the national bourgeoisie and a part of the upper bourgeoisie and although the upper bourgeoisie has betrayed the revolution and has become its enemy, the dagger of the revolution should not be directed against capitalism in all and private properties of capitalism, but against imperialist and feudal monopolies. Therefore, the nature of the Chinese revolution at its present stage is not that of proletarian-socialism, but of bourgeois democracy.

But the present Chinese bourgeois democratic revolution is not the old and ordinary kind of bourgeois democratic revolution, as this kind of revolution is already out of date, contrarily, it is a new and special kind of bourgeois democratic revolution. This kind of revolution is developing in China and in all other colonial and semi-colonial countries, and we call this kind of revolution the New Democratic Revolution. This New Democratic Revolution is a part of the world's proletariat socialist revolution; it resolutely fights against imperialism, i.e. international capitalism. Politically, it is formed by several revolutionary classes which unite together to form a revolutionary democratic dictatorship over the imperialists, traitors and reactionaries, and to oppose the transformation of the Chinese society into a society of bourgeois dictatorship. Economically it strives to nationalize all large capitals and large enterprises of imperialists, traitors and reactionaries, to divide up large estates and distribute them among the peasantry, at the same time help middle and small private industries, while it makes no attempt to abolish the economy of rich farmers. Consequently, although this new kind of democratic revolution is clearing a way for capitalism, yet on another hand, it is also creating a precedent for socialism. Chinese Revolution at its present stage is a transitional period between the ending of the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, and the setting up of a socialist society. It is a new and revolutionary process of the New Democracy, This revolutionary process originated after World War I, and the Russian October Revolution. In China it started after the May 4th Movement in 1919. What is known as the New Democratic Revolution is a people's revolution against imperialism and feudalism under the leadership of the proletariat. In other words, a revolution participated in by the United Front of all revolutionary classes. China must go through this revolution first before she can arrive at socialist

revolution, not otherwise.

This New Democratic Revolution is quite unlike the democratic revolutions in the history of America and European countries, for it does not attempt to set up bourgeois dictatorship, but a dictatorship of the United Front of all revolutionary classes. During the Sino-Japanese War, the anti-Japanese democratic regime which should be set up, is a regime of anti-Japanese National United Front; it is neither a 'one-party dictatorship' of the bourgeoisie, nor a 'one-party dictatorship' of the proletariat, but the 'dictatorship of multi-parties' of the anti-Japanese National United Front. All those who are anti-Japanese and pro-democracy, regardless of party or group to which they belong, have the right to take part in this regime. This New Democratic Revolution is also unlike socialist revolutions, as it aims only at the defeat of imperialists, traitors and reactionaries, and not the destruction of the capitalistic elements which may still be able to join in anti-imperial and anti-feudal struggles.

This New Democratic Revolution fundamentally tallies with the Three People's Principles' Revolution announced by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1924 (i.e. the Declaration of the Kuomintang First National Representative Assembly). In this Declaration Dr. Sun said: "The so-called democratic system practiced in various countries today, is usually monopolised by the bourgeoisie, and becomes a tool of oppressing the common people, while the Kuomintang Democracy is shared by the common people and cannot become the private property of the minority." He also said: "All Chinese and foreign enterprises, may they be monopolistic or too large in scale to be privately run, such as banks, railroads, shipping etc. are to be nationalized so that the capitalist system cannot control the livelihood of the Chinese people. This forms the guiding principles of capital control."

In his will, Dr. Sun pointed out that the fundamental principle of domestic and foreign affairs should lie in the "educating and awakening of the people, and to cooperate and struggle with all other nations who treat us as equals." Here lies the difference between the early Three People's Principles of the Old Democracy which suits the new domestic and international conditions. On the 22nd September 1937, the Communist Party of China made a declaration that: "The Three People's Principles are essential to China today, and our Party is to strive for their complete materialisation." What this declaration referred to was none other than the latter kind of Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun, namely, the three major policies: cooperation with Russia, cooperation with the Communist Party, and the policies in the interests of workers and peasants. Under the new domestic and international conditions, they would not be revolutionary Three People's Principles if they exclude these three major policies. (At present we shall not deal with the question that Communism and the Three People's Principles are basically similar only in their political program of the Democratic Revolution while in other respects they are dissimilar.)

Consequently, the Chinese Bourgeois Democratic Revolution, whether looking at it from the point of view of its combat grouping (the United Front), or from its national constituents, the position of the proletariat, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and other petty bourgeoisie cannot be neglected. Whoever leaves out the Chinese proletariat, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and other petty bourgeoisie, will not be able to settle China's future, nor to solve any of her problems. The Democratic Republic to be created by the Chinese Revolution at its present stage must include the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia.

they must occupy a certain position and assume certain function. In other words, it must be a Democratic Republic based on the revolutionary alliance of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the petty-bourgeoisie, and all other anti-imperialist, anti-feudal elements. The complete materialization of such a Republic can only be achieved under the leadership of the proletariat.

### The Future of the Chinese Revolution

Having clarified the fundamental problems concerning the characteristics of the present Chinese society, the enemies of the Chinese Revolution, its tasks, its force and its nature, we can easily understand the problems concerning the future of the Chinese Revolution, that is, the relation between the Chinese Bourgeois Democratic Revolution and the Proletariat Socialist Revolution, or the relation between the Chinese Revolution at its present stage and its future.

Since the Chinese Bourgeois Democratic Revolution at its present stage is not the old and ordinary kind of bourgeois democratic revolution but is a special and a new kind of democratic revolution, namely, the New Democratic Revolution; since the Chinese Revolution is under the new international environment of forties' and fifties' of the twentieth century, when socialism is rising, while capitalism is on the decline, in the midst of the Second World Imperialist War and on the eve of the Second World Revolution, thus it is doubtless that the future of the Chinese Revolution will not be a capitalistic one but will be socialistic in nature.

Since it has been established that the aim of the Chinese Revolution at its present stage is to destroy the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, i.e. to strive for the completion of the work of the New Democratic Revolution; thus, after the triumph of the revolution, because the revolution would have cleared away all obstacles in the way of capitalist developments, it can be expected that the economy of capitalism may develop to a certain extent in the Chinese society. Capitalism will develop to a certain extent, this is an inevitable aftermath of the New Democratic Revolution in an economically backward country like China. Naturally, we cannot deny that this is only one aspect of the result of the Chinese Revolution, and is not the entire result. The entire result of the Chinese Revolution is on the one hand, the development of capitalistic factors, while on the other, the development of socialistic factors. What are these socialistic factors? They are the proportional growth of the proletariat and the Communist Party in China's politics, and the possible or the actual recognition of the leadership of the proletariat and the Communist Party by the peasantry, intelligentsia and petty bourgeoisie. All these are the socialistic factors. In addition, favorable international conditions may enable the Chinese Bourgeoisie Democratic Revolution to avoid the path of capitalism in its ultimate result and achieve socialism outright. There is great probability.

### The Twofold Task of the Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China

To summarize we can now understand that the whole Chinese Revolution is charged with two tasks, i.e., the Chinese Revolution includes bourgeois and democratic characteristics (New Democratic Revolution), and it is also a revolution which includes proletarian and socialistic characteristics. These form the twofold task of the Chinese Revolution at its present stage, and also at its future stage. The leadership of this two-fold revolutionary task rests upon the shoulders

of the political party of the Chinese proletariat -- the Communist Party, and without the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, no revolution can succeed.

To complete the Chinese Bourgeois Democratic Revolution (the New Democratic Revolution) and to steer it into a socialist revolutionary stage, when all necessary conditions are endowed, form the glorious, magnificent and entire task of revolution of the Chinese Communist Party. Each party member must strive to achieve this aim, and must not give up in mid-stream. Some immature party members think that the task ends with the present democratic revolution, and has nothing to do with the future socialist revolution. In other words, they think that the present revolution or agrarian revolution is just the socialist revolution. The nature of these two revolutionary processes are different, and unless we complete the first revolutionary stage we cannot complete the second revolutionary stage. The Democratic Revolution is the necessary preparation for the Socialist Revolution and the Socialist Revolution is the necessary tendency of the Democratic Revolution. The ultimate aim of all Communists is to strive for the accomplishment of a socialist and Communist society, and they must clearly realise the difference between the Democratic Revolution and the Socialist Revolution. They must also realise the relationship between the two before they can lead the Chinese Revolution without error.

Apart from the Communist Party of China, no other political party (either a bourgeois political party or a petty bourgeois political party) can achieve the magnificent Democratic Revolution and the Socialist Revolution of China to the very end. From the day it was founded, the Communist Party had shouldered this two-fold task, and for eighteen years it has striven for it.

This task is really glorious but it is also extremely arduous. Without a Bolshevik Chinese Communist Party whose foundation is nationwide, supported by the masses, in ideology, in politics and in organization, it is completely solid, this task cannot be fulfilled. Therefore the duty of each Communist is to construct a Communist Party.

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The above article is presented as translated by the China Digest Translation Service, Hongkong. It is the first translation made and is accompanied by the following notes:

Mao Tze-tung wrote "The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China" in December, 1939, during the Sino-Japanese War. Many Kuomintang government leaders had already become Japanese quislings. The Japanese advance was gaining in momentum and all the coastal cities had been occupied. China's wartime capital had been moved to Chungking in West China. Hitler was at the height of his triumphs in Europe. Little foreign aid was available for China, except from the Soviet Union.

The Chinese "upper bourgeoisie" wavered in the face of these grim realities. A number of them joined the No. 1 Quisling, Wang Ching-wei, while others maintained a clandestine relationship with the Quislings.

Then the Japanese halted their offensive and turned to a "mopping up" operation of the Communist-led guerillas in North China, who had built bases behind the Japanese lines. Taking advantage of this lull the Kuomintang government, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, began a nationwide campaign of arrests and slaughter of men and women opposed to, or suspected of being opposed to, the Kuomintang dictatorship. The anti-Japanese United Front was seriously undermined by the Kuomintang reign of terror. In North China some Kuomintang troops fought with the Japanese against the Communists.

The Communist Party devoted itself to mobilizing the masses of the people to re-double their war effort. In the countryside under its control, moderate land reform of reduction in rent and interest was implemented to better the livelihood of the peasants without running the risk of driving the landlords out of the anti-Japanese camp. Local democratic governments were established. The support given to the Communists by the peasantry enabled the Communist troops, not only to hang on to their positions behind the Japanese lines, but to expand and grow as well.

The Communists repeatedly criticized the dictatorial rule and sabotage of war efforts by the Kuomintang government, while endeavoring to keep the United Front in the determination that the war against the Japanese must be won through the united efforts of all Chinese.

Mao Tze-tung's thesis is based mainly on experiences since the first Communist-Kuomintang United Front up to the date of writing (1939). It was written primarily for the education of Chinese Communists.



#### DISTRIBUTOR'S NOTE

The Committee for A Democratic Far Eastern Policy publishes this article by Mao Tze-Tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, as an important document to the understanding of current developments in China. The Committee believes that it deserves the careful study of all serious students of contemporary China whether or not they sympathize with the views expressed.

It is presented in the first English translation by the China Digest Translation Service, Hongkong.

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