

**CHINESE REVOLUTION**  
**AND THE**  
**COMMUNIST PARTY**  
**OF CHINA**

**By**  
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## PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The article *The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China* by Comrade Mao Tse-tung was originally written in December 1939. The first English translation appeared in a series of three articles in *China Digest* February-March 1949, Volume V, Nos. 9, 10, 11. It is these articles which are reproduced in this edition. The titles and subtitles are as they appear in the articles in *China Digest*.

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## INTRODUCTION

Mao Tse-tung's *THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA* was written in December, 1939, during the Sino-Japanese War, at a time when many of the KMT government leaders openly went over to the Japanese and became Quislings. Wang Ching-wei, deputy chief of the KMT, had turned traitor Number One. At the various battlefronts, Japanese troops were gaining great momentum. All the coastal cities were occupied and China's wartime capital had moved to hilly Chungking in the interior of the West China hinterland. Hitler's triumph was at its zenith in the European theatre of war. For a time little foreign aid, except that from the Soviet Union, was available.

The "upper bourgeoisie" who remained in the anti-Japanese camp wavered in face of these realities. A number of them went over to Wang Ching-wei, while some of the KMT leaders maintained a clandestine relation with the Quislings. In the meantime, the Japanese had halted their offensive on the main fronts, turning to 'mop-up' the Communist-led guerillas in North China who had constructed anti-Japanese bases behind the Japanese lines. Taking advantage of the lull at its front, the KMT dictatorial government headed by Chiang Kai-shek started a nationwide campaign of arrest and slaughter of men and women who stood, or were suspected to be in opposition to the KMT dictatorial rule. The anti-Japanese United Front was seriously undermined by the KMT reign of terror. In North China, some of the KMT troops fought in cooperation with the Japanese against the Communist troops.

The Chinese Communist Party devoted itself to mobilising the masses of the people to redouble their efforts in maintaining the war. In the countryside under its control a 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 from the anti-Japanese camp. Local democratic governments were established and the masses of the peasantry were looking after their own affairs. The vast support given to the Communists by the peasantry enabled the Communist troops not only to hold on the resistance behind the Japanese lines but to expand and grow as well.

The Communists repeatedly criticised the dictatorial rule and sabotage in war efforts on the part of the KMT government while endeavouring to keep the United Front with the determination that the war against the Japanese must be won through the united effort of all Chinese. The prestige of the Chinese Communist Party rose in magnitude.

Mao Tse-tung's thesis was based mainly upon experiences since the first Communist-KMT United Front up to the date of writing. It was written primarily for the education of the Chinese Communists.

The translation is done by the *China Digest* Translation Section and it is the first English version ever published though it is not an authorised version.

## PART ONE

### The Chinese Society

#### (A) *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 laboured, harvested and brought up children since very early times.

The present boundaries of China are:—North-east, North-west and a part of West China meet the USSR; a part of West and South-west 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 favourable and unfavourable external conditions to the Chinese revolution. On the favourable side, China is close to the USSR, and is far from the American and European imperialist 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 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 civilisation 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 have been produced, also a mine of classical works have been 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. Eight hundred years ago, type printing was invented. Gunpowder was used in China much earlier than in Europe. Thus, China is one of the earliest civilised countries in the world, as China has five thousand years of civilisation.

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 example, we can see that the Chinese people cannot tolerate the rule of corruption; time and again they had overthrown and reconstructed the ruling class by revolutions. In thousands of years of Han history, hundreds of peasant revolts had 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 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.

### {B) *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 Chinn had overthrown serfdom emerging into a feudal society, she has remained stationary. Since the Chow dynasty. (1126 B.C.-221 B.C.) this feudal society had 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 Chinese economy. Not only did the peasants produce their own food, but most of the articles they used were 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 also 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 tributes and taxes and by conscripting labour.

(4) It was exactly such feudal government of the landowning 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 centralised 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* 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 landowning 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 exploitation 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 B.C.-265 A.D.) 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 Tao Ping 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 the power of a new class, and 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 the 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 their own interests. 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.

### *(C) 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 previously. But is the present Chinese society still a purely feudal society? Definitely not. China had already been transformed. Since the Opium War in 1840, Chinese society was gradually turned into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. Since the Mukden Incident in 1931, when the Japanese imperialists launched their invasion of China, Chinese society then became a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. We shall now analyse the process of this transformation.

As we have said in the second section, Chinese feudal society had 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 capitalist commodities whilst the widespread bankruptcy of the peasants and handicraftsmen enabled capitalism to exploit cheap labour.

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 imperialist First World War, when the European and American imperialist countries were busy at war and for the time being, had loosened their hold over China, thus the native industries of China, especially spinning and weaving industry, 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 1943 to 44 in 1922 [sic]; the flour industry's mills in 1916 increased to 107; while 60 new factories of the silk industry had sprung up. At the same time 108 Chinese banks were established.

The process of the rise and development of 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 the 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 into 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 imperialist powers into China is definitely not for the purpose of converting China into a capitalist country. On the contrary, the object of the imperialist powers is to reduce China into their semi-colony and colony.

With this object in mind, the imperialist powers had 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 imperialist powers had taken many Chinese dependent states and a part of her territories. Japan took Korea, Taiwan, Ryukyu Islands, Pescadores Islands, Port Arthur; England seized Burma, Bhutan. Nepal and Hongkong; France occupied Annam; and even an insignificant country like Portugal, also took Macau. After losing her territories, China had to pay large sums of war indemnity as well. All these directed severe blows against the colossal Chinese feudal empire.

**(2)** By virtue of the unequal treaties, the imperialist powers had obtained the right to station armies and navies in China, and establish consular jurisdictions withal. China was thus divided

into sections under their spheres of influence.

**(3)** On the strength of the same treaties, the imperialist 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, China's communications (by sea, land, air and inland waterways) and thus they could force the Chinese peasant to supply their needs.

**(4)** The imperialist powers set up many light industries and some heavy industries in China, so that they are able to take advantage of the Chinese raw materials and cheap labour to compete directly with the Chinese national industries.

**(5)** The imperialist powers, by means of granting loans to China and establishing banks in this country, have gained control over China's finances. Thus, not only did they kill China's national capitalism by commercial competition, but they have also gained control over China's finances as well.

**(6)** The imperialist powers have woven out a large compradore and usurious exploiting net, stretching over all important cities and the poor remote countryside as well, and nurturing a class of compradores and a class of usurers for their service, and by so doing they are able to exploit the large Chinese peasantry with ease.

**(7)** Apart from the compradore class the imperialist 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 imperialist powers plan to maintain the exploiting devices of early capitalism (particularly in remote villages) to build up a foundation for their reactionary alliance" (The outline of the colonial and semi-colonial movements of the 6th Communist International Assembly). "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, Europeanising and encouraging them to remain conservative." (Speech delivered by Stalin in the Communist International Executive Committee, 1927, translated from the Chinese text).

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

**(9)** Apart from the above, the imperialist 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.

By means of the above-mentioned devices, the imperialist 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 imperialist 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 of Japan, Russia, England, the United States, France, Germany, Italy and Austria. Resulting from these wars, China became the luscious fruit of the foreign imperialist powers who separately fought to seize her territories. Consequently, China became a semi-colony and the above state of affairs was created. Then, since the Mukden Incident in 1931, the large scale invasion by Japanese imperialism 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 imperialist 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 imperialist invasion of China had broken up the Chinese feudal society, paving a way for capitalism in China and turning the old feudal society into a semi-feudal society, whilst on the other hand, it has 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 comprador and usurious capitalist exploitation taking a conspicuous and important role in the Chinese social economy.

**(2)** National capitalism has already seen a certain amount of development in China, and it has some influence upon 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. Since the Mukden Incident, most of the Chinese national industries had either been destroyed or seized by Japanese imperialism, thus an even greater change took place in China.

**(3)** The tyrannical rule of kings and nobles had been 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 imperialist 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 imperialist powers, that for a long period she has remained disunited and also that her area is vast, China's economic, political and cultural developments have been unbalanced.

**(6)** Under the twofold oppression 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 deprived completely 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 determine 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 TWO

### The Chinese Revolution

#### (A) *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 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 Tai Ping Revolution (1850-65), the Sino-French War (1873), the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), Constitutional Reforms (1898-99), the Boxer risings (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 overrun 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-weis, 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.

Beginning with the Opium War in 1840, the revolution of the Chinese people has already a history of a hundred odd years; and since the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in 1911, it has 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 objects of this revolution? What are its tasks? What are its forces? Its characteristics? and its future? All these questions will be dealt with accordingly in the following sections.

#### (B) *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, the 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 imperialist oppression is the severest, imperialists then are the most

deadly enemy of the Chinese people.

Since Japan's military invasion of China, the chief enemies of the Chinese people are Japanese imperialism and the traitors that had openly surrendered and those who are preparing to surrender to Japan. Originally, the Chinese bourgeoisie had also been oppressed by imperialism, and had 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 had cooperated with the imperialists, and had formed a reactionary alliance with the land-owning class, betraying their friends and helpers—namely the Communist Party, the proletariat, the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie. They betrayed the Chinese revolution and became the common enemy of the people causing the revolution to fail. Thus the revolutionaries and revolutionary party (the Communist Party) were 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 imperialist 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 erratic 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 erratic 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 erratic to ignore the principles of armed struggles, revolutionary wars, guerilla warfares and political work in the army.

Faced with such enemies, questions arise concerning the special revolutionary bases. The great imperialist 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 contrarily struggles to the very end, and if the revolutionary force is to accumulate and nurture its own strength and avoid 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, turning them into 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 unbalanced condition of Chinese economic development (the rural economy is not entirely dependent on urban economy); of the vastness of China's territories (there is immense space for the revolutionary forces to fall back to); of the disunity and conflicts existing in the Chinese anti-revolutionary camp and because 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 erratic to ignore the principles of rural districts as revolutionary bases, the strenuous work amongst the peasantry and guerilla warfare.

But in stressing upon the importance of the armed struggles, we must not overlook the other form which revolutionary struggles must take, for without the other form of revolutionary struggles, armed struggles alone cannot be victorious. In stressing upon 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 organisational 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 contrarily, 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.

### *(C) 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, whilst 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 the 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 resist the invasion of imperialist 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.

#### (D) *THE FORCES OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION*

Judging by the analysis of the characteristics of the 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 view point 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.

##### (a) *The Land-Ownning Class*

The land-owning class represents the remaining feudal elements; it forms the mainstay of the Chinese society under the imperialist rule. It is the class that exploits and oppresses the peasantry, and it retards the progress of the 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 is the big landlord class stratum: as to the petty landlords, especially the bankrupt and semi-bankrupt petty landlords, the situation varies. When the work of the revolution, was limited to the overthrowing of imperialism and the great landlords, they either remained neutral or even temporarily took part in the revolution. This is true especially of the intelligentsia who sprang from this class stratum and who 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, whilst others of the same class stratum though remaining within the resistance camp, were extremely unreliable. But many enlightened people belonging to the middle or petty land-owning class, in spite of their capitalist ideas, have vigorously supported the war of resistance, and therefore deserve our cooperation in the task of driving out the Japanese enemy.

(b) *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 imperialist 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 remains its enemy.

But as the Chinese compradore upper bourgeoisie is divided into the spheres of various imperialist powers, when the different imperialist powers clash with one another and when the task of the revolution is to overthrow a certain imperialist power, then the compradore class under the rule of the other imperialist powers may, to a certain extent and within a certain time, take part in the anti-imperialist revolution. But once their imperialist 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 have 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 are 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 in as much as they are still anti-Japanese, so as to take advantage of whatever vigour they have in resisting Japan, whilst 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 it has shown its vigour in the struggle against imperialism, bureaucracy and warlordism.

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-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutions. This becomes specially obvious when the people's revolution has reached a powerful stage.

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

But the Chinese national bourgeoisie is mainly a middle bourgeoisie. Although from 1927-31 (the Mukden Incident) it has 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.

(c) *The various categories of the categories of the Petty-bourgeoisie*

It 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 into 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.

First, the intelligentsia and the students.

In the space of several decades China had 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 and the upper bourgeoisie, and are against the Chinese people, the majority, oppressed by 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 labourers and take part in the revolution. The popularisation and widespread reception of Marxism-Leninism in China started amongst the intelligentsia and students. Without the participation of the revolutionary intelligentsia, the organisation 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 interest of the people and to live like one of them, its thoughts are usually void, and actions inconstant. 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 a few even became 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.

Secondly, the poor people of urban districts.

This class stratum includes bankrupt handicraftsmen, hawkers, peasants who had left their homes and had met with unemployment in towns and other labourers without fixed jobs. These are large in number and their status is on the whole similar to those 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.

Thirdly, the employees.

Employees of industrial and commercial organisations and the salary-earning employees of government offices and cultural institutions, belong to this class stratum. They earn Their living through their mental labour or technical abilities, exploiting no one. They are greatly threatened

by unemployment and 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, national and cultural reconstruction.

Fourthly, 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, and thus they can stand on the side of the revolution and serve as one of its important forces. Some of them hire a small number of labourers, whilst 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, and thus they can become a part of the revolutionary force.

Fifthly, small businessmen.

Small businessmen on the whole, are under the oppression of imperialism and the big capitalists, and they are numerous. Men belonging to the lower part of this class stratum do not exploit others; on the contrary, they suffer from usurious exploitation, and thus they form a useful branch of the revolutionary force. It is only those who belong to the upper part of this class stratum and who exploit others and cooperate with imperialist compradores and the remaining feudal elements, who are inconstant to the revolutionary cause.

#### (d) *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:

1. 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.

2. 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 labourers 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 own not 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.

3. The poor peasants and the farm labourers take up approximately 70 per cent of the peasantry. The poor peasants either do not possess and 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 the 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 implies.

(e) *The Proletariat*

The Chinese proletariat includes approximately two and a half to three million modern industrial workers, twelve million town handicraftsmen and hired labourers 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?

First, the Chinese proletariat is oppressed by three forces; namely, the imperialists, bourgeois 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 and 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 upon a part of the proletariat).

Secondly, the Chinese proletariat was led by the proletarian 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.

Thirdly, 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, and 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 yet, 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, and 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 organised 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 organise 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 time, and in a certain degree. This is one of the fundamental formulae proven by the modern Chinese Revolution.

This 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 deeds. This is the origin of begging, stealing, blackguarding, prostitution and other professions depending on superstition. This class stratum is vacillating, a part of which is easily bribed by the reactionaries, whilst 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, organise its revolutionary qualities and prevent its unwholesome destructiveness.

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

#### (E) *THE NATURE OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION*

Having understood the nature of the Chinese society, *i.e.* the specific conditions of China, we have already the fundamental basis in 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 the 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 proletarian 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 proletarian 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 nationalise 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 the 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 the other hand it is also creating a precedent for Socialism. The 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 by the United Front of all revolutionary classes. China must go through this revolution first before she can arrive at the 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 a 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 at the destruction of the capitalist 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 Yet-sen in 1924 (i.e. the Declaration of the KMT First National Representative Assembly). In this Declaration Dr. Sun said, "The so-called democratic system practised in various countries today, is usually monopolised by the bourgeoisie, and becomes a tool of oppressing the common people, while the KML 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 nationalised, so that the capitalist system cannot control the livelihood of the Chinese people. This forms the guiding principle 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 suited the old domestic and international conditions, and the Three People's Principles of the New Democracy, which suits the new domestic and international conditions. On September 22 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 programme of the Democratic Revolution

whilst 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 materialisation of such a Republic can only be achieved under the leadership of the proletariat.

#### (F) *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 proletarian 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 the 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 capitalist one but will be Socialist 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 capitalist factors, whilst the other the development of Socialist factors. What are these Socialist 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 Socialist factors. In addition, favourable international conditions may enable the Chinese bourgeois democratic revolution to avoid the path of capitalism in its ultimate result and achieve Socialism outright. There is great probability.

#### (G) *THE TWOFOLD TASK OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA*

Summarising the various sections of Part II, we now can 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 Socialist characteristics. These form the twofold task of the Chinese Revolution at its present stage, and also at its future stage. The leadership of this twofold 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 midstream. Some immature Party members think that the task ends with the present democratic revolution and have 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. We must point out that these conceptions are wrong. Each party member should know that the whole Chinese Communist movement is a complete revolutionary movement including the two stages of the democratic revolution, and 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, and also to realise their relationship, before they can lead the Chinese Revolution without amiss.

Apart from the Communist Party of China, no other political party (may it be 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 twofold task, and for eighteen years it has striven for it.

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

In another article we shall continue to discuss the problems of the construction of the Chinese Communist Party.

*December 15, 1939.*

(Translated by Huang Li, *China Digest* Translation Section)