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COLLECTED WORKS OF MAO TSE-TUNG
(1917 - 1949)
VOLUMES 1-2

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CONTENTS	PAGE
VOLUME 1 (pp 33-51, 53-131, 133-159, 161-185, 187-206)	
Introduction to 'Collected Works of Mao Tse-tung'.....	1
Letter to Toten Miyazaki (March 1917).....	3
Study of Physical Education (1 April 1917).....	4
Advertisement for Workers' Evening School (1917).....	14
Advertisement for Workers' Evening School (1917).....	14a
Inaugural Statement of 'HSIANG-CHIANG P'ING-LUN' (14 July 1919).....	15
Great Union of the People (21, 28 July, 4 August 1919).....	18
Outline of Organization of Wen-hua Bookstore (1 August 1920).....	27
Announcement of Wen-hua Bookstore (October 1920).....	29
Business Report of Wen-hua Bookstore (No 2) (March 1921).....	30
Inaugural Statement of Tsu-hsiu University, Hunan (August 1921).....	34
Inaugural Statement of 'HSIN-SHIH-TAI' (10 April 1923).....	38
Peking Coup d'etat and Merchants (11 July 1923).....	39
'Sheng-Hsien-Ching' and Chao Heng-t'i (15 August 1923).....	43
The British and Liang Ju-hao (29 August 1923).....	45

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
Cigarette Tax (29 August 1923).....	47
Kuomintang Central Committee Refutes Kuomintang Members for Convening Illegal Meeting in Peking (27 November 1923).....	49
Propaganda Outline for Kuomintang's War Against Feng-t'ien (27 November 1925).....	51
Reasons for Publishing 'CHENG-CHIH CHOU-PAO' (5 December 1925).....	57
The 'Three-three-three-one System' (5 December 1925).....	59
Yang K'un-ju's Notice and Liu Chih-lu's Cable (5 December 1925).....	61
If There is Common Aspiration for Combating Communism, Then My Enemy's Enemy Is My Good Friend (5 December 1925).....	62
Acclamations Will Come From All Nations (5 December 1925).....	63
'Long Live the Great Union of Anticomunist Chinese National Army' (5 December 1925).....	64
Communist Regulations and Sham Communism (5 December 1925).....	65
Tsou Lu and Revolution (5 December 1925).....	66
To Turn Left or Right? (13 December 1925).....	67
Communization Clarified (13 December 1925).....	69
Who Killed All the Intellectuals? (13 December 1925).....	70
Peking Rightist Conference and Imperialism (20 December 1925).....	71
Last Tool of Imperialism (20 December 1925).....	72
The Most the Rightists Can Do (20 December 1925).....	74
Propaganda Report (8 January 1926).....	76
Analysis of the Various Strata of Chinese Peasantry and Their Attitude Toward Revolution (January 1926).....	85
Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society (1 February 1926).....	91

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
National Revolution and Peasant Movement--Foreword to 'Nung-min Wen-t'i Ts'ung-k'an' (1 September 1926).....	100
The Agony and Resistance Movement of Peasants in Kiangsu and Chekiang (25 November 1926).....	104
Declaration of the First Hunan Peasant Congress (December 1926).....	109
Hunan Peasants--Changsha Newsletter of 30 November (1926).....	114
VOLUME 2 (pp 9-69, 71-125, 127-262).....	124
Latest Directive of National Peasant Association (13 June 1927).....	124
Letter From Hunan to Central Committee (20 August 1927).....	126
Letter From Hunan Provincial Committee (30 August 1927).....	128
Report of the Ching-kang Mountains Front Committee to Central Authority (25 November 1928).....	130
Notice of the Fourth Army Headquarters of the Red Army (January 1929).....	161
Hsing-kuo County Land Law (April 1929).....	163
Resolution of the Ninth CCP Congress of the Red Fourth Army (December 1929).....	165
Letter to Comrade Lin Piao (5 January 1930).....	197
Question of Rich Peasants After Land Distribution (Situation at Yung-hsin and in the Northern Party) (October 1930).....	207
Investigation in Tung-t'ang and Other Areas (8 November 1930).....	209
Land Distribution in Western Kiangsi (12-15 November 1930).....	217
Mistakes in Land Struggle in Kiangsi (14 November 1930).....	223
Harvest Distribution and Rent Problems (15 November 1930).....	227
Investigation at Mu-k'ou Village (21 November 1930).....	233

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
Land Administrative Program--1930.....	236
Land Law Promulgated by Chinese Revolutionary Military Commission (1930).....	238
Investigations in Hsing-kuo County (26 January 1931).....	243
Duties of General Political Department and Relationship Between the Red Army Political Departments and Commissars (17 February 1931).....	298
No Investigation, No Right To Speak, No Proper Investigation and No Right To Speak (2 April 1931).....	300
Question of Opposing Rich Peasants (1931).....	302

VOLUME 1

INTRODUCTION TO 'COLLECTED WORKS OF MAO TSE-TUNG'

[Excerpts] The "Collected Works of Mao Tse-tung" is compiled and edited according to the following principles:

Wherever possible, the works of Mao Tse-tung between 1917 and 1949 are included.

Chronological order, according to the date of writing or speech, is followed. Where the date cannot be ascertained, the date of publication is used. For details, please refer to the "Supplement." The scope of the collection is determined according to the following criteria:

1. All articles signed by Mao Tse-tung, whether individually or jointly with others, are included.
2. All unsigned articles which have been verified as his work are also included.
3. In accordance with the above, besides essays, reports, speeches, and letters, other items such as interviews, declarations, decrees, and telegrams are also included.
4. Poems, inscriptions, excerpts, and collective articles are included in the "Supplement."
5. However, all works which have already appeared in the current edition of "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung" or "Selected Readings of Mao Tse-tung's Works" are not included.

In regard to the same article appearing in different publications, the choice is made according to the following criteria:

1. The first appearance of the article, or the publication closest in time to its first appearance, is used.

2. However, the above is limited to the 1944 edition of the "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung" published by the Chin-Ch'a-Chi [Shansi-Cha-har-Hopeh] Daily News Press and the 1947 edition of the same title published by the Central Chin-Ch'a-Chi Central Bureau. Variations in wording appearing in prior publications are explained in footnotes.

3. Errors, omissions, and ambiguities in the source used are corrected and supplemented according to other publications whenever possible.

4. Variations from the current "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," whether major or minor, are explained in footnotes [not translated].

The last volume of this collection is considered the "Supplement." In addition to poems, inscriptions, excerpts, and collective articles, an appendix of the publications and a chronology of Mao Tse-tung's works appear at the end of the volume.

The current simplified characters of the Chinese language are used.

The following symbols and methods of annotation are used:

At the end of each article, the monographs, periodicals, etc. in which it appeared are listed. The symbol "o" indicates the source used for this collection; the symbol "*" indicates the source on which correction of errors and filling in of omissions are based; the symbol "Δ" indicates a publication not seen by the editors. No symbol appears on publications which do not affect the article. Variations from the current "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung" are indicated by top marginal notes, side notes, and footnotes [not translated]. The source used for comparison is the 1951-1960 Peking edition of "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung" (hereinafter referred to as "Selected Works").

Where the date of publication is not given in the source, it is added along the side of the title whenever possible.

6080
CSO: 4005

LETTER TO TOTEN MIYAZAKI

March 1917

[Text] Dear Mr Shiranami Toten: We have long admired your fame from afar, but have not had the occasion to meet you. Hearing about you far away, one cannot but be inspired.

You were most kind to Mr Huang. During his lifetime, you rendered him moral support. Now that he is dead, you mourn him with tears. For his coming funeral, you have travelled 10,000 li to attend the burial. Your friendship reaches to the sun and the moon; your sincerity moves the gods. What you do is rare in the world and unheralded at all times. We are students of Hunan. We have studied poetry and the classics, and we hold ambitions in our heart. We wish to meet you and hear your instructions. We hope you will grant us the opportunity.

Hsiao Chih-fan [5618 2784 5603]
Mao Tse-tung

Students of Hunan Provincial First
Normal School

ASAHI SHINBUN (Tokyo edition), 3 July 1967

[While the name in the title is "Miyazaki Toten," the person is addressed as "Shiranami Toten" in the text.]

6080
CSO: 4005

STUDY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

1 April 1917

[Text] The national strength is weak; the martial arts are not flourishing. The physical quality of the nation becomes ever more debilitated. This is a distressing situation. As those advocating physical education do not reach the source, their effort has produced no result over a long period of time. Not only has there been no improvement, but the weakness worsens. Hitting the mark and reaching far are external matters, the results. Fullness in physical strength is internal, the cause. When the body is not firm, one is afraid of arms. How can one hit the mark? And how can one reach far? Firmness comes from tempering; tempering comes from awareness. It isn't that today's physical education advocates do not think of all kinds of means, yet they produce no result. It is because the external force cannot stimulate the mind. They do not know the true meaning of physical education. When it comes to the value of physical education, its effect, or where to start, they are in a fog. No wonder they produce no result. To make physical education effective, we must promote subjective awareness. Once there is awareness, the particulars of physical education will become clear without need of explanation, and the effect of hitting the mark and reaching far will appear without seeking. I deeply feel the importance of physical education, but regret the improper approach of the advocates. I know that there are many who feel like I do. Setting aside my diffidence, I would like to present my views for discussion. What I say is not all practical, and maybe much is mere empty words and ideals. I do not wish to deceive you. Should you favor me with your thoughts and instructions, I shall be humbly grateful.

I. Explanation of Physical Education

Ever since the beginning of mankind, be they wise or obtuse, there has been no one who does not protect his own life. Therefore, the ferns of the western hills were eaten when hungry; the plums on top of the well were swallowed. Using timber for shelter and pelts for clothes--it was instinctive, without knowing the reasons. But it was not refined. The sages appeared. Then, there were rites, and there was order in daily living. In his private life, Confucius was serene and at peace. He ate no spoilt

meat. When he went shooting in the garden, spectators lined up like a wall. The structure of the human body is no different from the animals, and yet the animals do not live as long as man. It is because the animals do not have order in their lives. Man regulates his life, becoming ever more so with time. Therefore, there is physical education. Physical education is the way to foster life. Different people follow different ways. Chuang-tzu learned from the cook; Confucius pursued archery and charioteering. In today's civilized nations, Germany is the most advanced. The popularity of fencing spreads in the entire country. Japan has its samurai and recently, influenced by China, judo. They are most impressive. However, when we study their contents, they are all based on physiology, the structure of the human body, the movement of the vessels and energy, the parts which develop the earliest, and the parts which are deficient. Their physical education follows such order, checking the excessive and remedying the deficient. In conclusion, it is for the balanced development of the body. Therefore, physical education is the way of mankind to foster life, enabling the body to develop in a balanced manner and according to order.

II. The Position of Physical Education

Physical education supplements ethical and academic education. Yet, virtue and wisdom both rely on the body. Without the body, there can be neither virtue nor wisdom. But there are few who are aware of it. Some stress wisdom; others say virtue is the most important. Knowledge is truly valuable. That is where man is different from animals. Yet what is the vessel of knowledge? Virtue is truly valuable. It is order and equity among men. Yet what is the lodge of virtue? The body is the vessel of knowledge and the lodge of virtue. Like a cart, it carries knowledge; like a house, it shelters virtue. The body is the cart to carry knowledge and the house to shelter virtue. Children, upon reaching the proper age, enter elementary school. During elementary school, the development of the body should be specially stressed, while the improvement of knowledge and the building of virtue are secondary. Fostering and caring are major matters, while teaching and training are supplementary. Today, many people are ignorant of this principle. Therefore, there have been children who became sick or died as a result of studying. In middle school and above, the three kinds of education should be equally stressed. Today, most people incline to stress the academic. In middle school years, the body is not fully developed, yet today there are less people who build it and more who destroy it. Will it not suspend development? Under the education system of China today, the subjects are so numerous that even adults with a strong body cannot handle them, let alone the young and the weak. It seems that the educators purposely set up such a tedious and heavy curriculum to harass the students in order to trample their body and sabotage their life. Those refusing to accept it are punished; those with superior ability are assigned additional books, induced by sweet words and tempted by large rewards. Alas, the students seem to hate their own life and wish to destroy and sacrifice it! How muddled can they be? Man's only worry is not to have a body; there is no other worry. Once the body is sound, everything else follows. There

is nothing better than physical education to improve the body. Physical education should be of primary importance. Once the body is strong, one can advance vigorously and effectively in the academic and the ethical aspects. Physical education should be considered an important part of our study. There must be the primary and the secondary, and the beginning and the end. Such is the way.

III. The Defects of Physical Education in the Past and What Should Be Done

The three kinds of education should be equally stressed. Yet scholars of the old days stressed the moral and the academic while ignoring the physical. The results were slight body and bowed head, and fragile white hands; short of breath when climbing a mountain and cramped legs when crossing a water. Yen-tzu and Chia-sheng were short-lived; Wang Po and Lu Chao-ling either died young or became crippled. They were all superior in virtue and wisdom. Yet one day when the body no longer existed, their virtue and wisdom perished also. That the North was powerful was because there were many able-bodied men. The patriots and warriors mostly came from Liang-chou. In the beginning of the Ch'ing Dynasty, Yen Hsi-chai and Li Kang-chu were scholars and warriors simultaneously. Yen Hsi-chai travelled 1,000 li to learn the skill of fencing and beat the warriors in a match. Therefore he said that one must master both knowledge and martial arts. Ku Yen-nan was a Southerner, but he preferred to live in the North and liked horses more than boats. These ancients are worthy of our emulation.

With the establishment of schools, the ways of other nations have been adopted, and there has been some change in the customs. Yet the educators, as a result of what they learned before, cannot free themselves from the old ways. They seek external display only, ignoring the fundamental while pursuing the details. Therefore, I feel that today's physical education has the form but not the substance. There exist the physical education course and the physical education teacher, but few benefits and there is more harm than good. The teacher gives the orders, and the students force themselves to obey. The body follows but the mind refuses, and there is immeasurable mental agony. Mental agony brings physical agony. At the end of a physical education session, everyone is exhausted in body and spirit. When the food and drink are not clean, inorganic matter and germs enter the body and cause disease. Improper lighting damages the eyesight. Improper heights of the tables and chairs damage the body. Such instances are too many to be enumerated.

Then what should our students do? The school equipment and the teachers' teaching are external objective matters, while we still have our internal subjective matters. The mind determines all, and the body follows the order of the mind. The good or the bad all depends on ourselves. We get what we want. This applies to physical education. If we do not arouse ourselves, even if the external objective matters are perfect, we will not benefit from them. Therefore, we must begin with our own initiative in physical education.

IV. The Effect of Physical Education

As man is an animal, he acts. As he is a rational animal, he always acts with a reason. Why is man's action valuable? Why is man's rational action valuable? In a narrow sense, action is to make a living. In a broad sense, it is to defend the nation. Neither constitutes the principal significance. Action is to foster our life and please our mind. Chu-tzu advocated respect; Lu-tzu urged tranquillity. Tranquillity is inaction. Neither is respect; it is also inaction. Lao-tzu said that inaction was great; Shih-shih sought quietude. Mediation was followed by the disciples of Chu and Lu. Recently someone by the name of Yin-shih-tzu promoted mediation, bragging about its ingenuity and scorning action for being self-destructive. That may be one way, but I cannot subscribe to it. According to my opinion, action is the only thing in the world.

The action of man, when regulated, is physical education. As stated before, the effect of physical education is the strengthening of tendons and bones. I once heard that man's structure and blood vessels were determined at a given age and could not be changed. Usually after age 25 there was no further change. Now I know it is not so. Man's body changes every day. Metabolism goes on continuously in the tissues. Eyesight and hearing can be improved. Even those 60 or 70 years old can change their physical structure. I also heard that it was difficult for the weak to become strong. Now I have also found out that it is not so. For those who are born strong, if they abuse themselves, indulging in addictions and relying on their natural strength, they will become weak. As for the weak, as they are aware of the imperfections of their body and fearful of dying young, they are careful with themselves. In the negative aspect, they strictly abstain from addictions, afraid to do damage. In the positive aspect, they diligently temper themselves, remedying their deficiencies, and they become strong after a prolonged effort. Therefore, those who are born strong have no need to congratulate themselves, and those born weak have no need to feel sorry for themselves. I was born weak, but maybe Heaven wants to induce me to become strong. Famous athletes in the West, such as America's Roosevelt, German's (Sun-t'ang), and Japan's Kano, all attained the greatest of strength from the weakest of bodies. I also heard that the mental and the physical could not be both perfect, and that those using their mind were often deficient in body, and vice versa. Such theory is also fallacious. It only applies to those who have no determination; it does not cover everyone. Confucius died at age 72, and one has never heard of him suffering from ill health. Buddha travelled incessantly to spread the doctrines, and he also died at an old age. Jesus unfortunately met with an unjust death. Mohammad, with the Koran in his left hand and a sword in his right, conquered the world. They were all sages of ancient times and the greatest thinkers. Today's Mr Wu Chih-yung is in his 70's, and he thinks he will live to 100. He also is a man using his mind. Wang Hsiang-ch'i died when he was in his 70's. He was healthy and alert up until then. How can all such instances

be explained by the above fallacy? In sum, physical education strengthens the tendons and bones; when the tendons and bones are strengthened, the quality of the body will change. The weak will become strong, and the body and the mind will both become perfect. It is not destiny, but man's effort.

Not just strengthening the tendons and bones, but physical education will also increase knowledge. There is a recent saying: Civilize the spirit; barbarize the body. It is an apt statement. To civilize the spirit, the body must first be barbarized. Once the body is barbarized, civilized spirit follows. Knowledge is to understand the things in the world and render judgment. This requires physical effort. Direct observation depends on the ears and eyes; thinking depends on the brain. The ears and eyes and the brain are parts of the body. Only when the body is sound will knowledge become perfect. Therefore, one can say that knowledge is acquired indirectly through physical education. There are hundreds of fields of study today. Whether to study in school or by oneself, those who can handle the task are strong in body, and those who cannot are weak. The realms of the strong and the weak are different.

Not just increasing knowledge, but physical education will also harmonize the emotions. Emotions are very powerful in man. The ancients controlled them with reason. Thus, it was said that the master was always alert. It was also said that reason controlled the mind. Nevertheless, reason comes from the mind, and the mind exists in the body. The weak are often enslaved by their emotions and cannot extricate themselves. The crippled are often unbalanced in their emotions and cannot be saved by their reason. Only when the body is sound will the emotions be harmonized. It is an immutable principle. Take the following instance: When we encounter an unpleasantness and become excited, our mind is disturbed and we cannot control ourselves, but if we engage in vigorous exercises, we can immediately cleanse ourselves of the old concept and clarify our mind. An instant effect is produced.

Not just harmonizing the emotions, but physical education will strengthen our determination. This is where the major effect of physical education lies. The essential point of physical education is courage, and the goal of courage, such as bravery, fearlessness, intrepidity, and perseverance, belongs to the realm of determination. Take the following instance: Cold water baths will train one to be brave and fearless, as well as intrepid. In any kind of exercise, one must persist steadily, leading toward perseverance. Long-distance running, for example, is most apparent in perseverance. The strength to extract the mountain and the bearing to conquer the world were nothing but bravery. The determination not to return home before killing Lou-lan was nothing but fearlessness. Converting the family into the country was nothing but intrepidity. Passing by the door of his home three times without entering after an absence of 8 years was nothing but perseverance. All these qualities can be attributed to constant physical education. Determination is the harbinger of one's career.

Those slight of limb are flighty in behavior; those slack of muscle are soft and slow in mind. Thus the body influences the mind. Physical education strengthens the tendons and bones, thereby increasing knowledge, thereby harmonizing the emotions, and thereby reinforcing determination. The tendons and bones are our body, while knowledge, emotions, and determination constitute our mind. When the body and the mind are both sound, there is excellence. Therefore, physical education is the only thing to foster our body and please our mind.

V. Reasons for Aversion To Exercise

Exercise is the most important part of physical education. Most of today's scholars dislike exercise. There are four reasons: One is the lack of awareness. For something to materialize in one's action, there must first be an inclination toward it. But even more than inclination, one must first have the intelligence to gain a detailed understanding of it. Understanding is awareness. Most people do not know the relationship between exercise and themselves. Or, they may have a rough idea, but have no detailed knowledge. Therefore, their intelligence is not activated, and their senses not stimulated. That some people can study science diligently is because of its close relationship with themselves. If they do not study it today, they will not have the means to make a living in the future. But when it comes to exercise, they do not have such awareness. This is partly because they do not ponder profoundly, and partly because the teachers do not know how to enlighten them. Another reason is that old habits are difficult to change. In China, we have always stressed the academic. "Good men do not serve as soldiers." Though we know that exercise is proper and that the nations have become strong due to exercise, the force of the old concepts remains strong. Exercise, which is a new concept, is only half accepted. Therefore, it is not surprising that many people do not like exercise. The third reason is the lack of promotion. This point can be further subdivided into two factors. First, the so-called educators today mostly do not understand physical education. Hearing about it but not knowing what it is, they also engage in physical education. Therefore, they have neither the sincerity nor the method. As a result, they only discourage students from studying it. When a profligate talks about independence, or a drunk discusses abstinence, naturally no one will believe them. Second, the physical education teachers are mostly uneducated. Their language is so coarse that the listeners have to cover their ears. They only know one skill, and not necessarily expert at it. Day in and day out, they perform the mechanical movements. Anything in form only, without substance, cannot exist. Such is today's physical education. The fourth reason is that the students think of exercise as something shameful. I personally feel that this is the major reason for disliking exercise. As society prefers a well-dressed man with gentlemanly manners, it makes people feel ashamed to expose their arms and legs and wave them around. Therefore, there are those who know the importance of exercise and wish to exercise, but cannot do so. Others can exercise in a group but not by themselves. Still others will exercise

in private but not in public. In a word, it is due to bashfulness. The foregoing are the four reasons for aversion to exercise. The first and fourth are subjective, and it is up to the individual. The second and third are objective, and it is up to others. A gentleman relies on himself. He must disregard what is up to others.

VI. Fewer Methods of Exercise Preferred

Being weak, I wanted to study the means to improve my health. The ancients discussed the subject extensively. Now the schools have gymnasiums and books. After much studying, I was not benefited. The reason is that practice, rather than words, is important. If one can practice, learning a little bit is enough. Tseng Wen-cheng was greatly benefited by washing his feet before retiring and walking 1,000 steps after a meal. One old man was very healthy even at 80 years of age. When asked, he said: "I do not eat my fill." Today, there are hundreds of exercises. A bird needs only one branch in the forest to build a nest; a field mouse needs only a stomachful out of a river. We have only this one body, only so many bones and vessels. All the 100 methods of exercise are only for the purpose of blood circulation. One method will serve the purpose. Thus, 99 out of the 100 methods can be discarded. The eyes can see clearly if they do not see two things at a time, and the ears can hear clearly if they do not hear two things at a time. To temper the tendons and bones with 100 methods only serve to disturb them, and the desired result may not follow. What is suitable for different purposes is not the same as tempering one's own body. There are the swinging bridge for the sailor, pole carrying for the pole-vaulter, games for the elementary school, and military maneuvering for the middle school and above. They are for different purposes. Exercising the tendons and bones will help blood circulation. It is for tempering one's own body. There should be more methods when there are different purposes, but less for tempering one's own body. Today's scholars often do not realize it, resulting in two defects. Those who like to exercise think the more the better. To do 100 things with one body, one may not benefit at all. In regard to those who do not like to exercise, when they see others possessing so many skills, they feel so inadequate that they may give up altogether. More is not necessarily good, and less not necessarily bad. Even the bending and stretching of one arm or one leg, if done regularly, it will produce a benefit. Only when this is understood will there be improvement in physical education.

VII. Important Points in Exercising

Constancy is required in all undertakings, and this applies to exercise. Of two men exercising, one of them does it sporadically, while the other perseveres diligently. The results will be different. First, constancy in exercising will produce an interest. The static cannot move by itself. There must be something to make it move. To move is due to interest. All sciences produce interests in many aspects, and this applies to exercise also. It is restful to be quiet but tiring to move. Man usually prefers

leisure to effort. If there is nothing to make him move, then his status and preference cannot be changed. Interest comes from daily exercise. It is best to exercise upon rising and before retiring. It is preferable to be naked. Or, wear very thin clothes, because too many clothes are clumsy. Doing it daily will produce the concept of exercise, continuous and uninterrupted. Today's exercise is a continuation of yesterday's and the forerunner of tomorrow's. It does not have to be long. Some 30 minutes will be enough. By so doing, a sort of interest will naturally follow. Secondly, constancy in exercising will bring happiness. After exercising over a long period, the result will become apparent, and one will feel a respect for oneself. One will become efficient in studying and in building one's ethics. One will feel an unlimited happiness. All these come from constancy. Happiness must be distinguished from interest. Interest is the beginning of exercising, and happiness its end. Interest comes from doing while happiness comes from the result. The two are different.

Constancy without attention will not produce results. Like viewing flowers while riding a fast horse, even if one views the flowers every day, it is equivalent to not viewing. Thus, full attention is required when exercising. One must brush aside all idle thoughts and irrelevant worries, and concentrate on the circulation of blood, tensing and relaxing of the muscles, bending of the joints, and breathing. The movements must follow a rhythm, bending and stretching, advancing and retreating, all done conscientiously. According to Chu-tzu, one must concentrate on eating when eating, and on putting on clothes when dressing. The same principle applies to exercising.

A gentleman is civilized and docile, but this does not apply to exercising. One must be barbarous and solid. Only then will one build up one's strength and the tendons and bones. The method of exercising should be solid. Being solid will make it substantial and easy to practice. It is most important, especially for those who are beginners.

The three important points in exercising are constancy, concentration, and being barbarous and solid. There are many other points of attention, but these are the important ones.

VIII. What I Have Gained Through Exercise

I dabbled in all kinds of exercises, but it was all external tempering, without something which could be considered my own. Thus, I extracted the good points of the various exercises and created a new one. I have greatly benefited from it. It consists of six sections: Arms, legs, body, head, hitting, and harmonizing. The sections are further divided into 27 steps. It is called the six-section exercise, which is described below. I hope my readers will correct me.

1. Arm exercise, sitting position

(1) Form fists; stretch and retract in a forward movement, left and right alternating, three times. Left and right alternating means when the left is in motion the right rests, and vice versa.

(2) Form fists; bend elbows; make semi-circular motions by moving forward, sideways, and backward, left and right alternating, three times.

(3) Form fists; stretch and retract in a downward motion, left and right together, three times. Left and right together means both sides moving together, not alternating.

(4) Palms up; stretch forward, left and right alternating, three times.

(5) Palms down; stretch forward, left and right alternating, three times.

(6) Stretch fingers; bend elbows; thrust forward, left and right alternating, three times.

2. Leg exercise, sitting position

(1) Hands form fists hanging downward. Legs remain at original position; bend forward and stretch sideways, left and right alternating, three times.

(2) Hands form fists level in front. Legs stretch sideways; then bend forward. Position may change when stretching; use toes when tending; touch heels with buttocks; left and right alternating, three times.

(3) Hands form fists hanging downward. Legs advance and lift, left and right alternating, three times.

(4) Hands form fists hanging downward. Legs advance and kick forward, left and right alternating, three times.

(5) Hands form fists hanging downward. Legs bend forward and stretch backward. Keep original position when bending but change position when stretching. Both legs roughly on a straight line. Left and right alternating, three times.

(6) Open hands. Body rising and falling; touch heels with buttocks when lowering. Three times.

3. Body exercise, standing position

(1) Body bends forward and backward, three times. Hands form fists; same below.

(2) One arm stretches upward, and the other hangs downward. Expand left and right sides of chest. Left and right once each.

(3) Legs form T shape. Arms swing left and right, twisting the waist. Left and right once each.

4. Head exercise, sitting position

(1) Bend neck backward and forward, three times.

(2) Turn neck left and right, three times.

(3) Massage with hands the forehead, cheeks, nose, lips, throat, ears, and neck.

(4) Free movement: Head remains more or less stationary; exercise skin and lower jaw; five times.

5. Hitting exercise, no set position. Hitting exercise is to hit all parts of the body with fists in order to accelerate blood circulation and firm up the tendons and bones.

(1) Arms: Hit left hand with right, and vice versa.

(a) Upper arm: Top bottom, left, right.

(b) Lower arm: Top, bottom, left, right.

(2) Shoulder.

(3) Chest.

(4) Flanks.

(5) Back.

(6) Stomach.

(7) Buttocks.

(8) Legs, upper and lower.

6. Harmonizing exercise, no set position

(1) Dancing, 10 odd times.

(2) Keep breathing, three times.

°HSIN CH'ING-NIEN [New Youth], Vol 3, No 2, 1 April 1917

6080

CSO: 4005

ADVERTISEMENT FOR WORKERS' EVENING SCHOOL

1917

[Text] Please hear a few words from me.

What is your biggest disadvantage? Do you know? It is as described in the popular saying: You can say it but you cannot write it; what is written you cannot understand; given the figures, you cannot compute them. We are all human beings, but are you not similar to wood and stone? Therefore, you must seek some knowledge, and learn to read and write a little and do some arithmetic. Only then will it be advantageous. But then, you are working people. You have to work, and you have no one to teach you. How can you do it? There is an excellent way. Our First Normal School has started an evening school, specially for you workers. Monday through Friday, there will be 2 hours every evening. We teach letter writing and accounting, which are needed by you constantly. We will issue you the lecture notes, free of charge. Evening school will not interfere with your work. Those who wish to attend please enroll promptly at the registry office of the normal school within a week. Please think why we are doing this? It is only because we think of your difficulties and hope you will be able to write and calculate. So, why not enroll as soon as possible and come to the lectures? Some people are worried about the situation and afraid of violating the curfew. We can guarantee you on this point. When you attend school, we will issue you a lecture card. When stopped by the soldiers or police, all you have to do is to say that you are a student of the evening school of the normal school. Should you run into any difficulty, I will serve as your guarantor. Please set your mind at ease on this point. Please come and register promptly; do not delay any more.

Education Research Department, Student
Association of Hunan Provincial First
Normal School

o"Advertisement for Workers' Evening School," Mementos of Workers' Evening
School, Hunan First Normal School

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1917

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What is your biggest disadvantage? It is as described in the popular saying: You can say it but you cannot write it; what is written you cannot understand; given the figures, you cannot compute them. You are working people. You have to work, and you have no one to teach you. How can you learn to write a few words and do a few figures? Now there is an excellent way. Our First Normal School has started an evening school, specially for you workers. Monday through Friday, there will be 2 hours every evening. We teach letter writing and accounting, which are needed by you constantly. We will issue you the lecture notes, free of charge. Evening school will not interfere with your work. Those who wish to attend please enroll promptly at the registry office of the normal school within a week.

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Education Research Department, Student Association of
Hunan Provincial First Normal School

* "Advertisement for Workers' Evening School," Exhibition Hall of
Comrade Mao Tse-tung Mementos

6080
CSO: 4005

INAUGURAL STATEMENT OF 'HSIANG-CHIANG P'ING-LUN'

14 July 1919

[Text] With the rising roar of the "world revolution" and the striking progress of the "emancipation of mankind" movement, we must change our old concepts of the issues which we have never doubted before, the methods which we have never adopted before, and the words which we have always been afraid to utter. We doubt what we have never before doubted. We adopt what we have never before adopted. We are no longer afraid. Such trend cannot be blocked by any force, and it cannot but influence people, regardless of who they are.

What is the biggest issue in the world? The issue of food is the biggest. What force is the strongest? The force of mass unity is the strongest. What should not be feared? Fear neither Heaven, nor ghosts, nor the dead, nor the bureaucrats, nor the warlords, nor the capitalists.

With the Renaissance and the emancipation of thinking, "how man should live" became a big issue. When this issue was studied, the conclusion that "this is the way to live" and "that is not the way to live" was reached. With the scholars taking the lead and the majority of the people echoing them, many reforms were accomplished, or almost accomplished.

In religion, the Reformation resulted in freedom of religion. In literature, the literature of the aristocrats, the classic literature, and the dead literature became the literature of the people, modern literature, and living literature. In politics, tyranny became parliamentarism, and restricted election became unrestricted. In society, the dark society under the tyranny of the minority class became a bright society of the free development of all people. In education, there was the principle of popular education. In economics, there was the principle of to each according to his labor. In thinking, there was experimentalism. Internationally, there was the international alliance.

In a word, all the reforms are the results of "freedom from might." The fundamental ideology of the many forces opposing might is "popular-ism"

(democracy, also known as democratic theory, people-ism, or plebeian-ism). The might of religion, of literature, of politics, of society, of education, of economics, and of thinking, and international might have not any room for existence. They must all be overthrown by the loud appeal of popular-ism.

As for the means of overthrowing them, there are two theories: One is violent and the other moderate. We must make our choice between the two. (1) We recognize that all those exercising might are human beings, and our fellow creatures. Abusing power is their unconscious error and their misfortune, resulting from contamination and harm by the old society and old thinking. (2) The result of overthrowing might by force is still might. Not only is it contradictory, but also ineffective. The European war between the "Allies" and the "Central Powers" and China's civil war between the North and the South were all instances of such.

Therefore, according to our view, we advocate thorough study in the academic aspect, untrammelled by legends and superstitions, and we must spread the truth. In regard to the human element, we advocate mass unity, continuing our "counseling movement" toward those in power, and practicing "revolution by appeals"--appeal for bread, appeal for freedom, and appeal for equality, or, "bloodless revolution." It will not lead to any major chaos or the ineffective "revolution by bombs" and "bloody revolution."

International might pressing in on us is Japan. The various movements, such as student strikes, market strikes, work strikes, and boycotting are the effective means to handle the mighty Japan directly or indirectly.

Hsiang-chiang is a river in the east of the Eastern hemisphere on the globe. Its water is clear and its flow long. The people living on its shores and in its vicinity are ignorant and uninformed. They know little of the affairs of the world. They do not have an organized society. Everyone for himself and scattered, they only have the narrowest self and the shortest time. They have never dreamed of the common life or the long-range concept. In politics, they have not reached a thorough solution. They only know private struggles. Engulfed by the tidal waves of the external world, they have also undertaken some education, but without much effect. The bureaucratic educators, inflexible and stereotyped, consider the school a jail and the students prisoners. They have not developed their industry. The few useful talents among them acquired learning and art by studying abroad or in outside areas, but there is no room for them to make use of their talents. The confining Tung-t'ing Lake blocks them gently. Entrenched in tribal thinking, the practice the principle of Hunan's rice for Hunan's people. Those in education and industry cannot tolerate those differing from them. Their mind is impoverished and decadent and needs improvement, yet there is no one to undertake the task. They have many young men in school, full of potential, yet there is no one to enlighten them with new knowledge and new art by an effective means. Alas! Hsiang-chiang, Hsiang-chiang! Like a pillar you exist on this Earth!

The opportunity has arrived! The great tide of the world surges forward! The locks of Tung-t'ing Lake are moving, and opening! The powerful new trend is roaring along the shores of Hsiang-chiang! Those following it will live; those resisting it will die. How to receive it? How to spread it? How to study it? How to promulgate it? These constitute the most intimate and most important great issues of all the people of Hunan as well as "Hsiang-chiang" upon its birth.

o "The Influence of the October Revolution on China's Revolution (Shu-ying),"
People's Publishing House, 1957

Δ HSIANG-CHIANG P'ING-LUN, Inaugural Issue, 14 July 1919

6080

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GREAT UNION OF THE PEOPLE

21, 28 July, 4 August 1919

[Text] (I)

The state is at its worse; the misery of man is at its extreme; society is at its darkest. The means of remedy, of reform? While education, industry, effort, progress, destruction, and construction are all correct, the fundamental means is the great union of the people.

When we look back at history, no movement was not the result of the union of certain people. The bigger movements required bigger unions; the biggest movements required the biggest unions. Such union was most apparent at the time of reform or resistance. Always, the reform or resistance of religion, of the arts, of politics, and of society resulted from bigger unions. The outcome of victory or defeat depended on the strength or weakness of the union and on whether the principle of the union was new or old, true or false. The measure of uniting was always the same.

Most of the ancient unions were those of the powerful, of the aristocrats, and of the capitalists. The many kinds of "alliance" agreements in diplomacy, for instance, were the union of international powers. China's "Pei-yang Faction" and "Southwest Faction," and Japan's "Satsuma clan and Choshu clan," for instance, were the unions of domestic power holders; the political parties and parliaments of the various nations were the unions of aristocrats and capitalists. (While the upper house, being the house of the elders, was the den where the aristocrats converged, the lower house, with its voting rights restricted by property, was mostly monopolized by the capitalists). As for the trusts (iron and steel trust, petroleum trust...) and corporations (the Japan Steamship Corporation, Manchurian Iron Corporation...), they were purely unions of capitalists. By the present time, the unions of the powerful, the aristocrats, and the capitalist have reached the limit; therefore, the state is at its worst, the misery of man is at its extreme, and society is at its darkest, resulting in reform, in resistance, and in the great union of the people.

Since the victory of the "political reform" in France as a result of the great union of the people against that of the royalists, the various nations followed suit and produced many "political reforms." Since the victory of the "social reform" in Russia last year as a result of the great union of the people against that of the aristocrats and capitalists, the various nations, such as Hungary, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Germany, followed suit and produced many social reforms. Though the victory is not yet complete, that it will inevitably become complete and spread worldwide can be imagined. Why is the great union of the people so powerful? Because the people of a nation are always greater in number than the aristocrats, capitalists, and other power holders. Since the number of aristocrats, capitalists, and other power holders is small, what they rely on to defend their own special interests and exploit the public interest of the people are knowledge, money, and force. Education in the old days was the special privilege of the aristocrats and capitalists, which the ordinary people had no opportunity to enjoy. Since knowledge was monopolized, the intelligent and uninformed classes were created. Money is the medium of living, and everyone should be able to get it. Yet the knowledgeable aristocrats and capitalists, by such means as "capital concentration," gradually directed it into the hands of the landowners and plant bosses. While they made land, machinery, and houses their own and called them "fixed property," they gathered money, the so-called movable property, into their treasury (banks). The millions of common people working for them were given francs and pennies. Since those who work had no money, the rich and poor classes were created. With knowledge and money, the aristocrats and capitalists set up camps to train soldiers and plants to make guns. Under the excuse of "foreign aggression," tens of divisions and hundreds of battalions were recruited. Imitating conscription, they invented the "selective service system." Thus, the vigorous sons of the people became soldiers. When a problem was encountered, they brought out the machine guns to attack their incapable and weak old men. When the Southern army was defeated in Hunan, didn't they kill many of their old men? The aristocrats and capitalists utilized such ingenious methods, and the ordinary people were afraid to express themselves. Thus were created the strong and weak classes.

Luckily the ordinary people surreptitiously studied some of their "secret" textbooks, and gradually acquired knowledge. Envy of the comfort of the capitalists, the ordinary people eyed the farmland and plants where money came from. As for the soldiers in the camps, they were their sons, brothers, or husbands. When the soldiers aimed the machine guns at them, they shouted in a loud voice. Such shouts turned the bullets into mud. Unconsciously, they returned home together hand in hand, changing together into staunch warriors against the aristocrats and capitalists. We only have to look at the hundreds of thousands of troops of Russia which suddenly substituted the red flag for the vulture flag to understand the profound reason therein.

The ordinary people saw through the three methods of the aristocrats and capitalists and realized that they practice them by means of union. They

also saw that they were few and we were many, and so they resorted to the great union. In regard to the actions after union, one faction was very violent, "used their own medicine," and waged a death struggle against them. The leader of this faction was a man born in Germany named Marx. The other faction was more moderate, did not seek instant results, but began by working toward the awareness of the ordinary people. Everyone must possess the virtues of mutual aid and voluntary work. As long as they would repent and were able to work, and would help, rather than hurt, others, it was not necessary to kill the aristocrats and capitalists. The intent of those of this faction was more extensive and profound. They wished to unite the entire earth into one nation and all mankind into one family. With harmony and friendship--not Japan's friendship, together they would strive for prosperity in the world. The leader of this faction was a man born in Russian by the name of Kropotkin.

We must know that anything in the world is easy to do to start with. What is not easy is due to the influence of history--habit. If we can shout in unison, we will break down the influence of history. We must unite even more extensively and, when we encounter what we feel is wrong, we must form our ranks and loudly shout at the opposing side. We have already had the experience: Lu Jung-t'ing's [7120 2837 1694] shells would never hit the villains like Ts'ao Ju-lin [2580 3067 7207]. But when we rose up and shouted, the villains stood up and trembled; they fled for their lives. We must know that our brothers of other nations constantly resort to this means to seek their interest. We must emulate them. We must form our great union!

(II) Small Unions as the Foundation

In a previous issue of this newspaper, the possibility and necessity of the "great union of the people" were covered. Today, the means of the great union will be discussed. It is the "small unions of the people."

What we want is a sort of great union, in order to resist those holding power and injuring others and attain our own interest. Then, we must have all kinds of small unions to serve as its foundation. Man has the instinctive talent for union. It is the talent to form groups, the talent to organize society. "Group" and "society" are what I refer to as "union." There are large groups and small groups, large societies and small societies, and large unions and small unions, the same thing in different names. That we must have a group, a society, and a union is because we want to seek our common interest. Due to the differences in our circumstances and occupations, the sphere of our common interest also varies. As there are large and small common interests, the means to attain common interest (union) also differs in size.

Gentlemen! We are peasants. We must form a union of those of our kind in order to seek the various interests of the peasants. The interests of the peasants must be sought by the peasants themselves. As those not engaged

in farming do not have the same interests, they will not help us. Farming gentlemen! How do the landlords treat us? Are the rents heavy or light? Is our housing adequate? Are our stomachs full? Is the farmland too little? Are there people in the village without farms? We must constantly seek the answers to these questions. We must form a union with those of our own kind, and concretely and openly seek the answers.

Gentlemen! We are workers. We must form a union with those of our own kind in order to seek the interests of the workers. The various problems connected with our labor, such as the amount of wages, the hours, whether there is equal distribution of profit, whether there is improvement in recreation..., all require answers. We must form a union with those of our own kind, and concretely and openly seek the answers.

Gentlemen! We are students. We have a hard time. Those teaching us treat us as enemies, trample us as slaves, and confine us as prisoners. The windows of our classrooms are so small that the light cannot reach the blackboard, making us nearsighted. The tables are unsuitable, and we suffer from "spinal curvature" after sitting over them too long. The teachers only want us to read more books. We read many books, but we cannot understand them, merely wasting the effort of memorizing. Our eyes are blurred, our brains confused, our blood deficient, and our complexion pale. We suffer from anemia and neurasthenia. Why are we so stiff? So dull? So wasted? They are all because the teachers force us to stay still and keep quiet. We are stiff like corpses. Physical pain is still secondary. Gentlemen! Please take a look at our laboratories! They are so cramped and so poorly equipped--a few pieces of broken instruments. It is impossible for us to do any experiment. Our Chinese language teachers are so cantankerous. Quoting the classics endlessly, they do not understand the meaning. Unaware that it is not the 20th century, they continue to force us to perform the "ancient rites" and follow the "ancient laws" and stuff the classical dead literature into our mind. Our library is empty; our recreation field dirty. The nation is perishing, yet they still post announcements prohibiting us from being patriotic. Take the save-the-nation movement this time: We received most of their generosity! Alas! Who are destroying our body and spirit and making us miserable? If we do not unite now and pursue our "self-education," when will we do it? Sunk into an ocean of misery, we must save ourselves. The "self-education" invented by Rousseau is most appropriate. We must line up our comrades wherever possible and study by ourselves. We must not rely on the vicious teachers. Whenever anything happens, such as the outrageous conduct of Japan's and our domestic power holders, we will form ranks and shout at them loudly.

Ladies! We are women. We have sunk even deeper into the ocean of misery! Since we are also human beings, why are we not permitted to take part in politics? Since we are also human being, why are we not permitted to have social contact? We gather in holes and cannot step out of the front door. The shameless men and the hoodlums consider us as playthings, force us into

long-term prostitution, and destroy the freedom to love! "Chastity" is limited to women! There are many shrines for chaste women, but where are the temples for chaste men? Some of us gather in women's schools, but those teaching us are the shameless men and hoodlums. All day long they discuss "virtuous wife and good mother." It is for no other purpose than to teach us to specialize in long-term prostitution. They are afraid that we will not accept control. What misery! God of Freedom, where are you? Please rescue us! We have awakened! The women must unite and sweep aside all the evil ghosts violating us and destroying our physical and spiritual freedom!

Gentlemen! We are elementary school teachers. All day long we teach class and are very busy. All day long we inhale chalk dust, and there is nowhere for us to relax. Elementary school teachers in such a big city must number in the hundreds, in the thousands, yet there is no recreation facility for our use. When we teach, we must constantly improve our learning, yet there is no research organ established for us. The inflexible classroom hours are many, and there is no spare time, energy, or spirit to study. Thus, we become phonographs, performing and reciting what our teachers taught us in the old days. Our stomach is empty. The monthly wage of 8 or 10 yuan is even discounted. Some principals follow the method of "reducing military ration" and pocket the money allocated by the government. Without money, we become married widowers, living tens or hundreds of li away from our spouses. We are told that teaching elementary school is a lifetime career. Does it mean that we should spend our entire life as widowers or widows? According to the theory of education, the teachers and their families should live in the school in order to serve as models to the students, but it is impossible now. As we have no money, we cannot buy books, nor travel and observe. No need to say more! Elementary school teachers are only slaves! If we do not wish to be slaves, the only way is for us to unite with our own kind and form an elementary school teachers' union.

Gentlemen! We are policemen. We also wish to unite with our own kind and form a union beneficial to our body and mind. The Japanese say that the most miserable are beggars, elementary school teachers, and policemen. We feel more or less the same.

Gentlemen! We are cart pullers. Our perspiration falls like rain. The cart owners charge so much for rent, while the fare we get is so little! How can we live? Is there also a method of union for us?

The above are the wails of the peasants, workers, students, women, elementary school teachers, and cart pullers. Unable to endure the misery any longer, they wish to form all kinds of small unions in their own interests.

Among the small unions discussed above, the union of workers is a very large and general term. To put it in greater details, the following are of the lowest level in the workers' unions: Unions of railway workers, of mining

workers, of telegraph employees, of telephone employees, of shipbuilding workers, of steamship workers, of metal workers, of textile workers, of streetcar operators, of cart pullers, of building workers.... The workers of Western nations all have small unions according to the occupations and professions. Such unions as the transport workers' union and the streetcar workers' union are found everywhere. Many small unions become a large union, and many large unions become the largest union. Thus, "associations" and "alliances" come into being. When it is for the common interest of a small number of people, a small union is formed. Due to the common points of interests among the small unions, a large union can be established. Studying, for instance, is the obligation of us students, and we form an academic union. The pursuit of liberation and freedom is something which concerns everyone. Thus, we must rally all kinds of people to form a large union.

Therefore, we must begin with the small unions when we want a large union. We must emulate our fellow beings of other nations, and form many small unions.

(III) The Situation of China's "Great Union of the People"

In the two previous installments we have discussed: (1) the possibility and necessity of a great union of the people and (2) the fact that the great union of the people is founded on the small unions. Now, in regard to China's great union of the people, do we have the awareness? Do we have the motivation? Do we have the ability? Can we succeed?

(1) In regard to China's great union of the people, do we have the awareness? The revolution of 1911 appeared to be a union of the people, but it was actually not so. The 1911 revolution was instigated by students studying abroad, encouraged by the Ko-lao Society and fought by the soldiers of the new army and patrol camps. It had nothing to do with the majority of the people. Though we supported their principle, we did not take any active part. Nor did they need us. But we gained an awareness. We found out that the sacred emperor could be overthrown and that the treacherous democracy could be established. If we had anything to say or anything to do, we could say or do it at any time. After 1911, we again overthrew Emperor Hung-hsien in 1916. Though it was undertaken by a minority, we realized that the arrogant Emperor Hung-hsien could also be overthrown. In recent years, there were the civil war between the North and the South and the World War, and things changed even more. The outcome of the civil war was that we acquired more ironclad evidence to show that the bureaucrats, military men, and politicians injured, poisoned, and exploited us. The outcome of the World War was that the people of the nations, due to the hardships in their living, suddenly undertook many actions. Russia overthrew the aristocrats and expelled the rich. The workers and peasants jointly formed a provisional government. The Red Flag Army fought everywhere and swept aside many enemies. The alliance changed its form as a result, and the whole world was shaken. Hungary rose, and a brand-new worker-peasant government appeared in Budapest. The Germans, Austrians, and Czechoslovakians

responded and waged a death struggle against their domestic enemies. The angry tide surged West and then shifted to the East. After the many general strikes in England, France, Italy, and America, large scale uprisings broke out in India and Korea. Then, there was the 4 May Movement in China between the Great Wall and Po-hai. Shifting the standards and banners toward the south, the movement crossed the Yellow River to the Yangtze, from Huang-p'u to Hankow, all the way to Tung-t'ing Lake and the Min River, the tide rising ever higher. Heaven and Earth rose out of hibernation; the treacherous and the evil fled. Alas! We understood! We awakened! The world is ours; the nation is ours; society is ours. If we do not say it, who will? If we do not do it, who will? We must actively proceed with the urgent great union of the people!

(2) Is there the motivation for China's great union of the people? In regard to this question, I will directly answer yes. If you do not believe me, let me explain. The origin of China's union of the people must be traced back to the establishment of the Provincial Bureau at the end of the Ch'ing Dynasty and the formation of the revolutionary party--the Revolutionary Alliance. With the Provincial Bureau, there was the joint petition of the provincial bureaus in the provinces for an early parliament. With the revolutionary party, there was the appeal to those in China and abroad to launch an uprising and expel the Manchus. The 1911 revolution was a joint venture by the Provincial Bureau and the revolutionary party. Subsequently, the revolutionary party became the Kuomintang, and the Provincial Bureau the Progressive Party. It was the beginning of political parties in China. Thereafter, the republic was founded. The central government convened the parliament, and the provinces also held provincial assemblies. At this time, the provinces formed three kinds of organizations: Provincial education, commercial, and agricultural associations. (Several provinces had labor associations; others included the workers in the agricultural associations, such as Hunan). Meanwhile, the counties also established county education, commercial, and agricultural associations. (Some counties did not do so). These constituted firm and effective unions. Other types of organizations were also formed according to the conditions and situations, such as, alumni associations of the schools, fellow-provincials' associations for those away from home, general and branch associations of students returning from abroad, "Shanghai Daily News" Guild, World Chinese Students' Association, Peking and Shanghai European and American Returning Students' Associations, and Peking Chinese-French Education Association.

All kinds of academic societies (such as Ch'iang Society, Kuang Society, Shang-chih Society, China Vocational Education Association, China Science Association, Asian Civilization Association...), all kinds of occupational or professional associations (the various occupations and professions in industry and commerce, such as banking association, rice association...; research associations in the schools, such as the Painting Research and Philosophy Research Associations in Peking...dozens of them), and all kinds of clubs were the products of political liberation and ideological

enlightenment not permissible or possible in the period of government by one man. The above mentioned associations were all very simple--the "small unions" discussed in the previous installment. Recently, due to political unrest and foreign pressure, our awareness has been raised and the motivation for large unions has appeared, such as the National United Association of Education Associations, the National United Association of Commercial Associations, the United Association of Canton's 72 Guilds, the United Association of Shanghai's 53 Organizations, the United Association of "Shang-hsueh Kung-pao," the National United Association in the Field of Newspapers, the National Hope-for-Peace Association, the National United Peace Association, the Peking China-France Association, the People's Diplomacy Association, the Hunan Reconstruction Association (in Shanghai), the Shantung Association (in Shanghai), the united students' associations of Peking, Shanghai, the provinces, and the cities, the united associations of all fields, the National United Students' Association.... Though many "gentlemen" and "politicians" who are not of the people are inevitably found in the various associations, societies, units, united associations, etc. (such as the national parliament, provincial assemblies, provincial education associations, provincial agricultural associations, National Hope-for-Peace Association, and National United Peace Association, which are completely gentlemen's or politicians' associations), the occupational or professional associations, academic societies, research associations, etc. are purely organizations of ordinary people or scholars. The united students' associations and the united associations of the various fields created recently are a sort of great unions of the people organized purely to deal with foreign and domestic power holders. I feel that here is the motivation for China's national great union.

(3) Do we have the ability to undertake China's "great union of the people?" Can we succeed? When it comes to ability, there are doubts. The Chinese people only concentrate on maximum, yet futureless private profit. Those in commerce fail to form corporations; those working fail to establish labor parties; those studying only follow the old method of making carts behind closed doors and fail to do joint research. The Chinese people cannot undertake large scale organized enterprises. That politics is not properly handled needs no mentioning. The little achievement in postal and salt administration must be credited to the foreigners. So long after the seas were opened for trade, we still do not have even a small ship which can travel to Europe. "Chao-shang Chu" and "Han-Yeh-P'ing," the only ones in the country, operated at a loss every year. When they could not stand the loss, they recruited foreign capital. Railways managed by foreigners are superior in cleanliness, equipment, and personnel. Any railway managed by the Department of Communications becomes messed up. All travelers on the Peking-Hankow, Tientsin-P'u-k'ou, and Wuch'ang-Ch'angsha lines have to cover their nose and grit their teeth! As for the rest, the schools, self-government, or even a family, an individual, is not properly handled. "Jackals of the same lair," that's what they are! It is not easy to discuss the great union of the people! It is not easy to compete against the deeply entrenched power holders!

Even so, it does not mean that we basically do not have the ability. That we do not have the ability has its reasons. It is because "we have not practiced."

For thousands of years, the millions of Chinese people lived the life of slavery, and only the "emperor" was not a slave. (Some people said that the "emperor" was the slave of "Heaven.") When the emperor was in charge, we were not allowed to practice our ability. Politics, academic learning, and society all prohibited us from thinking, organizing, or practicing.

Today it is different. All aspects have been liberated--the liberation of thinking, of politics, of economics, of men and women, and of education. We all wish to see the blue sky from the depth of hell. The people of China have great abilities! The stronger the pressure, the greater the reaction. After a long suppression, the eruption will be quick. I would like to make a wild statement: The reform of the nation of China in the future will be more thorough than any other nation; the Chinese society will be brighter than any other; the great unity of the nation of China will be achieved ahead of any area and any nation. Gentlemen! Gentlemen! We must exert ourselves! We must strive forward! Our golden world, our brilliant world, is ahead of us!

O"Reference Material of the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 1.

△ HSIANG-CHIANG P'ING-LUN, Nos 2-4; Hunan United Students' Association, 21 and 28 July, and 4 August 1919

6080

CSO: 4005

OUTLINE OF ORGANIZATION OF WEN-HUA BOOKSTORE

1 August 1920

[Text] (1) The main purpose of this bookstore is to sell all kinds of useful Chinese and foreign books, newspapers, and magazines. We strive to be inexpensive and prompt in the sale of such publications, so that all kinds of useful new publications will spread in the entire province and everyone will have the opportunity to read them. In regard to books published in other cities, we have formed special agreements with the various bookstores and publishing houses. All new publications will be shipped to us as soon as they are published. In regard to the useful daily newspapers, in view of the large number of readers, we have formed agreements with the publishers to serve as their branches. In regard to the useful magazines, we have formed agreements with the publishers to serve as their distributors.

(2) The capitalization of this bookstore is unlimited. The founders will first subscribe to the opening expenses, beginning on a small scale, to be gradually expanded. Thereafter, the entire assets will be jointly owned by the investors. Anyone having the same interest with this bookstore may invest 1 yuan or more at any time, but the investors must agree that his investment becomes the public property of this bookstore and it is no longer his personal property. It cannot be withdrawn, nor will it earn any interest.

(3) The investors will organize a council and elect a manager who will be given full authority to handle all affairs of the bookstore. For the purpose of managing the affairs, the manager may employ necessary assistants. The manager and his assistants should receive appropriate living and operating expenses, the amount to be determined by the council.

(4) The manager must settle the accounts daily and monthly and make a general accounting every 6 months and report to the council. The council will hold a meeting every 6 months (March and September) to examine the business situation reported by the manager and discuss future plans.

(5) The main office of this bookstore is to be established in the provincial capital with branches in the counties. The branches will be opened when there are sufficient funds.

(6) The bookstores will establish a reading room in the store, stocked with books and newspapers for the public to read. Branch reading rooms will be established when there are sufficient funds.

(7) The business of this bookstore will be open to the public. The business situation will be published once a month. Anyone wishing to know the condition of this bookstore may do so by personal visit or by writing us at any time, and such queries will be answered in detail.

(8) Detailed regulations of the council and of business will be separately provided.

(Hunan "Ta Kung Pao," 25 August 1920)

o"Hunan Historical Data" (quarterly) No 3, 1959, Hunan People's Publishing House, 28 September 1959

Δ"Hunan Ta Kung Pao," 25 August 1920

6080

CSO: 4005

ANNOUNCEMENT OF WEN-HUA BOOKSTORE

October 1920

[Text] Education Delegates of the Counties and All Those Attending this Meeting: This bookstore was organized jointly by our comrades for the special purpose of introducing all kinds of new publications to the public. Now, for the purpose of spreading the new publications in the various counties of the province, so that more people will have the opportunity to read them, we plan to establish branch stores or reference rooms in the counties. Whoever wishing to undertake this task please come to the bookstore at 56 Ch'ao-tsung Street to contact us (or by letter).

o"Hunan Historical Data" (quarterly) No 3, 1959, Hunan People's Publishing House, 28 September 1959

Δ"Hunan Ta Kung Pao," 11 January 1920

6980

CSO: 4005

BUSINESS REPORT OF WEN-HUA BOOKSTORE (No 2)

March 1921

[Text]

I

Last year we issued a business report concerning the "initiation" and the condition of the "temporary business period." Now, "Business Report No 2" deals with the condition of the "first half-year" from last September, when this bookstore was inaugurated, to the end of March this year. The bookstore was opened at the beginning of last September; therefore, it has been 7 months by the end of March this year, which is 1 month over the "reporting every 6 months" provided in the Organization Outline. This is for the convenience of accounting. Hereafter, "reporting every 6 months" in the Organization Outline will be observed.

II

In regard to the purpose of this report, first, we want to report to our members how those members directly connected with the bookstore and those managing the business market the publications, so that our members will know the actual situation of the bookstore. Only by so doing will we fulfill our responsibilities. Second, the Chinese people always follow the policy of secrecy in doing business. Besides the inner circle, no one knows what they are doing. Such secret policy is actually a sin. When one is open and aboveboard, why shouldn't the situation be made public? Wen-hua Bookstore is an organization publicly owned by society; it is not for private gain. To avoid the sin of secrecy, we oppose secrecy and adopt complete openness, reporting all conditions of the bookstore to the public besides just the members. Third, in regard to the missions of our bookstore, we stated in our "Objective" that "...we wish to introduce all kinds of new Chinese and foreign publications by the fastest and simplest method to serve as the study material of the young people and all the people of Hunan." In the "Organization Outline," we also stated that "...all kinds of useful new publications will spread in the entire province and everyone will have the opportunity to read them." Such a great mission cannot be accomplished

by our few dozen members alone. To attain the goal of "everyone having the opportunity to read" the publications, we give serious attention to setting up branches in the counties. With one branch in each of the 74 counties, and 10 members per branch, we must have 750 members. Therefore, the only way is to publish the business conditions, so that all those of like mind near and far will understand the benefits of the store, set up branches in all areas, and help us spread our intent by word or deed. The goal of "spreading in the entire province" may then be reached. Fourth, what our bookstore has are books and newspapers, but what it lacks is capital. Why? Because books and newspapers come from outside, and we can have all we want, but capital comes from the members, and not all members are rich. In addition, our members are not involved in just the bookstore alone so there is not that much money available to serve as capital. Furthermore, this bookstore follows the principle of "public assets," with no withdrawal or interest, so our poor members cannot produce much money. Nevertheless, the undertaking of Wen-hua Bookstore is definitely something worthy of attention. Let us enumerate the benefits: (1) Simple operation and (2) no waste of capital.

As we all know, the urgent task today is to spread culture, and just the few schools alone are not enough to do so. Therefore, to expand the business of the bookstore and set up branches in the counties, we hope that our comrades who are able will help us with larger funds. (We plan to raise 3,000 yuan of public capital within 2 years). We don't know who are willing to help us. Naturally, we cannot ask everyone. Only by making public our business condition will those sympathetic to us step forward voluntarily and render aid. Fifth, we have, up till now, been selling books only, without doing any publishing. Now we plan to organize an "editing and translating department" and a "printing press," coordinated with the bookstore's "distribution." Then, our bookstore will have its independent publications. As the business will be further expanded, we will have to enlist more comrades and raise more funds (3,000 yuan for the editing and translating department and 5,000 yuan for the printing press). Therefore, we have to make public the business condition of the bookstore in order to win the sympathy and attention of everyone. The final point concerns the handling of business by our staff members. This is the sixth point. To make the business prosperous, the accounts must be clear. In regard to our accounts, we have daily, monthly, and half-yearly reckonings. In daily reckoning, the business figures of the day are totaled every evening. In monthly reckoning, the business figures of the entire month are totaled on the first of the following month. The results of the previous 6 months are settled in the half-yearly reckoning. The "business condition" in the report is the result of the "first half-yearly reckoning." By so doing, the procedure is followed and the concept clear, and it will be easy to correct the errors and formulate new plans.

III

What was covered in report No 1 will not be repeated. Since our meeting on 1 August last year at Ch'u-i Elementary School, our signing of the lease of

a part of the Hsiang-ya Medical School buildings on Ch'ao-tsung Street on 20 August, the start of business on 9 September, and the first council meeting on 22 October, the events of the bookstore worthy of recording are briefly as follows:

1. Special council meeting, 29 December: The meeting was attended by Ho Shou-ch'ien, Wang Chi-fan, Chou Tun-yuan, Kuo T'ao-seng, P'eng Yin-po, Hsiung Chin-ting, Chao Yun-wen, Liu Yu-chieh, and Mao Jun-chin, and the problems of "finding another location" and "raising additional funds" were discussed. The problem of location was discussed first. As the current location was stuck in a corner of Ts'ao-ch'ao-men and the space inadequate, for the purpose of developing business, it was decided that the bookstore must be moved to a more centralized location with more space. However, caution was required, and we wanted to move once and for all only. Before finding an appropriate spot and making definite arrangements, we would remain where we were. As the day before the meeting Ch'uan-shan Academy promised to loan a part of its buildings to the bookstore, everyone felt it would be a good move. However, there must be a clear contract, in accordance with the goal of "safe progress." It was finally decided that the bookstore would negotiate further with Ch'uan-shan. The next problem was funds. The first council meeting decided that 1,000 yuan should be raised this year, and we were still 530 yuan short. Everyone felt that it was not practical to raise money piecemeal. X X X volunteered to raise the 530 yuan by himself. The meeting was adjourned.

2. Contracts with the Commercial Press and other bookstores: These happened after January this year. Prior to that, we had contracted to market publications with out-of-town bookstores such as Chung-hua, Ya-tung, T'ai-tung, New Youth Press, Peking University Publication Department, and the Academic Lecture Association. By January this year, we entered an agreement with the Shanghai Commercial Press through Yang Tuan-liu to distribute its publications at 10, 20, and 30 percent discounts. In February, we succeeded in our negotiations to market for the Shanghai Evans Publishing House, but it handles mostly Western language books and very few Chinese books. Hunan did not need much Western language books; therefore, we could not sell much. In March, Hsin-chih Bookstore was formed in Peking, which was a new bookstore with roughly the same policy as Wen-hua Bookstore. It discussed distribution with us, and we promised to do so. Hua-yang Books and Newspaper Circulation Office asked us to market its remaining stock of books in Szechwan, and the Asia Civilization Association in Peking entrusted us with its "Current Affairs Monthly," a new publication since its reorganization, and we promised both of them. In addition, many new magazine publishers negotiated with us to serve as their distributors during this period.

3. Marketing of publications: We sold over 160 kinds of books, over 40 kinds of magazines, and 3 newspapers. Since the start of business last year to the end of March this year, besides the 1-month winter vacation, business was good. The demand always exceeded the supply. On the one hand,

as our store was short of capital and could not buy in large quantities from outside areas, the small quantities were exhausted upon their arrival. On the other hand, it was the sudden upsurge of demand for new publications by society, resulting from the positive stimulation of the new thinking and the negative stimulation of the old thinking. A sudden rise of interest made the public buy all they could. It was an encouraging situation. While most of the customers belonged to the academic world, many pamphlets of the "labor field" were sold to the laborers. Age-wise, naturally most of the customers were young people, and the middle-aged adults came next.

4. Forming branches: As we want the new books to be accessible to the people in all the counties, we must set up branches in all the 75 counties. We will not handle the task ourselves, but will help the comrades in the counties to set up the branches. Those unfamiliar with the conditions of our bookstore may feel that it will be difficult to do so, but actually it is easy. One only needs sufficient capital for the first and second batches of books, as little as 50 yuan or as much as 100 yuan. Proceeds from selling the first and second batches will be sufficient for the third, and so on. Next, if the business in the counties is good, there is no problem. If not, it is not important either. The branches are always established in public places and require no independent front; therefore, the overhead is not much. In out-of-the-way counties and towns, an annual sale of tens of yuan, or even down to a few yuan, will not matter. Third, our bookstore will only charge the cost to the branches. All preferential prices and discounts are credited to the branches. Therefore, if the branches cannot make a profit due to lack of business, they will not suffer a loss either. Fourth, as a supplementary operation, the branches will not require many personnel. Fifth, the unsold stock may be returned to us. There will be no waste resulting from unsaleability. With these five advantages, we maintain the opening a branch is "easy." By the end of March this year, we already formed seven branches, i.e., P'ing-chiang, Liu-hsi, Wu-kang, Pao-ch'ing, Heng-yang, Ning-hsiang, and Shu-p'u. Besides the branch stores, there are seven "sales departments." What are the differences between the branch stores and the sales departments? First, a branch store will receive the entire discount, whatever the main store gets, while the sales department receives less, only 5 percent. Next, the branches are located in other counties, while the sales departments are located in the schools in the city or operated by individuals. (Preferential prices are given to individuals selling pamphlets to ordinary people and those in the field of labor)....

o"Hunan Historical Data" (quarterly) No 3, 1959 (excerpts), Hunan People's Publishing House, 28 September 1959

6080
CSO: 4005

INAUGURAL STATEMENT OF TSU-HSIU UNIVERSITY, HUNAN

August 1921

[Text] The Hunanese have recently inaugurated Self-Study University whose approach is to assume the form of the seminary of old, but adopt a study program of modern school. It expects all students to study by themselves and do research together. In China today when "university mania" seems to be the order of the day, this is probably the most practical educational institution. It has recently issued a statement setting forth its inaugural purposes:

Man cannot but study. To study requires a place and an organization. Formerly, the place for study was the seminary. When the school is introduced upon the abolition of the seminary, people vie to criticize the latter and praise the former. In fact, both have merits and demerits. The demerits of the seminary lie in the emptiness of its program on how to write "eight-legged" literature for acquiring positions in government. As such literature is a mere passtime, how can it be called real learning? From this point of view, we can say the seminary is empty. But it also has its merits. If we want to find such merits, we must first know the demerits of school. The school indeed has many virtues, but it also has many weaknesses. Its first weakness is lack of affection between instructors and students. The instructor aims at salary and the student aims at a diploma. After they have made their deal, they return to where they come from. What they call "teaching" and "learning" are but commercial transactions. Its second weakness is to waste the student's precious time by using stereotyped pedagogical and administrative methods. Man's intelligence, talent and comprehension vary, but the school, neglecting these differences, tries to cram the same material into the student's mind. To respect human dignity, nobody should be "administered" by others. Yet the school, taking advantage of the residual power of the totalitarian emperor, looks down upon the personality of the student and openly "administers" the student. Since there is the stereotyped professor, the student loses his integral human nature; since there is the mechanical "administration," the student loses his integral personality. This is the biggest defect of the school which should not be neglected by educators. Its third weakness is heavy curricula

with a great variety of courses. The student has to attend classes all day long and knows nothing else. He often becomes puzzled and can hardly use his mind to initiate his own research. To sum up, although it cannot be said that all schools have these defects, that they cannot be corrected, and that there is no room for future improvement, this picture is generally true. It cannot be whitewashed if one wants to. The root cause lies in the passiveness of the student. His character has been eroded, his wisdom obliterated, and he is to sink or swim cowardly with the rest of the world. Even the talented will not take the initiative. Now look at the seminary. Although it has defects in form, it has none of the aforementioned weaknesses. In the first place, there is profound affection between instructors and students; secondly, there is no "administration" by professors but free research for exchange of ideas; thirdly, the curricula are concise and research thorough and there is plenty of time for acquiring research findings. From the viewpoint of "research form," the seminary far excels the school. But the modern school has one strong point, that is, it either has a "research program" based on science or uses scientific methods to study philosophy or literature. The seminary lags behind the school in this regard. The reason the Self-Study University becomes a new institution lies in that it assumes the form of the seminary of old but adopts the program of the modern school and that it is a special organization that suits the human nature and facilitates research.

The above shows that both the seminary and school have merits and demerits. The Self-Study University will retain the virtues and reject the weaknesses. Now let us talk about the exclusive merits of the Self-Study University which happen to be the demerits of the seminary and school: popularism and anti-popularism. Both literary academy and government university have strict requirements. Those who are unable to meet these requirements are, of course, rejected. Even those who can normally meet these requirements but fail to do so in a particular case, that is, those who have the talent but fail to pass the entrance examination are turned down and thus barred from pursuing their advanced studies. It is a great pity that, at the moment, many promising young people are deprived of the opportunity to attend school. This is the first point I wish to make. Both the seminary and government sponsored university treat learning as such a secret that only a few people with special privileges can attend school; the majority of common people could not share the opportunity. Thus learning became the monopoly of a few "academic lords" and was kept at a farther and farther distance from the common people. It was finally turned into a weird instrument for the intelligentsia to control the common people. The above is the second point I wish to make. Poor people cannot enter the seminary. Only rich people can enter the university. To get a diploma from a government sponsored university requires somewhere between 1,000 and 2,000 yuan. For poor people to enter a government sponsored university is as difficult as it is "for a wildcat to eat swan's meat." The above is the third point. The Self-Study University will correct these defects. First, except for resident students upon whom certain limitations have to be imposed concerning housing arrangements, others who are interested in learning may be admitted.

Second, it regards learning as something analogous to tea or meals which can be taken whenever people feel thirsty or hungry. The secrecy of learning is thus torn down. Learning is now made available to all and everybody can have his share. Third, although in the present era when "money is life," the Self-Study University cannot yet provide everybody of the proletariat with an opportunity to pursue advanced studies, it is moving toward the goal that "learning does not necessarily require a great deal of money." Students of the Self-Study University may study in school, at home, in various shops groups or agencies. It is more convenient than government sponsored universities and therefore less expensive.

As I have already mentioned, the Self-Study University is a sort of popular university, then what is its program? First, the main approach of the students of the Self-Study University is "to study and think by oneself." The "library" at the university is designed for this purpose. Second, the students at the university, aside from studying and thinking by themselves, "discuss and do research together." The organization of various research societies is designed for this purpose. Third, the Self-Study University does not require instructors to cram everything into the student's mind as if forcing food down the student's throat. However, it needs those who can help guide the students in doing their research. Fourth, the Self-Study University is based on course study. The students may take one or more courses. The time and scope of each course vary with the wish and level of the student. Fifth, students at the Self-Study University should not only study but also be ambitious. They are encouraged to cultivate a good personality, discard bad habits and prepare to reform the society.

Finally, we will talk about the necessity of establishing the Self-Study University in Hunan. Gentlemen! Isn't it that as of today there has been no institution of higher learning in Hunan? It is well known that there is no possibility for the establishment of a provincial university in the near future. Even if there is, it will be a government sponsored university. Then how to demonstrate or disseminate the spiritual urge and cultural impulse of the 30 million Hunanese who live along the valleys of the Hsiang, Yuan Tzu, and Li rivers? Although the Hunanese are as active as the rising sun and very promising, what will become of them if their spiritual desires and cultural impulse cannot be satisfied? At this point, we feel the Hunanese have a big mission to accomplish. What is the mission? It is to form, develop and mold their individual as well as their group character and personality. This has been the very *raison d'etre* for the inception of the Self-Study University. Although it is, in fact, not possible to link the university to every Hunanese, it should, in spirit, become a public institution of learning for the whole Hunanese society. Although it is difficult to ensure good results, we are sure that with our unswerving efforts we will some day attain our goals as time rolls by.

The university now has two divisions: letters and laws. Courses of letters include: Chinese literature, Western literature, English, logic, psychology,

ethics, education, sociology, history, geography, journalism and philosophy, etc. Courses of laws include: laws, politics and economics, etc. The above are listed in the organic framework of the university. It is released simultaneously with this statement.

^o"Tung-Fang Cha-Chih," Vol 20, No 6. The Commercial Press, Shanghai.
1 Mar 1923

7455

CSO: 4005

INAUGURAL STATEMENT OF 'HSIN-SHIH-TAI'

10 April 1923

[Text] This journal, founded by colleagues of the Hunan Self-Study University, can be taken as an organ to publish findings of their research.

This journal is different from other school journals which accept all sorts of articles as if they were "groceries of words." This journal has certain principles and purposes. We all have an independent and enterprising spirit and unswerving determination. In view of the bad social system and inadequate educational institution, we pool our efforts to organize and establish this "fugitive state of learning," to try to acquire practical knowledge, and to prepare to carry out social reforms. At the initial stage of Self-Study University, the value of our ideals has to be tested and the results are not yet known. However, we believe our goals are correct. Based on this spirit and determination, there is ample chance for success. This journal can be a yardstick for experimentation.

The inception of this journal is of great significance. It is expected that this journal will make a thorough study and present concrete suggestions to those issues such as how to reform the government, how to clean up political practices, how to topple imperialism, how to overthrow the warlords, how to renovate educational institutions and how to revolutionize and renovate arts, literature and other branches of learning. It is our sincere and earnest hope that this journal will urge those who have the same ideals to study and implement these social reforms.

°WU-SSU SHIH-CHI CHI-KAN CHIEN-SHAO (Introduction to Periodicals of the May 4 Period) Vol 2, People's Press, April 1959

△HSIN-SHIH-TAI (New Era) No 1, published by Hunan Self-Study University, 10 April 1923

7554

CSO: 4005

PEKING COUP D'ETAT AND MERCHANTS

11 July 1923

[Text] This coup d'etat suddenly aroused the political interest of the merchants who used to be apathetic to politics. What happy news: The General Federation of Business Circles of All Streets in Shanghai issued a declaration on 14 June urging the convocation of a national assembly to solve national issues. The General Chamber of Commerce, in accordance with a resolution adopted by a plenary session, made a declaration on 23 June which read in part:

"It is hereby solemnly declared that from the fourteenth of this month, our nationals will refuse to recognize that the internal and external activities of Tsao K'un [2580 6924], Kao Ling-wei [7559 0407 5588] and others who seized government power illegally represent the nation. Aside from sending telegrams to military and civil leaders in all provinces, urging them to maintain law and order under their jurisdiction to maintain the status quo, it is hereby requested that all matters pertaining to rehabilitation and reconstruction be solved in consultation with the people of the whole nation."

Meanwhile, the General Chamber of Commerce resolved not to recognize the National Assembly which "cannot represent the people." It created a Rule-by-People Committee as an organization to actively solve national issues. This move by the General Federation of Business Circles of All Streets in Shanghai and the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce constitutes the first step of merchants to participate in political activities and a manifestation of the potential of merchants as can be explained in a Chinese saying: "their shout, after 3 years of silence, surprises all."

The current political issue in China is none other than the single question of national revolution: to topple, by our own efforts, the warlords and foreign imperialists which colluded with warlords. This is the historical mission of the Chinese nationals which should be borne by the whole people: Merchants, workers, peasants, students and faculty and staff should all come forward and share part of the revolutionary work. Due to historical

inevitability and current circumstances, the role of merchants in national revolution is more urgent and important than that of others. As we know, semi-colonial China is under the dual political pressure of warlords and foreign imperialists who colluded with each other to suppress the people of the whole nation. Under such dual pressure, the whole nation has suffered a great deal. It is, however, the merchants who are most sensitive to such pressure and suffer the most. It is well known that "likin" and tariffs are two vital items to merchants. Their urgent requests are to abolish the likin and increase the tariff both of which are closely related to their interests. But they are difficult to accomplish because abolition of likin impairs the interests of warlords and increase of tariffs impairs the interests of foreign imperialists. If likin is abolished, warlords will wither while merchants will prosper. At that time, merchants can overthrow warlords merely by "issuing a call." This is tantamount to lifting a stone just to hit one's own feet. Clever warlords will not do this. If tariffs on foreign goods are increased, or the tariff agreement is abolished so as to let China work out protective tariffs at will, the shackles on Chinese merchants will be removed. Then the development of domestic industry and commerce will be accelerated in no time and foreign goods will lose their footholds in China. Cunning foreign imperialists will not do this. Therefore, abolition of likin and increase of tariffs are matters of a life-and-death nature to foreign imperialists and domestic warlords. This cannot be done by a funny directive by Li Yuan-hung [7812 0337 3163] at his inauguration. Take another example. The textile merchants in Shanghai recently requested the government to issue textile bonds which were undermined by Tsao Jui [2580 6904] and Chin Yun-peng [7246 7189 7720]. Their request for a government ban on exporting cotton was frustrated by the foreign minister corps. This further proves that foreign imperialists and warlords cannot coexist with merchants. These frustrations were personally experienced by such influential merchants as Mu Ou-chai [4476 5665 7872] and others who attended the plenary meeting of Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce on the 23rd of last month.

Merchants always "love peace." They do not realize that political reforms need revolution and that these reforms cannot be accomplished by a few telegrams concerning "disarmament, constitution and financing." Nor do they realize that the real strength of revolution can be mustered only by personal participation, organizing the whole nation and launching a mass movement. They even had the thought that political reforms did not need a political party and considered the revolutionary efforts made by the Kuomintang were unnecessary. If we compare the current situation with their childish and timid mentality in the past, couldn't we help laughing? In the past, some merchants who had blind faith in the United States held that the United States was a good friend of China; but they did not realize that it was the first-rate executioner. Let us examine a few examples to show why those who had blind faith in the United States are wrong: The United States secretly helped Tsao Kun, who are opposed by both merchants and the whole nation, to seize political power; it did its utmost to foil

the cotton export ban requested by merchants. From the activities taken by Shanghai merchants in the coup we may find that their attitude has changed. They have made great progress; abandoning a peaceful approach adopting revolutionary methods and having the courage to participate in national affairs. As for their hatred for the U.S. scheme to make inroads in China, the notorious label of "Chinese merchants are xenophiles" can at least be partly erased by the following telegram sent by the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce and Bankers Federation to the American Chamber of Commerce and the Association of Overseas Americans accusing the latter of "taking advantage of our struggle for rule-by-people movement to intimate that the best policy is for China to be placed under international control, fraudulently asserting that they have obtained the consent of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and banking circles in making such a proposal to the government."

The merchants in Shanghai have stood up and taken action. We hope that merchants elsewhere will also stand up and take action in unison. It is urgent as fire burning near eyebrows which does not allow us to lie idly on the bed. Now it is high time to unite the whole nation to carry out revolution and not to allow merchants to have factions. It must be made clear that foreign imperialists and warlords are the common enemies of merchants as well as the whole nation, and that the results of a successful revolution will be our common benefits. It is most necessary to unite and struggle against common enemies and for common benefits. We hope the merchants in Tientsin and Peking will not be taken in by Tsao Jui and other "bureaucratic capitalists," and the merchants in Hankow will not capitulate to Wu Pei-fu. They will rise and join the merchants in Shanghai to take joint revolutionary action. The more the merchants unite, the stronger they will be; the greater their role in leading the nation, the more chances for the revolution to succeed.

Finally, we must warn the merchants: First, revolution is not an easy task. It proves more difficult in China which has been under the dual pressure of foreign imperialists and warlords. The only way for the revolution to succeed is to call upon merchants, workers, peasants, students, faculty and staff and all oppressed people to establish a united front. Meanwhile, we must implement the declaration of General Chamber of Commerce to solve national issues "in conjunction with the whole nation" and not to fall into the rut of Federation of Teachers and Merchants which rejected the participation of workers. Second, now that merchants have taken the first step toward revolution, they must take the second step immediately. They must insist on convening a national assembly for solving national issues. They must move forward in unison until their goal is attained. They should not stop whenever there is an obstacle or move along the erroneous road of colluding with foreign imperialists and warlords. We must have the conviction that national revolution is the only way to save ourselves as well as our nation. Many instances in history can be our reference or guide. Our situation urges us to carry out the historical mission. We should not relax

our efforts! We must use revolutionary methods to open up a new era and create a new nation! We should never forget this is the historical mission of the Chinese nation!

^oHSIANG-TAO CHOU-PAO, Nos 31, 32 combined. Hsiang-Tao Chou-Pao Press,
11 July 1923

7554

CSO: 4005

'SHENG-HSIEN-CHING' AND CHAO HENG-T'I

15 August 1923

[Text] "...Since the outbreak of the West Hunan issue, Chao's position has become precarious and cannot but use the Sheng Hsien (Provincial Constitution) as a shield to protect himself. Several days ago, he ordered his cohorts Fang Ko-kang [2455 0344 0474] and Li Chi-min [2621 3444 3046] and others to use cash bribery to buy over civic organizations or to launch a mass campaign...attempting to support Chao by means of Provincial Constitution.... A parade has been scheduled at 8 am on the fifth.... Most of their letters were sent to workers organizations. They assumed that as workers are simple-minded, more than 1,000 would come. But up to 10 am, not a single workers body showed up. Highly disturbed, they sent out people all over: to Chinese Workers Union, Care and Relief Association, Buddhist Speakers Group, etc., which were dominated by the bandits. Each person was given half a yuan and a snack. More than 100 were hired. The parade started at noon. Before the parade was begun, between 120 and 130 monks and beggars held a meeting in front of the slide showing room of the Association of Education.

(1) The meeting was chaired by Monk Che-pei [3589 1014] who explained the purpose of the meeting in part: 'Provincial Constitution shall better be called Sheng-Hsien-Ching [4164 4009 4842] just as the Buddhists have the Buddhist Bible....' All the monks and beggars attending the meeting wildly waved their hands.

(2) The parade immediately followed the meeting. Two large flags in the front--one bearing the words "The Association to Protect the Provincial Constitution" and the other, 'Provincial Citizens Petition Rally.'

The First Detachment--About 20 or 30 people wearing robes and jackets, pretending to be representatives of citizens of the province;

The Second Detachment--About five or six people representing the Chinese Workers Union;

The Third Detachment--About 40 or 50 people representing the Buddhist Speakers Group with bald heads and wearing Buddhist robes;

The Fourth Detachment--About 40 people representing the Care and Relief Association;

A medley gathering...a farce, and the funniest...." (see MIN-KUO JIH-PAO)

We have been opposing the Confederation of Provincial Self-Government because it is not as what the name suggests but a confederation of military governors who desire to control their separate domains in that name. We have been opposing the phoney Provincial Constitution manipulated by warlords and dirty politicians because it cannot protect the people but serve as a pretext for power struggles among warlords and dirty politicians. Hunan serves as a good example. Chao Heng-t'i [6392 1854 1912] now unashamedly launched a "crusade to protect Provincial Constitution." But for the last two years--since the establishment of Provincial Constitution--he coldbloodedly murdered the workers (Huang Lung [7806 1690] and others), clamped down on newspapers (TA-KUNG-PAO, CHIH-CHIH HSIN-PAO, HSIN-HSIANG-PAO), deprived the people of freedom of correspondence (postal and telegram censorship has never ceased for a single day), deprived the people of freedom of assembly and association (shut down Ricksha Pullers Union, Rice Millers Union, Association To Back Up the Nation's Foreign Policy, and repeatedly banned students and workers meetings), protected the planting and peddling of opium by his troops, bought votes through bribery (sent subordinates to stuff voting boxes with false ballots in the general ballot on Provincial Constitution and used cash bribery to create the new Provincial Assembly and a provincial governor), extorted contributions from the merchants (president of the Changsha General Chamber of Commerce was forced to flee), collected land rentals from the peasants in advance (some up to 1928), upset the legal budget proportion by reducing the educational portion and increasing the military portion), and colluded with Wu Pei-fu and Hsiao Yao-nan [5618 5609 0589]. All these show that Chao, who used Provincial Constitution as a mask, is in fact a public enemy of the people. The real purpose for him to hold rallies and conduct campaigns this time stems from his fight for the opium tax (the so-called special tax) with Tsai Chu-yu [5591 6880 3731]. The Hunanese cannot but feel ashamed to allow such a diabolical criminal as Chao Heng-t'i to harp on "protecting Constitution" under false pretext.

°HSIANG-TAO CHOU-PAO, No 36, Hsiang-Tao Chou-Pao Press, 15 August 1923

7554

CSO: 4005

THE BRITISH AND LIANG JU-HAO

29 August 1923

[Text] We are now forced to sign an agreement on the Wei-hai-wei negotiations. The whole nation, except the people in Shantung, has not raised any protest. What is the reason? Is it that the nation is too preoccupied in the campaign for retroceding Port Arthur and Dairen and forgets the drive for returning Wei-hai-wei? Or that the nation knows to hate only Japan but not England, only that Japanese imperialists are making inroads in China but not that the inroads made by British imperialists are far more severe than those made by Japanese imperialists.

Two officials responsible for the Wei-hai-wei negotiations: one is Liang Ju-hao [3009 1172 3185], and the other Ch'en Shao-t'ang [7115 4801 0781]. According to the announcement made by Ch'en Shao-t'ang at the Shantung Residents Society in Peking, Mr Liang committed the following crimes: "Commissioner Liang, who is a xenophile, made a suggestion to the British to retain Liu-kung-tao [0491 0361 1497]. The return of Wei-hai-wei is vital from the military point of view. Mr Liang is willing to sell out national interests, transforming unconditional retrocession into continued lease and again into permanent lease. This obviously stems from an exchange for his personal interests.... Mr Liang is resentful of my frustrating his scheme. He has, at the outset, asked somebody to buy my acquiescence with promises of profits, stating that all my personal expenses can be reimbursed through him and that I may share the spoils upon conclusion of the negotiations. After having repeatedly rejected the offer, I insisted that the negotiations be made public. Noting that I cannot be moved by promises of profits, he resorted to coercion. When our arguments came to an impasse, he would often pound the desk and shout: "It is I who have full power to conduct negotiations." Then he would order his guards to see me to the door. I was greatly enraged and wanted to kill myself for national interests. One day, I picked up an inkstand and tried to hit my forehead with it. Upon seeing this, an Englishman was greatly astonished and persuaded me not to do so. Mr Liang was not moved at all...."

The draft agreement concluded by Liang Ju-hao and the British consists of two parts and 23 articles. On 23 August the National Assembly in Tsinan pointed out its salient terms that impair national interests as follows:

(1) Substitute leasing for ceding--The draft agreement allows England to continue the lease for 10 years. It may extend the lease at the end of 10 years. In addition, the lease adds to the new lease the city of Wei-hai-wei which has never been leased to England and is now designated as a special area.

(2) Impairs territorial land and territorial waters--The draft agreement stipulates: (a) The local authority of China should grant original British lease holders licenses of "permanent lease"; (b) no handling fees should be charged in accordance with the common practice by foreigners who hold permanent leases; and (c) China should not use the official land reserved for England; China should recognize the land leased by England. This reveals how much territorial rights has been yielded. The draft agreement further stipulates: (a) China may use the anchorage in the Liu-kung-tao waters only when the British navy is not using it; (b) the British navy may send marines to Liu-kung-tao and practice drills and marksmanship; and (c) The British navy may practice drills in the outer harbor of the anchorage of Liu-kung-tao. According to the provisions, England is to occupy Liu-kung-tao and the adjacent waters and its marine and naval detachments may enter and leave our territorial land and waters at will.

(3) Gives away national sovereignty--The draft agreement stipulates that the area between Liu-kung-tao and Wei-hai-wei be designated as a special area. It should belong to neither Shantung authority nor the Central Government. Our government may nominally appoint administrative officials, but the police is directed by the British, finance controlled by the Customs Inspectorate (British) and the city affairs is jointly conducted by a Sino-British Committee composed of Chinese and Englishmen. The administrative officials appointed by the Chinese Government are but titular ones and their chief responsibilities are to repay the debts to the Englishmen and raise funds for public expenses. Wei-hai-wei has thus become Hong Kong II. Our national sovereignty has completely been undermined.

Compatriots having blind faith in the Washington Conference: What did the Washington Conference do for us? Compatriots believing England is better than Japan: In what way is England better than Japan? The return of Wei-hai-wei means only to turn it into Hong Kong II. England wants to renew the lease of its settlements in Hankow and Tientsin upon the expiration of their present leases; its request of connecting the Canton-Kowloon Railroad and the Canton-Hankow Railroad is to put the upper reaches of the Yangtze River and southwest provinces under the economic aggression of Hong Kong. The tariff agreement is limited to discussing the likin issue only (26 August London dispatch). They have recently removed their masks to suggest joint administration of the railroads. Compatriots having blind faith in the Washington Conference and believing England is better than Japan: What did the Washington Conference do for us? In what way is England better than Japan? The nation should rise immediately to oppose the pirate-like British who have exposed their aggressive intention:

The nation should rise immediately to oppose traitor Liang Ju-hao!

^oHSIANG-TAO CHOU-PAO, No 38, Hsiang-tao Chou-pao Press, 29 August 1923

CIGARETTE TAX

29 August 1923

[Text] We often say: The Chinese government is the bookkeeper of foreigners. Some people may doubt it. Do we often say: Foreigners (especially the British and Americans) try to squeeze more Chinese blood in the name of "goodwill"? Some people may also doubt it. Since the lifting of the cotton export ban due to objection by foreigners, some people have begun to believe there is some truth in it. Now that foreigners are pressing the government to abolish the cigarette tax in Chekiang and other provinces, they have begun to believe there is more and more truth in it. According to a 29 August dispatch from Peking in the SHEN PAO [3947 1032] which read: "The Cabinet has, as a result of the protest by British and American ministers, resolved to order all provinces to stop collecting the cigarette tax." What is the cigarette tax? Please read the 30 June telegram sent by the General Chamber of Commerce in Hangchow to the Peking government:

"It is a common practice for governments to levy taxes on luxury items. In recent years, cigarettes have had a field day. For Chekiang Province alone, the annual sales volume exceeds 10 million yuan. The consumption volume is shocking and the poisonous effects are as detrimental as opium. The authorities have therefore established bureaus to collect the cigarette tax, trying to use revenues from this wasteful item for repairing roads. It is learned that foreigners, under the pretexts of treaty rights, have made repeated protests with the government against this tax. It should be pointed out that this special tax, imposed exclusively on the smokers, has nothing to do with the cigarette merchants. This is the tax paid exclusively by people in Chekiang, foreigners should not interfere with it. Moreover, it is purely a domestic matter, and foreigners should not interfere. The government is urged to present all possible justifications and allow no pretexts so as to protect our sovereign rights."

It is thus clear that the British and Americans, taking advantage of tariff agreements, are trying to force China not to levy taxes freely on imported luxury items. They disregard whether it is "the tax purely paid by people in Chekiang" or it is "purely domestic matter." They insist that no tax should be imposed on imported goods.

Of the cigarettes produced by British and American companies, a small portion is imported from England, the United States and Japan, the greater portion is manufactured in factories in inland China in such cities as Shanghai and Hankow, using Chinese tobacco leaves and Chinese labor. After paying a nominal tax in accordance with the terms of the "agreements," the merchants send the cigarettes in bulk to various provinces, not allowing China to levy taxes "freely." The annual cigarette sales volume in Chekiang Province alone exceeds 10 million yuan. Based on this figure, the total annual cigarette sales volume in the whole nation should at least exceed 200 million yuan. It is really "shocking." Let the 400 million compatriots think it over: What is the real purpose behind the "goodwill" of foreigners?

The "Cabinet meeting" of the Chinese government is really quick in yielding. Even the fart of foreigners can be taken as "fragrance." The Cabinet meeting lifts the cotton export ban because foreigners want cotton; it orders "all provinces to stop collecting the cigarette tax" because foreigners want to import cigarettes. Let the 400 million compatriots again think it over: Isn't it correct to say that the Chinese government is the bookkeeper of foreigners?

°HSIANG-TAO CHOU-PAO, No 38, Hsiang-Tao Chou-Pao Press, 29 August 1923

7554

CSO: 4005

KUOMINTANG CENTRAL COMMITTEE REFUTES KUOMINTANG MEMBERS FOR CONVENING
ILLEGAL MEETING IN PEKING

27 November 1923

[Text] Telegram to Kuomintang Headquarters of All Levels

Members of Kuomintang Headquarters of All Levels: Upon receiving the 16 November telegram from Lin Sen [2651 2773] and other members of the Central Executive Committee in Peking urging the convocation of the Fourth CEC Plenary Session at the Western Hills, the Central Executive Committee strongly refuted the move. From a legal point of view, since the Third Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee resolved that the National Congress and the CEC Plenary Session be convened in Canton, nobody should violate the resolution. From a practical viewpoint, if the CEC Plenary Session, which is intended to be a public meeting, should be held in Peking, it would be under the pressure of imperialists externally and obstruction of reactionaries through the warlords internally. This was the reason for the participants in the Third CEC Plenary Session, held in Peking in April, to stop the meeting mid-way and move southward and continue to meet in Canton. Whenever we plan for the future, this bitter experience should be remembered. How could the Fourth CEC Plenary Session fall into the same rut and let warlords and reactionaries attain their scheme of undermining the revolution? Moreover, the Second National Congress was originally scheduled for 15 August in Canton, it was repeatedly postponed because of strikes in Kwangtung and Hong Kong, transportation difficulties, campaigns against reactionaries in Canton and incessant civil wars. Now all Kwangtung Province has been unified and Canton is as safe as a rock. Even if there is still some transportation difficulties, the meeting can be held. The Central Executive Committee has therefore resolved to call its Fourth Plenary Session on 11 December and the Second National Congress on New Year's Day of the Fifteenth Year. It has sent telegrams to Comrade Lin Sen and others, urging them to respect the resolution, take consideration of the circumstances, come to Canton to attend the meeting immediately, not to insist on their deviationist views and stir up trouble. Aside from sending telegrams to Comrade Hu Han-min [5170 3352 3046] who is now in Moscow and Comrades Li Lieh-chun [2621 3525 6874], Po Wen-wei [2672 2429

5588] who now serve outside Peking for their concurrence, we wish to express our unanimous support to the resolution adopted by the Third Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee and the CEC's latest stand and will do our utmost to put them into force. We hereby solemnly make this declaration and solicit your support. Members of the Central Executive Committee: Wang Chao-ming [3076 0340 6900], T'an Yen-kai [6223 1693 1956], T'an P'ing-shan [6223 1627 1472], Lin Tsu-han [2651 4371 3211], Li Ta-chao [2621 1129 6856], Yu Yu-jen [0060 0671 0088], Yu Shu-te [0060 2885 1795], Wang Fa-ch'in [3769 3127 0530], Ting Wei-fen [0002 1919 3083], En-k'o-pa-yuan [1869 0344 1572 0956]; Alternate CEC Members: Mao Tse-tung, Ch'u Chiu-pai, Han Lin-fu [7281 7673 4569], Yu Fang-chou [0060 3455 5297], Chang Kuo-t'ao. (27 November)

°CHENG-CHIH CHOU-PAO (Political Weekly) Vol 1. Canton Political Weekly Press, 5 December 1925

7554

CSO: 4005

PROPAGANDA OUTLINE FOR KUOMINTANG'S WAR AGAINST FENG-T' IEN

27 November 1925

[Text] In view of the fact that the war against Feng-t'ien is a momentous matter, that it forms a part of the national revolutionary movement against British and Japanese imperialism, and that party units of all levels in all areas should direct all the comrades to propagandize extensively so that the people of the entire nation will understand the reason and the goal of the war, the Propaganda Department of the Chinese Kuomintang Central Executive Committee has formulated a propaganda outline, analyzing the various aspects of the war, presenting an outline of propaganda, and listing nine slogans. This outline was submitted by Department Chief Mao Tse-tung, and passed at the meeting of the Central Committee on 27 November.

The full text is as follows:

(A) Analysis of the War Against Feng-t'ien

(1) In regard to imperialism: The war between Chih-li and Feng-t'ien last year was an attempt of British and American imperialism to support the Chih-li faction to unite China and oust Japanese imperialism. It was ignited by the Kiangsu-Chekiang war, because American imperialism wished to monopolize Kiangsu's wireless telegram loan and expel Japan's loan. Therefore, at that time, America and the pro-America faction did their utmost to help Ch'i Hsieh-yuan [7871 3610 0337] while Japan and the pro-Japan faction supported Lu Yung-hsiang [4151 3057 4382]. The war against Feng-t'ien this time is along the same line. Japanese imperialism stands behind the Feng-t'ien faction while American imperialism backs the Chih-li faction. As for British imperialism, seeing the incompetence of the Chih-li faction in the Feng-t'ien-Chih-li war last year, when the nationwide anti-British 30 May Movement broke out, British imperialism compromised with Japan and induced Chang Tso-lin [1728 0155 7207], by means of generous rewards, to suppress the anti-British movement in Shanghai. It was subsequently rumored that Britain supplied large sums of money to Feng-t'ien to expand the Feng-t'ien Arsenal in order to enable the Feng-t'ien faction to unite China. Feeling that Shanghai's military reinforcement handled by Yang Yu-t'ing

[2799 1342 7200] and the customs conference held in Peking were favorable to Chang of Feng-t'ien, the Chih-li faction started trouble on an early date. Whether the cunning British imperialism is on the side of Feng-t'ien or Chih-li in the war this time cannot be clarified completely at this time. Probably Japan, for the purpose of resisting America, would rather associate with Britain and jointly make use of Chang Tso-lin. However, if Britain should detect any unfavorable situation on the part of Chang Tso-lin and the possibility of victory on the part of its old servant Wu P'ei-fu [0702 0160 1318], it may, for the purpose of consolidating its power sphere along the Yangtze valley, abandon its new love for its old flame. It is something which will not be surprising. One can see that British imperialism will back the side which appears to be more certain of victory.

(2) In regard to the warlords: In the confrontation between Chih-li and Feng-t'ien, the Chih-li faction controls Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Anhwei, Kiangsu, Chekiang, and Fukien, a total of seven provinces. Szechwan's Yuan Tsu-ming [5913 4371 6900] and Kweichow, which is under his control, nominally also belong to the Chih-li faction. However, there are specific factions inside these several provinces, and Wu P'ei-fu and Sun Ch'uan-fang [1327 0278 5364] will inevitably split. In the critical period of the war against Feng-t'ien, Sun and Wu had to unite and fight. Now that the war is at a standstill a fissure has appeared. A split will be inevitable once Chang of Feng-t'ien is defeated. In the Feng-t'ien faction, there have always been the old and the young factions. Since defeating the Chih-li faction last year, their hidden internal struggles have been ever aggravating due to the distribution of rights and privileges. Their treasury is exhausted, and the Feng-t'ien paper currency has dropped to below 50 percent. The seizure of Hopeh, Shantung, Kiangsu, and Anhwei was for the purpose of solving the financial problem. With the loss of Kiangsu and Anhwei, the threat of the Kuomintang army, and the precarious situation of the Peking-Hankow line in Shantung and Hopeh, their financial sources inside Shan-hai-kuan have withered. When several hundred thousand hungry troops are stationed inside and outside Shan-hai-kuan, the situation requires early war, not perseverance. Between the Feng-t'ien and Chih-li warlord factions, regardless of which side wins, it will be unfavorable to China, because each has a vicious imperialism backing it. However, in the nation-wide anti-Feng-t'ien movement, since the Chih-li faction is against the Feng-t'ien faction, it has to be counted as one of us in order to resist the powerful enemy together. Once Feng-t'ien collapses, it can then be wiped out with the strength of the nation. This is a necessity in the war strategy.

(3) In regard to political factions: In the war against Feng-t'ien, the noteworthy political factions are the An-fu, Study, Joint Control, and New Diplomacy Factions, and the comprador class in Shanghai and Nan-t'ung. The military power of the An-fu Faction can be considered as nil at this time. In regard to its political power, it has long split into the pro-Chih-li and pro-Feng-t'ien factions. As the pro-Chih-li faction is out of power and the pro-Feng-t'ien faction is in power in Peking, the Peking

government has become something completely representing Chang Tso-lin. The Study Faction always followed Ts'ao [2580] and Wu [0702] when they were in power. Though Ts'ao and Wu have failed, it still remains behind Wu P'ei-fu. With the triumph of the Chih-li faction, the Study Faction's Chiang Fang-chen [5592 2455 7201] and its members are swarming in Hankow to acquire benefits. The Joint Control Faction consists of many small political factions, including the I-yu Society of the Political Studies Faction and the politicians of the so-called Kuomintang Comrades' Club such as Chang Ping-lin [4545 3521 7792]. Currently, all its members are gathered under the banner of Wu P'ei-fu and making plans for action. The Ku Wei-chun [7357 4850 6874] faction, which is the so-called New Diplomacy Faction, has always served as the traitorous agent between the Chih-li faction and British and American imperialism. Currently, it is associated with the Study Faction and the comprador class of Shanghai and Nan-t'ung, gathering together under the banner of the Chih-li faction and vigorously pursuing its traitorous activities. Last year, in the war against Chih-li, the comprador class in Shanghai and Nan-t'ung, under the direction of American imperialism, stood alongside the Chih-li faction. With the resumption of power by the Chih-li faction, it has immediately followed the intent of its master (American imperialism) to serve as a resounding echo of the Chih-li faction and its effective support. Of the political factions discussed above, besides the An-fu Faction which represents the interests of Japanese imperialism and the bureaucrats and belongs to the Feng-t'ien faction, all the rest, including the Joint Control Faction of the Study Faction representing the interests of the bureaucrats and the landlord class, the New Diplomacy Faction representing the interests of Britain and America, especially America, and the comprador class of Shanghai and Nan-t'ung, stand on the side of the Chih-li faction.

(4) In regard to the National Army: The National Army has no connections with British, American, and Japanese imperialism; therefore, it is sympathetic to the anti-imperialist movement. This is its most outstanding characteristic. Currently, due to the necessity of strategy, it has not split with Chang Tso-lin. Actually, it may even adopt a temporary compromise. But it is a temporary matter. If our party wishes to make a long-range substantial progress in the national revolution after the war against Feng-t'ien, the victory of the National Army in the North is one of the important keys.

(4) In regard to the National Government: The foundation of our party in Kwangtung is very stable. Hsiung K'o-wu's [3574 0344 2976] troops along the Pei River have long been liquidated, and Ch'en Chiung-ming's [7115 3518 2494] troops along the Tung River have been wiped out. Forces have been sent after the small contingents sneaking into the Fukien border, eliminating them. Teng Pen-yin's [6772 2609 3009] men in Nan-lu will soon be eradicated. The unification of the entire area can be considered completed. The attempt of British imperialism to destroy our party's revolutionary force by associating with Ch'en Chiung-ming has failed altogether. In regard

to the strikes in Canton and Hong Kong, the businessmen and government of Hong Kong know that there is no way to resist and are now doing their best to negotiate. A successful solution will soon be reached. The current tasks of our party in Kwangtung are the training and reenforcement of the revolutionary army, the renovation and rectification of civil administration, finance, judicature, and education, and the expansion of the mass movements of workers, peasants, merchants, and students. In a word, we must actively gather our strength within the shortest possible time, immediately send our troops North when the situation in the North and the South develops to a certain stage, and lead the people of the entire nation for the thorough solution of the affairs of the nation. In the name of the Central Executive Committee, our party has published a declaration on the current situation and pointed out the goal of war against Feng-t'ien. We have also, in the name of the National Government Committee, sent telegrams to the top generals of the Chih-li and Feng-t'ien factions, urging them to overthrow Feng-t'ien's Chang and organize a government and formulate policies compatible with the will of the people, in order to test their reaction to our party's principle of defending the interests of the people.

(6) In regard to the people: In the understanding of the people, the anti-Feng-t'ien movement this time is a movement against the warlords of the Feng-t'ien faction who support British and Japanese imperialism and suppress the patriotic movement. Therefore, the main force of the movement against Feng-t'ien should be the revolutionary people of the entire nation. By initiating the movement, the Chih-li faction only serves as the front-runner, not the main force. Currently, the wrath of the people against the Feng-t'ien warlords is unprecedented. Their concept that resisting Feng-t'ien is resisting British and Japanese imperialism and victory over Feng-t'ien is victory over Britain and Japan is the same as that of the people of Kwangtung that punishing Ch'en Chiung-ming was attacking British imperialism and victory of the eastern expedition was the victory of the strikes. Therefore, the war against Feng-t'ien, in the understanding of the people, is different from the wars between Hopeh and Anhwei and between Feng-t'ien and Hopeh.

(B) Our Propaganda and Preparation

The responsible comrades of party units of all levels in all areas must, with organization and planning, seek all kinds of opportunities to explain to the comrades and propagandize to the people the following points:

- (1) They must explain the conspiracies of the imperialists in this war.
- (2) They must explain the grave dangers to the people in case of victory of the Feng-t'ien warlords who serve as the running dogs of British and Japanese imperialism.
- (3) The people may temporarily utilize the resistance of the Chih-li faction against the Feng-t'ien faction, but they must not permit it to take

the place of the Feng-t'ien faction, because if so, the people will likewise be in grave danger. The people should not forget the lesson when the Chih-li faction was in power. Special attention must be given to the propaganda of this point in areas in the Yangtze provinces where Wu P'ei-fu and Sun Ch'uan-fang are popular with the merchant class.

(4) All types of counter-revolutionary factions, such as the An-fu, Study, Joint Control, and New Diplomacy Factions, and the comprador class are absolutely incompatible with the people's interest. Their secrets must be exposed and they must all be ousted.

(5) Among the anti-Feng-t'ien forces, the difference between the Feng Yuhsiang [7458 3768 4382] faction and the Wu P'ei-fu and Sun Ch'uan-fang faction is that Feng has no connection with imperialism and he supports the national revolution, while Wu and Sun are under the orders of imperialism and resist the national revolution. The distinction between friend and foe, as far as the people are concerned, depends on whether there is a relationship with imperialism. Regardless of who and when, the moment such a relationship arises, the people will not consider him as a friend.

(6) The true leader of the people is the Chinese Nationalist Party; the true government of the people is the National Government in Canton; the true army of the people is the National Revolutionary Army in Kwangtung. The Nationalist Party, the National Government, and the National Revolutionary Army are the vanguard against imperialism, the defenders of the people's interest, and the comforters of the people in their suffering (illustrated by Kwangtung's resistance to British imperialism and its unification and active construction this time).

(7) All the oppressed people of China are the ones to decide on all the problems of China. In the war against Feng-t'ien this time, the people should serve as the commander in chief. The people must organize and take charge of the great movement against Feng-t'ien.

(8) The four principles in the Nationalist Party's declaration on the current situation are: 1. A united nation-wide national government must be formed. 2. The national government must, as soon as possible, call a preparatory meeting for a national congress. 3. The national government must, as soon as possible, call a preparatory meeting for a national congress and find the fundamental solution for the unequal treaties. 4. The national government must defend the freedom of the people to speak, form associations, and hold meetings. These four principles are the only way to conclude the war. If they are not followed, then the situation of joint control by imperialism and the warlords will remain even after the end of the war, and the people will still face the same danger as before.

(9) To implement the principles of the Nationalist Party, a national congress truly representing the people must be prepared as soon as possible.

Among the many kinds of people's organizations, a renewed and general propaganda of "the necessity of the national congress in solving national affairs" should be promoted as a continuation of last year's propaganda. When necessary, the party units of the provinces and special municipalities should, within their jurisdictions, order a general mobilization and vigorously propagandize the national congress, in order to arouse the attention of the people.

(C) Slogans

- (1) Down with Chang Tso-lin and Tuan Ch'i-jui [3008 4388 3843]!
- (2) Down with British, American, and Japanese imperialism!
- (3) Down with all conspiratorial political factions!
- (4) The people must rise and direct the anti-Feng-t'ien movement!
- (5) Let the national congress representing the people conclude the war against Feng-t'ien!
- (6) Form a united nationwide national government!
- (7) Abolish unequal treaties!
- (8) Freedom of meeting, association, speech, and strike!
- (9) All revolutionary elements must immediately join the Nationalist Party!

°CHENG-CHIH CHOU-PAO, No 1, Canton Cheng-chih Chou-pao Press, 5 December 1925

6080

CSO: 4005

REASONS FOR PUBLISHING 'CHENG-CHIH CHOU-PAO'

5 December 1925

[Text] Why do we publish "CHENG-CHIH CHOU-PAO" ["Political Weekly"]? It is for the revolution. Why do we want a revolution? It is to liberate the nation of China, to realize control by the people, and to gain economic happiness for the people.

For the revolution, we have offended all enemies--imperialism throughout the world, large and small warlords throughout the nation, the comprador class, local tyrants, and evil gentry of all areas, and all the reactionary political factions such as the An-fu, Study, Joint Control, and Nationalist [Kuo-chia Chu-i] Factions. These enemies, with the development of our revolutionary force, are reenforcing their oppression and mobilizing all their strength for the purpose of destroying us. They have foreign and domestic navies, armies and police, large international progaganda machines (Reuter, etc.), national newspapers, and schools. Though there are frequent conflicts among them due to differences in interest, none of them has a good intent toward us.

After wiping out Yang [2799] and Liu [0491] and eliminating Cheng [6774] and Mo [5459], our work in Kwangtung has reached a new era. Canton city has realized peace which was unseen in the past 14 years; the people have truly gained the freedom to hold meetings, form associations, speak, and strike; there has been no coercive conscription for the eastern expeditionary forces; gambling has been abolished in Canton's market; military affairs and political administration of the entire province have been unified; financial administration is gradually centralized; a part of the harsh taxes harassing the people has been abolished, and measures for eliminating the rest have been decided on; policies of reform have been formulated for the civil affairs, judicial, education, and communication organs; the counter-revolutionary remnants of Pei River, Tung River, and Nan-lu are gradually eliminated; strikes and large-scale blockade of Hong Kong are continued to support the patriotic workers' movement. We do not hide our shortcomings. We do not claim that Kwangtung has been reformed--Kwangtung's reform is just beginning. There are still many bandits disrupting law and order; there are

still many local tyrants, evil gentry, and corrupt officials preying on the people; many behind-the-scene evil practices in the civil affairs, finance, judicial, education, and communication organs have not been eliminated. We do not say that all the defects no longer exist. We say that we already have a revolutionary force; we already have an opportunity to eliminate the bandits; we already can begin the overhauling of civil affairs, finance, judicial, education, and communications organs. In sum, we already have a foundation for revolution. In everything we do, we follow Mr Sun Yat-sen's strategy, open and clear to the eyes of the public. Meanwhile, Hong Kong's British imperialism, the counter-revolutionary remnants such as Ch'en Chiung-ming [7115 3518 2494] and Teng Pen-yin [6772 2609 3009], and the numerous local tyrants, evil gentry, and corrupt officials cannot but tremble. Angry and indignant, they go to the extreme to curse, slander, and injure us. The counter-revolutionary propaganda organs in Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, and Hankow are in an uproar, and they stop at nothing to curse, slander, and injure us with their evil mouth and poison tongue. The people of the entire nation, especially those in the North and along the Yangtze, are confused by them and completely isolated from the true situation in Kwangtung. Suspicions arise even among the comrades. Even the unsuspecting elements have no factual basis to argue the case. Such terms as "internal squabble" and "communism" are spread everywhere, as if Kwangtung had become hell itself.

We can no longer let it go. We must begin to counter-attack. "Propagandize counter-attack to the counter-revolutionaries in order to break down the counter-revolutionary propaganda." This is the mission of "Cheng-chih Chou-pao."

We do not need much argument in our counter-attack of the enemies; we only need to report truthfully the facts of our revolutionary work. When the enemies say "Kwangtung has turned communist," we say "Please look at the facts." When they say "Kwangtung is squabbling internally," we say "Please look at the facts." When they say "The Canton government associates with Russia, yields power, and disgraces the nation," we say "Please look at the facts." When they say "The people under the Canton government live in misery," we say "Please look at the facts."

In the structure of "Cheng-chih Chou-pao," 90 percent are factual reports, and only 10 percent are arguments against the propaganda of the counter-revolutionaries.

Accept the truthful report of our revolutionary work! Arise, revolutionary people of the entire nation!

©CHENG-CHIH CHOU-PAO, No 1, Canton Cheng-chih Chou-pao Press, 5 December 1925

6080
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THE 'THREE-THREE-THREE-ONE SYSTEM'

5 December 1925

[Text] "What is communism? Confiscation of property; no private savings permitted; the rich and poor are both poor. A good term is coined. It is called emphasis on agriculture. Three-three-three-one, actually it makes no sense. Thirty percent to the landlord, 30 percent confiscated, 30 percent to oneself, and 10 percent for the association." This is the "anti-communist" announcement in four-word rhymes posted by Yang K'un-ju [2799 0981 1172] inside and outside Hui-chou. A friend of a rather clear mind newly arrived from Peking asked me: "Is there actually such a thing as the 'three-three-three-one system'?" I was surprised. Before answering him, I thought: "Do you suspect that the Kuomintang is practicing the 'three-three-three-one system'?" With an ironic expression, I answered: "There is, but not like what Yang K'un-ju described." He said: "Isn't the 'Hong Kong Morning News' a Kuomintang paper? It also published it." Only then did I learn that the "Hong Kong Morning News" also had such odd ideas. Before the revolt of Yang and Liu, the paper did have connections with the Kuomintang. After the revolt of Yang and Liu and the strikes in Canton and Hong Kong, it was bought by Liu Chen-huan [0491 7201 1403] to serve as an organ of Hong Kong's foreign excellencies and the so-called Commander in Chief Ch'en [7115]. By taking advantage of the severance of communication between Canton and Hong Kong, many "facts" have emerged in the pages of the paper on the isolated island of Hong Kong. "Three-three-three-one" was but one of the many "facts," yet it was delivered all the way to Peking to feast the eyes of my Peking friend. I, therefore, thought that, in regard to the things in the world today, whether animate (such as man) or inanimate (such as a newspaper), we must not be too rigid in our view, because, as "revolution" and "counter-revolution" had parted company, the animate and inanimate things could belong to one side today and the other side tomorrow. When the "Hong Kong Morning News" was with the Kuomintang, it served as the organ paper of the Kuomintang. When bought by Hong Kong's foreign excellency Mr Liu Chen-huan and the so-called Commander in Chief Ch'en, it could only become their organ paper. Precisely like Feng Tzu-yu [7458 5261 3945] and Ma Su [7456 4790], when they were with the Kuomintang, they were Kuomintang party members. Once bought by

Tuan Ch'i-jui [3008 4388 3843], though they still claimed to be members of the Kuomintang and labeled themselves with the "Kuomintang Club," they were Tuan Ch'i-jui's men. I hold no special grudge against the "Hong Kong Morning News" or Messrs Feng and Ma; I only borrow this instance to warn my friends inside and outside the country against being tricked when observing people and things. As for Yang K'un-ju's announcement, his composition is fine, except for the phrase "it makes no sense," which spoiled his pen. Isn't it that one pellet of mouse dropping spoils the whole pot of soup? But then it was the fault of the secretary.

°CHENG-CHIH CHOU-PAO, No 1, Canton Cheng-chih Chou-pao Press, 5 December 1925

6080

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YANG K'UN-JU'S NOTICE AND LIU CHIH-LU'S CABLE

5 December 1925

[Text] We have already studied Yang K'un-ju's [2799 9081 1172] announcement, but there is Liu Chih-lu's [0491 1807 7120] telegram to "Executive Tuan [3008], Ministers and Vice-Ministers of the Ministries, Commissioner Chang [1728] of Feng-t'ien, Governor Chao [6392] of Hunan, Commissioner Hsiao [5618] of Wu-ch'ang, Superintendent Fang [2455] of Kiangsi, Superintendent Chou [0719] of Fukien, and Messrs Ts'en Hsi-lin [1478 6007 2651], Wu Tzu-yu [0702 1311 3768], K'ang Nan-hai [1660 0589 3189], and Liang Jen-kung [2733 0117 0361]" which is slightly different. In his "seventh count of the indictment," he states: "In the society of China, agriculture has always been emphasized. The interests of the landowner and the tenant are always balanced. The spirit of mutual help makes them naturally compatible. Now, the inducement of the land division theory has undermined the mutual benefit." This statement conflicts with Yang K'un-ju's announcement. According to Yang K'un-ju, "30 percent to the landlord, 30 percent confiscated, 30 percent to oneself, and 10 percent for the association." So everyone gets something, and it can be called "mutual benefit." Yet Liu Chih-lu says that it is "land division," indicating that the Canton government tells the peasants to seize the land from the landlords and divide it up, and the landlords will have no rent to collect thereafter. Therefore, "mutual benefit is undermined." One says that the landlord still retains 30 percent, while the other says that he will have nothing left. I wonder whom my friends in Peking and other areas believe.

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6080
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IF THERE IS COMMON ASPIRATION FOR COMBATING COMMUNISM, THEN MY ENEMY'S
ENEMY IS MY GOOD FRIEND

5 December 1925

[Text] After enumeration the eight counts against the National Government, Liu Chih-lu [0491 1807 7120] and others, in their telegram, add an "Alas!" paragraph and continue by stating: "In sum, when sending troops to quell rebellions, punish the criminal, and save the people, if there is common aspiration for combating communism, then my enemy's enemy is my good friend. An army is strong when its cause is just. No combat is required to determine the outcome. Those with Heaven on their side will prosper, and the right and wrong are not hard to distinguish." The titled addresses of Liu's telegram, such as Executive Tuan [3008], the Ministers and Vice-Ministers of the Ministries, Commissioners, Superintendents, and Governors Chang [1728], Hsiao [5618], Chao [6392], Fang [2455], and Chou [0719], and Messrs Ts'en [1478], Wu [0702], K'ang [1660], and Liang [2733], are naturally comrades with common aspirations to combat communism, but what about Governor (Chin) of Hong Kong and Prime Minister Baldwin in London? Are they not also comrades with common aspirations to combat communism? Yet their titles are not listed. Furthermore, Governor Chin helped with such large amounts of money and weapons and protected the commanding headquarters set up by Commander in Chief Ch'en [7115] in Hong Kong. His aspirations to combat communism are clear like the sun and the stars, and yet he was left out! One truly cannot understand the intent! The sentences at the end of the telegram, "an army is strong when its cause is just," etc., are even more confusing. He is actually writing a eulogy to the National Government!

^oCHENG-CHIH CHOU-PAO, No 1, Canton Cheng-chih Chou-pao Press, 5 December 1925

6080
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ACCLAMATIONS WILL COME FROM ALL NATIONS

5 December 1925

[Text] A Ch'ao-Mei gentry, student, and merchant joint association sent a telegram supporting Liu Chih-lu [0491 1807 7120], stating: "The evil communist party brought calamity to eastern Kwangtung. Nearby, it can sink China into a hopeless situation; far away, it can engulf the world and destroy all mankind. Mr Liu relies on righteousness and steps forward, ahead of the world. Wherever his banners point, the people will welcome him with broth and food. Bringing down the rotten and destroying the withered, he will soon establish great merits. (The reporter finds the word "soon" defective.) Communization will be eradicated, and the foundation of the nation will be stabilized. Not only his achievement will rank with the Yunnan Uprising and the Ma-ch'ang Harangue of the Troops, but mankind in the whole world will be safeguarded and the calamity of the entire globe will be averted. He will be remembered a thousand years; acclamations will come from all nations." Everywhere, "the whole world" and "the entire globe" are not forgotten. How far-reaching is the sight! If Liu Chih-lu truly eradicates "communization," "acclamations" for sure will come. But whether they will come from all nations is unknown, but at least from the following four: Britain, America, France, and Japan.

°CHENG-CHIH CHOU-PAO, No 1, Canton Cheng-chih Chou-pao Press, 5 December 1925

6080

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'LONG LIVE THE GREAT UNION OF ANTICOMMUNIST CHINESE NATIONAL ARMY'

5 December 1925

[Text] This is a slogan in the anticommunist literature distributed by Ch'en Chiung-ming [7115 3518 2494] in Tung-chiang. It is truly sonorous, but it's a pity that it is rather difficult for the "anticommunist Chinese National Army" to have a "great union." Such troops as those commanded by Feng-t'ien's Commissioner Chang [1728] and by Hankow's Mr Wu Tzu-yu [0702 1311 3768] can truly be considered an "anticommunist National Army," but where is the "great union"?

°CHENG-CHIH CHOU-PAO, No 1, Canton Cheng-chih Chou-pao Press, 5 December 1925

6080

CSO: 4005

COMMUNIST REGULATIONS AND SHAM COMMUNISM

5 December 1925

[Text] The counterrevolutionaries generally call the national revolution a communist revolution, the Kuomintang the communist party, the National Government a communist government, and the National Revolutionary Army a communist army. They do so for no other purpose than to fabricate a few simple terms and spread them in accordance with the intent of imperialism in order to split the united front created through the cooperation of the various classes in the national revolution. But such fabrication has to be rather abstract. It must not be too concrete, because they may expose themselves and lose their credibility. However, for the purpose of a lucky win by one single throw, Ch'en Chiung-ming [7115 3518 2494], this time in Tung-chiang, exhausted all means. He actually fabricated the so-called "Communist By-law" to frighten the people. One of their handbills, entitled "Urging the People of Kwangtung To Help the Kwangtung Army Punish the Red Party," states: "Alas! Do our fathers and brothers know about the Communist By-law drafted by Chiang Chung-cheng [Chiang Kai-shek]? I fear that the common people, being ignorant, may think that sharing property means sharing the property of the rich and has nothing to do with the poor in general. They may even think that it will greatly benefit the poor. Actually, it is completely false. I inquired into the said by-law and now generalize as follows: The so-called three-three-three-one system deals with farmland. The so-called four-four-two system deals with houses. Plants and stores with rather substantial capital are completely confiscated." Nevertheless, a recent issue of the Hong Kong KUNG-SHANG JIH-PAO reported: "The Canton merchant representatives came to Hong Kong, and the Hong Kong merchant representatives received them in the Chinese Merchants' Club and asked them to hold a second general meeting to discuss the solution of strikes and resumption of communication. Chinese businessmen and merchants and Canton merchant representatives all sat together at a long table. Canton merchant representative Chien Ch'in-shih [4675 3830 4258] rose and made a statement, saying that the Canton government was actually not practicing communism." If someone should ask Ch'en Chiung-ming [7115 3518 2494] about Chien Shih-ch'in's [4675 4258 3830] [sic] statement, I imagine he will say: "Chien Shih-ch'in told a lie. When others took away his property to share, he still insisted that it was not taken away."

o CHENG-CHIH CHOU-PAO, No 1, Canton Cheng-chih Chou-pao Press, 5 December 1925

TSOU LU AND REVOLUTION

5 December 1925

[Text] Tsou Lu [6760 7627] said: "Our Koumintang comrades must be aware. You must not obliterate everything just because others say that the old comrades are non-revolutionary. Had our comrades not persevered after every setback, there would not have been the republic. Had the campaigns to fight Yuan [5913], defend the law, punish the bandits, and attack the North not been victorious, there would not have been today's history. Even in the burning of the commercial groups, the masterpiece work of the communists, we still had to rely on Yang [2799] and Liu [0491]. To hit Yang and Liu, we still had to rely on Hsu [6079] and Liang [27332]. Even the restraining of Hsu and Liang today, it is still the old comrades." Excellent! Mr Tsou! Please go ahead and revolutionize! Actually no one has the skill to obliterate the revolutionary old comrades! You must know that "the republic" and "history" alone do not count. We must prosecute the revolution now; we must prosecute the revolution in the future. As for old comrades Yang and Liu, or old comrades Hsu and Liang, I think it is better not to give so many examples.

oCHENG-CHIH CHOU-PAO, No 1, Canton Cheng-chih Chou-pao Press, 5 December 1925

6080

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TO TURN LEFT OR RIGHT?

13 December 1925

[Text] In the past 6 months, some people have been advocating a theory: The left is not good, nor is the right. Another group has proposed an intermediate opinion: They reject the left as well as the right and indicate that they, themselves, take the middle position. Such things are not often seen in Kwangtung, but quite widespread in Kiangsu and Chekiang. The reason is that, in Kwangtung, the left is Canton and the right is Hong Kong. Standing under the banner of Canton, he inevitably opposes Hong Kong, and vice versa. Ch'en Chiung-ming [7115 3518 2494] leads the counterrevolutionary military, politicians, comprador class, local tyrants, and evil gentry and stands under the banner of Hong Kong, while the Kuomintang leftwing leads the workers, peasants, soldiers, students, merchants, and all types of revolutionary masses and stands under the banner of Canton. Therefore, they mutually attack each other with artillery. There can be no intermediate in the midst of such mutual attack. If there is such an intermediate element, he can only cover himself up and hide under the banner of one side, speaking quietly and treading lightly. If there is someone standing between Canton and Hong Kong, he will have to declare that "Hong Kong is no good and Canton is also no good." Then, Hong Kong will train its artillery on him, and so will Canton. Currently, there has not yet been any incident of mutual attack with artillery in in the Kiangsu-Chekiang area, and therefore, the theory of "both sides no good" flourishes. On 30 May this year, the artillery of side A rumbled in the Nanking area, but luckily side B had no artillery. Just fists alone could not become "mutual attack," and no chaos resulted. (Strikes did not amount to much). The theory of "both sides no good" can still be openly spread, "retaining righteousness between the two and saving freedom between heaven and earth." However, if we set up a hypothetical situation, if the masses on Nanking Road had generals as well as fists, and were led by Wang Ching-wei [3076 4737 5898] and Chiang Kai-shek, then, when the police station was levelled by artillery, they could immediately occupy the Bureau of Works, capture all the turbaned policemen, blockade Wu-sung Harbor, mount artillery in Nan-pei-t'ang and Shih-tzu-lin (similar to Hu-men), and hoist the banner against imperialism over the artillery positions. By then, Shanghai would unfortunately be in a "chaos," similar to Canton. A garrison headquarters would be set

up and those like Mr Wang Mao-kung [3769 2021 0501] would be asked to serve as the commander who would then ride around in an armored car every day on the streets. The "Shih-shih Hsin-pao" and its like would be allowed to publish again (perhaps also the "Hsing-shih Chou-pao"). Only the majority would be permitted to enjoy the freedom of speech, and the freedom of the minority would have to be deprived, exactly the opposite of before. By then, the intermediate elements, as in Canton, would not be able to spread their theory openly. What should they do? Naturally, there would still be Peking. But they could not rely on Peking for long. It would be contingent on the stability of Executive Tuan [2008]. As long as he remained in power, there would be no problem. Not only could the Kuomintang Comrades' Club hoist its sign high, but even the Fourth General Central Committee could hold its meeting there. It would be even more liberal than in Changchiakou. While we say this, I am still somewhat confused. How come Changchiakou does not permit the Fourth Central Committee to hold a meeting? Isn't it also under the jurisdiction of the Tuan government? If the Executive Tuan is not there-- Wait a minute! Even when Executive Tuan is there, there can be unforeseen incidents. Did we not hear that two persons were kidnapped and put into an automobile, taken into the city and beaten up, and forced to write statements of repentance? Alas! Such disturbances could happen even under the rule of Executive Tuan! The affairs of the world are truly difficult to determine! Even more distressing: According to the telegram of the Peking Executive Department, a revolutionary movement occurred on 28 November and the urban residents laid siege to the Executive Residence, demanding the ouster of Tuan Ch'i-jui [3008 4388 3843]. It also said that the National Congress decided on three items, and the first was to organize a national government. (Most unfortunate! Naturally it will be similar to Canton!). Then, according to Reuter, "there was a demonstration in Peking on the 28th. The students carried the banner of Canton, the workers displayed red flags, but no national flag was seen. The demonstrators scattered handbills, demanding to overthrow Tuan Ch'i-jui, punish Chu Shen [2612 3234], execute the traitors, dissolve the customs conference, arm the people, carry out mass revolution, organize a true national congress, etc." The "Shin-shih Hsin-pao" headlined the telegram "Frightening Demonstration!" What's to be done? A "frightening demonstration" happened here! If, in the future, a "national government" is actually organized and the "Canton banner" is hoisted high over the roof of that government, will it not result in a "chaos" similar to Canton? Not just this alone, but the "chaos" may spread to the entire country, imitated everywhere. The majority may rise to gain their "freedom" and arbitrarily deprive the minority of their freedom. Gentlemen who stand in the middle! What should you do? To the left? Or to the right?

o CHENG-CHIH CHOU-PAO, No 2, Canton Cheng-chih Chou-pao Press, 13 December 1925

6080

CSO: 4005

COMMUNIZATION CLARIFIED

13 December 1925

[Text] "Shen Pao" reports that, according to the telegram from Peking of 23 November, "the diplomatic corps received a detailed report from Kwangtung. Though Chiang Kai-shek is communistic in his principles, he rather cares for the people. On the contrary, the anticommunist troops of Ch'en [7115], Lin [2651], and Hung [3163] perform many communist activities wherever they go." Thus, communization is caring for the people. Communization-- wish it would spread throughout China!

o CHENG-CHIH CHOU-PAO, No 2, Canton Cheng-chih Chou-pao Press, 13 December 1925

6080
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WHO KILLED ALL THE INTELLECTUALS?

13 December 1925

[Text] Among Chen Chiung-ming's [7115 3518 2494] anti-communist literature, there is the article: "Respectfully Advise Young Students." The last few sentences of this article read: "Communist Party policy also calls for exterminating the intellectual class. You young students are, after all, grouped in the intellectual class. Upon triumph of the Communist Party,... [one word indistinct] intends to kill the intellectual young students one by one." In order to see whether Chen Chiung-ming's words are right or wrong, it would be necessary, first of all, to analyze the position of the Chinese intellectual class. We feel that those individuals with intelligence should not be classified as a social class. We should recognize them only as knowledgeable persons. The reason for this is that they do not have a common interest which would assure their unity as a class. Among them, some have become secretaries or staffers to Chang Tso-lin [1728 0155 7207], Wu Pei-fu [0702 0160 1318], Chen Chiung-ming and their like; and others have performed as attorneys or clerks for Chang...[word indistinct] [1728], Mu Ou-chu [4476 5665 0443], Chen...[word indistinct] -po [7115 0130]. They say peasants should not demand rent reduction and workers should not strike. At the same time, however, some intellectuals have joined the ranks of the worker-peasant class.

Accordingly, we can see that each knowledgeable person is merely an intellectual. As an inevitable consequence of modern industrial development, these intellectuals have long lost the dignity and assurance of their so-called occupational freedom, and have been downgraded temporarily from intermediate class to proletariat. As such, they must devote themselves wholeheartedly to the worker-peasant movement. If they should forget their own position in the current society and choose to reverse themselves to serve warlords, compradores, and local despots, then, these knowledgeable youths may be regarded as dead. By whose hands do they perish? They are wasted directly by warlords, compradores, and local despots; and indirectly they are poisoned by imperialism.

o CHENG-CHIH CHOU-PAO, No 2, Canton Cheng-chih Chou-pao Press, 13 December 1925

PEKING RIGHTIST CONFERENCE AND IMPERIALISM

20 December 1925

[Text] Imperialists abhor the Canton Central Executive Committee of the leftist Kuomintang which has assumed general command over the nationwide anti-imperialist movement to strike terror among all imperialists. The Peking rightist conference adopted a resolution to cease the functions of the Canton Central Executive Committee. Imperialists abhor the Kuomintang Political Committee which can exercise power to direct the Kwangtung and Hong Kong strikes and to eradicate such useful tools to them as Yang Hsi-min [2799 1585 7063], Liu Chen-huan [0491 7201 1403], Liang Hung-kai [2733 7703 2261], Cheng Jun-chi [6774 3387 3823], Mo Hsiung [5459 7160], Wei Pang-ping [7614 6721 1726], Chen Chiung-ming [7115 3518 2494], Lin Hu [2651 5706], Hung Chao-lin [3163 0340 7792], Teng Pen-yin [6772 2609 3009], and Hsiung Ko-wu [3574 0344 2976]. The Peking rightist conference resolved to dismiss the Political Committee. Imperialists abhor Kuomintang leftist leader Wang Ching-wei [3076 4737 5898] who leads the national revolution in an all-out campaign against imperialism; and the Peking rightist conference resolved to expel Wang Ching-wei from Party membership. Imperialists abhor Soviet Russian assistance to the Kuomintang and Nationalist Government employment of Russian advisers to enhance their power to attack imperialism; and the Peking rightist conference resolved to discharge Russian adviser Borodin. Imperialists abhor Kuomintang acceptance of Communist Party members to acquire a major force opposing imperialism; and the Peking rightist conference resolved to expel Li Ta-chao [2621 1129 6856], Tan Ping-shan [6223 1627 1472], and others from Party membership. Observing all this, we can see what the Peking rightist conference has done for imperialism.

o CHENG-CHIH CHOU-PAO, No 3, Canton Cheng-chih Chou-pao Press, 20 December 1925

6693

CSO: 4005

LAST TOOL OF IMPERIALISM

20 December 1925

[Text] As described before, the Peking rightist conference has performed various tasks to meet the requirements of imperialism. It is, however, the final method used by imperialism against the Chinese anti-imperialist movement. Imperialist tools Yang Hsi-min [2799 1585 7036] and Liu Chen-huan [0419 7201 1403] were ineffective in their attempt to overthrow the Canton government on behalf of the current Peking rightist conference. Imperialist tools Liang Hung-kai [2733 7703 2261], Cheng Jun-chi [6774 3387 3823], Wei Pang-ping [7614 6721 1726], Mo Hsiung [5459 7160], Chu Cho-wen [2612 0587 2429], and others were also ineffective in carrying out the goal of the current Peking rightist conference after the assassination of Liao Chung-kai [1675 0112 1956]. Imperialist tool Hsiung Ko-wu [3574 0344 2976] also failed in his attempt to capture Canton from Pei-chiang on behalf of the current Peking rightist conference. Imperialist tool Tuan Chi-jui [3008 4388 3842] likewise did not succeed in his attempt to attack Canton by warships from Hu-meng. Imperialist tools Chen Chiung-ming [7115 3518 2494] and Teng Pen-yin [6772 2609 3009] also failed in their attempt to fight into Canton from the east and the south, on behalf of the current Peking rightist conference. All these imperialist tools were ineffectual in what they did. The Kuomintang rightists, aroused in indignation, thus called the Peking conference. From "Attack by guns," they changed to the "Resolutions" method.

What is the effect of this method? It is difficult to say. The various resolutions of the rightist conference, to be sure, are only childish resolutions. This method of "opposition within the next" is truly a progression from "opposition outside the next." After it has exhausted all tools, imperialism has found this last tool to gain a small consolation in their failure.

Although a few among the rightists may talk about opposing imperialism, although they may serve imperialism without sincerity, and although they

may deny that they have become imperialist tools, nevertheless, they are in fact effectively helping imperialism. In reality, they have become imperialist tools, because their work meets the requirements of imperialism.

o CHENG-CHIH CHOU-PAO, No 3, Canton Cheng-chih Chou-pao Press, 20 December 1925

6693

CSO: 4005

THE MOST THE RIGHTISTS CAN DO

20 December 1925

[Text] The 3 December editorial of the rightist Shanghai MIN-KUO JIH-PAO stated: "There are only warlords who fear the revolutionary party, but not a revolutionary party which fears warlords." With this as the rationale, the editorial opposed the following passage in the telegram sent by Wang Ching-wei [3076 4737 5895] and others: "A plenary session of the Central Committee is open by nature. Should it meet in Peking, there would be pressure from warlords from without, and reactionaries from within using warlords to create problems." MIN-KUO JIH-PAO thus alleged that it would be a show of courage and of disregard of warlords for the plenary session of the Central Committee to meet in Peking.

What is the mistake of MIN-KUO JIH-PAO? The mistake lies in ignorance of the fact that there is a difference between the overt and covert activities of a revolutionary party. Operating under the enemy influence, a truly revolutionary party would maintain complete secrecy with regard to its party organizations and meetings, but would openly advocate its proposals and conduct propaganda. Under the enemy influence, it is necessary to obtain prior enemy understanding in order to make public the party organizations and meetings. In other words, there would be at least a few points benefiting the enemy before the enemy would grant consent or even possibly protection. However, what would the party be then? It would become a friend of the enemy, instead of a revolutionary party aimed against the enemy. Tuan Chi-jui [3008 4388 2976] permitted the rightists to hold their conference in Peking. Would he also allow Wang Ching-wei, Tan Yen-kai [6223 1693 0418], and others to publicly go to Peking to attend the conference?

The newspaper also claimed that Premier Sun visited Peking last year without fearing Tuan Chi-jui. It ignored the two reasons which made it possible for Premier Sun to visit Peking last year: One, Tuan Chi-jui was then new in power, and had neither consolidated his regime nor adopted the policy to oppress the Kuomintang. Two, control of the police in Peking was then in the hands of Feng Yu-hsiang [7458 3768 4382], who was sympathetic

to the Kuomintang. Without these two reasons, it would have been impossible for Mr Sun to openly go to Peking. If Mr Sun lived today, Tuan Chi-jui certainly would not tolerate his open revolutionary activities in Peking. He must maintain secrecy, or go elsewhere.

In Peking and other areas throughout the country where warlords are in control, there are Kuomintang organizations, and party headquarters have organizations everywhere. Party members and comrade cadres have meetings at all times, as they also bravely engage in efforts striving to eliminate the enemy influence. All this, however, is secret. In these organizations and activities, only the leftists are waging incessant struggle, while the rightist party members invariably are seized by fear and dare not to move. The strong point of rightists is that they can talk, and recite such slogans as "Down with imperialism" and "Down with warlords" without referring to party resolutions. Once they learn about realistic methods and actions, they immediately lose heart. The rightists have only their mouth, but not hands or feet. They have courage to hold a conference in front of Tuan Chi-jui, but would not dare to attend a conference in Canton, because they fear the revolutionary air of Canton. They have decided to hold their so-called Second National Congress in March next year in either Shanghai or Peking. My observation is that even if they can call the meeting (regardless of the number of those attending), they may not dare to hold it in Peking, since the court of Tuan is unstable. They probably would meet in Shanghai. In the old next of imperialism, they would openly hold the Kuomintang National Conference in front of foreign lords of various foreign consulates and police forces, and thus show off their "courage." The most the rightists can do is to openly hold conferences in front of warlords and imperialists. The leftists can never match that!

o CHENG-CHIH CHOU-PAO, No 3, Canton, Cheng-chih Chou-pao Press, 20 December 1925

6693

CSO: 4005

PROPAGANDA REPORT

8 January 1926

[Text] Written Propaganda

(1) Dailies

(A) Party Sponsored:

(1) Shanghai MIN-KUO JIH-PAO. This was originally a private newspaper owned by Yeh Chu-tsang [5509 2806 3318] and others. After the first national congress, the Party assumed management, invested several tens of thousands yuan in expansion, and subsequently subsidized monthly 2,500 to 3,000 yuan. However, it has never been a true party newspaper, and has contained much absurd statements and reportage. Following the Hsi-shan Conference, it became a mouthpiece of the reactionaries.

(2) Canton MIN-KUO JIH-PAO. This was sponsored by the Canton Municipal Party Headquarters and came under the administration of the Central Propaganda Department in October 1926. The circulation increased from over 1,000 to over 11,000.

(3) Canton KUO-MIN HSIN-WEN. This was a mouthpiece of reactionaries. After the Liao case, it became a party newspaper under the administration of the Central Propaganda Department. Upon establishment of the Kwangtung Provincial Party Headquarters, it came under the administration of the provincial party headquarters. It now circulates over 7,500 copies daily.

(4) HSIANG-CHIANG CHEN-PAO. Under party management at one time, it later defected to the enemy party. It has now ceased publication.

(5) Hong Kong HSIN-WEN-PAO. It discontinued relationship with Chen Chiung-ming [7115 3518 2494] in July 1926 and came under Party control. It was

closed by the Hong Kong Government after the strike. Before that, its circulation exceeded 8,000 copies, with greater circulation overseas than in Hong Kong.

(6) Peking MIN-PAO. This was closed by Chang Tso-lin [1728 0155 7027] not long after it commenced publication.

(B) Daily newspapers sponsored by individual comrades or under the names of societies and organizations. Survey incomplete. Not described.

(C) Many daily newspapers of all sizes sponsored by Overseas Chinese Party Headquarters abroad. Survey incomplete. Not described.

(II) Weeklies

(a) Party Sponsored:

(1) CHINA KUOMINTANG WEEKLY. This was managed by the Central Committee after the First Party Congress. It ceased publication soon afterward.

(2) Canton MIN-KUO JIH-PAO. There were eight weeklies supplemental to the newspaper covering literature, science, study of Sun Wen doctrine, economics, citizenship, agriculture, women, and cinema. They were soon defunct.

(3) PARTY VOICE WEEKLY. Sponsored by the Central Propaganda Department. It was a supplement to the Canton MIN-KUO JIH-PAO at first, but soon also ceased publication.

(4) CRITICISM OF CRITICISM. Sponsored by the Shanghai Executive Headquarters Propaganda Department after the First Congress as a supplement of SHANG-HAI MIN-KUO JIH-PAO. It soon ceased publication.

(5) Several weeklies supplemental to SHANG-HAI MIN-KUO JIH-PAO all ceased publication soon afterward.

(6) CHEKIANG WEEKLY. Sponsored by Chekiang Provincial Party Headquarters. It soon ceased publication.

(7) HSIN-MIN WEEKLY. Sponsored by Hunan Provincial Party Headquarters after the First Congress. Ceased publication soon afterward.

(8) CHINA KUO-MIN. Published after the First Congress by the Joint Committee of Shanghai regional party headquarters. Its aim is to oppose the Hsi-shan Conference and the rightists. Publication now takes place once every third day.

(9) WUHAN PING-LUN. Sponsored by Hupeh Party Headquarters. Currently in circulation.

(10) POLITICAL WEEKLY. Sponsored by the Central Propaganda Department since December 1925. Circulation is 40,000 per issue, and its aim is to break the counterrevolutionary propaganda of the North and Yangtze River region.

(B) Weeklies and bimonthlies sponsored by various armies and military schools in Kwangtung. Among these are:

HUANG-PU-CHAO of the Huangpu Military Academy
REVOLUTIONARY SEMIMONTHLY of the Second Army
CHUN-SHENG of the Fourth Army
JEN-TAO of the Army Attacking Hupeh

(C) Several periodicals are managed by individual comrades under the names of societies and organizations. Among these are:

Periodicals of student organizations in many areas, such as CHINESE STUDENTS.

Periodicals of worker organizations, such as WORKERS' ROAD.

Not many periodicals of peasant organizations, with only a few in Kwangtung.

Periodicals of military organizations, such as CHINESE MILITARYMEN, REVOLUTIONARY ARMY, and WEEKLY OF YOUNG MILITARYMEN ASSOCIATION in Kwangtung, and NEW NAVY in Yentai.

There are about four or five periodicals of women's organizations.

Periodicals published by other organizations.

(III) Monthlies

The two periodicals NEW CONSTRUCTION and NEW REPUBLIC ceased publication last year. There is now only one new publication: CHINESE PEASANTS, sponsored by the Central Peasant Ministry.

(IV) News Agencies

(1) Central Correspondence Agency. Is under the direct administration of the Central Propaganda Department. In the 2 years since its inception, it has made some accomplishments.

(2) Several other related news agencies.

(V) Books

(1) Central. The Central Propaganda Department has published about 30 books (among them are 12 books concerning Mr Sun such as "San-min-chu-yi")

and "Chien-kuo-fang-lueh": collections of speeches by other comrades such as Mr Wang; and about five books compiled by the Central Propaganda Department) with the total circulation of 393,959 copies. The dissemination concentrated, however, in Kwangtung.

(2) Local--Information and statistics unavailable.

(VI) Handbills

(1) Central--The Central Propaganda Department has issued 83 varieties of handbills, but distribution has been limited to Kwangtung.

(2) Local--Information and statistics unavailable.

(VII) Posters

(1) Central. In Canton, the Central Propaganda Department has cooperated with the Canton Public Security Bureau in producing two types of posters: one nailed to electric wire poles, and the other written on walls. Content of these posters has been derived from the Declaration of the First National Congress and the speeches of late Mr Sun.

(2) Armies. The First, Second, Third, and Fourth Army of the National Revolutionary Army, the Navy, the Huangpu Military Academy, and the military officers schools of the Second and Third Army have all issued posters through their political departments in considerable quantity with great effect.

(3) Various mass organizations. In Kwangtung, the peasant and worker organizations have issued a considerable number of posters.

Pictorial Propaganda

(1) Importance of Pictorial Propaganda

More than 90 percent of Chinese are illiterate. Only a small portion of the masses in the country are accessible through the written propaganda of this Party. Pictorial propaganda is therefore of particular importance.

(II) Past Accomplishments

(1) Central. Started only in April last year, with little done and limited to Kwangtung, in the following three categories:

(A) Provide four cartoons weekly to Canton MIN-KUO JIH-PAO (with omissions sometimes).

(B) Propaganda pictures once a week (sometimes once every 2 or 3 weeks)

(C) Small photographs of Mr Sun Chung-shan and Mr Liao Chung-kai.

(2) Armies. Political departments of various armies have issued considerable pictorial propaganda materials, especially under combat conditions. Wherever the troops are on the march, they post many pictorial propaganda materials, which have considerable influence among the masses.

(3) Various mass organizations. The Kwangtung peasant and worker organizations have promoted considerable pictorial propaganda to mobilize the worker-peasant masses. Some pictorial propaganda work has also been done in Peking and Shanghai.

Oral Propaganda

(1) Oral propaganda has an important position in our propaganda effort, in terms of quantity and effect.

(2) At meetings of peasants, workers, soldiers, and students, we have regularly promoted oral propaganda by delivering speeches of all descriptions.

(3) As extemporaneous oral propaganda, we have delivered speeches at various demonstration for political change. The Central Party headquarters has organized propaganda teams on several occasions. During and after the 30 May movement, large-scale organized propaganda campaigns were promoted in various provinces and large cities.

(4) At meetings of party members, responsible comrades have delivered political and party reports to educate comrades within the party. At the Premier Sun weekly memorial meeting, the Party Central headquarters regularly promotes oral propaganda.

Propaganda on 14 Important Events During the Last Two Years

(1) Reorganization of this Party. We promulgated the declaration of political program to proclaim opposition to imperialism and its adjuncts, resulting in:

(A) Enabling the masses to understand this Party and the goal of this Party, and to change their former attitude of skepticism of this Party. This is extremely effective in propaganda outside the Party.

(B) Unifying objectives and methods within the Party, and gradually cleaning out those who harbor personal or minority goals and methods. This also has considerable effect in terms of education within the Party.

(2) Repossession of Canton Customs House. This anti-imperialist propaganda made clear the break between imperialism and this Party. It was effective in terms of propaganda.

(3) The anti-imperialist strike in Shan-mien.

(4) Commercial Organization Incident. We helped the masses to recognize crimes committed by the compradore class. In this incident, this party's propaganda effort was inadequate, while the counterrevolutionaries were very enthusiastic in their attack against this party.

(5) Sino-Russian Agreement. Our compatriots have learned the difference between imperialist countries and anti-imperialist countries among nations. Anti-imperialist alliances rose in Peking and other areas. The slogan "Oppose imperialism" has begun to be accepted by the masses. To this end, our Party has issued a statement.

(6) Anti-Hopeh Campaign. The masses have lost faith in this power warlord. Mr Sun promulgated the Declaration of the Northern Expedition.

(7) Premier Traveled North. The Statement on Travel North pointed out two slogans: "Hold National Conference" and "Abrogate Unequal Treaties."

(8) Movement to Promote National Conference. Opposition to Tuan Chi-ji resulted in the masses losing faith in Tuan's fence-mending conference. At the same time, the masses have further realized the political proposals of this party. During this campaign, the two slogans: "Hold National Conference" and "Abrogate Unequal Treaties" have gained greater acceptance among the masses.

(9) Campaign for memorial of the Premier. It helped the masses to understand Mr Sun, this Party, and the goal of this party. This extensive memorial campaign spread far and wide, extending to remote and secluded areas. The two slogans of "Hold National Conference" and "Abrogate Unequal Treaties" have thus penetrated further among the masses. At this time, this party issued the statement severing contact with Tuan Chi-ji.

(10) 30 May Movement. An unprecedented anti-imperialist movement in which specific meanings were mentioned for abrogating the unequal treaties, such as repossess concessions, customs house, and judiciary; and evacuation of foreign navies and armies stationed in China. Through this, the masses recognized what are the unequal treaties. This movement failed under extreme pressure exerted by the Liaoning warlords. There was, however, one accomplishment: the Shanghai workers have risen. In terms of propaganda, the movement was very effective for the rural masses have universally come to know that this party has issued a declaration to support the people in resisting imperialism.

(11) Liao Case. The masses realized the brutality of imperialists and their lackeys. Through memorial services, and written and pictorial materials, this party has promoted considerable propaganda.

(12) Anti-Liao-ning Campaign. We helped the masses to learn the relationship between imperialism and their tool, the Chinese warlords; and to recognize the rapid collapse of Chinese warlords. In the course of this campaign, the masses felt a closeness to the success of the revolution. In the movement opposing Tuan in various areas, slogans were introduced to initiate direct clash against the local warlords, such as the Peking masses' slogan of "Expel Tuan Chi-jui," Wuhan masses' slogan "Expel Pei-fu," and Changsha masses' slogan "Down with Chao Heng-ti [6392 1854 1912]." The masses have changed their former peaceful attitude into a tense revolutionary atmosphere.

(13) Anti-religious Movement. During the last 2 years, anti-Christian organizations and propaganda have spread throughout the country to enable the masses to be aware of the imperialist religious aggression.

(14) Political education in peace time and political propaganda in war time among troops. The political education promoted by this party in Huangpu Military Academy and National Revolutionary Army has created a military force against imperialism. The propaganda for military-civilian unity as launched in various campaigns in Kwangtung has assured that the troops love and protect the people, and that the people support the troops. This has been a great success of this party.

Enemy Propaganda

Part of our propaganda, by necessity, must aim at the enemy's propaganda. Now we should take a look at the antirevolutionary propaganda waged by the enemy during the last 2 years.

(1) Imperialism. During the last 2 years, since this party has particularly heightened the anti-imperialist propaganda, the imperialist propaganda to calumniate this party has also been especially fierce. The imperialists raised the two slogans of "Oppose communism" and "Red imperialism" to call on their tools in China, bureaucrats, warlords, compradores, and local despots to attack this party. Foreign newspapers and foreign news agencies in Hong Kong, Shanghai, Tientsin, Shenyang, and Hankou have created rumors to calumniate and sow dissension, and have tried their utmost wherever they can.

(2) Warlords of all factions. Warlords of all sizes and factions in the country invariably support and expand the two slogans issued by imperialists (Oppose communism, Red imperialism).

(3) Compradore Class. Besides their anti-revolutionary propaganda, this group has shown greater effort than any other counterrevolutionary faction. The Hong Kong KUNG-SHANG JIH-PAO and Shanghai HSIN-WEN-PAO are representative.

(4) Research Faction. They uphold the interest of bureaucrats and large landlords, and also engage in counterrevolutionary propaganda. SHIH-SHIH HSIN-WEN and CHEN-PAO are representative.

(5) An-fu Faction. They represent Japanese imperialism and likewise engage in counterrevolutionary propaganda. HSIN-SHENG-PAO is representative.

(6) LIEN-CHIH-PAI. They support the interest of bureaucrats and landlords, and also promote counterrevolutionary propaganda. CHUNG-HUA HSIN-PAO is representative.

(7) Nationalist Faction. They have acquired some trappings of Western nationalism to support the interest of small landlords and the Chinese industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, and are very enthusiastic in "opposing communism" and "opposing Soviet Russia." HSIN-SHIH WEEKLY is representative.

(8) Right-wing Kuomintang. After the HSI-SHAN Conference, the right wing of this party has also acquired the slogans "oppose communism" and "oppose Soviet Russia," and has competed against the above other counterrevolutionary factions in their hostile attitude toward this party. Shanghai MIN-KUO JIH-PAO is their representative.

In the mutual antagonism between revolutionary propaganda and counter-revolutionary propaganda during the last 2 years, the revolutionary propaganda has adopted an offensive. This offensive was particularly illustrative during the 30 May Movement. The counterrevolutionary propaganda has consistently been defensive. When they could not cope with the offensive, they resorted to the slogans "Oppose communism" and "Red imperialism" as protective covers. This phenomenon of antagonistic offensive and defensive came as a result of the Chinese revolutionary force daily enhancement of unity and progress, while the counterrevolutionary force became increasingly more shaky and leaned toward collapse.

Defects

The following defects have been discovered in the propaganda work during the last 2 years:

(1) Party newspapers are faulty.

(2) Propaganda on various important events lacks promptness in guidance and falls short of full coverage.

(3) The command system is imperfect. There is a lack of coordination between the upper and lower level party headquarters, leading to an each-for-himself situation. Consequently, many responsible persons of the propaganda department have abandoned their duties.

(4) Inspection and correction were completely ignored.

(5) Sufficient collection of propaganda materials and supply of them to lower level party headquarters have not been done.

(6) There was little evidence of planned education within the party.

(7) More stress was on urban masses than on general masses, more on written propaganda than on pictorial propaganda.

The above are all major defects in the propaganda work of this party. Each should be corrected in the future.

o CHENG-CHIH CHOU-PAO, Nos 6-7 combined issue, Canton, Cheng-chih Chou-pao Press, 10 April 1926

6693

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ANALYSIS OF THE VARIOUS STRATA OF CHINESE PEASANTRY AND THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD REVOLUTION

January 1926

[Text] Wherever you go in rural areas, as you carefully observe, you will see the following eight different categories of persons:

- Big landlords
- Small landlords
- Owner peasants
- Semi-owner peasants
- Semi-hired peasants
- Poor peasants
- Hired peasants and rural handicraft workers
- Vagabonds

These eight categories of persons are divided into eight classes. Their financial positions and living conditions vary, and affect their psychology and their differing views regarding revolution.

A large number of large landlords in China come from decedents of former Ching Dynasty bureaucrats and current bureaucrats and warlords, while a small number of them are rich urban merchants who purchased land. Very few big landlords built up their fortune through farming. They base their interest on severe exploitation of owner-peasants, semi-owner peasants, semi-hired peasants, poor peasants, and hired peasants. There are five methods of exploitation. First is heavy rent, varying between 50 to 80 percent. This is a very common and ruthless exploitation of the semi-owner peasants, semi-hired peasants, and poor peasants. The second is usury, with the monthly interest rate at 3 to 7 percent, and the annual interest at 36 to 84 percent. This exploitation also applies to semi-owner peasants, semi-hired peasants, and poor peasants. This is sometimes an even more ruthless exploitation than heavy rent, and often results in complete bankruptcy within a few years due to accumulation of debts and compounding of interest. The third is heavy contributions, using pressure to force the owner-peasants and semi-owner peasants to offer contributions to the

expenses of local defense regiments according to acreage owned. Such local defense regiments are landlord class armies needed for suppressing peasant uprisings to maintain the landlord class exploiting system. The fourth is exploitation of hired peasants, that is, exploiting their surplus labor. In China, however, there is not much capitalist agriculture yet. Big landlords usually do not manage land themselves. For this reason, more small landlords than big landlords employ this form of exploitation. The fifth form of exploitation is that used by warlords in collusion with corrupt bureaucrats to levy heavy land taxes and demand high interest from peasants who are unable to pay on time. It is impossible to describe the miseries of peasants suffering from these five types of exploitation. The Chinese big landlords are, therefore, the deadly enemies of Chinese peasants, the true rulers in the countryside, the solid foundation of imperialists and warlords, only stronghold of feudal patriarch society, and the ultimate reason for emergence of all counterrevolutionary forces. Estimated on the basis of collecting yield from over 500 mou, the number of big landlords (including their families) account for about one-tenth of 1 percent among peasants. Among the 320,000,000 peasants in the country (estimated at 80 percent of the population), they total about 320,000.

The small landlords are much more numerous than the big landlords, totalling more than 2 million in the country. Most of them come from their own farms, that is, they rose from owner-peasants. Some of them are urban merchants who bought land, and others are degenerate decedents of bureaucrats and current petty-bureaucrats. They employ heavy rent, usury, and exploitation of surplus labor as methods of exploitation. They suffer from oppression by warlords and big landlords, and are therefore rebellious. They also, however, fear "communism," and thus adopt a contradictory attitude toward modern revolution. In our country, high intellectuals such as teachers and students in colleges and higher schools, as well as students studying in Japan and the West, are mostly from small landlord families. They advocate the so-called nationalism. The reason is that small landlords are the medium-properties class in China with an ambition to attain the position of big bourgeoisie and to establish a nation ruled by one class. Beset by foreign capital and oppression by warlords, they need revolution. They are, however, also skeptical about revolution since in the modern Chinese revolutionary movement, there is within the country wholehearted participation of the national proletariat and, internationally, vigorous support by the international proletariat. There is a true Tai Chi-t'ao's [2071 1323 7118] disciple (by his own description) who states in PEKING CHEN-PAO: "Raise your left hand to strike down imperialists and your right hand against the communist party." This is a vivid illustration of the contradictory and frightened attitude of this class. They oppose interpretation of people's livelihood principle by class struggle and object to Kuomintang association with Russia and acceptance of communists. These constitute the right wing of the Chinese medium-properties class. They are inclined to lean toward a counterrevolutionary position. There is, however, also a left wing in the medium-properties class which at the proper moment can be led toward

revolution. For instance, at the height of the peasant association movement, the leftists among small landlords can be guided to help peasant associations. By nature, they compromise easily, since they are related by blood to the right wing of small landlords, and are strangers to peasant associations. We cannot expect them to come forward bravely to the revolutionary road and to devote themselves faithfully to the revolutionary cause as other classes do, except for the small number of them who are molded differently by history and circumstances.

The owner-peasants belong to petty-bourgeoisie and subdivide into three categories. In the first category, there are owner-peasants who have surplus cash and provisions. Besides providing for themselves, there is a surplus every year in their income from labor performed, usable as preliminary accumulation of capital. These persons harbor a strong concept of "prosperity." While they do not vainly hope for great prosperity, they always attempt to climb up to the position of small landowner. They usually envy those small property owners who enjoy respectability, and devoutly worship Marshal Chao-kung. They are timid, afraid of bureaucracy, and also somewhat fear revolution. Since their financial position approximates that of the small landlords of the intermediate properties class, they subscribe to such propaganda as "Beware of radical party" and "Beware of communism," as propagated by those "elderly," "honorable," and "respected" small landlords in the countryside. These words of advice for caution, to be sure, originate from the "seniors" and the "lords" among the landlords. These persons with surplus cash and provisions constitute the right wing of petty-bourgeoisie. Before they learn the truth about modern revolution, they adopt a skeptical attitude. They are, however, a minority among owner-peasants, amounting to perhaps less than 10 percent of the total. In China, the number of owner-peasants, some say, exceed the total of hired peasants and farm laborers. Excluding the semi-owner peasants, however, they certainly account for only a minority among peasants, totalling about 100 to 120 million. The well-to-do portion among owner-peasants account for about 10 percent, or a total of 12 million.

The second category of owner-peasants are barely self-sufficient. Their annual income and expenditures are balanced without surplus or deficit. While these owner-peasants are quite different from those of the first category, they likewise long for prosperity. Marshal Chao Kung, however, has never granted them wealth. In the wake of oppression and exploitation perpetrated by imperialists, warlords, and landlords in recent years, they feel that the world is not what it used to be. They realize that by continuing the same amount of labor as they did before, they would not be able to maintain their livelihood. They must increase their time at work, that is, start earlier and stop later every day, and pay greater attention to production before they can maintain their livelihood. They curse others, denouncing foreigners as "devils," warlords as "money grabbers," and local despots as "the filthy rich." They are skeptical whether the movement against imperialists and warlords will ever succeed (their rationale:

foreigners and the military are more powerful), and thus would not dare to participate. They adopt a neutral attitude, but would never oppose revolution. This portion of owner-peasants are numerous, accounting for about one-half of all owner-peasants, or nearly 60,000,000 persons.

The third category of owner-peasants are those who show a deficit year after year. Many of these owner-peasants were formerly the so-called solid, honest persons who gradually turn more reserved and deficient. At the year-end accounting, they are alarmed at every occasion and would declare: "Well, another deficit." Since they lived well, before their gradual decline and accrument of debts, they begin to realize "the future is uncertain and frightening." They are miserable in spirit, for they tend to contrast the present and the past. These persons are rather important to the revolution and can contribute to its progress. They number about 40 percent of owner-peasants, or 48,000,000 persons. A sizeable mass, they constitute the left-wing of petty-bourgeoisie.

In time of peace, the afore-described three categories of owner-peasants hold different attitudes toward modern Chinese revolution. Once at war, that is, at the high tide of revolution when the dawn of victory is visible, not only the left wing owner-peasants in the third category would immediately join the revolution, but the neutral owner-peasants of the second category would also participate in revolution. Pressured by hired peasants and the leftwing owner-peasants, even the rightist owner-peasants in the first category would also go along with revolution. Accordingly, the petty-bourgeois owner-peasants can all turn to favor revolution.

The semi-owner peasants, semi-hired peasants, and farm laborers number about 150,000,000 to 170,000,000 among Chinese peasantry. Separately, semi-owner peasants account for about 50,000,000, while semi-hired peasants and farm laborers each account for 60,000,000. They constitute the huge masses in the countryside. Most of the so-called peasant problems concern them. While all three categories of peasants are among the semi-proletariat, their financial conditions differ. The semi-owner peasants live a more miserable life than the owner-peasants, since the former must rent farmland from others or engage in small business to make up the difference in their deficit of provisions. They must incur debt and borrow grain at high interest rates during the season between spring and summer, while the owner-peasants would not have to depend on others. The semi-owner peasants nevertheless are better off than the semi-hired peasants who own no land and must work on others' farmland to receive only half of the harvest. While the semi-owner peasants also receive only half or less on the farmland which they rent from others, they can receive the entire harvest from the land which they own. Accordingly, the semi-owner peasants are more revolutionary than the owner-peasants, but less so than the semi-hired peasants.

The semi-hired peasants and farm laborers are both hired peasants in the countryside, and suffer from landlord exploitation, although their financial

positions differ. The semi-hired peasants do not own land, but they have adequate farm tools and some liquid capital. Peasants in this group can receive one half of their annual productive labor. They make up for the deficit by growing miscellaneous grains, catching fish and shrimp, and keeping chickens and pigs to eke out their livelihood. In their assiduous struggle for livelihood, they take comfort in the thought of working hard for life. Their livelihood is more miserable than that of semi-owner peasants, but better than farm laborers. On the other hand, they are more revolutionary than the semi-owner peasants, but less so than farm laborers.

The farm laborers constitute the agricultural proletariat. There are the long-term laborers, monthly laborers, and sundry laborers. These farm laborers not only own no land and farm implements, but also not the slightest liquid capital. They live from hand to mouth every day. They exceed other workers in their long hours of work, meager wages, poor treatment, and uncertainty of employment. These persons suffer the most in the countryside. In promoting the peasant movement, we must pay particular attention to them. In the countryside, handicraft workers hold a higher position than the farm laborers, since the former have their own tools and also perform a free occupation. With burden of families, and wages incompatible with cost of living, the handicraft workers share the oppression of poverty and the fear of unemployment with farm laborers, and lead a life similar to that of farm laborers.

The vagabond proletariat consist of peasants who lost their land and handicraft workers who lost the opportunity to work because of exploitation and oppression perpetrated by imperialists, warlords, and landlords, and flood, drought, and other natural disasters. Among them are soldiers, bandits, thieves, beggars, and prostitutes. The five are designated and regarded by society differently, although they are alike as human beings. In their different methods of seeking the same end of livelihood, the soldiers engage in "fighting," the bandits in "robbing," the thieves in "stealing," the beggars in "pleading," and prostitutes in "charming." They are the most unstable among mankind. In all areas, they have their won secret organizations, such as San-ho-hui [0005 5071 2585] in Hunan, Hupeh, Kueichou, and Szechwan; Ta-tao-hui [1129 0430 2585] in Anhwei, Honan, and Shantung; Tsaili-hui [0961 3810 2585] in Hopeh and the northeast provinces; and the Blue Gang in Shanghai, as mutual-aid organizations in their political and financial struggles. The settlement of these persons constitute one of the greatest and most difficult problems in China. As poverty and unemployment are two problems in China, a settlement of the unemployment problem would amount to putting to rest one-half of the problems in China. The number of Chinese vagabond proletariat is alarming, totalling more than 20,000,000. These persons are capable of brave struggle. Under proper guidance, they can become a revolutionary force.

In organizing peasants, we mean to organize owner-peasants, semi-owner peasants, semi-hired peasants, farm laborers, and handicraft workers into one

organization. In principle, we employ the method of strife against landlords to demand financial and political concessions. In special circumstances, such as we encounter in Haifeng and Kwangning where the most reactionary and vicious local despots are tramping upon the people, we must completely strike them down. Regarding the vagabond proletariat, we should persuade them to help the peasant associations and to join the great revolutionary movement to seek settlement of the unemployment problem. We should not force them to join the enemy side to become part of the counterrevolutionary force.

°CHUNG-KUO NUNG-MIN, No 1, Chinese National Central Executive Committee,
Peasant Bureau, January 1926.

6693

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ANALYSIS OF THE CLASSES IN CHINESE SOCIETY

1 February 1926

[Text] Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? One cannot be a revolutionist if one cannot distinguish between enemies and friends. It is, however, by no means easy to distinguish between enemies and friends. That the Chinese revolution has been going on for 30 years with scant results is not due to errors in its goal, but is entirely due to errors in strategy. The so-called errors in strategy were that we could not rally our real friends to attack our real enemies. The reason why we could not do this was that we did not distinguish who were our enemies and who were our friends. A revolutionary party is a guide of the masses. In the army, there can be no victory in fighting if its guide leads them astray. In a revolutionary movement, it will be impossible to avoid failure if the revolutionary party takes the wrong road. We are all revolutionaries who lead the way for the masses, and are the guides for the masses. Nonetheless, we cannot but ask ourselves: "Do we have this ability? Won't we lead the masses onto the road of defeat? Are we sure to succeed? In order to ensure that we will "not lead to the wrong road" and "be sure to succeed," we cannot but devote ourselves to an important strategy. In order to decide on this strategy, it is necessary to first distinguish between those who are our enemies and those who are our friends.

The Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang served as the declaration of this strategy and the distinction between enemies and friends. But this manifesto is rather simplistic. If we want to understand this important strategy and to distinguish between real enemies and friends, we must make a general analysis on the economic status, class characters, and number of people of the various classes in Chinese society, and their attitudes towards the revolution.

There are bound to be three classes of people in any country--the upper, middle and lower classes. A detailed analysis will show five classes--the big bourgeoisie, the middle bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the semi-proletariat and the proletariat. In the case of the rural areas, the big

landlords constitute the big bourgeoisie, the small landlords are the middle bourgeoisie, the self-farming peasants are the petty bourgeoisie; the tenant peasants are the semi-proletariat, and the hired peasants are the proletariat. In the case of the cities, the big bourgeoisie are the big bankers, the big businessmen and the big industrialists. The money-shop owners, the middle merchants and the small factory owners are the middle bourgeoisie, while the small merchants and handicrafts operators are the petty bourgeoisie. The shopkeepers, peddlers and handicraftsmen are the semi-proletariat, and factory workers and the so-called coolie are the proletariat. These five categories of people fall into different economic strata, and are fraught with varying class character. Consequently, they cherish diverse attitudes toward the contemporary revolution, such as being counterrevolutionary, semi-counterrevolutionary, neutral toward revolution, taking part in revolution, or serving as the main force of revolution.

The attitude of the various classes in China toward the national revolution resembles almost completely the attitude of the various classes in the capitalist countries of Western Europe toward their social revolution. This may seem strange, but it really is not. The reason is that the contemporary revolution [and the social revolution in Europe] is one and the same, fought with a similar goal and tactic. The goal is to overthrow international capitalist imperialism, and the tactic is to unite the oppressed peoples and oppressed classes to fight together. This is the greatest characteristic which makes the contemporary revolution different from all revolutions in history.

Let us take a look at the various classes in Chinese society.

First, there is the big bourgeoisie. In economically backward and semi-colonial China, the big bourgeoisie was the vassal of the international capitalists. The prerequisites of its existence and development depended on imperialism. For example, [they included] compradores--such as bankers (Lu Tsung-yu and Ch'en Lien-por), merchants, (T'ang Shao-i and Robert Hontung), industrialists (Chang Ch'ien and Sheng En-hsi), big landlords, (Chang Tso-lin and Ch'en Kung-shou), bureaucrats (Sun Pao-ch'i and Yen Hui-ch'ing), and warlords (Chang Tso-lin and Ts'ao K'un).

Reactionary intellectuals--they are the appendages of the four categories of people mentioned above. The higher ranking staff of compradore types of banks, industries and business, plutocrats, high government officials, politicians, some returned students from Japan and the West, professors and students of universities and colleges, and lawyers are also in this class. This class is entirely incompatible with the goals of the national revolution. Standing consistently on the side of imperialism, they are extremely counterrevolutionary. They number fewer than 1 million, which is .25 percent of our population of 400 million people, and they are the deadly enemies of the national revolutionary movement.

Second, there is the middle bourgeoisie. This is the Chinese-owned banking, and industrial and commercial class. In economically backward China, the development of banks, and industry and business is still limited to the middle bourgeoisie. The so-called banks refer to small banks and money shops, while industry refers to factories on a small scale, and commerce refers to merchants handling native goods. All big banks and industry and business had some ties with capital, and they can only be classified under the comprador class.)

The small landlords class. Many of the higher intelligentsia--such as the staff of the Chinese-owned banks, the industrial and business establishments, most of the returned students from Japan and the West, some college professors and students, and small lawyers belonged to this class. It was the ambition of this class to strive for the status of the big bourgeoisie, but it was hampered by the impact of foreign capital and the oppression of the warlords. Consequently, this class has adopted a contradictory attitude toward the national revolution. That is, whenever they feel the agonies of the blow of foreign capital and the oppression of the warlords, they wanted to engage in revolution and supported the anti-imperialist and anti-warlord revolutionary movement. However, because of the vigorous participation in the present revolutionary movement by the proletariat at home and the active support of the international proletariat abroad, they sensed a threat to the existence and development of the big bourgeoisie status to which they aspire. Thus, they have become suspicious of the revolution. This class is the so-called national bourgeoisie whose political platform is nationalism--to realize a state ruled by a single class, the national bourgeoisie. The "true disciple" (as he professed himself) of this is Tai Chi-t'ao who wrote in CHEN PAO, Peking: "Raise your left hand to overthrow imperialism and your right hand to overthrow the Communists!" This describes vividly the contradiction and ambivalence of this class. They are opposed to using the theory of class struggle to interpret the Principle of the People's Livelihood; they are opposed to the Kuomintang's alliance with Russia and the admission of communists into that party. Nonetheless, the attempt of this class to realize a state ruled by the national bourgeoisie has proved to be completely infeasible. This is because the current world situation is one in which the two great forces of revolution and counterrevolution are locked in a final struggle. Hoisted by these two great forces are two large banners: one being the red banner of revolution which is held high by the Third International, calling on the oppressed nations and classes to stand under it on one side; the other being the white banner of counterrevolution, which is held high by the League of Nations, calling on the counterrevolutionaries of the world to stand under it on the other side. It is therefore essential for the intermediate classes, such as the so-called Second International in the West, and the so-called Nationalists in China, to be separated quickly, either to turn left to join the revolutionists, or to turn right to join the counterrevolutionaries. There could be no room for their "independence." Consequently, the ideology of an "independent" revolution on the part of China's middle bourgeoisie with its own class interests as the main basis is merely an illusion. Although they are still

only semi-counterrevolutionary, and although they have not yet become our frontal enemies, nevertheless, as they begin to feel more the threat of the workers and peasant class, and as they are compelled more and more to make concessions to the interests of the workers and peasants class (such as the rent reduction movement in rural villages and labor strikes in the cities), they or a portion of them (the right wing of the middle bourgeoisie) are bound to stand on the side of imperialism, thereby becoming counter-revolutionary and our enemies completely. It has transpired that between compradores and noncompradores, there are some who cannot be distinguished readily. Take commerce for example, it is true that among many merchants, there is a very clear distinction between merchants of foreign goods and merchants of native products. Nonetheless, in some shops, they offer both native and foreign goods side by side. Take the intellectual class for example, there are many returned students from Japan among the children of small landlords. It is true that apart from their semi-native flavor, they have also acquired some semi-foreign flavor. Even among the children of small landlords who study in universities and colleges in China, because they have been taught by returned students that are semi-native and semi-foreign, they could not but become semi-native and semi-foreign themselves. These people cannot be characterized as purely national bourgeoisie, but may be called "semi-national bourgeoisie." This is the right wing of middle bourgeoisie, and when the struggle of national revolution is intensified, they are bound to hasten to join the ranks of imperialist warlords, thereby becoming good companions of the compradores. The left wing of middle bourgeoisie, namely, those who are totally unaffiliated with imperialism, might be rather revolutionary at times (such as during the high tide of some boycott of foreign goods). Nonetheless, it is not easy to shatter their vain concept of "peace," and they are constantly frightened by the so-called "Bolshevization." They tend to be compromising toward revolution and cannot last long. Thus, there are also many dangerous elements in China's middle bourgeoisie, whether they belong to the right wing or the left wing. With the exception of a small minority who have special historical background and environment, we cannot expect them to bravely embark on the revolutionary road, and undertake the revolutionary enterprise loyally along with the other classes. The number of people in the middle bourgeoisie is at most one in every 100 (1 percent) in China, and so there are about 4 million of them.

Third, The Petty Bourgeoisie

To this category belong the owner peasants, small merchants, handicrafts operators, small intellectuals--minor officials, clerks, middle school students and teachers, small lawyers, etc. Both numerically and in its class characters, this class deserves great attention. The owner peasants of the petty bourgeois alone number some 100 to 120 million; the number of small merchants, handicrafts operators and intellectuals ranges from 20 to 30 million. The combined total is about 130 million. Although these people share the same bourgeois economic status, there are, in fact, three different sections. The first section comprises those people who have surplus money and rice,

that is, after supporting themselves with the income from their own physical or mental labor, they can still have some surpluses each year which can be used to create the so-called preliminary accumulation of capital. This kind of people are strongly inclined to "get rich." Although they have no illusions to amass huge fortunes, they nevertheless want to climb to the status of middle bourgeoisie. They envy those who have gathered a small fortune and who seem to get so much respect, and consequently, they worship Marshal Chao [the legendary god of wealth] diligently. They are rather timorous, being afraid of officials and also of revolution to some extent. Because of the fact that their economic status approaches that of the middle bourgeoisie, they are therefore rather susceptible to the latter's propaganda, and tend to be skeptical toward revolution. However, this section is a minority among the petty bourgeoisie, being less than 10 percent of them, or about 15 million, forming the right wing of the petty bourgeoisie. The second section of the petty bourgeoisie is barely self-sufficient, as their annual income is about equal to their expenditure. They differ largely from the first section of people. They also would like to be rich, but Marshal Chao won't let them. Under the oppression and exploitation of imperialism, warlords, and big and middle bourgeoisie in recent years, they have begun to realize that the present world is no longer like the world of the past. They realize that if they should expend the same labor as they did before, it would not be possible to maintain their livelihood. It is now necessary to increase labor time by rising early and paying double attention to their chores in order to survive. They become abusive: they dub foreigners "foreign devils," scold the warlords as "robber commanders," and denounce local despots and evil gentry for their "ill-begotten wealth." In regard to the anti-imperialist and anti-warlord movements, their only doubt is that they might not succeed, because "foreigners and commanders seemed to be so formidable" to them. Thus, they take a neutral stand, not daring to participate in it resolutely, though they are absolutely by no means anti-revolutionary. The number of this section is very large, almost one-half of the petty bourgeoisie, or 75 million. The third section consists of those who incur deficits every year. Many of these people used to belong to families of moderate means, but they have declined gradually, becoming barely able to break even at first, and suffering from losses later. At the time of settlement of accounts each year, they are shocked, sighing: "We have lost money again!" Because they have had better times before, they would "shudder at the future prospects" as their fortunes declined and as they contracted more and more debts. Because of this comparison between now and before, these people are important in the revolutionary movement and have the strength to push the revolution forward. Their number is about 40 percent of the petty bourgeoisie or 60 million. They are sizable among the petty bourgeoisie and form its left wing. The above-mentioned three sections of the petty bourgeoisie may differ in their attitudes toward the revolution at normal time. But in wartime, that is, when the revolutionary tide is high and when victory seems to be in sight, then not only the left wing but also the middle section of petty bourgeoisie would join the revolution. The

right wingers, under the impact of the proletariat and the left wing of the petty bourgeoisie, could not but also join it. Judging our experiences from the 30 May Movement and the peasant movement in the last 2 years, this assessment seems to be correct.

Fourth, The Semi-Proletariat

The so-called semi-proletariat mentioned here consists of: (1) the semi-owner peasants, (2) tenant peasants, (3) poor peasants, (4) handicraftsmen, (5) shop assistants, and (6) peddlers. Among the peasants of China, the number of semi-owner peasants is about 50 million, while tenant peasants and poor peasants number some 60 million each, making a total of 170 million. The so-called peasant problem is largely their problem. Although these three kinds of peasants belong to the semi-proletariat together, their economic conditions may be further classified as upper, middle and poor. In the case of semi-owner peasants, their lives are worse than the owner peasants because they are short of one half of the food they need for sustenance. To make up the deficit, they have to rent land from others, or to work for others, or engage in petty trade. In late spring and early summer when the harvest is not yet ready, they often have to borrow money at usurious interest rates or buy grain at exorbitant prices. Their situation is naturally worse than that of the owner peasants who are self-sufficient, but better than that of the tenant peasants. This is because of the fact that the tenant peasants do not own land, and so they can take in only half of the harvest each year. The semi-owner peasants, though they can garner only half of the harvest from their rented land, or even less than half of it, they can, nonetheless, reap the entire harvest of the land they own. Thus, the revolutionary character of semi-owner peasants is better than that of the owner peasants, but not as great as that of the tenant peasants. Both the tenant peasants and the poor peasants are tenants exploited by landlords, though there is some difference in their economic status. Although tenant peasants do not have land, they have sufficient farm implements and some current capital. Such peasants can earn half of their own fruits of labor, and the shortages can be made up by planting cereal crops, fishing, chicken farming and pig-raising, thereby enabling them to eke out a living. They may suffer from hardships, but their livelihood is harder than that of the semi-owner peasants but better off than that of the poor peasants. Nonetheless, their revolutionary character is superior to that of semi-owner peasants, but not as good as that of the poor peasants. In the case of poor peasants, they lack not only sufficient farm implements, but also current capital. Moreover, they are short of fertilizers, and when there is lean harvest, they earn almost nothing after delivering their rents. During a famine, they have often to beg their friends and relatives to borrow a few sheng or bushels of grain to tide them over for a few days. They become burdened with heavy debts. They are the most distressed among the peasants, and so are more receptive to revolutionary propaganda. The handicraftsmen are called semi-proletariat because they own their own tools and are also self-employed. Their economic

status resembles that of tenant peasants in agriculture. But because of their heavy family burdens and because of the gap between wages and living costs, they are often plagued by poverty and by the dread of unemployment, resembling largely what happens to tenant peasants. The shop assistants are employees of middle and small merchants earning meagre wages to eke out a living. However, despite the steady increases of commodity prices every year, their pay is adjusted only once in several years. They will tell you their sad story if you should get into a casual conversation with them. Thus their status is about the same as that of handicraftsmen, and they are receptive to revolutionary propaganda. In the case of peddlers, whether they carry their wares on their shoulders or set up stalls in the streets, they all have very little capital and earn meagre profit which is hardly sufficient to live on. Their status is about the same as that of the poor peasants, and like the latter, they also need a revolution that will change the status quo. The number of handicraftsmen is about 6 percent of the entire population, or 26 million; there are about 5 million shop assistants and 1 million peddlers. Combining these people with the semi-owner peasants, semi-tenant peasants and tenant peasants, the total number of people in the semi-proletariat is about 200 million, being one-half of the entire Chinese population.

Fifth, The Proletariat

The categories and the number of proletariat are as follows: industrial proletariat, about 2 million; urban coolie labor, about 3 million, and agricultural proletariat, about 20 million. Their combined number is about 45 million.

Because of China's backward economy, the number of industrial workers (the industrial proletariat) is rather small. Most of the 2 million industrial workers, are found in these five kinds of industries, namely: railroads, mining, maritime transportation, textiles and shipbuilding. Most of these industries are operated with foreign capital. Thus, although the industrial proletariat is not numerous, it has become the main force of the national revolutionary movement. We will realize the important position of the industrial proletariat in national revolution if we take a look at the strength that has been demonstrated by the strikes in the last 4 years, such as the seamen's strikes, the railway strike, the strikes of the Kailuan and Chiao-tso coal mines, as well as the general strikes in Shanghai and Hong Kong since the 30 May Incident. The first reason why they have become so important is their concentration, and no other people could compare to their "organized concentration." The second reason is that, with their low economic status, they would be left only with empty hands after losing their means of production. They have no hope of making a fortune. Meanwhile, they have been subjected to the ruthless treatment of imperialism, warlords and compradores, and consequently, they have become most adept at struggling. The strength of the urban coolies also merits attention. They consist mostly of dock workers and rickshamen. Street cleaners and nightsoil movers also belong to this category. They possess almost nothing except their hands. Though their economic position is somewhat similar to that of industrial workers, they are not so concentrated organizationally,

nor are they so important as a productive force. Since there is as yet no modern capitalist agriculture in China, the so-called agricultural proletariat refers to such hired peasants as hired laborer by the year, monthly hired laborer, and day laborer. They have neither farm tools nor funds, and so they can only sell their labor to eke out a living. Compared to other workers, they have to work longer hours, and their wages are the lowest, and there is no security of employment. They are the most handicapped people in the villages, and occupy a position in the peasant movement that is as important as the poor peasants.

The lumpen proletariat consists of peasants deprived of land and craftsmen deprived of their opportunity to work. They number some 20 million or more, and constitute the root causes of banditry and war. The largest segment of lumpen proletariat consists of bandits, followed by soldiers, then beggars, robbers and thieves, and prostitutes. They are most unstable in human existence. They have their secret organizations in China, such as the Triad Society in Fukien and Kwangtung, the Society of Brothers in Hunan, Hupei, Kweichow and Szechwan, the Big Sword Society in Anhwei, Honan and Shantung, the Rational Life Society in Chih-li and the three northeastern provinces, and the Green and Red Gangs in Shanghai and elsewhere. These secret organizations all serve as their organs of mutual aid in political and economic struggles. The most difficult problem is how to handle these people. The two problems of China are: poverty and unemployment. Thus, if the problem of unemployment is solved, it would be tantamount to solving one-half of China's problems. These people are capable of waging valiant struggle, and when they are guided properly, they can become a revolutionary force. The above are arranged in the following table:

CLASS	No of People (millions)	Attitude toward Revolution
Big Bourgeoisie	1	Extremely counterrevolutionary
Middle bourgeoisie	4	Right wing is counterrevolutionary, left wing could join revolution sometimes, but may compromise with enemy; semi-counterrevolutionary as a whole.
Petty bourgeoisie		
With surplus right wing	15	Like middle bourgeoisie, semi-counterrevolutionary in normal times, but many respond to revolution at war
Self-sufficient center	75	Neutral at normal times, but join revolution at wartime
Deficient left wing	60-65	Welcome revolution.

Semi-proletariat		
Semi-owner peasants	50	Participation
Tenant peasants	60	Active participation
Poor peasants	60	Brave in struggle
Handicraftsmen	24	Same as tenant peasants
Shop assistants	5	Same as tenant peasants
Peddlers	1	Same as poor peasants
Proletariat		
Industrial proletariat	2	Main revolutionary force
Urban coolie	3	Main force after industrial proletariat
Agricultural proletariat	20	Brave in struggle
Vagrant proletariat	20	Can be guided to form revolutionary force

We can now answer the question as to who are our enemies and who are our friends. All those who connive with imperialism--warlords and bureaucrats, compradores, big landlords, reactionary intellectuals--the so-called big bourgeoisie of China, are our enemies, and our real enemies. All petty bourgeoisie, semi-proletariat and proletariat are our true friends. As for the wavering middle bourgeoisie, its right wing should be regarded as our enemy--if not now, it is not too far away. Its left wing may be regarded as our friend--but not true friend, and we must be vigilant toward them. Don't let them jeopardize our front! How many true friends do we have? About 395 million. How many real enemies do we have? About 1 million. How many intermediate people who can either be friends or enemies? There are about 4 million. Let us count these 4 million as our enemies so that they could have an organization of 5 million people. It would still be impossible for them even to withstand the splitting of 395 million people!

Let the 395 million people of China unite together!

°CHUNG-KUO NUNG-MIN, vol 1, No 2; Peasants Bureau, Executive Committee, Chinese Nationalist Party, 1 February 1926.

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NATIONAL REVOLUTION AND PEASANT MOVEMENT--FOREWORD TO 'NUNG-MIN WEN-T'I
TS'UNG-K'AN'

1 September 1926

[Text] The peasant problem is the central problem of national revolution. Unless the peasants rise up to join and support the national revolution, the revolution will not succeed. Unless the peasant movement is launched quickly, the peasant problem will not be solved. Unless the peasant problem is solved to some extent in the existing revolutionary movement, the peasants will not support this revolution. There are still many people who do not understand these reasons now, even within the revolutionary party. They do not understand that in an economically backward semi-colony, the foremost target of revolution is the rural patrimonial feudal class (landlord class). In an economically backward semi-colony, both for imperialism without and the ruling class within, peasants are the main target of their oppression and exploitation. In order to realize their oppression and exploitation, they must rely on the firm support of the feudal landlords. They have no means to practice their oppression otherwise. Thus, the rural feudal class in an economically backward semi-colony is the only solid foundation for the domestic ruling class and external imperialism. Without first shaking this foundation, it would be impossible to shake the superstructure of this foundation. The warlords of China are chieftains of these rural feudal classes. It is penny wise pound foolish for one to say that warlords should be overthrown, but not the rural feudal classes. A plain example is the situation in Kwangtung: wherever the native bullies, bad gentry and corrupt bureaucrats are less active, it must be a county in which the peasant movement has been launched and there is mass participation of peasants in the Peasants Association. In other words, a country where Ch'en Ch'iung-ming's influences have been curtailed must be a county where the peasants have risen. It may be said that a year ago, Ch'en Ch'iung-ming--not the revolutionary government--controlled Kwangtung. In the past year and up to now, Kwangtung has been controlled equally by the Revolutionary Government and Ch'en Ch'iung-ming, although Ch'en was not physically in Kwangtung himself. From now on, the peasants must gradually stand up in the various counties in Kwangtung before it will truly show that Ch'en Ch'iung-ming's influences are steadily diminishing there.

In Hai-feng, Ch'en Ch'iu-ning's native county, local bullies, bad gentry and corrupt bureaucrats once proliferated. But after a Peasants Association of 50,000 families and 250,000 people was formed, it has become better administered than any other county in Kwangtung. The magistrate there dared not to do evil; tax officials dared not take bribes; the entire country was free from bandits; and there were no local bullies and bad gentry tyrannizing over the people.

Thus, it will be seen that the situation of Chinese revolution is like this: it is either a base of imperialism and warlords in which local bullies, bad gentry, and corrupt bureaucrats suppress the peasants, or a base of the revolutionary forces in which the peasants rise up to suppress the local bullies, bad gentry and corrupt bureaucrats. The Chinese revolution can be carried out only in this form and no other. It is incumbent on all parts of China to achieve what has been done in Hai-feng before it may be considered revolutionary victory, and it would be nothing, otherwise. It is incumbent on all parts of China to achieve what has been done in Hai-feng before the bases of imperialism and the warlords may be said to have been really shaken. Otherwise, it cannot be considered so. Consequently, it will be seen that in the so-called national revolutionary movement, a major part of it is the peasant movement. Thus, it will be seen that those who do not emphasize or even abhor the peasant movement are actually sympathetic toward local bullies, bad gentry and corrupt bureaucrats. In fact, they do not want to overthrow the warlords or to oppose imperialism.

There are people who deem that the rampancy of compradores in the cities is entirely similar to the rampancy of landlords in rural areas, and so they should be mentioned together. This is correct in regard to their being rampant, but incorrect to say that they are completely similar. There are only a few places in China along the sea and the rivers where the compradore class is concentrated, such as Hong Kong, Canton, Shanghai, Hankow, Tientsin and Dairen, unlike the domains of landlords which spread into various provinces and countries throughout China. Politically, all warlords in China, big and small, are chieftains chosen by landlord class (not including bankrupt small landlords). These feudal landlord chieftains--feudal warlords make use of the urban compradore class to connive with imperialism. Both in name and in fact, it is the warlords who occupy the principal position, while the compradore class is subordinate. Financially, the warlord government spends several hundred million dollars annually, of which 90 percent is directly squeezed from the peasants dominated by the landlord class. The loans made with special conditions to the Peking government by the compradore class, such as the Bankers' Association, etc., are comparatively few. This is why I feel that the urban workers, students and middle and small merchants should rise up to attack the compradores fiercely and to cope with imperialism directly. The progressive working class is, above all, the leader of all revolutionary classes. However, if there are no peasants to overthrow the special privileges of patrimonial and feudal landlords in the villages, then the influences of warlords and imperialism cannot be basically destroyed.

Based on this reason, apart from organizing the workers and students, we must mobilize a large number of comrades to be resolved to undertake the gigantic work of organizing peasants. They must make an immediate resolution to start studying peasant problems. It is also necessary to apply for orders from the party in order to proceed to some familiar or unfamiliar villages. This involves enduring the scorching heat of summer and the severe cold and snow of winter to hold hands with peasants, to inquire what are their hardships and what they want. Based on their agonies and needs, we must guide them to organize, to struggle against local bullies and bad gentry, to cooperate with urban workers, students, and middle and small merchants in forming a united front, and to participate in the anti-imperialist and anti-warlord national revolutionary movement. We estimate that among the 300 million peasant masses in China, if 10 percent should join Peasant Associations, it will be possible to recruit some 30 million or more organized peasants. Especially in such provinces as Hunan, Kwangtung and Kiangsi in the south, Chihli, Shantung and Honan in the north, and Hupeh and Anhwei in central China, which are particularly important politically, mass efforts should be made in organizing. With the rising of the peasants from these important provinces, it will be easy for peasants from the remaining provinces to follow suit. It is only by then that the foundations of imperialism and the warlords will be shaken and a bona fide victory will be achieved by national revolution.

As we mention the studying of peasant problem, we begin to realize the insufficiency of data. Naturally, such data will become more abundant as the peasant movement is being developed. At present, besides Kwangtung, the peasant movement is just beginning in other provinces, and so data are extremely scant. This time we have just collected this much which is printed as a set of books for the references of comrades engaged in the peasant movement. The portion concerning investigations on rural conditions in the various provinces has been written by some 300 students of the 6th class of the Peasant Movement Institute. These reports have been discussed at the Peasant Problem Study Meetings organized by students in their respective provinces, and have been printed after a considerable period of reviewing and screening. They have not done any detailed investigations on peasant conditions before, and so what they have told is rather sketchy. However, because we did not even have such sketchy material, it seems precious to have this bit. It behooves us to accept this sketchy outline with the hope that within a short period of time, it will be possible to obtain detailed and concrete investigation report on the entire country from the practical work and studying in various parts of China. In regard to the data concerning the problem of agricultural production, only five categories (22d-26th) have been collected in this book. There is no lack of materials on this problem, but because of the pressure for time in publishing it, there is not time to canvass them, but a separate publication will be issued later. The peasant problem originally embraces the problems on two aspects, namely: the problem of man-made oppression by imperialism, warlords and landlords, etc.; and the problem of nature's oppression such as the natural disasters

of flood and drought, insect pestilences, inferior techniques and production decreases, etc. Although the former is an urgent problem on which the attention of our comrades should be focused, the latter problem is also rather serious, and we must pay great attention to it. In order to resolve the latter problem, it is necessary to have a nationwide revolutionary regime as well as scientific methods which, though not immediately feasible, will come soon. We must make preparations in advance. In this book there are eight kinds of materials concerning Kwangtung. This is the best part of the book. It tells us the methods of conducting the peasant movement. Those who do not understand how to launch such movement should read this part carefully. It also enables us to understand the character of China's peasant movement in that it is a movement of class struggle in which political and economic struggles are merged together. What is demonstrated most uniquely is in political struggle which is somewhat different from the character of labor movement in the cities. What the urban working class is striving for is the completion freedom of assembly politically. They are not yet interested in destroying the political status of the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the rural peasants have, from the very outset, to cope with the political power that has for millenniums been used by local bullies, bad gentry and big landlords to oppress and squeeze them (this landlord regime is the real basis of warlord regime). Thus, unless this oppressive regime is overthrown, it will be impossible for the peasants to have their own status. This is the most significant characteristic of China's current peasant movement. Judging from the experiences of peasant movement in the last 5 years, and after reading "The Resolution of the Peasant Conference of Kwangtung," "Report on Hai-feng's Peasant Movement," and "The Story of Resistance of Peasants of Kwang-ning and P'u-ning against Landlords," we cannot but have such a feeling. This publication also includes some foreign data (15th to 18th), though not too many. There is a wealth of materials from foreign countries, especially on Russia's peasant movement and agrarian economy, but nobody has yet translated them carefully. In this book, the article on Russian peasants and revolution is comparatively more detailed. We can also compare it with the conditions in China.

1 September 1926

° PEASANT MOVEMENT, No 8, 21 September 1926

2077

CSO: 4005

THE AGONY AND RESISTANCE MOVEMENT OF PEASANTS IN KIANGSU AND CHEKIANG

25 November 1926

[Text] Kiangsu and Chekiang are two provinces in China where industry and commerce are highly developed. Consequently, people pay more attention to the workers and merchants there, while the peasants seem to occupy lower position. Moreover, it has been generally assumed that because these two provinces are peaceful and rich in resources, their peasants are better off. In fact, this kind of interpretation is rather superficial, and it betrays a complete lack of understanding regarding the actual conditions of rural villages in Kiangsu and Chekiang. If we should try to investigate the actual conditions, we will realize that they are completely contrary to our conjectures. The concrete facts in each county as mentioned below constitute only a small portion of the data that we have obtained recently. Nonetheless, this is enough to prove that the peasants in Kiangsu and Chekiang are not so peaceful, prosperous and free from agonies as the general public has imagined.

Ch'ung-ming: an island at the mouth of the Yangtze River, its entire territory constitutes the country of Ch'ung-ming. The island was created by Yangtze River's alluvial deposits of mud and sand. On the fringes of the island new sand bars are formed each year, which in turn serve as sandy fields farmed by tenant peasants. Take Shang-sha for instance. The landlords there are extremely ruthless in exploiting tenant peasants. They usually demand 50 yuan as security money for each 1,000 steps [pu 2975] of land. Because this kind of land consists entirely of newly formed sandy fields, the peasants have to convert it into ripe farmland for their landlords. By then, the landlords would have ownership over the land, while the peasants have the right to cultivate it. However, they must secure the labor, fertilizer, farm implements, and seeds that are needed for planting each year. After the autumn harvest, each 1,000 steps of farmland will have to deliver 500 cattles or even more of grain for rent. When the landlord comes to visit his tenant, he must be invited to a good meal and wine. Otherwise, the rent might be increased. The steelyard used by landlords to weigh grain delivered by tenants as rent generally takes 20 ounces for a catty. If the peasant displays any kind of resistance, he is immediately sent to the county government for punishment. If the peasant owes 5 yuan in rent this

year, he has to pay back 10 or 20 yuan next year. As a result, many peasants become bankrupt each year. The peasants here staged a riot in the 11th year of the Republic. There were no Reds or Bolsheviks to incite them, but they marched together to attack the police station, cut off the ear of a landlord by the name of T'ao, and went to demonstrate at the magistrate's office, demanding reduction of rents. Later, because of the lack of solidarity, their leader was arrested and the riot failed. This year, Kiangsu has been hit by drought, and the harvest has declined. At Shang-sha, the harvest per 1,000 steps of land was only some 300 or 400 catties, yet the landlords insisted that their tenants deliver 500 catties of grain for rent as before. The landlords even used the "Resolution of the Tenant Maintenance Committee" to deceive the peasants (the committee was organized by landlords in 1922 to persecute the peasants). Consequently, the hatred of peasants toward their landlords has intensified, and riots will soon erupt.

Chiang-yin: From Wu-hsi one can take the steamer to a place called Ku-shan-chen which is located between the three counties of Chiang-yin, Ch'ang-shu and Wu-hsi. Big landlords abound in these three counties, and they are ruthless in oppressing tenant peasants. Last autumn, Chou Shui-p'ing, a native of Ku-shan who is a returned student from Japan (Chou was a graduate of the Provincial Normal School at Wu-hsi), returned to his own village. He did not like what he saw, and so he persuaded the tenant peasants to set up an organization called "Tenants Cooperative Society for Self-salvation." Chou traveled to different villages to talk about the agonies of tenant peasants, and sometimes he became so emotional that tears fell from his eyes. He recruited many followers from among Ku-shan's peasants. In the bordering counties of Chiang-yin, Ch'ang-shu and Wu-hsi, peasants were incited by him to rise against the evil gentry and big landlords. They unanimously demanded that the rents be reduced. Nevertheless, before the peasants had coalesced themselves completely, the evil gentry and big landlords had joined forces. In Chiang-yin, Ch'ang-shu and Wu-hsi, they took action simultaneously, making their accusation by letters and by telegrams to [General] Sun Ch'uan-fang. How could Sun Ch'uan-fang not listen to the charges of these evil gentry and landlords? Thus, in November last year, the Tenants Cooperative Society for Self-salvation was dissolved and Chou Shui-p'ing was arrested. Chou was executed in January this year, and so the rent reduction movement has been suppressed. When Chou Shui-p'ing's coffin was brought back to Ku-shan for burial, the peasants went to his spiritual shrine in droves to kneel down to pay their respects. They said: "Since Mr Chou died for us, we must avenge him!" Due to a severe drought this year, the rice harvest is poor. The peasants are again calling for rent reduction. This proves that they are not scared by death. They realize that it is only through solidarity and struggle that they will make the greedy landlords ease their exploitation. In the eastern villages of Chiang-yin, there is a place called Sha-chou where peasant resistance against landlords has occurred. The most sinister example here is that the peasants are required to deliver to landlords the rent in advance. This is what the people of Kiangsu call delivering at the time of Yin while planting at the time of Mou. This is

also one of the most awful things in the peasant economy. The peasants there are now demanding that they pay the rent only after the crop has been hauled in, and are still struggling.

Tan-yang: Described here will be two incidents which occurred in Lu-ch'eng-chen, Tan-yang (Lu-ch'eng-chen is located in the eastern countryside of Tan-yang near the Shanghai-Nanking Railway). One incident involved peasant resistance against a pawnshop which tried to cheat them, and this happened this summer. The pawnshop at Lu-ch'eng-chen was looted one day by the remnant soldiers under Ma Pu-jen that had become bandits at Mao-shan, west of Tan-yang. They did not loot too much from the pawnshop. But in reporting the case, the proprietor of the pawnshop lied, alleging that all the pawned items, including clothes and valuables, had been looted. In the meantime, he moved these things secretly to some hiding place. When the peasants of nearby villages who had pawned their belongings there heard about this trick, they went out to intercept him, recovering some of the original articles, but they could not get what had been concealed by the pawnshop. The peasants who had pawned their things joined together to set up a "Pawners' Union" in order to ask the pawnshop for settlement. As a result, the pawnshop repaid some of the losses, that is, each pawner getting the amount equivalent to the pawn price, reaching 900 dollars of compensation in full settlement. This episode proves that if the peasants are united, they will have victory. But if they had no solidarity, then they would have been cheated by the pawnshop, losing all their pawned articles. The other incident is resistance against the evil gentry and rich peasants who forced the tenant and poor peasants to pay money for pumping water. This has happened in this year's summer and fall, but it has not yet been settled. In the villages of most countries in Kiangsu, a kind of machine-pumping has been generally adopted. This is called a "water-pump machine" which replaces the old hand and foot waterwheels to pump water. The peasants of several villages near Lu-ch'eng-chen have realized that it would be desirable to use machinery to pump water. However, the evil gentry and rich peasants there took advantage of this situation to organize a "Machine Pumping Company" in order to make some quick profit. They raised 1,400 yuan as capital, bought a set of machinery which was installed in the river, and issued a notice in the name of the company that the peasants who wish to pump water pay an annual fee per mou of land. Those who do not pay would not get water. But the peasants have also made their own calculations. They found out that the money paid for each mou of land each year in these villages would be enough to buy a machine. If they should raise money to buy one, they would have to pay one time only, but they could use it every year. And if they use the company's machine, then they must pay so much each year. Consequently, they expressed their vehement opposition to the company of evil gentry and rich peasants. In the meantime, several primary school teachers volunteered to help the peasants in setting up an organization called "Peasants Promotion Association." Under the association's sponsorship, a "Machine Pumping Cooperative" was formed, collecting money from its member peasants according to their acreage, raising 1,400 yuan to buy a

pumping machine. The offshoot is there are now two pumping machines in the river, one owned by the company and the other by the cooperative. But nobody would care to use the former which is now completely idle. Enraged, the bad gentry made many false charges and pleaded with Sun Ch'uan-fang. As a result, soldiers were sent into the countryside in search of Bolsheviks, arresting four persons, and placing three others on their wanted list. It was further announced that those who refused to use the company's machine would be dealt with severely. When the soldiers arrived, all able-bodied men in the village hid in the tall rice stalks, leaving only the old, the women and children to confront them. In order to avoid arrest, the accused peasants had to offer bribes to the soldiers amounting to 1,000 yuan or more. This does not include what the latter had looted during the searches. The case has not yet been closed. It is gratifying that Sun Ch'uan-fang is now in some predicament, so the bad gentry of Lu-ch'eng-chen might have to let it go.

Wu-hsi: At Hus-hang-chen, about 15 li from the city of Wu-hsi, a minor incident occurred recently. Jung Te-sheng, a prominent tycoon and big landlord here, attempted to build a road through the village. Houses and farmland was condemned at low prices. This would directly hurt the peasant economy, so the peasants formed a peasants' club to oppose Jung Te-sheng. Jung capitulated, offering 200 yuan for each mou of land, and 10 cents each for the newly planted mulberry trees, and promised to stop tearing down the houses in the village.

Ch'ing-p'u: In Ch'ing-p'u county along the Shanghai-Hangchow Railway, an incident occurred last month when peasants there opposed the sale of wasteland at inflated prices. When peasants bought wasteland before, they used to pay 3 yuan per mou. However, some bad gentry colluded with magistrate Lin Cheng-i to form a company which obtained wasteland at 3 yuan per mou, selling it to peasants at 12 yuan. The peasants joined together to set up a reclamation union to oppose it, but they have been intimidated by the gentry as well as the bureaucrats. The dispute is still unsettled.

T'ai-hsing: At Wang-chia-chuang in the eastern countryside, peasants demanded rent reduction because of this year's drought. A violent struggle against the landlords ensued. The landlords not only refused to reduce rents, but tried to apply pressures on the peasants. One of the peasants became so exacerbated that he attempted to kill a notorious landlord. The latter reported it to the magistrate, and 30 peasants were arrested and imprisoned.

T'ai-hsien: The peasants of Sen-sen-chuang, T'ai-hsien, started a movement to demand rent reduction, as there was a drought in summer. Several leaders were arrested by the government under the pressure of landlords.

Hsu-chou: Among the peasants of Kiangsu, those in Hsu-hai north of the Yangtze suffer the worst agonies. The Red Spear Society and the Lien-chuang Society proliferate, and rural struggles are more numerous than

elsewhere. The terrain of the eastern and northern parts of T'ung-shan county being low, rice crops were submerged under water last year. It is fortunate that the second wheat crop has been planted, and so peasants may hope to tide over the famine. The lingering rains this fall have resulted in flooding the rice fields, and the wheat crop has deteriorated. It is still uncertain as to when the second wheat crop can be planted. Consequently, there is general dismay. In the meantime, apart from natural disasters, the peasants have been plagued by the oppressions and exploitations of greedy warlords and bureaucrats. Many peasants have degenerated and drifted to become bandits. This is why Hsuchow and its vicinities have become known as a bandit-infested area.

Tz'u-ch'i: Tz'u-ch'i is in Chekiang, west of Ningpo. Recently, a big riot occurred in the Shan-pei region where the peasants were sturdy and armed feuds have been recurrent. Moreover, coupled with the unreasonable oppressions of the bureaucrats and police, and the intensified exploitations of evil gentry and landlords, the peasants have become more and more enraged and hateful. It transpired that weather conditions have been bad this year. Both cotton and rice harvests were poor, but the landlords refused to reduce any rent. This has led to the eruption of a peasant riot stemming from famine. As the riot began, it was joined immediately by the vagrant proletariat. On the morning of 13 September, some 2,000 people gathered at the police office to report famine and they clashed with the police, setting the premises on fire, and seizing policemen's rifles. The crowd then turned to the homes of the gentry and landlords to "eat up the big families." They continued their rampage by destroying the antiques and furniture, windows and cabinets, and whatever they found in the latter's homes. They did this every day and refused to desist. Then, the village gentry escaped to the city to make accusations. Soldiers and policemen were sent into the countryside to arrest the delinquent peasants, but the ringleaders had mostly fled. "Crime" and "violation of law" have become a commonplace slogan, and the peasants lost their courage. The riot was suppressed. The failure of this riot has been caused by the lack of organization and guidance among the masses. Thus, it became a primitive riot which ended in a debacle.

°HSING-TAO CHOU-PAO, No 176, 25 November 1926

2077

CSO: 4005

DECLARATION OF THE FIRST HUNAN PEASANT CONGRESS

December 1926

[Text] Under the political and economic oppression of imperialism and feudalism, the life of the peasants grows worse day by day. Many are "without a tile over their heads or an inch of ground under their feet," truly homeless and jobless.

Ever since the power of imperialism invaded the orient destroying our "closed door policy," and bursting open our agricultural economy, our Chinese peasants have become the slaves of foreign capitalists. We labor every day to produce much grain, cotton, hemp, silk and tea and they merely produce a little cash and buy it up; they use machines to manufacture all kinds of newfangled goods, ship them over here, and sell them for God knows how much cash. Stuff like foreign oil, foreign cloth, foreign nails, foreign ceramics and foreign iron-- a limitless number of foreign goods have all flooded our cities and are gradually forcing their way into our villages. There is no one to buy our native goods produced without machines and we can't even make a little cash by farming while the foreign goods makers get richer every day.

The way in which the imperialists exploit us is to dominate our Customs and ship in goods freely for sale at low prices, taking our silver and destroying our handicrafts industry; it is to dominate our mines, our railroads, our waterways, to start factories and banks, using our cheap resources to make goods for themselves, and taking our coal and iron to control transportation. The imperialists and the warlords have, moreover, colluded to exploit the peasants indirectly by imposing local taxes and the salt tax and directly through acreage tax and surtaxes. In addition, the imperialists have made many loans to the warlords who in turn exploit the peasants even more severely in order to repay them. The warlords also use unemployed peasants as mercenary soldiers with weapons supplied by the imperialists to create a force with which to oppress the peasants.

The imperialists exercise their money and military power and collude with the warlords and compradors and after having done this for a while in China the product of the peasants labor finds its way by twist and turn into their pockets.

The exploitation of the peasants by internal warlords and local bullies and rotten gentry is a kind of feudal exploitive system. They do not exploit hired labor as does the capitalist but take away a large portion of the peasants' produce--this is the rent and tax system. So the landlords exploit the peasants directly and indirectly (e.g., through the tenant peasant system), and so the warlords exploit them directly (e.g., with respect to owner-peasants) or indirectly (e.g., with respect to tenant peasants). Every year they rake off about 60 to 65 percent of the peasants harvest.

They conspire together and coordinate with the imperialists and compradors to squeeze the peasants' blood and sweat and to jointly suppress the peasants' resistance. When a drought comes and the peasants are driven to the end of their forbearance, they naturally rise up violently, often threatening the overthrow of feudalism and imperialism.

The Taiping Rebellion was an explosion of south China peasants. The Boxer Rebellion was an explosion of north China peasants. Both, however, were repressed by the reactionary forces of imperialism and feudalism.

But the revolutionary movement latent in peasant villages has not been dissipated by the suppression of the imperialists and feudal classes. Such organizations as the San Ho Hui, the San Tien Hui, the Ta Tao Hui, the Ko Lao Hui which pervade the southern provinces and the Nien Tzu, the Pai Lang and the Hung Ch'iang Hui in the north have been spontaneously created to struggle with the imperialists and the feudal classes. For this reason, cases of missionaries being killed and starving peasants rioting are frequent (the most notable in recent years being the burning of the Governor of Hunan's office in the 1908-1911 period, and the Lin-ch'eng railway car hijacking case, both of which were done by these people). These revolutionary organizations have no broad united front and do not understand political strategy and so can never do anything of great significance.

The organized, planned revolution by the workers of the world has given us a fine example. Mr Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang which he leads got in touch with these naturally occurring revolutionary groups in the villages some 20 years ago and guided them to the path of the true political party to lead our peasant revolution. In politics they "build democracy" and in economics they established "equal land rights" as the standards for the liberation of the peasants; they always provided we peasants with an appropriate policy with which to fight imperialism and the feudal classes and attain our goals.

Many years ago in Heng-shan and Yueh-pei the peasants of Hunan began to develop organizational shoots. Year before last during the first half of the year some of the peasants of Hsiang-t'an again rose up but they were massacred by the warlord Chao and could not develop successfully. In February of last year in Chu-chou Mr Wang Hsien-tsung became a martyr to the peasants cause. The violence of the warlords and local bullies reached

a peak and the peasants were in a high state of emotion. The saying goes "when things reach their worst, there must be a turn for the better." At this time a fierce campaign to drive out Chao Heng-t'i was born and in this the peasants constituted a major force. At the time when Wu and Yeh made their counterattack, the peasants acted as spies, transport and guides for the Northern Expedition Army and disrupted the enemy's rear. They even took up lances and birdguns and became guerrillas or joined in battles, such as at places like Li-ling, Chu-chou, P'ing-chiang and Hua-jung. No less than 10 battles have had peasant participation and many peasants have been killed. See how brave and willing to sacrifice themselves have been the Hunan peasants who have participated in the battles of the Northern Expedition!

When the Northern Expedition Army moved into Hupeh and Kiangsi and on to the Chekiang-Honan front, the peasants in Hunan devoted all their efforts towards consolidating the rear, overthrowing corrupt officials and throwing out the local bullies and rotten gentry. This movement was extremely broad. The local bullies, rotten gentry and corrupt officials almost everywhere were utterly shocked. No more do they dare to exercise the power and high-handedness to which they have been accustomed and treat the peasants as dirt as they did. Since we peasants do not understand gentility or manners, we stand up straight, beat up every corrupt official, local bully and rotten gentry we hear about, not fearing that they may get together some remnants of their power for a counterattack and may kill peasants on a large scale such as at Chia-ho, Lin-hsiang, Yu-hsien, I-yang, An-hua and I-chang. As these tragedies occur, we know that they are but the dying outbursts of a departing storm and we have nothing to fear. This bit of revolutionary work, we would dare compare with the taking of the city of Wu-ch'ang. This is true because the power of the local bullies and rotten gentry of the villages is the true foundation of the warlords, and the destruction of this power would be difficult to accomplish without a rising by the peasants.

The primary task of the present revolutionary government should, we feel, be to continue to dig up the political foundations of the warlords and develop the organization of the masses; we peasants will brave death to support the government as it works toward this goal.

But, the aim of the national revolution is to liberate all of the oppressed masses, not just to liberate the peasants. How can we restrict our concern to the liberation of the peasants? We cannot. But the liberation of the peasants is a pivotal point. If the liberation of the peasants is realized, the interest of all classes is served. At present, one of the main reasons why industry and commerce are not developed is that 300 million peasants have no purchasing power; and the reason why agriculture is not developed is that the peasants have no productive power. If the peasants are liberated and they can lessen the economic exploitation of the landlords they will improve agriculture and, as a result of their purchases of fertilizer, tools and cloth, industry and commerce will simultaneously develop. In the French Revolution of years ago the peasants obtained a measure of liberation and the wealth of France was greatly increased; in recent years the peasants of

Russia have completely done away with exploitation by landlords and their productive power increases year after year. These are both clear proofs of this. If industry and commerce profit by the liberation of the peasants, how much more so will education, culture and all kinds of construction.

However, the present financial difficulties of the government, the stagnant money market, the extraordinary terrorism in society and many rumors, are all blamed on the peasants and believed to be the result of the peasant revolution. How they have wronged us! The fears of today do have causes. One is that due to wartime blockades, rice cannot be shipped down the Yangtzu River and salt cannot be brought in to Hunan. With this is lost all of the vast income from taxes on rice and salt sales. Another is that finances have not been unified in western Hunan, and the Kweichow Army and other newly formed units have been syphoning off tax revenue so that one-third of the financial resources of all Hunan are lost. Another is manipulation by reactionaries, for example, the attack on the Lai-yang Tax Bureau. Although this was partially the result of corruption in the tax bureau which merited the attack, it was also the result of reactionaries taking the opportunity to create hatred among the party, government and mass organizations. The reactionaries have done many similar things, and for these reasons they have been able to create disorder in society. How can the disorder be attributed to the peasants?

Although the attacks by the peasants on the local bullies and rotten gentry in the villages have used illegal methods, these are methods which must be adopted in the course of revolutionary struggle. At a time when the East wind will overcome the West wind or be overcome by it, how can we not be severe? If we are afraid of conflict or adopt an attitude of doubt or negativism, we cannot be considered revolutionaries. The old policies which did away with conflict are not suitable; we have only the new policy established by us all, that of bringing about democratic government by the peasants in the villages and thoroughly destroying the feudal policy of the local bullies and rotten gentry.

This Congress, representing Hunan's 27 million peasants, after careful consideration, has decided upon a policy of revolutionary struggle from now on to achieve liberation.

Peasants to Hunan! Unite under the banner of the Provincial Peasants Association and resolutely fight according to the policy of this Congress!

Our slogans are:

Peasants of China, unite!
Support the Revolutionary Government!
Uproot corrupt officials!
Overthrow local bullies and rotten gentry!
Exterminate bandits!
Put finances in order, get rid of bribes!
Overthrow the warlords!

Overthrow imperialism!
Long live the First Hunan Peasants Congress!
Long live the liberation of the Chinese people!
Long live the Peasants International!
Long live the success of World Revolution!

°A History of Revolution in China, Reference Materials, Second Collection;
Chinese People's University, 1956

△The Declaration and Resolutions of the First Hunan Peasants Congress,
compiled by the Hunan Peasants Association, December 1926.

7136

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HUNAN PEASANTS--CHANGSHA NEWSLETTER OF 30 NOVEMBER (1926)

[Text] (A) The Currently Organized Peasants

(1) Statistics on County Peasant Associations

Counties which have established Peasant Associations: 36

Counties which have Peasant Association Preparatory offices: 18

Total 54 counties

(2) Membership Statistics

1. Statistics compiled in November: 30 counties, 536,137 members.

Statistics compiled in October: 11 counties, 505,000 members.

Estimates where no statistics are available: 13 counties, 30,000 members.

Total 54 counties, 1,071,137 members.

2. Counties with 100,000 plus members--4

Counties with 50,000 plus members--6

Counties with 10,000 plus members--12

Counties with 5,000 plus members--12

Counties with 1,000 plus members--18

Counties with less than 1,000 members--2

3. The county with the greatest number of members has 140,000. The county with the least number of members has 274.

4. A chart of membership by county.

Note: "A"--membership figure based on detailed report received from the county in November.

"B"--membership figure calculated on the basis of last month's report.

"C"--estimated membership figure without statistics.

"D"--membership figure provided by County Peasant Association Preparatory office.

Nan-hsien	A	7,000	Ch'a-ling	A	11,266
Heng-yang	A	88,223	Tao-hsian	A	1,435
Tzu-hsing	A	5,000	Lu-hsi	C	5,000
Sui-ning	A	1,100	Hsiang-t'a	B	100,000
Lei-yang	A	24,445	Shao-yang	B	5,000
Pin-hsien	A	10,000	Hsiang-hsiang	B	60,000
Liu-yang	A	139,190	?	BC	1,000
Yu-hsien	A	10,000	Ch'ang-sha	A	71,450
Li-ling	A	50,000	Pao-ching	A	377 ?
Hua-jung	A	10,000	Lin-hsiang	OC	5,000
Han-shou	A	7,229	Ch'ang-ning	OC	5,000
Lan-shan	A	3,550	Ning-te	OC	1,000
Kuei-yang	A	6,243	An-hsiang	OC	2,100
Hsin-tien	A	5,150	Hsin-ning	C	1,000
Ling-hsien	A	5,468	Hsu-p'u	C	1,000
I-chang	A	74,183	Ning-hsiang	B	50,000
Hsiang-yin	A	17,600	Hsin-hua	OA	6,377
I-yang	A	15,680	Lin-chin	OA	1,166
An-hua	A	62,300	Yung-ming	OA	2,181
Ling-ling	A	700	Ju-ch'eng	OA	8,856
Yueh-yang	OA	2,070	Ch'ang-te	OA	9,545
Wu-kang	OC	5,000	Chih-chiang	OA	274
Yuan-chiang	OC	1,000	Ch'eng-pu	OA	889
?	OC	1,000	Chia-ho	OC	1,000
P'ing-chiang	B	100,000	T'ao-yuan	OC	1,000
Lai-yang	B	100,000	?	OC	1,000
Yung-hsing	B	10,000	Chin-hsien	OD	2,549

(B) Peasant Participation in the Northern Expedition

(1) Supply: In those places through which the Northern Expedition Army passed, the peasants were able to supply drink or small amount of food or were able to assist with such things as cooking.

(2) Guides, Reconnaissance: This kind of work was done along the Chu-chou P'ing-hsiang Rail Line, and in Liu-yang, P'in-chiang, Ch'ang-sha, Hsiang-t'an, Ning-hsiang, Heng-shan, Nan-hsien and Hua-jung.

(3) Transport: In addition to those peasants voluntarily hired by the army, there were also organized peasants doing transportation work for the army.

(4) Disrupting the enemy's rear: This took place in Hsiang-t'an, P'ing-chiang, Nan-hsien, Liu-yang and along the Chu-chou-P'ing-hsiang Rail Line.

(5) Participation in Combat: Exact statistics are not yet available on the number of killed and wounded or the number of rifles captured. The figures are approximately as follows:

A. Chu-chou: The second time T'ang [Sheng-chih]'s army entered Ch'ang-sha, the peasants and shopkeepers turned over more than 100 rifles plus some machine-guns and cannon.

B. Li-ling: When the Northern Expedition Army entered Ch'ang-sha, the peasants captured more than 200 rifles as well as some machine guns and cannon, and in November when troops retreating from the Kiangsi front entered Li-ling, the peasants turned over many rifles.

C. P'ing-chiang: When the Northern Expedition Army entered P'ing-hsiang in July, the peasants lost 25 men in combat and captured hundreds of rifles as well as machine guns. In November, when the Second Division mutinied, the peasants captured some of the rebel soldiers and 250 rifles. The government is now trying to get those rifles back, but the peasants refuse to comply, and the issue is still unsettled.

D. Liu-yang: The peasants rescued a regiment of the Northern Expedition Army which had been surrounded and, in driving the enemy back, sustained casualties but captured some rifles.

E. Hua-jung: When Ts'ai Chien's Army entered Hua-jung the first time, the peasants and the troops stationed there drove them back. The second time Ts'ai Chien's Army entered Hua'jung, 3,000 peasants fought and repulsed it.

F. Yuan-chiang: When Ts'ai Chien's Army was attacked at Hua-jung the first time, peasants from Yuan-chiang participated.

G. Hsiang-t'an: The peasants acted as decoys and helped the Northern Expedition Army to cross the river and attack the enemy.

H. Ning-hsiang: Rescued a regiment of the Northern Expedition Army which had been surrounded, and attacked the enemy and captured rifles.

I. Chu-chou-P'ing-hsiang Rail Line: Clashed with enemy troops and tore up tracks.

J. Ch'ang-sha: Surrounded fleeing officers, and assisted the government in capturing enemy soldiers and mutineers.

(6) Why the Peasants Fought

A. The effects of propaganda by party members. The peasants all knew that the Northern Expedition Army supported the interests of the workers and peasants, and that only by helping the Northern Expedition Army to win could they be helped.

B. Hatred for northern soldiers and mercenaries. When they compared the armies of the two sides, the hatred of the peasants was even more deep.

C. Under command of the Peasant Associations. (A very small number were volunteers.)

D. The peasants were willing to fight during September and October in order to get rifles; by that time the peasants developed a need to arm themselves.

(7) The Effects of the Peasants' Participation in the War

A. Advances in the political sense of the peasants.

B. Advances in the self-confidence of the peasants.

C. The government was able to realize the strength of the peasants, thus favoring leftism.

(C) Current Trends Among the Peasants

(1) The peasants now feel that they should be rewarded for their contribution to the war. Even in those counties which were not involved in the fighting, the peasants feel that the propaganda promises of the party should be fulfilled.

(2) Economic demand: This kind of demand has spread throughout all of the counties that have peasant movements. The following demands are most pervasive:

1. Rent reduction--There is yet no demand for total rent exemption (land ownership granted to the peasants).
2. Interest rate reduction--The peasants are satisfied by a reduction from 8 to 9 percent to 4 to 5 percent.
3. A way to solve the problem of short grain supplies in lean months--Resulting in a movement to refuse selling grain to government at low prices.
4. Tax reduction--A small number of localities demand total tax exemption.
5. Reduce security money and stop repossessing land without cause--As yet there are no clear ideas.

These demands may be said to be minimal and are all expressed by them of their own accord. In some areas all of these demands are made, but in some areas only one or two. The demands of those peasants in the area of Hunan bordering on Kwangtung and Kwangsi are higher than those of the peasants of central Hunan.

(3) Political Demands:

1. Reform the militia--They still watch the personnel of the Militia Bureaus very closely.
2. Oppose the militia--In many places the militia has lost its function and there are many instances of militia headquarters being destroyed.
3. Wish for good government--The political and economic demands of the peasants are all still quite naive. Not only the peasants are uninterested in such slogans as popular election of county magistrates, but the political demands of the villages are also negative. As far as the rumors spread by reactionaries such as "confiscation of land" and "organization of a worker-peasant government" are concerned, the peasants are least interested.

(4) Arms Demands: The demand of the peasants for arms grows more and more urgent. They all want to take rifles from the hands of defeated and mutinous soldiers. Among the peasants of P'ing-chiang there is a vigorous movement to keep the rifles (see previous passages on the peasants' participation in fighting).

(D) Struggles Which Have Already Been Started by the Peasants

(1) The rent reduction movement:

1. The rent reduction movement in Heng-yang: The amount of rent paid by the tenant to the landlord in Heng-yang is supposed to be one-half of the harvest, but in actuality, the tenant cannot get as much as half. From 1916, due to floods and increases in education expenses, rents have gradually increased throughout the county and, although the amount of the increase has not been uniform, there is no one who has not had his rent increased. In this way, the amount received by the tenant is less than the amount formerly received which even then was not 50 percent. After T'ang's Army left Hunan, the peasants in Heng-yang who joined the peasant associations had an urgent demand for rent reduction. At this time they started the slogan of rent reversion throughout the whole county, or reverting to the rent levels of 5 years ago (that is, before 1916). The result was that the whole county reverted to the rent level of 1916. The peasants joining the peasant association during this movement numbered about 70,000. At the same time, reactionary elements were united during this movement which was participated in by all peasants whether they had or had not joined the peasant association.

2. Rent reduction elsewhere: In addition to Heng-yang, there have been scattered rent reduction campaigns elsewhere, and individual tenants have reduced rent paid to individual landlords. Since changes in tenants or changes in land ownership almost everywhere result in increases in rent, when the increase is too much, tenants are requesting reductions. Many of these cases are handled for the peasants by the peasant associations. Although this is not a struggle, it increases the confidence of the peasants in the peasant associations.

3. Although rent reduction campaigns are a pressing need of the peasants everywhere, no struggle has occurred because the time of rent collection is past. The opinion of most peasants is that the question of rent reduction next year will be a major struggle.

(2) Interest reduction:

1. A general interest reduction has been successful throughout An-hua County. This has been from 7 or 8 percent per month to 4 or 5 percent. The peasants are satisfied with this.

2. A campaign among some of the peasants in Yueh-yang has not yet had any results, but probably will be victorious.

3. A demand by peasants in Hsiang-yin and Niu-chou for cancellation of unpaid interest has failed.

4. Various counties have interest reduction campaigns and none of these met with any major obstacles.

(3) Reduction in security money:

1. A campaign throughout Liu-yang County to reduce security money to 2 yuan for every picul of grain to be paid as rent has been successful. Whether there will be problems with this in the future is difficult to tell.

2. In the lake region around Yueh-yang, landlords wanted to increase security money to 7 yuan per picul of grain to be paid as rent and the peasants rose up in opposition. The landlords have combined the militia of three counties to deal with this and there will be a big clash.

3. Various other counties have security money reduction campaigns on smaller scale.

(4) Tax reduction campaigns:

1. Yu-hsien, Li'ling and I-chang all have tax reduction campaigns.

2. An-hsiang has eliminated the acreage tax throughout the county but has increased the land surtax.

3. In Yueh-yang, some of the peasant campaigns which have been demanding the abolition of the acreage tax have come into conflict with the militia and nothing has been resolved.

(5) Land reclamation campaigns: The peasants of An-hua demand that no rent be collected from coarse grain sown during the winter months. Some have succeeded and others are still in dispute.

(6) The question of restrictions on normal grain sales:

1. The cause: Hunan has had droughts for many years in succession. When the dry months come, the villages are short of grain or the price of grain skyrockets, and this has caused the peasants to carry out a movement to restrict grain sales.

2. This movement is carried out in 7 or 8 out of 10 places where there is a peasant organization, in the following manners:

A. A decision on the price of grain is made by the peasant association or the peasant assembly to forbid selling grain at a higher price.

B. Two or three grain prices are set and certain kinds of people are made to pay certain prices.

C. Restrictions are placed on the amount of grain or rice to be transported outside.

D. Grain and rice are totally prohibited from being transported outside.

E. No price is set for grain until a drought occurs.

F. Several tenths of the rental grain are withheld.

3. The conflicts caused by this struggle:

A. Boycotts: If landlords do not sell grain they are forced to sell, or even fined or beaten.

B. Secret sales: If secret sales are discovered, the grain is confiscated or the owner fined.

C. Conflicts arise out of disputes on grain prices.

4. Effects: The landlords and businessmen dislike these campaigns intensely while the landowning peasants and tenant farmers don't want them either, and since the government is urging the remission of land-tax and the landlords are complaining that they can't sell their grain, the government is quite dissatisfied also.

5. The policy of the provincial peasants association is that only a portion of rental grain will be permitted to be withheld as a reserve for sales at reasonable prices during drought seasons and that unlimited boycotts are not allowed. This campaign has, however, already been accepted by the masses and it will be hard to change for a while.

(7) Conflicts with the militia:

1. The Chief of the Militia Bureau in Ning-hsiang (and the branch Bureaus in the townships) are all elected by the township assemblies and, in those places where there is a peasant association, the peasants pay close attention to the persons elected.
2. Yueh-yang:
 - A. The Militia Bureau prohibited the peasants from meeting and there was a clash. After petition by the peasants, the Militia Bureau was disbanded.
 - B. The peasants clashed with the Militia Bureau over acreage tax, and this issue has not yet been settled.
 - C. In two clashes with the militia, more than 10 peasants were shot to death.
3. The Chiaho militia has shot some peasants to death.
4. In Kuei-yang, reactionary elements conspired with the militia to send troops into the city to disband the peasant association.
5. In Tzu-hsing, the militia forced a reorganization of the peasants association.
6. In a fight between the peasants of Hsiang-t'an and the militia, one peasant was shot to death.
7. In Niu-chou (Yueh-yang) the militia prohibited the peasants from organizing an association.
8. There have been many conflicts in various places between peasants and the militia and, in most cases, the militia has won.

(8) Conflicts with the local bullies and rotten gentry:

It may be said that conflicts between the peasants and local bullies and rotten gentry are occurring everywhere all the time. The attacks of the local bullies and rotten gentry upon the peasants are worsening every day. The peasants have retorted with assault and battery, prosecution, parade, fine and expulsion. Of course most of these are resulted from attacks by them upon the peasants and this has aroused the hatred of the masses.

(E) The State of Local Government

- (1) In some townships, the peasants association has taken over the government.
- (2) Township assemblies exist in many counties and act as the highest legislative organization of the township. In a few counties, the Chief of the Militia Bureau and the county magistrate are elected by the township assemblies.

(3) In a few localities the peasant association, the teachers union, the Chamber of Commerce, and the workers unions have united and taken over the government of the township.

(4) In many localities, township government is in the hands of the Kuomintang Party Headquarters and they sympathize with or support the peasant movement.

(5) In most localities, the government is still controlled by the local bullies and rotten gentry in order to oppress the peasants. In places where there are peasant associations, clashes occur frequently.

(F) Peasant Self-Defense Organizations

(1) Each county in Hunan has organized neighborhood defense units as advocated by T'ang Sheng-Chih. Although the leadership of these organizations is in the hands of the gentry and the landlords, the members and lower level officers are all peasants. In places where there is a peasants association, these units become organizations of the peasants without trouble. The units do not have rifles, but do have lances (a dagger attached to a long pole), birdguns and swords. Most have regular drills, for which participants are paid (500 wen each). The counties in the central Hunan area around P'ing-chiang, Liu-yang and Ch'ang-sha have this kind of organization but it is not widespread, and there is no drill pay. In the recent fighting and in resisting bandits, they have been of great use. There are no statistics on their organization and membership.

(2) With the exception of the neighborhood defense units, the peasants of Hunan have no other self-defense organization. Although there was once a Peasant Self-Defense Army, and Self-Defense Regiments, these have been discontinued because their operating expenses could not be met.

(3) In such places as P'ing-chiang, An-hua, Li-ling and Hsiang-t'an, the peasants have captured a few rifles (P'ing-chiang has 250, and there are problems yet to be solved) which can be brought out for use by the peasants in their own defense.

(G) Measures Adopted by the Local Bullies and Rotten Gentry to Undermine the Peasant Movement

The local bullies and rotten gentry are gradually united with all other reactionary forces. They attack the peasants in the following ways:

(1) They secretly organize such groups as the Protect the Rich League, the Protect Property League and the White League. They publicly organize the League of District Magistrates and the Township League.

(2) They clamor that the peasant association is going to institute conscription and tolls and, that when Wu P'ei-fu comes he will cut their heads off, in order to frighten the peasants and keep them from joining the association.

- (3) They clamor that the peasant association is communist and will institute a so-called 3-3-1 system.
- (4) They organize fake peasant associations and publish proclamations advocating a so-called 3-3-1 system.
- (5) They infiltrate the peasant associations in order to usurp their leadership. Failing to do so, they make trouble.
- (6) By means of bribery, sedition, promotion of homeland viewpoint, religious thinking and superstition, they incite the peasants to oppose the peasant association.
- (7) They infiltrate the Kuomintang to oppress the peasants and manipulate the peasant associations.
- (8) They clamor that the Northern Expedition Army has failed.
- (9) They collude with Chao and Sun of the Kuomintang right wing.
- (10) Masquerading rioting peasants they destroyed the Tax Bureau in order to cause people to lose their sympathy for the peasants movement.
- (11) They use the militia to directly oppress and kill the peasants, and disband peasant associations. They have done such sabotage in a somewhat coordinated way.

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7136
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