AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF MAO TSE-TUNG
T'UNG CHIH TI CH'U-CH'I KE-MING HUO-TUNG:
CHUNG-KUO KUNG-CH'AN-TANG
(The Early Revolutionary Activities
Of Comrade Mao Tse-Tung:
The Founding of the
Chinese Communist Party)

by
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STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

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PREFACE

Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is twofold. First, it has given me an opportunity to carry on my struggle with the Chinese language, a formidable task indeed. This is the deepest significance of the thesis. Second, the thesis has afforded me the opportunity to look into the life of one of the men largely responsible for the success of the Communist revolution in China, Mao Tse-tung. The two purposes are interrelated since the major portion of the thesis is a translation from a chapter in the life and times of Mao Tse-tung.

From the beginning of my graduate program, I felt that it would be most beneficial for me to concentrate on the acquisition of a full working knowledge of the Chinese language as a necessary preparation for more advanced study and scholarship. The Chinese language is often regarded as the most difficult major language to learn. Few foreigners ever master it, but many do achieve some measure of control over its oral and written aspects. Indeed, I was heartened recently when one of the foremost language experts, a native speaker at the Department of Defense, demonstrated, unwittingly, that even he had to have a dictionary handy lest he be lost also. I lived with the dictionary throughout the portion of the thesis which is in translation.

One of the largest dictionaries of Chinese contains approximately 50,000 discreet characters. However, a much smaller number is in ordinary daily use, and the well educated native speakers will know no more than
5,000 or 6,000 characters. Modern Chinese is essentially a polysyllabic language and combinations of these several thousand graphs, or characters, provide an extraordinarily rich and expressive vocabulary. Consequently, reading and translation requires extensive and demanding preparation. Through complete immersion in the translated portion of the thesis I have hoped to achieve some measure of control of the Chinese language which is so necessary for advanced study and scholarship.

The introductory portion of the thesis has also been equally challenging and rewarding.

It is often stated that man is the sum-total of his environment and is shaped by factors and forces within his environment. In other words, man is a product of society. His awareness of that total-shaping environment, however, may begin with only a glimpse of some part of it. That glimpse may be political, economic, social or cultural in outlook, and it may develop in stages as man's knowledge of himself and his environment broadens and the relationship between his knowledge and his experiences becomes clear.

Young Mao Tse-tung's first understanding of China's problems was political. At the age of sixteen, he came across a pamphlet telling of the dismemberment of China in 1898. The opening sentence stuck in his mind: "'Alas, China will be subjugated!'"¹

At the age of seventy-four, Chairman Mao is a complete Marxist-Leninist-styled political animal. He understands the politics of

totalitarianism and its purposes. For him politics is the struggle for the power to organize and manipulate men and to control their minds and behavior. Chairman Mao's politics have a purpose: he also understands China's deep-rooted economic, social and cultural problems which are neither of his making nor to his liking. These aspects of Chinese society are all at the heart of Mao's revolution. As he sees it, only his style of politics is best suited to solve China's problems and improve China's condition. Chairman Mao, however, has not always been aware of the multi-faceted nature of Chinese society and its problems.

The purpose of the introduction is to follow Chairman Mao's formative years from 1893 to 1919. The translated portion of the thesis overlaps and continues from 1917 to 1923. The young Mao went through various stages of impressionability, vulnerability, enthusiasm, restlessness, and confusion leading up to his nationalist awakening and his encounter with Marxism-Leninism. The predominant influence on his life and thought was the contemporary political situation. Therefore, one cannot ask too much of a young man who, in 1918, characterized his own mind as a curious mixture of ideas of liberalism, democratic reformism, Utopian Socialism and anarchism. One cannot expect him to consider that the shape which politics was taking in China was due to the simultaneous interactions of the social, economic and cultural pressures active within the country, as well as to the activities of Chinese politicians and foreign "imperialists." To those who would argue otherwise, a quote paraphrased from the New Testament may be appropriate: "When as a boy think as a boy, but when as a man think as a man."
A Note on the Translation

The major portion of this thesis is the translation. The chapter which I translated here is entitled, "The Founding of the Chinese Communist Party," by Li Jui, Mao's official biographer, in Mao Tse-tung t'ung-chih ti ch'u ch'i ke-ming huo-tung (Comrade Mao Tse-tung's early revolutionary activities) (Peking: China Youth Press, 1957), pp. 132-159. Stuart Schram and Jerome Ch'en have recently produced two excellent biographies on Mao (see p. 1n). Jerome Ch'en has heavily relied on Li Jui's chapter on the founding of the party, but with the exception of a few sentences and some excerpts from a diary, neither he nor Schram has translated any portion of this particular chapter to negate or otherwise render my translation unnecessary. In the conclusion to this thesis, I have attempted to evaluate this chapter and have attempted to explain some possible motives behind the writing of this book.

The translation begins on page 16. Throughout the translation, the reader will encounter, "Tr. note," in the footnotes, indicating my comments on the translation. Where the reader does not see my translator's notation, he may assume that that particular note is an original textual footnote.

Finally, I have appended (Appendix A) a short biographical sketch of the author, Li Jui.

A Note on the Romanization of Chinese Proper and Place Names

I have used the Wade-Giles system of romanization throughout this thesis. I have, however, made a few exceptions. I have retained the more popularly used forms of certain place names whose romanization does
not follow Wade-Giles, but follows the Chinese Postal Atlas's system of romanization (for example, Peking and Canton). I have also omitted all diacritical marks from both proper and place names. In order to keep the text uncluttered by romanized Chinese proper and place names, I have also added a glossary.

A Note on the Selected Bibliography

The selected bibliography includes works based on the following criteria: (1) the bibliographic entries were used in the text proper in which case their entry is in accordance with proper procedures, and (2) the bibliographic entries were not used in the text proper, but were deemed relevant to the thesis in whole or part. An entry was judged relevant if it aided in providing background information and if it served as an aid by which to cross-check certain dates, places, and events. Since many of the entries contain much the same information and could have easily been included in the footnotes to make them look impressive, I chose not to do so, thereby introducing some degree of conciseness and order to the footnotes and text.

Acknowledgments

There are many people whom I wish to acknowledge in the preparation of this thesis. I am especially indebted to Professors Earl H. Pritchard, William R. Schultz, Gail Bernstein, Edward Putzar and Mr. David Egler. Professor Stephen Uhalley supervised the thesis and his critical comments were invaluable. My greatest debt, however, is to Mrs. Eugenia Young-jen Tu, who not only wrote the characters for the glossary, but who read each and every sentence of the translation. Sometimes I suspected that hers was
an undertaking above and beyond the call of scholarly endeavors, especially with my more than occasional massacring of the Chinese language. Thus, she is herefore absolved of whatever inaccuracies arise in the final draft of this thesis which is, after all, my sole responsibility. I also wish to express my thanks to Mrs. Linda McDowell for typing the thesis. I hope that in the process she too learned something about young Mao. Finally, I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to my wife, Janet, whose spirit even the redoubtable Mao could not daunt.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE FOUNDING OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY.</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Discussion on Communism and the Founding of the Party</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishing the Cultural Bookstore</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishing the Marxist Study Society</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishing the Socialist Youth Corps: The Party Establishes an Intimate Relationship with the Masses</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starting a Self-Cultivation University and Training Young Revolutionary Cadres</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLOSSARY</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is twofold. First, it has given me an opportunity to intensify my struggle with the Chinese language, and second, it has given me an opportunity to learn something about one of the men largely responsible for the success of the Communist revolution in China, Mao Tse-tung. The two purposes are interrelated since the major portion of the thesis is a translation from a chapter in the life and times of young Mao Tse-tung.

Chairman Mao is a man to be studied and understood. Today, his thoughts on the Chinese revolution and his analysis of China's old and new problems are having foreign and domestic repercussions. The impact of this man's thoughts on China's historical growth has been profound, and his dedication toward achieving a measure of respectability for China, foreign and domestic, is deep-rooted in China's tortured history. Thus, Chinese Communist historians have long endeavored to establish an official memory of the Communist revolution in China based on the experiences and thoughts of their chairman.

Mao is an enigma to the West. He is not, however, such a mystery that he cannot be understood. He is, after all, a product of China's history. While this is not a historical study, it is with history in mind that this biographical thesis of Chairman Mao's formative years, 1893-1923, was undertaken.
In my introduction, young Mao's formative years are followed from 1893 to 1919. What emerges is an impressionable and confused young man. Mao's official biographer, on the other hand, portrays young Mao as a hardened revolutionary capable of analyzing China's problems in Marxist-Leninist categories as early as 1917. The conclusion of this thesis is that Mao's biographer credits young Mao with more than Mao was willing to credit himself during his formative years.
Mao Tse-tung was born on December 26, 1893, in the village of Shaoshan, twenty-eight miles west of the market town of Hsiangt' an, Hsiangt' an county, Hunan. He was born of a poor peasant family. Over a period of time, however, his father, Jen-sheng, managed to accumulate


Chinese sources include Li Jui, Mao Tse-tung t'ung-chih ti ch'u-ch'i ke-ming huo-tung (The Early Revolutionary Activities of Comrade Mao Tse-tung) (Peking: China Youth Press, 1957); Siao Yu, Mao Tse-tung and I were Beggars (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1959); and Hsiao San (Emile Hsiao), Mao Tse-tung t'ung-chih ti ch'ing-shao-nien shih-tai (Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Boyhood and Youth) (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1949; Bombay: People's Publishing House, 1953).

The Chinese accounts do not carry the same authoritiveness that Snow's account does. Snow's account is the only one authorized and checked by Mao. In fact, the Chinese sources themselves rely on Snow for their information up until 1937.

Hsiao San and Siao Yu were brothers who befriended Mao in 1912-13. Hsiao San became a communist and Siao Yu a nationalist. Accordingly, their accounts are biased by their political preferences. Unfortunately, Hsiao San's book was unavailable to me. Jerome Ch'en, however, cites from it extensively.

Edgar Snow has recently made available his attitude concerning Red Star over China and the unauthorized accounts of Mao's life pirated from Snow. For his attitude see his, The Other Side of the River: Red China Today (New York: Random House, 1962), pp. 773-74. See also, Schram, p. 9 and Ch'en, p. 410. All subsequent references to Snow are taken from Red Star.
enough wealth through prudence, land speculation, the buying up of mortgages and in lending money at usurious rates to qualify as a "rich" peasant. 3

Young Mao's relationship with his father was anything but cordial. His hot-tempered father continually beat him. 4 On the other hand, his relationship with his mother was an affectionate one. She was a "kind woman, generous, and sympathetic...ever ready to share what she had...[and] she pitied the poor..." 5 For a time, young Mao was a practicing Buddhist and along with his devout Buddhist mother, unsuccessfully tried to convert his father. 6

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4. This feature in their relationship has given rise to a psychoanalytical belief that Mao's later rebelliousness was due to these beatings during his childhood years. Jerome Ch'en, for one, rejects this "very superficial application of the theories of psychology" (pp. 19-20n). Stuart Schram also rejects this theory in his Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung (New York: Praeger, 1963). p. 3. Hereafter, Political Thought.

For the biographers who do use the psychoanalytical approach see, Paloczi-Horvath, Ch. 2 and MacGregor-Hastie, pp. 40-42. The latter has undocumented quotations allegedly belonging to Mao which do strengthen his (Hastie's) argument. On Taiwan, anti-communist authors treat Mao's "unfilial! attitude toward his father as prima-facie evidence that he was inherently perverse and fated to end as a bandit or rebel of some kind" (Schram, Mao Tse-tung, p. 16).

Mao no doubt hated his father, (Snow, p. 126), but by his own admission, his father's strictness was a "benefit" to him since it kept him "most diligent" in his work (Ibid., p. 127). I agree with Schram that Mao's "political personality" was the product of the world which opened to him after he left Shao Shan, rather than of his contacts with his father (Schram, Mao Tse-tung, p. 17).

5. Snow, p. 125. Mao also had two brothers, Tse-t'an and Tse-min, and a sister, Tse-hung, who was killed in 1930 (Ch'en, p. 19).

6. Mao's father later converted to Buddhism after his "miraculous escape" from a tiger[!] (Snow, p. 128).
Young Mao's early education was Confucian. In the village school in Shaoshan, he read the Confucian Classics. He, however, preferred the romances of China to the Classics. Among his favorite romances were Monkey, The Water Margin (or, All Men are Brothers), and the Romance of the Three Kingdoms.

At the age of thirteen (1906), young Mao quit the village school in order to help his father manage their lands. One year later, he became the victim of an arranged marriage. He reacted adamantly against this marriage. According to him, it was never consummated.

In 1909, Mao was sixteen, but judging from his isolation in Shaoshan, he was poorly informed on events which had wracked China from his birth. The only clue that Mao gives us indicating any contact with events in China between 1893 and 1909 is his memory of reading, at the age of thirteen, a book called Words of Warning. This book was written by a "number of old reformist scholars" who thought that the "weakness of China lay in her lack of Western appliances -- railways, telephones, telegraphs and steamships...." There are some clues, however, which illustrate his isolation in Shaoshan. It was not until 7

7. Ibid., p. 124.


9. Snow, p. 145. It is interesting to note that one of the first laws proclaimed by the People's Republic of China after the Communists came into power was "The Marriage Law," adopted on May 1, 1950, and which, among other things, prohibited arranged marriages. There are many sources one can consult but see, Theodore H. E. Ch'en (ed), The Chinese Communist Regime (New York: Praeger, 1967), pp. 261-63, 270-74.

1910 that he first learned of the death of the Kuang-hsu Emperor and the Empress Dowager, both of whom had died two years earlier, and it was not until 1911 that he first heard of Sun Yat-sen. For a person who exhibited a "precocious penchant for dialectical materialism" during his childhood, as his official biographer, Li Jui, informs us, it was rather surprising that he did not exhibit a similar penchant for informing himself about three of the great personalities in China at that time. Intellectually and politically, young Mao's first sixteen years were less than spectacular, much less than Mao's biographer would have us believe. Why, after all, should one expect anything more from an isolated village peasant boy?

Shortly after young Mao read the pamphlet telling of China's dismemberment, he left Shaoshan to continue his education at the new Tungshan Primary School in nearby Hsianghsiang county. Appropriately enough, the school's curriculum included Western subjects which were considered "radical."

The Tungshan Primary School was open only to county residents. Young Mao falsified his residency and was admitted, but not, however, before he was ridiculed for his appearance and, as the son of a laborer,

12. Snow, p. 135
13. Li Jui, pp. 40-44, brought to my attention by Schram, Political Thought, p. 12.
14. Snow, p. 131. It was unusual for one of sixteen to enter a primary school at this late age. Usually, primary school includes students from the ages of six to twelve, or, the equivalent of the American elementary school (I am indebted to my language instructor,
for having the temerity to even consider this school for the sons of the big landlords.15 Here young Mao came in contact with Western learning for the first time. He read about America and the American Revolution among other things.16 He also came into contact with the writings of the reformers, K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. He made no secret of his admiration for K'ang and Liang, although he apparently was not certain what they stood for.17 Nonetheless, by his own admission, he "worshipped" them.18

Shortly after he left the Tungshan Primary School, young Mao, now eighteen, passed his entrance examination for the high school in Chiangsha. "Exceedingly excited," he left for the capital city that summer.19 Ch'angsha, young Mao was soon to learn, was indeed the place where the province and the empire met.20 It was also a place where excited backwoods peasant boys could be rudely awakened.

When young Mao arrived in Ch'angsha, the city was in a state of political and intellectual ferment. The thoughts of K'ang Yu-wei, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, and T'an Ssu-t'ung were in fashion. So were the revolutionary

Eugenia Young-jen Tu, for this information). It should be kept in mind, however, that young Mao, at primary school age, was in a village school which he felt had inadequately prepared him for high school in the new subject matter (This is Siao Yu's account, pp. 6-23).

15. Siao Yu, pp. 18-23.
17. See p. 6.
ideas of Sun Yat-sen which, on the eve of the revolution, and given Changsha's political ferment, greatly excited the impressionable young Mao.

Upon his arrival in the capital city, Mao read his first newspaper, the People's Strength, "a nationalist revolutionary journal." He read for the first time about Sun Yat-sen. Exhilarated by Changsha's political environment, he wrote his "first expression of a political opinion." It was to be a disastrous one. Mao wrote and posted an essay which put forth an amalgamation of the ideas of Sun, K'ang, and Liang. In this essay, he advocated that Sun, who was in Japan at this time, be called back to become President of the Republic. K'ang and Liang, in Mao's blueprint for government, were to become Premier of the Republic and Minister of Foreign Affairs respectively. What young Mao did not understand was that both K'ang and Liang, although admittedly reformers and nationalists, were out to reform the dynasty and to preserve the monarchy under a constitutional guise. Sun, on the other hand, was trying to destroy the dynasty and in its place create a republican form of government. "The naivety of this proposal," Jerome Ch'en suggests, "was obvious, and understandably, it was the last time that [he] spoke in favor of K'ang and Liang."

The revolution finally came to China in 1911 and shortly thereafter, martial law was declared in Hunan. Revolutionary speeches filled the air in Changsha. Stirred by one such speech, the excitable

22. Ibid.
young Mao joined the revolutionary army of Li Yuan-hung. His personal moment of rebelliousness came when he cut off his pigtail, the symbol of Chinese submission to the alien Manchus.

Young Mao's army salary ("seven dollars a month") made it possible for him to buy newspapers and journals. In one newspaper, the Hsiangchiang Daily News (not to be confused with the Hsiangchiang Review which he edited later on), he first learned about socialism. However enthusiastic he may have been about socialism ("really social-reformism"), his friends were not. To his chagrin, only one of several friends answered his letters regarding socialism.

After Yuan Shih-k'ai assumed the presidency of the new Chinese Republic, and thinking that the revolution was over, young Mao resigned from the army. During the months following his discharge, he exhibited the mind of a typical student, indecisive and unsure. He went from school to school, vocation to vocation. He tried a soap-making school because an advertisement "told of the great social benefits of soap-making, how it would enrich the country and enrich the people." He was then attracted to a police academy, a law school, and an economics

26. Ibid., p. 133.
27. Ibid., p. 138.
28. Ibid., p. 139. Mao never progressed beyond the rank of a private (Ch'en, p. 31), but he told Snow that he was making more money at that time than he was making in the Red Army in the 1930's (Snow, p. 138). Hsiao San would have us believe that this short stint in the army constituted Mao's first awareness of the importance of military power. In 1918, Mao himself stated that he was "definitely anti-militarist" (Snow, p. 148). Schram doubts Hsiao San's contention (Mao Tse-tung, p. 29).
29. Snow, p. 139.
school operated by the government. He expressed the most interest in
the economics school, but withdrew in disgust because the classes were
taught in English, and he "knew little English; indeed, scarcely more
than the alphabet."  

Young Mao turned once again to perusing the advertisements in
search of his next "scholastic adventure." It came early in 1912 when,
for one dollar, he enrolled in the Hunan First Provincial High School
in Ch'angsha. His grade on the entrance examination headed the list of
the prospective applicants. He lasted there for only six months,
however, because the school's "curriculum was limited and its regulations
were objectionable."  

That summer, young Mao began a self-education program. The
program consisted of avid reading at the Hunan Provincial Library in
Ch'angsha. It was during this program that he read Adam Smith's
The Wealth of Nations, Darwin's Origin of Species, Huxley's Evolution
and Ethics, Mill's A System of Logic, Spencer's Study of Sociology,
Rousseau's Social Contract, and Montesquieu's Spirit of the Law, all of
which were, of course, translated into Chinese. At this time, too, he

30. Ibid., p. 140.
31. Ibid., p. 141.
32. Ibid.
33. Either Snow or Mao confused their books and authors. Snow
attributes Logic [sic] to Spencer and "a book on ethics" to Mill (p. 142).
Ch'en has his books and authors correct (p. 32). Schram makes only a
passing reference to them (Mao Tse-tung, p. 31).

These books were translated into Chinese, in whole or part, by
Yen Fu between 1895? and 1909. For a comprehensive discussion on Yen Fu
and his objectives see, Benjamin Schwartz, In Search of Wealth and Power:
saw his first world map and studied the history and geography of Russia, the United States, England, and France. 34

Young Mao was now nineteen, and as most nineteen year olds, he was a nobody. He "had no money then [and his] family refused to support [him] unless [he] entered school." 35 He went back to the advertisement pages of the newspapers.

An advertisement from the Hunan First Normal School, a teacher's college, attracted his attention and convinced him that he was best suited to be a teacher. His avid reading that summer no doubt influenced his decision, but young Mao's decision was more pragmatic than intellectual: the school required no tuition and its room and board was cheap. 36 Thus, late in 1913, he entered the teacher's college. Here he met Ts'ai Ho-shen, who was to become his best friend and confidant. He also met the Hsiao Brothers, both of whom later wrote about their early contact with Mao. Hsiao Yu (Siao Yu), who described young Mao's appearance at the college in his biography, Mao Tse-tung and I were Beggars, wrote:

His face was rather large, but his eyes were neither large, nor penetrating, nor had they the sly cunning look sometimes attributed to them. His nose was flattish and of a typical Chinese shape. His ears were well proportioned; his mouth quite small; his teeth very white and even. These good white teeth helped to make his smile quite

34. Schram, Mao Tse-tung, p. 31.
35. Snow, p. 142.
36. Ibid.
At the First Normal School, young Mao was greatly influenced by the man who later became his father-in-law and mentor: Professor Yang Ch'ang-chi, a returned intellectual from Japan and Britain who taught ethics, logic, psychology, theories of education, and philosophy at the First Normal. According to Mao, Professor Yang "believed in his ethics very strongly and tried to imbue his students with the desire to become just, moral, virtuous men, useful in society." Professor Yang was also a Friedrich Paulsen-styled idealist and, in 1914-15, he had young Mao read Paulsen's A System of Ethics, translated by the future president of Peking University, Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei. Stimulated by Paulsen, young Mao wrote an essay entitled, "The Power of the Mind," for which Professor Yang awarded him a perfect mark. Below is an excerpt from that essay which reflected young Mao's philosophical bent:

37. Siao Yu, p. 31.
38. Ch'en, p. 48 and Siao Yu, p. 38.
40. Ch'en, pp. 44, 48, and 376 and Snow, pp. 143-44. Professor Yang also encouraged Hsiao San to read Rousseau's Emile. Hsiao San then changed his name to "Emile" Hsiao (Ch'en, p. 48).
41. Schram, Political Thought, p. 12.
Although we are determined by nature,
we are also a part of nature. Hence,
if nature has the power to determine
us, we also have the power to determine
nature; although our power is slight, one
could not say that it is without
influence on nature. 42

Young Mao wrote prodigious notes in the margins of his books. In one
such book, Virtues and Vices, he wrote what appears to be a striking
example of the political realism of a hardened revolutionary.

In the past I worried over the coming
destruction of our country, but now I
know that fear was unnecessary. I have
no doubt that the political system, the
characteristics of our people, and the
society will change; what I am not yet
clear on are the ways in which the
changes can be successfully brought
about. I incline to believe [sic] that a
[complete] reconstruction is needed. Let
destruction play the role of a mother
in giving birth to a new country. The
great revolutions of other countries in
the past centuries swept away the old and
brought forth the new. They were the great
changes which resurrected the dead and
reconstructed the decayed. 43

The above quote was written sometime between 1914 and 1918, the latter
date being the date he graduated from the college. These years had been
turbulent ones in China. Yuan Shih-k'ai had, in the meantime, surpressed

42. Ibid., p. 13. Jerome Ch'en notes that Paulsen was a
"disciplinarian, placing great emphasis on self-control and will power"
(p. 44). While Ch'en suggests that Mao "was gradually moving towards
radicalism," (p. 44), Mao himself says that he "was then an idealist"
(Snow, p. 144). Li Jui omits Mao's confession of idealism (p. 19,
brought to my attention by Schram, Political Thought, p. 12). Siao Yu
writes that Mao "adored Bismarck and Wilhelm II..." (pp. 69-70).

43. Ch'en, pp. 44-45.
a second revolution aimed at toppling him, used bribery, political assassination, and coercion of the parliament to keep himself in power. He also signed the infamous Twenty-one Demands which would have made China Japan's protectorate in 1915. According to Emile Hsiao, Mao's communist biographer, Mao could explain "in a clear and analytical manner...how Japan seized the opportunity to impose the Twenty-one Demands" on China. 44 Yet we search in vain for any evidence that the political realist depicted in the margin of books had metamorphosed politically as much as he had philosophically: his sole reaction to China's turbulent years under the tyrannical Yuan Shih-k'ai was to "mischievous[ly]" bring "to the school pamphlets written by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and others against Yuan Shih-k'ai's imperial attempt." 45 The problems of mankind were far more important for young Mao, and he and his friends "preferred to talk only of large matters - the nature of man, of human society, of China, the world, and the universe." 46 When young Mao and his friends were not discussing the problems of mankind, they were engaged in "'body-training.'" 47 Young Mao was an ardent

44. Siao Yu, p. 238n.
45. Ch'en, p. 43.
46. Snow, p. 146.
47. Ibid. Mao's first published essay was entitled, "A Study of Physical Education," which was published in New Youth in April, 1917 under the pseudonym "Erh-shih-pa Hua Sheng" (Twenty-eight stroke student), the number of strokes required to write the three characters in Mao's name (Schram, Political Thought, p. 94). Schram has also translated, annotated, and published this essay in French. See his, Mao Ze-dong: Une etude de l'education physique (Paris: Mouton, 1962). Even Mao's emphasis on physical education was motivated by political considerations. He "conjured his fellow citizens to strengthen their bodies so that they might resist the foreigners" (Schram, Mao Tse-tung, p. 291).
advocate of physical training, a factor which he claims helped him survive the Long March. He particularly enjoyed swimming, "even in November... in the cold rivers." 48

At the age of twenty-five, Mao graduated from college. In his hand he carried the diploma of a primary school teacher. In his mind, however, he carried "a curious mixture of ideas of liberalism, democratic reformism, and Utopian Socialism." 49 Five years at the teachers' college had made him "definitely anti-militarist and anti-imperialist." 50

During his last year at the teachers' college, his mother died. Consequently, he lost all interest in ever returning home. He, along with several classmates, decided to go to Peking that summer. His friend, Ts'ai Ho-shen, who was already in Peking, had urged Mao to come. At that time, the Sino-French University in Peking was actively recruiting students to go to study in France. The work-study scheme caught the imagination of China's students. It had caught Mao's imagination also. When the time came to go, Mao decided against it because "[he] felt that [he] did not know enough about [his] own country, and that [his] time could be more profitably spent in China." 51 Mao's decision was probably influenced just as much by Professor Yang's daughter, Yan K'ai-hui, with

49. Ibid., p. 147.
50. Ibid., p. 148.
51. Ibid., p. 149.
whom he fell in love. In Peking, her "beauty, serenity, and intelligence were an oasis in Mao's otherwise arid existence..."52

His arid existence was under-scored by the job which Professor Yang secured for him: assistant librarian to one of the principal founders of the Chinese Communist Party, Li Tachao, who was then a professor at Peking University. On the surface, this could have been exciting, but according to Mao, his "office was so low that people avoided me...They had no time to listen to an assistant librarian speaking southern dialect."53 Mao's living conditions in Peking were so miserable that he had to share a bedroom with seven other friends.

Intellectually and politically, Mao "was still confused, looking for a road...."54 He continued his avid reading, and he now read works by Kropotkin, Bakhunin, and Tolstoy. There is nothing more susceptible to persuasion than a confused mind, so predictably, in reading works by Russia's leading anarchists, Mao began a short-lived flirtation with anarchism.55

Early in 1919, Mao went to Shanghai to see Ts'ai Ho-shen and other students sail for France under the work-study scheme. He travelled to Shanghai by way of Shantung where he "stopped at Ch'u Fou and visited Confucius' grave. [He also] saw the birth place of Mencius."56

52. Ch'en, p. 54.
53. Snow, p. 150.
54. Ibid., p. 151.
56. Snow, p. 152.
Penniless, he decided to return to Ch'angsha where a teaching job was awaiting him. With him, he carried two articles written by Li Ta-chao on Marxism and the October Russian Revolution. 57

57. Ch'en, p. 54.
THE FOUNDING OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

A Discussion on Communism and the Founding of the Party

In his essay "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that after the Opium War, China's progressives sought...
the truth from the Western countries and studied the culture of the
Western bourgeois democracies. He himself studied this period in school
and was influenced by the study of these things. But,

imperialist aggression destroyed any fond
dreams which the Chinese might have had in
learning from the West. It was indeed
strange, but why were the Western teachers
committing aggression against their
Chinese students? The Chinese learned a
lot from the West, but because they
couldn't put their learning to work, they
were thus never able to realize their
ideals. Their many struggles, including
such a movement as the nation-wide Revolu­
tion of 1911, all failed in the end. Day by
day, conditions in the country grew worse so
that life was made impossibjLg. Suspicions
arose, grew, and developed.

This Comrade Mao Tse-tung personally experienced himself. After the
Revolution of 1911, he made a continuous and unremitting effort to
look thoroughly into the truth of saving the country and saving the
people. He then united his comrades and began the search for the correct
revolutionary road.

In 1917,

the Russian people staged the October Revolu­
tion, and established the world's first
socialist nation. Under the leadership of
Lenin and Stalin, the revolutionary energy
of the great proletariat and laboring people
of Russia, which existed but which went
unseen by the foreigners, suddenly erupted
like a volcano, and the Chinese people and
the rest of the mankind looked differently
upon the Russian people from now on. At

62. Tr. note. Mao, Selected Works, IV, p. 413. The revolution
of 1911 destroyed the Manchu dynasty in China. The end of the Manchu's
ushered in the Chinese Republic. In March, 1912, President Yuan Shih-k'ai
inaugurated the republican system of government by appointing a premier
and a ten-man cabinet.
this time, and only at this time, did the Chinese enter into an entirely new era in their thinking and in their life. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "the explosiveness of the October Revolution gave us Marxism-Leninism. The October Revolution helped the progressive elements in China, as well as those throughout the world, to apply the proletarian universal viewpoint as an instrument by which to observe a nation's destiny, and by which to consider China's own problems anew."

Therefore, in July, 1920, after returning to Hunan from Peking by way of Shanghai, Comrade Mao Tse-tung did much work in order to spread Marxism-Leninism. He was always saying that Russia's most important revolutionary experience was in allowing the broad revolutionary masses, especially the leadership of the masses, to grasp as a weapon Marxism-Leninism; otherwise, the revolution would have been unable to advance and it would not have been able to be victorious. Thus, just as soon as he returned to Ch'angsha, he then founded the Cultural Bookstore and at the same time he organized a Marxist Study Society.

In 1918, Comrade Mao Tse-tung had already organized the New People's Study Society, a revolutionary organization with a fighting

63. Tr. note. Ibid.

64. Tr. note. Mao's choice of the name "hsin min" (New People) for the Society may well have been a carryover from his admiration for Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. As Liang began to put China's problems in a context of Western or world history, he saw China's salvation in "Popular education for nationalism, a moral 'renovation of the people' (hsin min)" (John K. Fairbank, et al., East Asia: The Modern Transformation [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965], pp. 639-643.
characteristic, while at the Hunan First Normal School. This organization, during the May Fourth Movement and the movement to drive away Chang Ching-yao, developed as its main purpose actually leading the revolutionary force in Hunan. Three years later, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, this organization gradually emerged pure and exact in its thinking and in its organization. Based on the victorious experience of the Russian October Revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung profoundly recognized that the party of the proletariat armed with Marxism-Leninism would be the decisive factor in the affairs of the revolution. In his essay "On the Hunan Independence Movement," he clearly expressed the idea that if there hadn't been a Leninist-modeled Bolshevik Party, the victory of the Chinese revolution would not have been made possible. The

65. Tr. note. The May Fourth Movement is a complicated event. In one sense, it refers to the student demonstrations which broke out on May 4, 1919, in Peking, as a response to the decision of the powers at the Paris Peace Conference to give former concessions in Shantung to Japan instead of returning them to China. In a broader sense, the Movement is taken to be a period dating from China's response to the Twenty-one Demands in 1915 and the aftermath of the student demonstration itself, a period which ushered in China's renaissance in 1920 under the leadership of such people as Hu Shi. According to Chow Tse-tsung, the May Fourth Movement "was actually a combined intellectual and socio-political movement to achieve national independence, the emancipation of the individual, and a just society by the modernization of China....The basic spirit of the movement...was...to 'save China!'" (The May Fourth Movement [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960], pp. 358-59).

66. Tr. note. Chang Ching-yao was the warlord in control of Hunan province. Chang was a high-ranking member of the Anhwei Clique led by Tuan Ch'i-jui, twice Premier of the Chinese Republic. Chang was also associated with the notorious An-fu Clique, a combination of warlords from the provinces of Anhwei and Fukien. The An-fu Clique was pro-Japanese (Ch'en p. 65 and Fairbank, p. 655). Chang was driven from Hunan in June, 1920, by still another clique, the pro-British Chihli Clique led by the warlord, Wu P'ei-fu (John E. Rue, Mao in Opposition, 1927-1935 [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966], p. 29).
full recognition of this is evident in the correspondence of Comrades Mao and Ts'ai Ho-shen.  

Furthermore, at that time when the Socialist Youth Corps and some communist groups were quickly becoming active throughout China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung founded a similar organization in Hunan. Afterwards, under the enthusiastic leadership of the worker's movement, he paid special attention to the work of founding a party, and so that the Chinese communist party established in Hunan would be the best organization around, he integrated the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to the Chinese workers' movement.  

67. Tr. note. Ts'ai emerges not only as Mao's best friend at this time (Siao Yu, p. 45), but Ts'ai is somewhat of a mystery himself. Ts'ai was a native of Hsianghsiang county. He was distantly related, through his mother, to the famous mid-nineteenth century Hunanese General, Tseng Kuo-fan, famous for his defeat of the T'ai-p'ing's in 1864. Ts'ai, Mao and Siao Yu were considered to be the three most brilliant students at Hunan's First Normal. Later on, Ts'ai became a communist and a member of the Central Committee and the editor of the Party journal, Guide Weekly. According to Conrad Brandt, it was Ts'ai who proposed the May 30th Movement in 1925 which ended in the massacre of the workers in Shanghai by the British. In 1931, Ts'ai fled to Hong Kong where the British police arrested him. He later returned to the Mainland for some unknown reason where he was executed by the Kuomin-tang (Stalin's Failure in China, 1924-1927 [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958], p. 52). Mao says Ts'ai was "killed by Chiang K'ai-shek in 1927" (Snow, p. 146).  

68. Tr. note. Since the Chinese Communist Party was not yet formally established, I have chosen to refer to the "party" in lower case letters.  

69. Tr. note. The universal truths of Marxism-Leninism include Marx's views on (1) the class struggle ("the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles" - the Communist Manifesto), (2) historical materialism, or the belief that Man's entire existence and thinking are determined by external factors, the most important being Man's economic environment, (3) dialectical materialism or the method by which communists explain their view of history. This
In order to initially instruct the members of the New People's Study Society and the comrades outside the Society on the correct revolutionary path, Comrade Mao Tse-tung took his correspondence of the period between 1918 and early 1921 -- all of which was concerned with thought, the future, and methods for reforming China and the world -- and according to its content and periodization, the correspondence was compiled into three volumes and published by the Cultural Bookstore. Altogether, the first volume contained thirteen letters of which three belonged to Comrade Mao Tse-tung; the second volume contained thirty-one letters of which eight belonged to Comrade Mao Tse-tung; and the third volume, which was the most important, had seven letters of which the most important one belonged to Comrade Mao Tse-tung and Comrade Ts'ai Ho-shen concerning a discussion on communism and the founding of a party. These letters, in fact, made it known that in thought and organization, the Chinese communist party had already matured and ripened, and was about to make an illustrious proclamation of its birth.

In early 1920, Comrade Ts'ai Ho-shen went to France. In a brief four or five months time, he applied the method of "vividly read, concept is taken from Hegel's dialectics, i.e., thesis-antithesis-synthesis formula, and (4) Lenin's dictum that imperialism is the arch-enemy of communism. According to Lenin, imperialism was the last stage of capitalism.

70. Tr. note. At this time, the Sino-French Educational Society in Peking recruited young Chinese students to go to France under a "work-study" scheme. Those chosen only had to pay for their fare. Once in France, they were assured of work. Among the students who went to France were Chou En-lai and Li Li-san. Mao chose to remain in China as we know. Similar work-study schemes were underway elsewhere. Chu Teh went to Germany, Ch'u Ch'iu-pai went to Russia, and Chou Fu-hai, one of the founders of the party, went to Japan.
vividly translate," worked day and night, read a dozen-odd small pamphlets which made clear to him the basic conditions of the Russian Revolution, the general world situation, and the various branches of socialism, and which led to the correct conclusions.

At the same time, after Comrade Mao Tse-tung had gone to Peking for the second time, Comrade Ts'ai Ho-shen embraced Marxism-Leninism, advocated following the path of the Russian people, and he especially developed a profound knowledge of the theory of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In August, 1920, in the letters which Comrade Ts'ai Ho-shen wrote to Comrade Mao, Comrade Ts'ai said:

I have recently gathered and examined various doctrines, and I feel that socialism is the prescription by which to reform the world today. If everyone applies the methods and first principles of socialism quickly, the transformation of China will be realized. I consider that the first thing to do is to organize a party - a Chinese communist party, because a party is the innovator, propagandist, the vanguard, and the military department of a revolutionary movement. Because China's position today is clear, it is necessary first to organize a party, after which the revolutionary movement and the labor movement will then have a nerve center. Within the next two years, China must develop a party with a clear doctrine and a correct methodology which will agree with the Russian methodology. Some people consider China to be a classless society just because the workers and the farmers are illiterate, and some people consider that destitution and suffering is the destiny of the workers and farmers. I don't agree. Once class consciousness is born in China, its brilliance will be as great as in Western and Eastern Europe.
At this time, after the first fourteen members of the New People's Study Society had already left for France [February, 1919] everybody there looked deeply into the various schools of thought and were constantly in discussion. On the first part of July, 1920,\(^7\) Comrades Ts'ai Ho-shen, Hsiang Ching-yu,\(^7\) Chang K'un-ti,\(^7\) Lo Hsueh-tsan, Li Wei-han,\(^7\) and Ts'ai Ch'ang\(^7\) convened a five day conference. The purpose of this conference was to research methodologies, discuss the progress of affairs, bring out into the open the "criticism of individuality," and express opinions on the philosophical problems of life and the universe. At this conference, a violent argument broke out between two revolutionary and reformatory factions with extremely opposed opinions concerning the conference's "methods to reform China and the world." Heading the majority faction, Comrade Ts'ai Ho-shen advocated the immediate organization

\(^7\) Tr. note. Siao Yu, who was there, claims the conference was held in October (p. 183).

\(^7\) Tr. note. Ts'ai Ho-shen's wife (Rue, p. 32).

\(^7\) Tr. note. Chang was an anarchist who once roomed with Mao during Mao's flirtation with anarchism (Ibid., p. 28 and Snow, p. 151).


\(^7\) Tr. note. Ts'ai Ho-shen's sister, and wife of high-ranking party member, Li Fu-ch'un (Rue, p. 32). For Li's biographical sketch see, \textit{Who's Who}, pp. 341-343.
of a communist party, following the Russian path, especially emphasizing the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the spirit of internationalism (at this time, internationalism was designated as "international style" or "class style of all nations"). In addition, Hsia Tzu-cheng (i.e., Siao Yu) leading the minority faction, considered that in order for the revolution to realize the transformation of China and the world, one could not sacrifice the minority for the benefit of the majority nor could one advocate a friendly revolution. Furthermore, he felt that one could not consider education as a revolutionary instrument of labor nor consider the labor unions and cooperative societies as methods by which to advance reforms. Siao Yu preferred not to acknowledge the Soviet model (Marxist model) for revolution as the correct one, but was rather inclined toward the Proudhon model for revolution: peaceful but slow, slow but peaceful. Siao Yu was one of the most important founders of the New People's Study Society, and at that time, he was one

76. Hsiao Tzu-cheng (Siao Yu) was a second year student at the Hunan First Normal School. In school he already revealed his aggressive-ness and his capabilities. In 1919, he went to France under the work-study scheme. Afterwards, he worked with Li Shih-tseng and I P'e-i-chi, both whom were officers in the Kuomintang. Siao became a vice-minister of the Kuomintang's Mining Bureau.

77. Proudhon (1809-1865) was a Frenchman who was a petty bourgeois thinker and a leader of modern anarchism. He imagined using a petty control system to insure a long life, opposed the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He also advocated organizing a "People's Bank" which would distribute non-interest loans to enable the people to become handicraftsmen. Finally, he advocated the reformation of capitalism, the elimination of the "bad" aspects of capitalism and the establishment of "good" capitalism. Marx's famous The Poverty of Philosophy was a fatal criticism of Proudhon's Philosophy of Poverty.
of its most influential members. Thus, there were some people who supported his position and doubted whether or not the experience of the Russian October Revolution was a unilateral cure for all of man's sicknesses.

Both sides wrote detailed letters to Comrade Mao Tse-tung asking him for his opinion on the matter.

On December 1, 1920, Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote a long letter to Comrade Ts'ai Ho-shen and the other members in the Society who were in France, and suggested to Comrade Ts'ai Ho-shen that it was necessary for China to follow socialism and the Russian road, "expressed his thorough support" for Ts'ai's position, and disagreed with Siao Yu's reformism.

In 1920, Comrade Mao Tse-tung raised the above incident in Ch'angsha, and clearly addressed himself to this problem as follows: On October 10 of this year (1920), Bertrand Russell, who was lecturing in Ch'angsha supported communism but was opposed to the dictatorship of the workers and peasants saying that we ought to use educational methods to bring

78. Tr. note. Siao Yu claims, in so many words, to have originally suggested the establishment of the New People's Study Society (pp. 58-60). However, he has confused the date of the establishment of the Society. He claims it was established in 1914 (p. 60). He has apparently confused the New People's Study Society with the Student's Society which was established in 1914. Mao served as the executive secretary of the latter society.

79. Bertrand Russell (b. 1872 -), English philosopher, and one of the leading philosophers of modern idealism was from the first opposed to the class struggle and the socialist revolution. He was also an anti-Soviet anti-communist agitator, and was a thinker opposed to the war-loving imperialists. Recently, with the broadening of the world peace movement, he openly advocated peace, and by 1955, he had declared his opposition to an atomic war.
about the class consciousness of the bourgeois, and in this way freedom
would not be hindered nor bring about a war and bloodshed. Thus also,
a lively debate developed among the Society members in Ch'angsha.
Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that he had only one comment to make to Russell:
it certainly could not be done, because education requires money,
personnel, and organization, and these things are all presently in the
ruler's hands. Furthermore, the directors of the schools and newspaper
offices are all capitalists and landlords, and thus are the agents of
the landlords and capitalists. The educational machinery has therefore
fallen into the hands of the capitalists and the landlords, and as a
result, because they do have a "parliament," a "government," laws,
control of the military, police, banks and mines, they use these things
to protect their own interests and to oppose the workers and the peasants.
Because of this, Comrade Mao Tse-tung recognized that if the communist
party members couldn't profit from the governmental machinery, how then
could they hope to hold the reins of the educational machinery? To
depend on educational methods to bring about the revolution certainly
could not be done. Furthermore, Mao held that world education was
purely capitalistic. In observing historical developments, it was
impossible for capitalists to be communists. If one wants to change a
man's mind, one has got to have a stronger force to change his mind.
Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote that historically, everyone has been either a
despot, an imperialist, or a militarist, and they are not about to over-
throw anyone for they are certainly not willing to bring an end to
themselves. Today, the great majority of the world's population is made
up of the proletariat, who have already come to recognize the source of
their suffering, demand to get rid of their suffering, and thus have made some revolutionary demands. This has already become a fact. The facts are before us, immutable, and since they are already known, then they ought to be given some consideration. Thus, the expansion of the Russian Revolution and various communist parties has been a necessary result throughout the world.

In September, 1920, Comrade Ts'ai Ho-shen also sent Comrade Mao Tse-tung a long letter and discussed the following problems: historical materialism and the class struggle, the mistakes of the Kautsky revisionist faction, the general situation of the world revolutionary movement after the establishment of the Comintern, the principle distinctions for

80. Tr. note. Kautsky was the leading theoretician of the Second International (1889) and the most prominent Marxian scholar before World War I. According to Trotsky, he was a "violent opponent of Bolshevism and the Soviet government" (Leon Trotsky, Problems of the Chinese Revolution, 2d ed. [New York: Paragon Book Gallery, 1962], Glossary). Mao was to change his mind about Kautsky. When he first read Kautsky's Class Struggle, Mao had not yet read Lenin. Thus Mao's Marxism "was not the Marxism of Lenin." Mao knew nothing of democratic centralism nor of the role of the party in relation to the proletariat. Kautsky became a revisionist only when Mao read Lenin and realized that Kautsky was opposed to Lenin's concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat (Rue, p. 29).


For an evaluation of the Comintern's role in China see, David J. Dallin, Soviet Russia and the Far East (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948); Benjamin Schwartz, Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao (Harper &
membership by the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks within the party, and, finally, a detailed description of his own opinions toward the organizing of the CCP. Ts'ai felt that the party ought to carefully study and organize a propaganda department, make statistical investigations and publish materials. He advocated the most strict search for true party members who were distributed in business, factories, villages, and the parliament, and the necessity to fearlessly and formally establish a Chinese Communist Party.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung received this letter at the end of 1920. He immediately answered Comrade Ts'ai Ho-shen saying: "Historical materialism is our party's basic philosophy. In this letter you are very perceptive, and thus, there is not anything with which I disagree." Furthermore, he told Comrade Ts'ai Ho-shen that as far as the party was concerned it was already in the process of organizing. Shanghai had already published printed materials called The Communist Party. The spread of Marxism-Leninism, the founding of the party of the proletariat, communism and struggle, all became the most important aspect of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary activities before the Chinese Communist Party was formally established.

82. Tr. note. The majority party at the London Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party in 1903. The RSCP then became the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

83. Tr. note. The minority party in the Soviet Union.

Establishing the Cultural Bookstore

In July, 1920, Comrade Mao Tse-tung returned to Hunan and worked hard to begin a broad revolutionary movement by spreading Marxism-Leninism and the new culture movement. Among his most influential work, in addition to his intimate relationship to establishing a party, was the founding of the Cultural Bookstore.

During his period of absolute rule in Hunan, Chang Ching-yao completely overturned and destroyed new things, and in their stead, he publicly promoted praying to the gods, and public idolatry. In this way, he threw society into chaos. Comrade Mao Tse-tung recognized the urgency in spreading the new thought and the new culture in Hunan. He had brought back experiences from Peking and Shanghai, and his experiences told him that in order to deal with this affair, it was necessary to establish a headquarters for the sale of newly published materials and, in this way, advance the activities of the movement. 85

Comrade Mao Tse-tung immediately attended to this matter. In order to solve the problem of expenditures and expand the Bookstore's influence, he strove to obtain people from all walks of life, including educators. There were some well-known people from the world of artists and educators, the press, and the industrial and business world, the principals from Chounan Girls School, Hunan's First Normal School, Hsiangya's Medical  

85. Tr. note. Actually, the "experiences" which Mao had brought back included Communist literature which he had collected in Peking and Shanghai. The literature was given to him by Li Ta-chao and Ch'en Tu-hsiu whom he had met during his trips to the cities. Thus this literature formed the basis of the Cultural Bookstore at the outset. (Ch'en, p. 32).
School, and the presidents of the Hunan Chamber of Commerce. Collectively, they founded the Cultural Bookstore. The Cultural Bookstore's signboard was written by T'an Yen-k'ai.86

On July 31, Changsha's newspaper published an essay entitled, "The Reasons for Starting a Cultural Bookstore." The "Reasons" were:
"We don't have a new culture because we don't have new thought; we don't have new thought because we have not had new research; we have not had new research because we have not had new study materials." There is a hunger of the brain among the Hunanese at present, which, in fact, exceeds the hunger of the belly, and the young are clamoring to be served. The Cultural Bookstore is the fastest and simplest way by which to introduce to China various ideas, satisfy the hunger of youth, and to provide the research materials for the young and the progressive Hunanese.

On August 1, a founder's conference was summoned to convene at the Ch'Ju-i Primary School. On August 20, three rooms were rented from the Ch'ao Tsung Street Hsiyangya Medical School which became the headquarters of the Cultural Bookstore. The Cultural Bookstore immediately

86. Tr. note. T'an Yen-k'ai was an off and on governor of Hunan. He had occupied this position from 1911 to 1913. In 1913, Yuan Shih-k'ai removed him because of T'an's KMT sympathies. In 1916, T'an was reappointed governor of Hunan by Premier Tuan Ch'i-jui, but resigned immediately to go into a period of mourning after his mother died. In June, 1920, T'an became governor of Hunan again. Shortly after he assumed the office, a petition signed by 377 Hunanese, including Mao himself, called for a provincial constitution and democratic elections. At this time (late 1920) Mao published no less than ten articles supporting T'an. It is quite possible that Mao wrote his essay, "On the Hunan Independence Movement" at this time (Ch'en, passim). It was T'an who drove out Chang Ching-yao from Hunan.

When the Cultural Bookstore opened, Mao persuaded T'an, who was a former member of the imperial Hanlin academy and who took pride in his calligraphy, to write the characters on the sign in front of the Bookstore (Schram, Mao Tse-tung, p. 55).
began a temporary business at this location. On September 9, the business formally began operation. On October 22, it summoned the first business conference, and the founders who had invested in the conference were among those invited to attend. Altogether, there were thirty-odd people who invested in the conference at that time, and in addition to Comrade Mao Tse-tung and his comrades-in-arms, Ho Shu-heng, P'eng Huang and many of the members of the New People's Study Society, the educators formed the largest part among the high-ranking people in attendance. Altogether, the Bookstore grossed approximately four hundred yuan, and after the second business conference, investments continued to increase to 1000 yuan.

At the first business conference, the outline of the Bookstore's organization was passed. The outline contained definite regulations on the purpose and organization of the Bookstore, and the methods by which to carry on business. The purpose read: "to distribute valuable newly published materials and circulate them throughout the province so that everyone will have the opportunity to read them carefully." The outline was published in Ch'angsha's Ta Kung-pao, dated July 31, 1920.

The first business conference recommended that a director be chosen to overlook the work of the Bookstore. Comrade Mao Tse-tung was appointed as the "Special Provincial Commissioner for Foreign Affairs." At the very beginning there were only two business officials, but:

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87. Tr. note. Ho was Hunanese, and one of Mao's closest friends. He also graduated from Hunan's First Normal and along with Mao taught at night schools for the workers. The highlight of Ho's career came in 1921 when he, along with Mao, became one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party. From this time on, Ho worked his way up to judge of the Supreme Court of the Chinese Soviet Republic. He was apparently killed by Chiang K'ai-shek during the encirclement campaigns (Snow, p. 146).

88. Tr. note. This title reflects the provincialism of the Hunanese at this time. As late as 1920, Mao told Snow that even the New
afterwards as business grew, there were seven to eight officials. After
the Chinese Communist Party was established, the party immediately brought
in Comrade Ch'en Tzu-po, who then became a responsible business official
from the very beginning. He personally sent the books and newspapers
to the various subscribers, and in no time at all, through his rapid
delivery, he gained the trust of the subscribers.

From 1920 to the spring of 1921, there were about sixty to
seventy organizations in and out of the province dealing with the Cultural
Bookstore. At this time, most of the non-provincial traders were from
Kwangtung's New Youth Society, Shanghai's Great Oriental Book Shop, the
East Asia Library, Peking's Publishing Department, Peking's Morning
Newspapers, Peking's Fine Arts Lecture Club, and Wuch'ang's Social Wel-
fare Bookstore (founded by Comrade Yun Tai-ying). Afterwards, business

People's Study Society "had a programme then for the 'independence' of
Hunan, meaning, really, autonomy" (Snow, p. 154). By the summer of 1923,
Mao had repudiated his provincial attitude. Schram suggests that Mao's
provincialism had come under criticism between 1921 and 1923 (Mao Tse-
tung, p. 56).

89. Tr. note. Not to be confused with Ch'en Kung-po, one of the
founders of the Chinese Communist Party. Judging from the kind of work
this Ch'en was doing, he must have been a flunky.

90. Tr. note. Yun's Bookstore served a similar purpose as
Mao's. Yun eventually became a party member. In 1930, he became a
political commissar assigned to Ho Lung's Second Army Corps. Yun was
later identified as a member of Li Li-san's group. Yun was executed by
the Kuomintang in 1930 when it was discovered, while he was in prison, that
he was a Communist (Rue, passim).

In the period, 1928 to 1930, Li Li-san emerged as Mao's major
rival for power within the party. For two excellent accounts of their
conflict see, Rue, pp. 137-158 and Schwartz, Chinese Communism and the
Rise of Mao, pp. 127-163. On September, 1956, Li Li-san confessed his
"leftist opportunist" mistakes before the 8th National Congress of the
Chinese Communist Party and that same Congress then elected him as a
member of the party. He is in good standing up to the present (Who's
Who, pp. 350-353).
increased daily and the newly published books and newspapers were issued nation-wide, especially the printed matter of the Chinese Communist Party and the Socialist Youth Corps. (This included such works as *Guide Weekly*, *China Youth*, and *The Pioneer*). The works of Marxism-Leninism published by the "New Youth Society," all greatly increased the sales of the Cultural Bookstore. The young intellectuals, the revolutionary workers, and the progressive worldly scholars of Hunan's vast province were all on good terms with the Bookstore. Within the province, the Cultural Bookstore had extensively organized branches of the Cultural Bookstore. From the end of 1920 to the beginning of 1921, seven branches outside Ch'angsha were established at P'ingchiang, Lohsi, Paoch'ing, Henglo, Ninghsiang, Wukang, and Hsup'u. Most of the founders of these branches were members of the New People's Study Society and the earliest revolutionaries from the Communist Party and the Socialist Youth Corps. In Ch'angsha the Hunan First Normal School, the elementary school under the direction of the First Normal School, the Ch'u-i Primary School, and other schools, all established sales departments which engaged many salesmen. Afterwards, wherever there was a party organization, there was a branch of the Cultural Bookstore, and all party organs established a chain store or sales department which dealt with the Cultural Bookstore. Therefore, the Cultural Bookstore personally motivated those who from the very beginning had worked to found the party and the Socialist Youth Corps.

At that time, Hunan's revolutionary youth and progressive elements craved and demanded the new culture and the new thought. At the outset, the Cultural Bookstore sold almost 200 books and forty-odd periodicals
and newspapers, and the greatest part were sold as soon as they came in. Most of the book purchasers were students and educators. As a result, from 1920 until the first part of 1921, because Comrade Mao Tse-tung had already started uniting the workers in Ch'angsha, and had made contact with Huang Ai and P'ang Jen-ch'uan's labor union, the workers now began buying more books. Thus, according to the second edition of the "Cultural's Bookstore's Business Report," within seven months from the last part of March, 1921, the books which sold the best included Marx's A Critique on the Principles of Capitalism, The History of Socialism, Studies on New Russia, The Workers and Peasant's Government in China, and the serials found in the morning newspapers which were bound into novel form. The periodicals which sold the most were The Laborer (5000 copies), New Youth (2000 copies), 91 New Livelihood (2400 copies), New Tide, and New Education. The newspapers which sold the most were Current Events (forty copies daily), and Peking's Morning Gazette (forty-five copies daily). Whenever New Youth, the various books and newspapers came out, they were advertised in the important sections of the newspapers so as to list the date of publication and the contents of the books.

As business continued to expand, the Cultural Bookstore moved to Kung Yuan-tung Street in Ch'angsha (now known as Chung Shan-tung Road), but, afterwards, as business increased even more, the Cultural Bookstore

91. Tr. note. This was Ch'en Tu-hsiu's famous, Ch'ing Hsin-nien, which started publication around 1915 and which from that time on was "the undisputed organ of the advanced intelligentsia" (Schwartz, Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao, p. 7).
again moved to Shui Feng-ch'ing (today China's book publishing house).

From the establishment of the Cultural Bookstore until the long period of China's first revolutionary civil war, the Cultural Bookstore promoted as its main purpose the spread of Marxism-Leninism and bringing forward a new cultural movement within the vast province of Hunan. Besides Peking, Shanghai and afterwards, Canton, the provinces which sold the most publications were Hunan and Szechwan.

In preparing the work for establishing the party's thought, it is actually more profitable to have a mechanism such as the Cultural Bookstore to publicly promote the publications on Marxism-Leninism.

As far as organizing the party was concerned, the Cultural Bookstore began its most important function beginning with the defeat of the revolution in 1927 by combining economics and communications.

92. Tr. note. Chinese Communist historians divide the party's history from 1921 to 1949 into four periods: (1) 1921-1927, the founding of the party and the First Revolutionary Civil War, (2) 1927-1937, the Second Revolutionary Civil War, (3) 1937-1945, the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, and (4) 1945-1949, the Third Revolutionary Civil War. For the events which fall under each period according to Communist historians see, Hu Ch'iao-mu's authoritative party history, Thirty Years of the Communist Party of China (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1959), available in both Chinese and English.

93. Tr. note. The defeat of the revolution of 1927 is a reference to the period from April, 1927 to December, 1927. This was the period of Chiang K'ai-shek's Northern Expedition and its aftermath. The Expedition was launched in 1926 with Chiang as commander-in-chief. Its aim was to unite China militarily. The Communists, who had entered the Kuomintang under the first united front, also took part. By early 1927, Chiang was in the position to take over the Lower Yangtze region and Shanghai. But, on April 6, the Peking government under a warlord and fearing the advancing Expedition, raided the Soviet embassy and turned up evidence which revealed the Communist subversion of the Kuomintang. Li Ta-chao was executed at this time. Within a week, anti-communist suppression raids began, finally ending in the massacre of workers in
In 1920, Comrade Mao Tse-tung began the organization of the Socialist Youth Corps in Hunan, and up until after the party was established throughout the province, from the beginning to the end, it was extremely difficult to meet the expenses of the party. The party thus had to depend on a few comrades to teach, and, in turn, took a little of their salaries for living and activity expenses. Sometimes, in fact, there wasn't enough money to meet expenses in which case it was up to the Cultural Bookstore to borrow money. Because borrowing is a "business device," the Cultural Bookstore, which was a business, was therefore qualified to borrow money from the local banks. At the same time, the Cultural Bookstore was able to support several people (actually, there were several people who received a pittance for living expenses).

Because the military government at that time still hadn't established an intelligence system, the Cultural Bookstore was used as the instrument by which to bring together the party's provincial committee and the party organization from inside and outside the province. From Shanghai suspected of being Communists. This massacre not only ended the first united front, but it dispersed the Communists and forced them, in a moment of panic, to launch attacks on the cities held by the Kuomintang. After Shanghai, there followed unsuccessful attacks at Nanchang, Canton, Hunan and Kiangsi (the latter two formed the scene for the "Autumn Harvest Uprisings" which ended in Mao's retreat into the Chingkang Mountains). The period is also known as the period of the "white terror." For an eyewitness account, although a biased one, of the Shanghai massacre see, Harold Isaacs, The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951). For a defense of Chiang's actions see, F. F. Liu, A Military History of Modern China, 1924-1949 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956). For an account of the documents seized during the raid of the Soviet embassy see, C. Martin Wilbur and Julie Lien-ying How (eds.), Documents on Communism, Nationalism, and Soviet Advisors in China, 1918-1927 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956). For a denunciation of Stalin's policy which led to the massacre see, Trotsky, Problems of the Chinese Revolution, passim.
1921 until 1923, the meetings of the party and the Youth Corps were held at the Cultural Bookstore. In 1924, after the reactionary ruler, Chao Heng-ti increasingly restricted this kind of activity, and for the safety of the organization, the party ceased using the Cultural Bookstore as a communications center. But in meeting the party's emergency financial needs, the Cultural Bookstore was, throughout, able to meet its responsibilities. (In order to solve the party's financial difficulties, in 1921, Comrade Mao Tse-tung gathered his comrades and started a cotton mill. A year later, however, because he couldn't match the competition of the foreign fabric business, he sold out and stopped the business.

As for Comrade Mao Tse-tung's establishing the Cultural Bookstore, there is one point worth mentioning: it was he who fixed the Cultural Bookstore's democratic administrative policies, and it was he who strictly supervised the administration of the Cultural Bookstore.

In March, 1921, the second edition of the "Business Report" was published. It said:

Those of us who have a direct relationship with the Bookstore, and those of us who

94. Tr. note. Li Jui means the meetings of the provincial committee of the party.

95. Tr. note. Chao Heng-t'i started out as an officer under T'an Yen-k'ai. Chao was an ambitious and ruthless officer. In November, 1920, he overthrew T'an and established himself as the governor of Hunan. Mao led the attack against Chao in Hunan. Chao, in turn, put a price on Mao's head. The conflict between the two is best illustrated by a statement reportedly made by Chao: "So long as Mao Tse-tung is in Hunan there can be no room for me" (undocumented quote in Ch'en, p. 87). In 1925, Chao brutally massacred some workers in Anyuan. In 1926, he was finally disposed of by Chiang K'ai-shek's advancing army. Shortly thereafter, Mao returned to Hunan and continued his work there (Ch'en, passim).
manage the Bookstore's business, should report to the public on what they ought to do in any situation in order to sell the books, and to let every member in the Bookstore know what the situation is within the Bookstore. Only then will our duty be fulfilled.

Chinese business has always been characterized by secretism, and in addition to keeping to themselves, nobody can ever get any information from the secretists. This type of secretism, in fact, is a crime. If people are pure of mind in their business affairs, why can't they share their secrets with the public? The Cultural Bookstore is a publicly owned business which is not for the benefit of private individuals, and in order for us to avoid secretism, we are opposed to secrecy and have adopted the policy of making everything entirely public for both member and non-members of the Bookstore alike.

The "Business Report" was personally edited by Comrade Mao Tse-tung himself, and besides reporting on the investments made by the members of the Bookstore, it gave everybody in the Bookstore works on propaganda materials. The contents of the "Business Report" were very detailed, and it not only gave the purpose, the procedures, and the business aspects of the Bookstore, but it also gave the complete financial situation in detail. As far as the sale of books and newspapers was concerned, the report contained such detailed information as: "(1) if you can determine how many and what kind of books have been sold in Hunan, then you will know what kind of books will influence the Hunanese, and (2) every six months, there will be an accounting so that we may compare the kinds of books which are selling or are not selling."
As for the people within the Bookstore who directly managed its financial affairs, sometimes their accounts were late or inaccurate according to the regulations, and thus, Comrade Mao Tse-tung found it necessary to urge them on, or else he personally helped them tally their accounts. At that time, people who were working within the Bookstore still remember that after Comrade Mao Tse-tung arrived, he brought four long tables into the Bookstore so that everyone could tally their accounts. As far as money coming and going out was concerned, if anybody was being negligent in their duties, Comrade Mao Tse-tung was quick to express his dissatisfaction.

At the time of the "Ma-jih Incident" in 1927, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Cultural Bookstore directed and aided China's first generation of youths to understand the thought of Marxism-Leninism, and to demolish the Kuomintang reactionary faction. Thus, the spirit and the enterprise of the Cultural Bookstore was, in the end, the instrument which continued to extend the great glory of the cultural revolution.

96. Tr. note. The Ma-jih Incident (or, Horse Day Incident) occurred as a part of the aftermath of the Shanghai massacre and the rising tide of anti-Communist feelings throughout China. On May 21, 1927, several hundred Communists picketing in Ch'angsha were massacred by a Nationalist colonel. Mao had left Ch'angsha ten days earlier (Ch'en, pp. 115-116).
Establishing the Marxist Study Society

At about the time that the Cultural Bookstore was established, and in order to organize his revolutionary comrades in the intensive study of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Mao Tse-tung organized the Marxist Study Society in order to prepare themselves ideologically toward establishing a party. 97

From his childhood on, Comrade Mao Tse-tung was a person who paid great attention to learning and to studying. In school, studying history and philosophy pleased him the most. Very early, he studied the various progressive schools of socialism which had been introduced to China. Thus for many years up to now, he persisted in seeking the correct revolutionary road, and when the October Revolution brought Marxism-Leninism, how Comrade Mao Tse-tung was stimulated! 98 Therefore, burning with anxiety, he organized his comrades and comrades-in-arms to study this kind of truth which could be applied anywhere in the world.

97. Tr. note. The Marxist Study Societies were the result of the Comintern's contact with the principal founders of the Chinese Communist Party, Li Ta-chao and Ch'en Tu-hsiu. Since 1918, the Comintern had attempted, without success, to establish relations with either the conservative government in Peking or with Sun Yat-sen in the south. In early 1920, a Comintern agent, Voitinsky, arrived in China. He made contact with Li and Ch'en. The result was the creation of a Marxist Study Society in Peking in March, 1920. Shortly thereafter, these societies began to spring up all over China (Schram, Mao Tse-tung, pp. 54-55).

98. Tr. note. There is no evidence to indicate Mao's enthusiasm for the Russian October Revolution "when the October (1917) Revolution brought Marxism-Leninism." Most of Mao's articles written from 1917 until 1920 dealt with Hunan's independence movement. If Li Jui means that Mao was "stimulated" immediately, his is creating a false impression. Even Mao's mentors, Li Ta-chao and Ch'en Tu-hsiu were not stimulated
In May, 1920, Marxist Study Societies were publically opened in Shanghai, Peking, and other places, and at this time, *New Youth* had already systematically published the records of the Marxist Study Society.

In September, 1920, Comrade Mao Tse-tung was responsible for managing Hunan's Primary School, a collateral branch of the First Normal School (the primary school grounds were just next door to the First Normal School grounds), and, at the same time, he was selected president of Hunan's First Normal Alumni Association. Until the end of 1922, he continued his work with the Alumni Association, and this certainly helped him in his progressive revolutionary activities. His comrade-in-arms Ch'en Ch'ang and others were all, at this time, teaching at the Primary School. It was at Hunan's First Normal School that Comrade Mao Tse-tung began his revolutionary activities, and the place where he founded the New Peoples Study Society. After the Warlord Chang Ching-yao was driven off the First Normal School's vigor suddenly increased, and it became the great rallying point for Hunan's revolutionary immediately by the Russian Revolution. Ch'en, for example, consistently advocated democracy and science up until 1919, and Li Ta-chao, who was a "man of metaphysical bent," did not acknowledge the Russian Revolution formally until October, 1918 in his article, "The Victory of Bolshevism" (Schwartz, *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*, pp. 8-27). Mao's own conversion to Marxism did not start until his second encounter with both Li and Ch'en in Peking in 1920, three years after the Russian Revolution.

99. *Tr. note.* Mao received his degree as a primary school teacher in 1918 from the First Normal it will be recalled.

100. *Tr. note.* Mao told Snow that it was during his years at the First Normal that his "political ideas began to take shape...[and he had] acquired [his] first experiences in social action" (Snow, p. 143).
youth. From this revolutionary base, Comrade Mao Tse-tung gathered his comrades and stimulated a new revolutionary strength.

Participating in the Marxist Study Society were the members of the New Peoples Study Society, the hard-core members of the Hunan's Student's Federation and other progressive teachers. The Marxist Study Society had approximately twenty to thirty members, and the majority of the membership was made up of the students at Hunan's First Normal School and the Alumni Association. Comrades Ho Shu-heng, Ch'en Ch'ang, Hsia Hsi, K'uo Liang, Hsieh Shu-fan all participated in the Marxist Study Society.

At the primary school and at the headquarters of the Alumni Association (The headquarters of the Alumni Association was located at the corner of Hsi-yin street at the foot of Miao Gao-fang Hill in Ch'angsha), regular public meetings were held, and the place was always full. Most of the meetings were directed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. At this time, Comrade Mao Tse-tung believed that a Marxist had more of a thorough comprehension of the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism than the average man. But the most important thing was that from the beginning of his revolutionary activities, Comrade Mao Tse-tung studied and combined the theory of revolutions with the practice of revolutions. According to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the relationship between revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice at that time was: all who are involved in the

101. Hsieh Shu-fan was from Ninghsiang, Hunan. He was also a member of the Chinese Communist Party. During the time of the First Revolutionary Civil War, he was a secretary for the Committee for the Hunan Provincial Communist Socialist Youth Corps. In 1927 he fell ill and died.
affairs of the revolution must be versed on revolutionary theory. If there isn't a movement, the purposes of theory will not be realized.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung regularly instructed everybody in combining the actual situation in China and Hunan and taught the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. From the very beginning, Comrade Mao Tse-tung was opposed to the study of books without understanding, and was in favor of studying books for understanding. From the very

102. Tr. note. Li Jui is attempting to establish Mao's awareness of the relationship between theory and practice, a cornerstone in Marxist-Leninist dialectics. Mao had, it is true, already read both Marx and Lenin at this time. Li Jui, however, has Mao's essay, "On Practice," in mind here. This essay was one of the earliest essays written by Mao with the intention of establishing himself as a Marxist-Leninist philosopher and as an interpreter of Marxism-Leninism. Briefly, in "On Practice," Mao discusses the relationship between knowledge and practice, between knowing and doing. Knowledge is derived first from perceptual experiences which should, if applied correctly, evolve into rational knowledge. "Reaching theoretical conclusions, however, is not sufficient; theories must be checked and modified in the light of revolutionary practice" (Steiner, p. 29).

Arthur Cohen has taken Mao's publication date of "On Practice," to task. Mao supposedly wrote "On Practice" in 1937, and had it published that same year. Cohen has reasons to doubt that this essay and one other, "On Contradictions," were both written by Mao in substantially their present form in 1937 (Cohen's emphasis). According to Cohen, "there is considerable evidence for the view that neither "On Practice" nor "On Contradiction" was written in 1937, but rather in the period from 1950 to 1952..." For Cohen's evidence see his The Communism of Mao Tse-tung (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1964), pp. 22-28.


104. Tr. note. What Mao is opposing here is "Bookism," or the belief that anything in books, resolutions, etc., is right and infallible. For Mao, that which is written must also be carefully scrutinized by constantly testing the premises upon which it is written. This is a continuation of the Leninist thesis that "Communism cannot be learned by
beginning, he was opposed to the use of books for doctrinaire matters. While teaching at Hunan's First Normal, he learned the philosophy of dualism which he then used to combine domestic and foreign, ancient and modern history to the tide of thinking at that time. Independently, he did critical research. Years later he was such an avid reader of newspapers that he was usually reading official announcements as he was walking.

He paid the most attention to the situation in and out of the country, and in and out of the province. As a student, he had gone into the countryside to examine the situation in the villages. In November, 1920, he again went to P'inghsiang and other counties to examine the situation in the villages. He considered that to implement a system for thoroughly researching the entire situation was the constant duty of a

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rote," an integral concept in the relationship between theory and practice. Lenin believed that "if the study of communism solely consisted in imbibing what is contained in communist books and pamphlets, we might all too easily obtain communist text-jugglers or braggarts....without work, without struggle, a routine knowledge of communism obtained from communist pamphlets and books would be worthless, for it would continue the old divorcement of theory from practice... (From "Address at Congress of Russian Young Communist League" [1920], in his The Young Generation quoted in Howard Selsam and Harry Martel [eds.], Reader in Marxist Philosophy [New York: International Publishers, 1963], pp. 42-44).

105. Tr. note. This is consistent with Franz Schurmann's suggestion that Mao is anything but doctrinaire. He offers as evidence the constant revising of Mao's works. This, Schurmann believes, is an indication that Mao's revolutionary theories are constantly undergoing change in the light of revolutionary practice. Mao has, according to Schurmann, succeeded in creating a "practical ideology" as opposed to the "pure ideology," or doctrines of Marx and Lenin. Pure ideology, in Schurmann's scheme, is doctrinal in nature. Marxist-Leninist doctrines (for example, the class struggle) are held to be universal throughout the Communist movement. When they are projected into the Chinese environment, however,
revolutionary. In the end, Comrade Mao Tse-tung knew that in order to study Marxism-Leninism it was necessary to have goals, and in this manner, integrate Marxism-Leninism to the present revolution in China.

The superior thinking ability and practical spirit of Comrade Mao Tse-tung enabled him, of course, to become publically recognized as the leader of the progressive Marxists and Hunan's revolutionary youth.\footnote{106}

Some of the books which the members of the Marxist Study Society had to study included the Marxist classics, the \textit{Communist Manifesto}, \textit{Socialism: Utopian and Scientific}, \textit{The Class Struggle}, and \textit{The History of Socialism}. These classics were to be found in the pages of \textit{New Youth}.

Besides \textit{New Youth}, Peking's \textit{Morning Gazette} and other publications were required reading for everyone. On November 7, 1920, the monthly \textit{Communist Party}, which was edited by Shanghai's Marxist Study Society, was secretly published (This monthly was published seven times altogether. Not long after the Party was established it stopped publication). In \textit{Communist Party}, the following articles were introduced: "The History of they become Sinified," and become what we know as "the thought of Mao Tse-tung." Schurmann offers the following equation for following the Sinification of Marxism-Leninism:

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\text{Truths of Marxism-Leninism} + \text{Practice of revolution and construction in China} = \text{the thought of Mao Tse-tung, China}
\]


\footnote{106. Tr. note. Possibly because in 1920 he was the only one in Hunan who had come into contact with Marxism, and recently at that. "By the summer of 1920," Mao told Snow, "I had become, in theory and to some extent in action, a Marxist." (Snow, p. 155).}
the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," Lenin's "The State and Revolution," "The Situation of the Comintern," and "The Report of the Situations in the Communist Parties in Europe, America and other countries." In addition, there were criticisms of such things as vulgarity and anarchism.

These publications were sent from Shanghai to Peking, Wuhan, Ch'angsha and other places by all sorts of methods. After Comrade Mao Tse-tung received these publications, he immediately distributed them to everyone for reading. This enabled those gathered around Comrade Mao Tse-tung to further their knowledge of the Communist Party, and thus they felt even more that a new proletariat modeled party government would basically insure the victory of the revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung constantly and carefully read and studied these publications. He made comments on all the books he read, and diligently took notes. What he personally understood and gained from his studies he often discussed by exchanging opinions with everyone. But what was most important to him was the possibility that in Hunan the basic Marxist principles could effectively and genuinely advance the revolutionary struggle.

At that time, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's colleagues at the primary school clearly remembered that his bookshelves were always full of Marxist works, and it didn't matter where he went, there was always a book in his hands. Comrade Hsieh Chueh-tsai recalls that at that time Comrade Mao Tse-tung read diligently and profoundly, saying: "One time, in

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107. Tr. note. Mao wrote prodigious notes in the margins of books. According to Jerome Ch'en, Mao wrote "no less than 12,000 characters" in the margins of Paulsen's A System of Ethics (Ch'en, p. 44).
Ch'angsha, I went to Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Ch'uan Shan Literary Society. He wasn't there. He was moving, and someone was there moving his luggage (Editors note: This was probably sometime in late 1921 when he went to Ch'ing Shui-t'ang). There was a big basket completely full of notebooks. It startled me to see that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's profound interest and efforts in reading caused him to take down such a basketful of numerous notes.  

At that time, Hunan's First Normal promoted the new cultural movement with the utmost effort, and from Peking, Shanghai and other places, some young progressive scholars were hired. Comrade Mao Tse-tung broke precedent by assuming responsibility for this class of Chinese educators. (Hunan's First Normal graduates immediately taught at the First Normal School). Among these educators were some who believed in anarchism. They, in turn, tried to influence the students by propagating anarchist ideology. There were some students who were influenced by the anarchists. These students then established a small organization based on the spirit of anarchism. But, among the strongest progressive organizations at the First Normal was Comrade Hsieh Shu-fan's organization, the Ch'ung Hsin Hsueh Hui [literally, the Society for Venerating the New] which had more than 100 members. In his Chinese classes, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, through Hsieh's organization, criticized the anarchists and their ideology. Therefore, the spread of Marxism-Leninism, from the beginning to the end, was influentially superior. As for some

of the other major schools, the situation was also the same. In August, 1920, in order to publically propagate the October Revolution and Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Ho Shu-heng and Ch'en Ch'ang became allied with Hunan's progressive educators such as Fang Wei-hsia and promoted the organization of the Russian Study Society and the movement of those workers who have studied in Russia. The rules of the Russian Study Society read: "Our aim is to thoroughly study Russia's ideology." The affairs of the Russian Study Society included: (1) after research, promote Russian publications, (2) send people to Russia, and (3) promote those workers who have studied in Russia." At that time, the leadership of the reactionaries, the Northern Expedition government and the warlord Ch'ao Heng-t'ı, accused Marxism of "Bolshevism," cursed Soviet Russia for "starving its people to death," and although the Russian Study Society and the workers who studied in Russia were unable to develop very much, the influence of the Russian October Revolution on China's youth was great. If they were going to follow a path, Hunan's youth all looked toward and wanted to follow Russia's path. They all wanted to go to Russia very much. Some young revolutionaries whom Comrade Mao Tse-tung had carefully recommended to go to Shanghai went, after great difficulties, to study in the Soviet Union in 1921. After they returned to China, they

109. Tr. note. This Society should not be confused with the Marxist Study Society. This particular group sponsored work-study schemes for students to go to Russia. Liu Shao-ch'i, for one, went to the Soviet Union under the work-study scheme sponsored by this Society.
became the earliest adherents to the party, and its most important members. Jen Pi-shih and Hsieh Ching-kuang were among those whom Comrade Mao Tse-tung recommended, and the first to go study in Russia. Comrade Hsieh Ching-kuang recalled the situation saying:

One day Comrade Pi-shih returned from town excitedly. As soon as he got to the door, he said to me: "There is a way." I asked him what way, and he replied, "go to Russia, go to Russia!" At that time, this was greatly stimulating to us. As for Russia, we didn't really know much about it, but wasn't this the place where the old society was thoroughly overthrown and replaced by a new one? The "thoroughness" of the "thoroughly overthrown old society" was revealing to the total revolutionary significance of our young who were so full of hate toward the imperialists and traitorous government. Comrade Pi-shih was determined to go to Russia. Through the recommendation of the revolutionary organization led by Chairman Mao, both of us were sent to Shanghai to study the Russian language. Then, at this time, Comrade Pi-shih had participated in the Socialist Youth Corps."

In addition, Comrade Mao Tse-tung contributed many articles to Communist Party, such as, "The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," "The History of Lenin," and "The Study of the Laboring and Farming System." These articles were also carried by Ch'angsha's newspapers.\[111\] The newspapers also began issuing articles on Marxism. Because of the establishment of the Cultural Bookstore, people in Hunan knew more about Marxism-Leninism than people anywhere else.

\[110\] Hsieh Ching-kuang, "In Memory of Jen Pi-shih," Jen-min jih-pao, October 31, 1950.

Tr. note. Li Jui has used Mao's present day title unwittingly. The term, Chu-hsi means chairman, and is reserved only for Mao's position as party chairman.

\[111\] These articles were published in Ch'angsha's Ta Kung-pao from November to December 1920, and early 1921.
Establishing the Socialist Youth Corps: The Party Establishes an Intimate Relationship with the Masses

After Comrade Mao Tse-tung returned to Hunan, he established constant contact with the Marxist organization in Peking (for which Li Ta-chao and Teng Chung-hsia were responsible). In October, 1920, in accordance with the rules which he received from the Peking section of the Socialist Youth Corps, Comrade Mao Tse-tung started preparations for establishing a rank and file communist party in Hunan - the Socialist Youth Corps. In August, 1920, in Shanghai, then afterwards in Peking, Ch'angsha, Canton, Wuhan, and other places, the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps was established (after 1925, the Socialist Youth Corps became the Chinese Communist Youth League), and as for establishing the Chinese Communist Party, complete preparations were underway ideologically and organizationally.

After Comrade Mao Tse-tung and his comrade-in-arms had studied for so long, many of the members of the New People's Study Society who had already undergone a comparatively long period of ideological preparation, and who had participated in many actual revolutionary struggles, decided of their own free will to fight for the theory of Marxism, and on this basis, joined the Socialist Youth Corps. At the same time it was acknowledged that with the organization of the Socialist Youth Corps, the

112. Tr. note. Teng was one of the first Hunanese to join the Peking communist cell group. It was through Teng that Mao established close ties with the Peking cell group. After the Shanghai massacre, Teng went to study in Russia. He became one of the representatives to the Comintern in Moscow along with Ch'u Ch'iu-pai and Chang Kuo-t'ao. In 1930, a purge of Chinese Delegates to the Comintern led to his removal (Rue, passim).
historical mission of the New People's Study Society had come to an end. Many of the members of the New People's Study Society agreed with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's judgment. Comrades K'uo Liang, Hsia Hsi and Hsieh Shu-fan then became the first members of the Socialist Youth Corps. The New People's Study Society had originally had an indefinite platform and no strict disciplinary laws. But, during and after the movement to drive off Chang Ching-yao, there was a different ideology within the New People's Study Society. At this time there was a minority of the members of the New People's Study Society who had come under the influence of the ideology of nationalism, and because of their plan for self-development, they were opposed to participating in the organization of the Socialist Youth Corps. Furthermore, this small minority had a very bad influence on the members of the New People's Study Society. As a result, some of these people took a different path away from the revolutionary road, and, later on, some of them even became anti-revolutionaries. This was after the May Fourth Movement when the inevitable division of the intellectuals into left, middle, and right factions occurred. For the sake of dignity, and in order to keep with the purpose and the collective fighting spirit of the New People's Study Society, Comrade Mao Tse-tung obtained everybody's approval and declared that the above elements be expelled from the Society. Furthermore, in the third volume of the correspondence of the "New People's Study Society's Important Notices," it said:

From the moment our Society was established up until now, and that was almost three years ago, and while its style may not have been developed, its spirit was nonetheless maintained. Although only members of the Society were concerned with its spirit,
still there were some who are unable to understand this. There were some who did not strive to improve the Society; some who lacked interest in the organization's livelihood; and some whose actions were not satisfactory to the majority of the members. Although the above had been listed as members of this Society, they would not have been able to gain any benefits from our Society. In order to keep up the spirit of our Society, the only thing to do was not recognize them as members.

Before the Chinese Communist Party was finally established, the New People's Study Society actually assumed the crucial role of providing the leadership for the revolutionary movement in Hunan at that time. From the beginning of the New People's Study Society, through its growing process, one could see that Comrade Mao Tse-tung had a strong party character, was consciously strong, and had purposely put forth all his efforts toward establishing an exact secret revolutionary organization.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung aggressively attempted to recruit members for the Socialist Youth Corps from among the former students of Hunan First Normal, the high school, the business school, and other schools. At that time, there was a student from Hunan First Normal who accepted Comrade Mao Tse-tung's mission to establish the Socialist Youth Corps. In his diary dated from September to December, 1920, this student recalled this experience briefly. This is the most complete information that we have at present concerning this aspect of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's activities. Below is an extract taken from this student's diary:

113. This student's name was Chang Wen-liang. Afterwards, although he did not participate in the revolution, he became a nervous wreck. This diary was taken from among the things of the patriot Ho. Erh-k'ang.
September 10, 1920: I arrived at the Office for Popular Education. The next day's newspaper was being prepared. Professor Ho (Ed. note: referring to Comrade Ho Shu-heng who was at this time the senior official responsible for the Office of Popular Education) wanted me to contribute an article for the newspaper. I readily agreed. I returned to the First Normal School. That evening Comrade Mao Tse-tung and I had a lengthy conversation.

September 25: Yesterday Comrade Mao Tse-tung invited me to go boating with him this afternoon. Later, we arrived at the Cultural Bookstore where we were met by Yang K'ai-hui. Despite a slight rain, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Ch'en Ch'ang, several other brothers and I braved the rain. We then returned at 10:30 that evening.

November 17: I received a letter from Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It contained ten copies of the charter of the Socialist Youth Corps which we were to study in order to carry out social reconstruction. He asked me to meet him Sunday morning. Furthermore, he asked me to look for real comrades.

November 21: I met Comrade Mao Tse-tung at the Office of Popular Education. He said that in a day or so he would go to Liling to investigate education there. Moreover, he directed, at this time, that the Socialist Youth Corps should pay attention and look for real comrades. This work should be done slowly if necessary, but well.

November 22: The outlet for today's youth is to become socialist workers. It was absolutely necessary to personally penetrate

114. Tr. note. Yang K'ai-hui was Professor Yang Ch'ang-chi's daughter. In 1920, Mao married her and by her they had two children, a boy and a girl. In 1930, Yang and Mao's sister, Tse-hung, were both arrested by Ho Chien, then the governor of Hunan. When Yang refused to renounce her marriage to Mao, Ho Chien had her executed along with Mao's sister. In 1957, Mao wrote a poem in her memory entitled, "The Immortals: My proud poplar is lost to me." Yang means poplar (Ch'en, passim).
the factories, work to arouse the political consciousness of the workers everywhere, and therefore put into operation socialist reconstruction.

December 2: When Comrade Mao Tse-tung arrived, he said that the Socialist Youth Corps had to wait until Chung Fu (Ed. Note: Chung Fu is Ch'en Tu-hsiu's second name) arrived and called for a meeting, and to pay attention to research and application. Moreover, he directed me again to look for real comrades.

December 7: I arrived at the Cultural Bookstore to see Comrade Mao Tse-tung and Yin Pei (Ed. Note: Yin Pei is P'eng Huang's second name).

December 15: I received a letter from Comrade Mao Tse-tung which said: "Hunan First Normal usually does not examine behavior. You have to find a comrade who has a strong will and will start a strong tradition for the students. The Socialist Youth Corps should make an effort to recruit members, and they should call for a meeting."

December 26: Comrade Mao Tse-tung arrived here. The Socialist Youth Corps will be established here next week.

December 27: Comrade Mao-Tung sent us nine volumes of The Communist Party.

Before the Chinese Communist Party was established, Comrade Mao Tse-tung had already established the Socialist Youth Corps in Hunan, and, from among the young students and workers, he developed a certain number of Socialist Youth Corps members. From the student's diary, we can observe and perceive that the important idea behind the Socialist Youth Corps as put forth by Comrade Mao Tse-tung at that time was to "look for real comrades," and it should not be done too rapidly. That is to say, one should pay close attention to a member's qualities, and it was
necessary to be very careful when recruiting them. Moreover, at that
time, the elements in the Socialist Youth Corps in Shanghai, Peking, and
other places were very complex; some were Marxists; some were anarchists;
some were guild socialists, and some were syndicalists. The situation was confusing (because of these various causes, on April, 1921, the Socialist Youth Corps was declared disbanded for a short time. After November, the Socialist Youth Corps was reorganized and reestablished anew). Up until the first half of 1923, the Socialist Youth Corps was already the strongest organization in Hunan. Ch'angsha, Anyuan, Yochau, Ch'angte, Henyang, Leiyang, Shuiko'ushan, Hsingo, T'ungkuan, P'ingchhang, Hsinning and other places all established organizations whose membership numbered about 2000. Everybody said that at that time Hunan's provincial organization was the most developed. Moreover, one can see from the above mentioned well-known places that the principal worker's areas such as Anyuan, Shiu'oushan, Hsingo, Ch'angsha, T'ungkuan had all established Socialist Youth Corps organizations.

From 1920 to 1921, the anarchists were very active among the various high schools in Ch'angsha. There were some students who were influenced by anarchism, and there was a kind of invisible fraternal organization which gathered once a week. The high school students were

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115. Tr. note. A brand of socialism by which worker's guilds manage and control government-owned industry.

116. Tr. note. Syndicalists were adherents to the theory and plan for the forceful overthrow of existing political and economic institutions through a general strike and the substitution of a socialistic government by trade unions. Syndicalists advocated direct action by means of strikes and sabotage and vigorously opposed capitalism. Syndicalism had its origin in France and was mainly inspired by Proudhon whom Siao Yu admired.
all intelligent students. In order to fight them and lead them on to the Marxist road, and, at the same time, in order to arrange for the livelihood of the average comrade and also to promote working efficiency, Comrade Mao Tse-tung then inaugurated the Association for Fraternal Youth. They either got together on Sunday, or they went mountain climbing or boating in the Hsiang River, talked about "isms" or discussed current events, and recited poetry. Thus, happily and together, everyone was able to be educated ideologically. Because of this and for a long time thereafter, many of these young students who believed in anarchism gradually wished to follow Comrade Mao Tse-tung's fighting experiences.

Because of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's exact leadership and training in actual revolutionary struggle before and after the May Fourth Movement, by 1921, Hunan had already established the basis for a great party, especially among the cadres, both ideologically and organizationally. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leadership of the New People's Study Society had energized the party with a great loyalty toward revolutionary affairs, had established an intimate relationship between the party and the masses, and had infused the intellectual cadres with a simple style of work, some of whom then became professional revolutionaries. Comrade Mao Tse-tung was fully aware of the profound significance of having professional revolutionaries in order to establish a genuine party-

117. Tr. note. Here again we see Lenin's influence on Mao (and Li Jui). Lenin and the Bolsheviks believed in the firm leadership of a rigidly disciplined centralized party of professional revolutionaries. A professional revolutionary, according to Lenin, was "one who accept[ed] [the Bolshevik] party's program and support[ed] the Party by personally participating in [the] party['s] organization" (quoted in Solomon M.
government of the working classes. At this time, there were some individual comrades whose political consciousness was comparatively low, and who obstinately continued to enter the universities thinking that in order to be in the revolution it would be better to go study hard. Comrade Mao Tse-tung criticized this kind of wrong thinking saying that only by concentrating deeply was one able to seek correct revolutionary learning. In this way, the revolution would be developed.

In April, 1920, Shanghai formally established the Chinese Communist Party's promotional group - the communist "small group." In October, Peking's small group was established. After Comrade Mao Tse-tung received an announcement from Peking and Shanghai, he immediately established a similar organization in Ch'angsha. Comrade Mao Tse-tung and his close comrade-in-arms, Ho Shu-heng very carefully advanced this kind of splendid work in Ch'angsha. Comrade Mao Tse-tung recognized that Comrade Ho Shu-heng was a most dedicated and dependable revolutionary comrade. In June, 1921, Comrade Mao Tse-tung received a notice from Shanghai convening a congress for establishing a party. With Comrade Ho Shu-heng, he immediately set out for Shanghai. The situation as they set out was recalled by Comrade Hsieh Chueh-tsai who said:


118. Tr. note. By the Spring of 1921, there were six "small groups" of Communists established in Shanghai, Peking, Ch'angsha, Wuhan, Canton, and Tsinan. When the First Representatives Congress took place in July, 1921, two delegates each from the six groups plus one other representative of the Chinese in Japan met in Shanghai (Schram, Mao Tse-tung, pp. 56-57).
Late one night, as the clouds darkened and it looked as if it were about to rain, I suddenly heard Comrade Mao Tse-tung and Comrade Ho Shu-heng as they were about to set out for Shanghai. I was very surprised by their "sudden" journey. They refused our offer to send them by steamship. Afterwards, I realized that this was their trip to participate in the First Representatives Congress of the Chinese Communist Party—the congress which marked the birth of the illustrious Chinese Communist Party.\(^{119}\)

At the First Representatives Congress, Comrade Mao Tse-tung and a large number of the representatives opposed the kind of rightist, legalist, Marxist viewpoint which advocated that the party not lead the workers and peasants in carrying out struggle, but merely be a learned organization for the study of Marxism; at the same time they opposed the kind of extreme "leftist" erroneous viewpoint which considered the direct goal of the party struggle to be the proletarian dictatorship, opposed carrying out open and legal revolutionary activity, and refused to admit intellectuals into the Party.\(^{120}\)


\(^{120}\) Tr. note. Despite Li Jui's contention that Mao joined "a large number of the representatives (a majority?)" in opposing the right-wing Marxists and the leftists, there are still some points which remain unclear. If Mao, for example, was opposed to the idea of proletarian dictatorship this, by implication, would put him on the side of those who favored collaboration with the Kuomintang (the bourgeois democratic revolution) leading, of course, to a united front with the Kuomintang. Presumably, if a large number of the representatives felt this way, then their way would have been reflected in the documents drawn up at the close of the First Congress. The opposite, however, is the case.

Up until 1960, it was believed that the documents drawn up by the founders of the Party had been lost following a police raid. In 1960, a master's thesis written by one of the founders, Ch'en Kung-po, was discovered at Columbia University. It was learned at this time that Ch'en
During the course of the Congress, the delegates exchanged information on the conditions for establishing the party and exchanged information on revolutionary work. From this exchange of information, it was shown that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leadership in Hunan was the best.

After the Party's First Representatives Congress closed, Comrade Mao Tse-tung returned to Hunan and became the party secretary responsible for the Hunan region (at that time it was the Hsiang River region). Comrade Mao Tse-tung immediately developed a party organization in Ch'angsha. Furthermore, on the basis of workers at various places, he established that place's organization. On the one hand, Comrade Mao Tse-tung carefully and solely recruited the most progressive elements into the party from among the first revolutionary organizations and from among the Socialist Youth Corps. At the same time, he extensively developed the worker's movement, and from among the progressive workers, he developed the party's membership. From among the schools, first he had taken some of the documents with him. Point 2 of the "First Program" clearly shows that it was the intention of the founders "to adopt the dictatorship of the proletariat - abolishing the classes." Stuart Schram argues convincingly that Mao, at this time, "was going through a sectarian phase and probably approved the exclusive accent on work among the proletariat which characterized the documents of the First Congress" (Mao Tse-tung, pp. 58-59). The sectarian nature of the First Program is clearly evident in Point 3 which states that it was the intention of the Party to "absolutely cut off all relations with...other...parties," presumably vetoing any idea which the Comintern agents might have entertained toward effecting a united front at this early date. For Ch'en Kung-po's detailed account of the proceedings of the First Congress, and for an authentication of the documents, dates, etc., see, Ch'en Kung-po, The Communist Movement in China, an essay written in 1924, edited with an introduction by C. Martin Wilbur (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., issued under the auspices of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University, 1966).
developed the party's membership from the First Normal School, the First High School, the business school and the First Class Industrial School in Ch'angsha. Some schools then established their own party branches. From among the workers, he developed the party's membership from the Canton-Hankow Railway, the Mint, the Lead Refinery, the First Textile Factory, The Electric Company, the Construction Company, the Clothing Manufacturing Company, and the Printing Company in Ch'angsha. From late 1921 until the beginning of 1922, there were already party members in Hengyang, P'ingchiang, Yuehchou, Ch'angte and other places. Some of these places also established party groups.

By the fall of 1921, Comrade Mao Tse-tung personally comprehended the situation in Anyuan, and, on this basis, prepared to begin working there.

Before party organizations were established at various places, Comrade Mao Tse-tung first had to have a detailed understanding of the situation at the various places and the subject-matter which was to be developed, especially paying close attention to the strengths and weaknesses of the working basis of the masses. For example, during the time of the May Fourth Movement, P'ingchiang's returned students from Japan had hopes for socialism. They returned and managed the worker's factories, managed the worker's and peasant's night schools, organized a labor union and a peasant's association, and, due to the development of the mass movement, the organization of students, workers, and on down to the peasant, had taken its first step. There was a president of the labor union and a president of the peasant's association in charge of the
workers who superficially accepted socialist ideology. After Comrade Mao Tse-tung understood the situation, he immediately, through some party members, wrote a letter inviting the two presidents to come to Ch'angsha, and after they had talked several times, then Comrade Mao Tse-tung recommended them to enter the party, directing them to return to P'ingchiang to establish a party organization (These two comrade workers, one who was named Yu Pen-min, were among the first group to follow Comrade Mao Tse-tung into Chingkangshan in 1927. They were both killed during the Second Revolutionary Civil War). Because of this, during the Second Revolutionary Civil War, P'ingchiang's party organization was well structured.

So that the party would be established among the masses and to insure that an intimate relationship with the masses existed, Comrade Mao Tse-tung began at once to give his attention to the fundamental principle of establishing the basis for a party. At that time, he constantly spoke to his comrades on the doctrine of small groups and great movements: it was necessary to use skill to effectively integrate the movement of the masses and the organization of the masses with the party organization and the great plan, and, in this way, both the masses and the party would mutually exist and develop.\(^{121}\)

In the winter of 1921, Comrade Mao Tse-tung sent Comrade Chang Ch'iu-jen to Hengyang (In 1928, Chang drowned in the Hsiang River) to

\(^{121}\) Tr. note. Here we see the Leninist emphasis on organization. The "small group" here is the basic unit of the party responsible for recruiting members. The small group is also known as the "cell" group or "branch" group. In any case, it is fundamental to Lenin's principles of organization.
take the Third Normal School as his base for establishing a Socialist Youth Corps and a party organization (Chang was appointed as an English teacher at the Third Normal School). On May 2, 1922, Comrade Mao Tse-tung personally went to Hengyang to publicly commemorate the May Fourth Movement, and also to convene a meeting of the Socialist Youth Corps. Comrade Mao Tse-tung remained in Hengyang for approximately one week where each day he chatted with the young cadres, and, because of this, it was greatly revealing for everyone. Among these young students, Comrade Mao Tse-tung discovered the most progressives, such as Comrades Hsia Ming-han, Chiang Hsien-yun and Huang Ching-yuan. After they graduated from high school, they immediately became capable party cadres.

Every three months, more or less, Comrade Mao Tse-tung personally returned to Hengyang to inspect all the work.

In the winter of 1921, the party rented a building outside Hsiao Wu Gate by Ch'ing-shui Pond in Ch'angsha. This building became Comrade Mao Tse-tung's place of work and the office for the provincial committee. All the meetings of the provincial committee were convened in this very simple building which still stands today. Comrade Mao Tse-tung paid very close attention to the party system and to the discipline of the party. Once, during a meeting, as some persons were expressing different opinions toward paying the party's dues, Comrade Mao Tse-tung severely criticized them, pointing out that this was against the basic obligations of party members. Comrade Mao Tse-tung paid very close attention to the democratic livelihood of the party and firmly maintained the policy of criticism and self-criticism, which to him
was what medicine was to a sick man. He studied the documents which came from the party's central committee word by word, and then he conscientiously carried out their orders. He drafted all the documents of the provincial committee and the long reports sent to the central committee. He was unusually humble, sincere toward his comrades, and looked upon them just as if they were his family. He greatly respected other people's opinions. In his conversations, he always allowed the opposite side to do as much talking as they wanted, just as he himself was carefully listened to by everyone. He answered questions simply but to the point. His livelihood was thoroughly plain and simple. He constantly immersed himself among the working masses, and he was always talking about the many important things which he wanted to learn from the workers and peasants. He worked untiringly all day, and the efficiency of his work was extremely high. This style of work profoundly influenced those comrades around him.

From the moment the Chinese Communist Party was established, he was the most outstanding representative of the actual integration of Marxism-Leninism to the Chinese revolution. At the same time, it is just as Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i said:

He is one of our party's ordinary party members, and under the authority of the party, he has assumed a very prudent attitude toward observing all the laws of the party. He is the leader of the masses, but he is entirely in accord with the collective will of the masses. In the eyes of the people, he is the most loyal active party member and the party's most humble pupil.

After the birth of the illustrious Chinese Communist Party, the outlook of the Chinese revolution began to undergo a basic change. Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i said:

In 1921, because of international affairs (principally World War I and the Great Russian Socialist October Revolution) and domestic affairs (imperialist aggression was taking over more and more places, the oppression of the feudalistic military, the revolutionary struggle of the people, and the emergence of the worker's movement after the May Fourth Movement), Comrade Mao Tse-tung took the first batch of Chinese revolutionaries and advanced them quickly from revolutionary democracy toward proletarian communism, and because of this, the Chinese Communist Party was created. From the time of its creation, our party was clearly class conscious, and in the beginning it took the viewpoint of the proletariat to lead the democratic revolution of China's bourgeoisie. The party also integrated the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese worker's movement and the concrete and practical Chinese Revolution, and, because of the above, the proletariat possessed various excellent working styles for advancing the party, and this allowed the Chinese revolution to assume a new outlook.  

The first batch of intellectuals and workers which Comrade Mao Tsé-tung developed in Hunan became an integral part of the party, and not only did many of them become outstanding party leaders, but, moreover, many of them were above average leaders of the masses. This included Comrades Ho Shu-heng, K'uo Liang, Hsia Hsi, Chiang Hsien'yun, Hsia Ming-han, Chiang Meng-chou, Ch'en Yu-k'uei, Huang Ching-yuan, Ch'en

Ch'ang, Chang K'un-ti, Lo Hsueh-tsan, Lo Chih-hsun, Yang Fu-t'ao, Chang Han-fang, Liu Tung-hsien, and Hsieh Huaite. This select group of the Chinese people, these heroes of the Chinese revolution, sooner or later died bravely for communism. Their imperishable brilliance will continue to live in the hearts of the party and the Chinese people as they establish themselves as eternal models for all to follow.
Starting a Self-Cultivation University and Training Young Revolutionary Cadres

From the time the Chinese Communist Party was established and on after, Comrade Mao Tse-tung increasingly paid attention to the study of theory. In August, 1921, in order to reinforce the study of Marxism-Leninism among the cadres in the party and the Socialist Youth Corps, and to bring together society's progressive intellectuals for the advanced study of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Mao Tse-tung used the monies and building of the Ch'uan-shan Literary Society and started a self-cultivation university. The self-cultivation university was Comrade Mao Tse-tung's earliest idea in that he brought together the leading scholars on ancient and modern affairs and gathered his comrades for independent studies and collective research.

The Ch'uan-shan Literary Society was established in the first years of the "Republic" by a small group of Hunan's scholars for the purpose of discussing the scholarly thought of Wang Ch'uan-shan. This small building is still preserved in its original form to this day. From 1914 to 1915, the Ch'uan-shan Literary Society discussed Wang's scholarly principles every week, and at that time, it attacked Yuan Shih-k'ai's monarchical conspiracy, something which every member was happy to do. Comrade Mao Tse-tung, who was enrolled at the First Normal, also went to hear the discussions at this time. Some older teachers directed all of the

124. Tr. note. This society was named after one of the most radical anti-Manchu intellectuals of the seventeenth century, Wang Fu-chih (1619-92). Wang refused to recognize the Manchu's right to rule in China. Ch'uan-shan was the name of the mountain where Wang retired after the Manchu conquest (Schram, Mao Tse-tung, p. 35). It was Professor Yang who guided Mao toward this group (Ibid.).
Society's affairs and every month the Society received a stipend of four hundred yuan in subsistence from the government. Comrade Ho Shu-heng was a member of the Society, and at that time, as an enlightened thinker, was on good terms with one of the older teachers who ran the Society. The President of the Society at this time was definitely at odds with the Governor of Hunan, Chao Heng-i. With the approval of the Society, Comrade Mao Tse-tung used the building and the stipend and started his self-cultivation university. This, in turn, became one of the party's active public places for its work. Afterwards, Comrade Ho Shu-heng was appointed president of the Ch'uan-shan Literary Society.

On August 16, Ch'angsha's newspaper published, "An Outline of Hunan's Self-Cultivation University," and in the first chapter, "Purposes and the Name," it said:

The purpose of the Society is to scrutinize the defects of the present educational system, adopt the good points of the old and new schools, adopt self-motivating methods, and study the various scholars in the hope that we will discover the truth, produce capable men, bring forth a common culture for the common people, and therefore, popularize these scholarly principles in society. Hunan's Ch'uan-shan Literary Society serves as the home for "Hunan's Self-Cultivation University. Because admission to the school depends on one's performance, there are no limits on one's qualifications; study methods consist mainly of independent research and collective discussions. The teachers are responsible for making up questions, correcting homework and notes. Students do not have to pay tuition and those who live in the dormitory pay for their board.
After the regulations of the self-cultivation university were published, Hunan's educators criticized them, some declaring that they were strange and some saying that they were not applicable to the organization. But these discussions could not stop the existence and development of the school. From the very beginning, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, his many comrade-in-arms, the party and youth corps cadres were all students at the self-cultivation university. After Comrade Hsia Ming-han and Ch'en Yu-k'uei graduated from school, they too participated in the self-cultivation university and resided at the Chi'uan-shan Literary Society. Within the university's annex there was a library with a good collection of books. At that time the Society collected as many of the progressive books, newspapers and magazines within the country as it was possible to collect. The literature was then read by everyone in order to improve themselves. Everyone often sat down and discussed various questions concerning Marxism-Leninism. Although not many students were publicly recruited by the university, nevertheless, the university greatly influenced, in the final analysis, the propagandizing of Marxism-Leninism and elevated the theoretical level of the cadres.

As for the young intellectuals who lived at the self-cultivation university and devoted their lives to the workers movement, it was necessary that they have an unyielding revolutionary will in order to withstand society's criticism (to be friends with the workers was not considered to be in good taste). Comrade Hsia Ming-fan, for example, was kicked out.

125. Comrade Ch'en Yu-k'uei died in 1928. Up to that time, he was appointed secretary of a special committee in Hengyang.
of the house by his big feudal landlord and bureaucratic family. When he came to live at the self-cultivation university he was so poor that he could not support himself. (Comrade Hsia Ming-fan died in Wuhan in 1928. Shortly before he died he wrote the following poem: "To cut my head off is unimportant, I only want a real theory. Kill Hsia Ming-fan, there will still be others." Here he revealed himself in the great heroic manner which has been perpetuated by other men). In April, 1923, Ch'angsha's newspaper published, "A Report on the Present Situation of the Various Schools in the Provincial Capital." The situation in the self-cultivation university was as follows:

The said school was organized by those people who want to study but who feel that the present day school system is not good enough for them, nor who have the financial resources to enter into other universities. At present, it only has two departments, humanities and political economy. Self-cultivation is the most important thing within the school, and outside of foreign languages, there are absolutely no other classes offered. Everyone studies independently and then debates in seminars. Entrance procedures are vastly different from the ordinary entrance procedures found in other universities. There are six questions which the students answer through a questionnaire. Once this is completed, there are two oral examinations to take. Using this criteria, it is then determined who should enter the self-cultivation university. Below are six of the questions included in the questionnaire.

(1) Previous experiences and school? Type of work? Financial situation of both the family and the applicant?
(2) Subjects to be studied? Why these subjects?

(3) Previous courses taken?

(4) Proposed duration of study and plans afterwards?

(5) Views on life?

(6) Criticism concerning society?

Presently there are twenty-four students enrolled in the university, and every day, each student keeps notes on what he has studied. Every day each student keeps a record and fills in his study program, and each day the student writes an essay which is graded by the faculty so as to determine one's academic level. From these essays, the good ones are selected for publication in the school's monthly.

Not only was the self-cultivation university influential in Hunan but Peking and Shanghai also responded to it. The progressive newspapers recommended and praised it. For example, the President of Peking University, Ts' ai Yuan-p'ei, wrote an essay, "An Introduction to and Explanation of Hunan's Self-Cultivation University."

By 1922, the self-cultivation university promoted many public lectures on Marxist theory.

In order to systematically propagandize Marxist-Leninist theory and investigate and inquire into the problems of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung had for a long time wanted to establish a magazine in Hunan. In the name of the university, the monthly *Modern Age* was
founded. On April 15, 1923, Modern Age was published and the first issue included an article by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, "Foreign Influence, Warlords, and Revolution." Other articles included, "What is Meant by Imperialism" and a translation of the Marxist classic "A Critique of the Gotha Program." The second and fourth issues of Modern Age included the following articles: "China and Marxist Theory," "A Critique of Ideology" and "Communism and Economic Progress."

In his article, "Foreign Influence, Warlords, and Revolution," Comrade Mao Tse-tung briefly but thoroughly analyzed the political situation in and out of China at that time. He expressed the idea that in order to oppose imperialism and warlordism, it was necessary for the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang to unite, and thus the revolutionary democratic united front would become stronger day by day. Comrade Mao Tse-tung recognized that international imperialism wanted very much for the black reactionary governments to occupy China. Yet, (paradoxically) the situation of China's semi-colonial and semi-feudal

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126. Tr. note. Li Jui is attempting to credit Mao with first advocating what emerged as the first united front between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party in 1923. This is misleading. If Mao did advocate a united front at this time he was probably mouthing the sentiments of those within the Chinese Communist Party who favored collaboration with the Kuomintang at this time. For a comprehensive discussion on the history of the united front in Chinese Communist tactics see, Lyman P. Van Slyke, Enemies and Friends: The United Front in Chinese Communist History (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967).
political economy prevented the Feng, Chih, An and the Southwest cliques from forming a united front themselves. The more political reaction and the more confusion there was, the more it helped to elevate the will of the people and strengthen the people's organizational power. The revolutionary elements certainly increased day by day, and day by day the united front certainly grew stronger. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that only when the revolutionary factions were finally able to defeat the warlord factions would the political independence of the Chinese people be accomplished. The turmoil of the First Revolutionary Civil War proved Comrade Mao Tse-tung's natural genius from this standpoint of view.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung constantly took the basic viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism to analyze the Chinese revolution concretely and practically, and to educate the broad masses of revolutionary youth and cadres at that time. Around 1922, there was not a school in the country for the public training of the revolutionary young cadres. Longing for a revolution, the young demanded and got a new thought after the May Fourth Movement. The revolutionary tide was in its embryonic stage. The situation in Hunan was especially like this.

The self-cultivation university's standard for recruiting students was comparatively high, and it generally was not suited to the needs of

127. Tr. note. These are the four major warlord cliques which ravaged China from the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai in 1915 until 1928. Although warlordism remained alive in one form or another until 1949, Chinese society reached its nadir of demoralization in the period of pure warlordism, 1915-1928. For a discussion on the objectives and nature of warlordism see, James Sheridan, Chinese Warlord: The Career of Feng Yu-hsiang (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966).

128. Tr. note. Li Jui means the united front between the people and the party, not the party and the Kuomintang.
the young intellectuals nor for the young workers. Because of this, on September, 1922, the self-cultivation university formally established a "supplementary high school" (afterwards, it established a junior high school), publicly recruited students, and, in this way, the party was able to train revolutionary young cadres. In general, the courses which were offered were similar to those in other universities, Chinese, English, mathematics, history, and geography. It was, however, through learning Chinese and history that everyone was able to connect education with Marxist thought. This, of course, depended largely on the teachers. Comrades Ho Shu-heng, Lin Wei-han, Hsia Hsi, Chiang Meng-chou, Meng Hsueh-tsan, and Hsia Ming-han were all assigned as teachers at the supplementary high school. In some sketchy notes found recently for a Chinese class, there was an essay, "An Appeal to the Peasantry," which included some notes on the peasant situation in Hunan. Among other things, it analyzed in detail the economic conditions of Hunan's villages and the various classes in society, and the reason for the land being concentrated in the hands of the landlords. It pointed out to the peasantry that their only way out was through a revolution, and in this way, take the land away from the landlords. Two magazines, Guide Weekly and China Youth, were on the list of extra-curricular reading for the students at the supplementary high school.

There were young intelligent progressives and young progressive workers among the students recruited for the supplementary high school and the junior high school. At the self-cultivation university peak, both schools totaled more than 200 students. For example, at that time, Comrade
Li Yao-yung and six young workers worked in Kuanghun's Electrical Company and all were students at the supplementary high school. After they completed their work each day, they would hurry past the North gate to go to classes at the Ch'uan-shan Literary Society. The teachers recommended the outstanding students to the Socialist Youth Corps and the party. In 1925, a large batch of young revolutionaries from Hunan's party organization went to Kwantung province. The most students came from the self-cultivation university's supplementary high school followed by the students from the Hsiangchiang school.

At this time, the Hunan Student Association was also established at the self-cultivation university. The same people responsible for the self-cultivation university were also the same people responsible for the Student Association. Comrade Hsia Hsi was in charge of the Student Association from 1922 until 1923.

In April, 1923, after Chao Heng-t'i had issued a warrant for Comrade Mao Tse-tung's arrest, Chao pondered for some time closing the self-cultivation university. But, because of the "activities" of the Ch'uan-shan Literary Society's older members and some high-ranking government officials, Chao did not have the opportunity to do so. In November, 1923, Chao Heng-t'i's government induced a company of soldiers

129. Li Yao-yung was from Ch'angsha, Hunan. In 1923, he joined the Socialist Youth Corps and became a branch secretary at the Kuanghua Electrical Company. On September, 1927, he was killed by the enemy.

130. Tr. note. There is a double entendre intended here. By "activities," Li Jui means bribery. Thus what stopped Chao from closing the school immediately was that his officials were being bribed by the older scholars at the Society (I am indebted to my language instructor, Eugenia Young-jen Tu, for pointing out the true meaning of this sentence to me).
in Hupeh's provincial army to station themselves at the Ch'uan-shan Literary Society. The company gave the students two days to vacate the school. The party mobilized the members of the Ch'uan-shan Literary Society and while the high-ranking scholars "negotiated" with the Ministry of Education, Chao Heng-t'i, in continuing his shamelessness, posted the following "proclamation:" "The self-cultivation university is closed as of now." Furthermore, he told the scholars: "The leadership theory of the self-cultivation university is incorrect, especially as it concerns peace and order in the land."

Because of the reactionary Chao Heng-t'i's manifesto, the party prepared itself for action. After the closing of the self-cultivation university, the supplementary high school, and the junior high school, the Hsiangchiang high school, which was a school legally founded by the Hunan Provincial Committee, formally resumed the classes of the self-cultivation university on November 24, 1923. Of the original 200 students at the self-cultivation university, a great majority of them enrolled at this school.

Hsiangchiang's school system was divided into two sections, the high school and the Village Normal School. The schedule of courses, on the surface, was the same as any other school system. The principal was one of the earliest members of the New People's Study Society, and Comrade Mao Tse-tung was well aware of Comrade Lo Tsung-han's managerial experience (Lo fell ill and died in 1927). The teachers were the same ones who managed the self-cultivation university, with Comrade Chiang Meng-chou duties as Director bearing the most responsibility. Comrade Chiang Meng-chou
was Comrade Ho Shu-heng's closest young friend. Together they studied old books, discussed orthodox principles, managed the new school, and took the revolutionary path. "They were, for the most part, among the nineteen most famous party members in Hunan." Comrade Chiang Meng-chou's spirit brought him close to the people, enabled him to do demanding tasks, prevented him from being afraid of difficulties, and unafraid to suffer hardships. He was greatly admired by everyone. "He directed the self-cultivation university and Hsiangchiatg's high school, but these party schools did not have any financial resources, nor did they provide any housing for the Director. Nonetheless, under Comrade Chiang Meng-chou's direction, he found ways for raising funds, recruiting students, preparing the course schedule, hiring teachers, repairing the building, preparing provisions - all for which he was individually responsible. Students and comrades alike were influenced by his conduct, but they were more influenced by his "personal conduct" than by his "speechmaking." In March, 1929, Comrade Chiang Meng-chou was killed by the enemy in Ch'angsha. After his death, and because his family enjoyed the highest prestige in his village of Ninghsiang, everybody in Ninghsiang promoted the greatest memorial service ever seen in this county. There must have been more than 1000 workers and peasants there, including scholars and the local dignitaries. He thus became the epitome of protest for Ninghsiang's people against the high tide of the White Terror at that time.


132. Ibid.
As for the situation regarding the ideological education of the youth at the supplementary high school and Hsiangchiang's high school, one can see what form this took from among the essays and diary of Comrade Ho Erh-k'ang, who was a student at the supplementary high school and the Hsiangchiang high school at that time. Comrade Ho Erh-k'ang was from Hsiangt'an, not far from Comrade Mao Tse-tung's home in Shaoshan. His family was poor and illiterate, but afterwards, with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's help, Comrade Ho Erh-k'ang was able to enter Ch'angsha's self-cultivation university's supplementary high school. Below is an extract of an episode from Comrade Ho Erh-k'ang's diary and essays:

August 16, 1923, diary: During evenings I studied until late at night. Professor Ho (Ed. Note: referring to Comrade Ho Shu-heng) summoned me to his room one night and asked me about my family's state of affairs and why I wanted to study and for what purpose. He then gave me a theme to work on: "My family's state of affairs and my ambitions." Actually, my ambition was to become an immortal. Presently, my country has been mistreated time and time again by the foreigners, many places have been ceded and leased to them, and our politicians at this time are all warlords who mistreat our people. Thus our people suffer extreme hardships. I want to know how my country got into this position, and with a heavy heart, I am determined to do well by my country.

133. Ho Erh-k'ang was from Hsiangt'an, Hunan. He was a member of the Chinese Communist Party. After he graduated from Hsiangchiang high school, the party sent him to work among the peasants and workers. At the time of the First Revolutionary Civil War he was responsible for Hsiangt'an's peasant association. After the Ma-Jih incident in 1927, he was captured and in April, 1928, he fell ill and died. The diary and essay were obtained from his family in Hsiangt'an.
At the end of the 1924 school term, I wrote a composition, "Why doesn't everyone believe in communism?", in which I said: "The progress of human society has indicated to us that we have to take the new path of communism."

April 28, 1924: Two hours of civics class for discussing Lenin's national revolution. I received a letter requesting me to organize a lecture team to go in and out of the cities and suburbs on "May Day."

May 5: Today is the celebration of the 107th birthday anniversary of the founder of communism, Karl Marx. This afternoon, everybody will joyfully hold a commemorative meeting. A guest speaker will discuss Marxist theory.

May 7: Held a demonstration, and all along the road loudly shouted down with the Japanese, English and American imperialists and non-recognition of the Twenty-One Demands.

May 29: Discussed the second chapter to an introduction to political economy: the class struggle and the party.
CONCLUSION

It is very difficult to reach any meaningful conclusions based on a single chapter from a rather lengthy book. What conclusions one reaches can only be applicable to that one chapter. The most that one can say about this particular chapter, however, is that there are some startling omissions evident and some misleading impressions created. It is the conclusion of this thesis that in the chapter translated here Mao's biographer, Li Jui, has credited Mao with more than Mao has ever credited himself, especially during his formative years. Stuart Schram has also come to the same conclusion and he has reviewed the entire book. 134

In the introduction, I attempted to say something about young Mao Tse-tung's behavior during his formative years. Mao emerges as an impressionable and confused young man. As late as 1919, Mao himself admits that he was still confused about which path to follow or what was to become of him. Li Jui, on the other hand, attempts to portray Mao in 1918 as a man capable of analyzing China's problems in Marxist categories. It is not so much in what Li Jui says, but in how he says it.

In 1918, Comrade Mao Tse-tung had already organized the New People's Study Society, a revolutionary organization with a fighting character, while at the Hunan First Normal School. This organization, developed as its main purpose actually leading the revolutionary force in Hunan. Three years later, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, this organization gradually

134. Schram has done so in both of his books, The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung and Mao Tse-tung, passim.
emerged pure and exact in its thinking and
in its organization. Based on the victorious
experiences of the Russian October Revo-
lution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung profoundly
recognized that the party of the proletariat
armed with Marxism-Leninism would be the
decisive factor in the affairs of the
revolution.

The most obvious omission in this chapter is the influence
which Li Ta-chao and Ch'en Tu-hsiu had on young Mao. For example, Li
Jui writes that "in July, 1920, after [Mao returned] to Hunan from
Peking by way of Shanghai, Comrade Mao Tse-tung did much work in order
to spread Marxism-Leninism." Li Jui does not, however, mention that
Mao had met with Li Ta-chao while in Peking and with Ch'en while in
Shanghai, and that Mao had been given a deeper knowledge of Marxism-
Leninism by Li and Ch'en during Mao's second visit with them. Mao
himself was willing to acknowledge his intellectual debt to both Li
and Ch'en, even after Ch'en fell into disgrace within the Party.
Mao told Edgar Snow that

Under Li Ta-chao as assistant librarian
in Peking National University [in late
1918] I had rapidly developed towards
Marxism and Ch'en Tu-hsiu had been
instrumental in my interests in that
direction too. I had discussed with Ch'en,
on my recent visit to Shanghai, the Marxist
books that I had read, and Ch'en's own
assertions of belief had deeply impressed
me at what was probably a critical period
of my life.135

One can understand the absence of any reference to Ch'en Tu-hsiu today.
Ch'en was held personally responsible for the Shanghai massacre and
dismissed as party chairman. Today, he is branded as a "Trotskyite"

and as a "right opportunist" (Ch'en was accused of compromising with the bourgeoisie [the KMT], or, for having advocated the same policy of collaboration with the Nationalists which Li Jui tells us Mao favored in proposing a united front with the Nationalists. Li Jui's omission of Li Ta-chao, however, is not so easily explained. "Today," writes Maurice Meisner, "Li Ta-chao is honored in [Communist] China as the most heroic of revolutionary martyrs" (Li was executed by Chang Tso-lin for his communist activities in 1927). 136

Furthermore, Li Jui does not mention the fact that it was Ch'en Tu-hsiu who really founded the Socialist Youth Corps in Shanghai, nor does he credit Li Ta-chao with having organized the first Marxist Study Society in Peking. Li Jui tells us that Li Ta-chao was responsible for one, but he does not bring out the true meaning of his sole parenthetical reference to Li. Finally, this chapter does not add anything to the "founding" of the Party which is not already known. In fact, Ch'en Kung-po's revelations may well turn out to be a source of embarrassment for Li Jui.

Li Jui's book was published three years before Ch'en's thesis was discovered in the Columbia University Library. Since it had generally been assumed that the documents of the First Party Congress had been lost during a raid of the founder's conference, Li Jui, with the aid of hindsight, proceeded to portray Mao as having been among those who favored policies toward the proletarian dictatorship, the revolution, and the workers which historically came to pass. Thus Mao's position in 1921 was

the correct one all along, Ch'en's thesis, which included some of the
documents presumed lost, casts serious doubts on Mao's role in the
conference and his voting record there. A careful study of the documents,
Li Jui's assertions, and Mao's subsequent activities lead one to the
conclusion that Mao actually was in favor of some of the policies which
later proved disastrous for the Party, most notably the failure of the
first united front.

Li Jui has done Mao an injustice in the long run. By obscuring
facts and creating false impressions, he has cast doubts on those
activities of Mao which truly reflect his bent for the politics of
organization. The Cultural Bookstore is an outstanding example. If
the Bookstore served as a communications center for the party in Hunan,
it is thanks to Mao's organizational talents that such was the case.
Whether Mao appreciated Lenin's organizational principles at this time
or not is unknown to me, but it was an organizational masterpiece in
any case. In all fairness to Li Jui, however, his injustice may simply
be a reflection of Mao himself. Mao apparently did not discourage Li
from publishing this book, especially since the subject matter was
distorted, important personalities were omitted, and wrong impressions
created.

Why did Mao allow this book to be published? The moment we ask
this question we are involved in a question of motives. To search for
answers to a question dealing with motives can be futile and deceptive.
"It is futile because motives are the most illusive of psychological data,
distorted as they are, frequently beyond recognition, by the interests and
emotions of actor and observer alike. Do we really know what our own motives are?" Illusive or not, it is my contention that this is what we are faced with in this chapter if not in the entire book: a question of motives. On the basis of my translation and annotations and Stuart Schram's meticulous study of the entire book, I have been led to conclude that there were political purposes to be served by the writing of this book.

The history of the Chinese revolution, the Party and ideology has been the history of Mao Tse-tung - at least this is what Chinese Communist journalists such as Li Jui and Ho Kan-chih would have us believe. The chapter which I have translated has as one of its aims the establishing of Mao's correct interpretation of historical events and his correct policies for those events from the moment in which he first joined the revolution.

On April 20, 1945, the enlarged Plenary session of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (Seventh Congress) adopted the "Resolution on Some Questions in the History of [the Chinese Communist] Party." This resolution made it clear that Mao's political, military, and organizational line was the correct one: "all that remained was to gain acceptance for his special ideological views." This was done when the Congress proclaimed that

Ever since the day he joined the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has emphasized the application of the universal truths of


138. Rue, p. 4.
When did Mao join the Chinese revolution? In his official history of the modern Chinese revolution, Ho Kan-chih writes that "Comrade Mao Tse-tung's early revolutionary activities began with the organization of the New People's Study Society in 1917." Ho has undoubtedly taken his cue from Li Jui's book which was published three years earlier, but what is significant is that Li's book has now been made official dogma. Officially, then, Mao joined the Chinese revolution in 1917 and he has been correct ever since.

No one has captured Li Jui's or Ho Kan-chih's attempt to reconstruct (not necessarily falsify) the history of the revolution and Party any better than Professor John Wilson Lewis. He writes:

In its attempt to reconstruct the history of its past, the Chinese Communist Party has stressed the formation of an official memory that will conform to the Party's best image of itself [and of Mao Tse-tung]. Once established, this 'memory' may then provide the source of praise for present heroes and the justification of policy goals and a lifetime of struggle, while at


the same time it constitutes the reservoir of tested knowledge from which Party leaders and their heirs may derive their principles for education and their code of operation.\textsuperscript{141}

The question of motives does not end here. The year 1957 is too significant and too suggestive in itself to let the matter rest. Li Jui's book was published in 1957. The book, however, had been serialized three years earlier in a local newspaper.\textsuperscript{142} The appearance of the book three years later in its present form can hardly be coincidental if one examines three very important events which surrounded the year 1957. The book appeared one year before the Great Leap Forward, during the year of the One Hundred Flowers rectification campaign, and one year after Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin. Nothing more can be said about the relationship of the book to these events, for motive-seeking, however coincidental, can be futile. However, the juxtaposition of these major events in China which so much bear Mao's imprint and interest, and the publication of a book on Mao in the midst of them is intriguing at the very least. As for Mao, if one keeps motives in mind, they can serve as a constant reminder that his politics are those of a man who has learned his politics well.


\textsuperscript{142} Who's Who, p. 349.
Li Jui is Mao Tse-tung's official biographer. There is, however, very little information available on him. Who's Who in Communist China does not even list his birthday.

Li Jui first emerges in the pages of Who's Who in 1950 as a journalist. He was not only the Director of the News and Publications Bureau in 1950, but he was also the Director of New Hunan Daily, an organ of the Hunan Provincial Government. Initially, The Early Revolutionary Activities of Comrade Mao Tse-tung was serialized in the pages of China Youth from 1953 to 1954.

After 1954, however, Li Jui undergoes a drastic change of professions. There is a marked shift from journalism to hydrology. Li Jui worked exclusively with water conservation and the development of electric power from 1955 to 1958. In the interval, he wrote two books on water conservation and electric power, among them being The Harnessing of the Yellow River in 1956. He assumed the position of a Vice-Minister of the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Electric Power in 1959. Just as abruptly as he appeared in the pages of Who's Who in 1950 he disappears from them in 1959.

GLOSSARY

chanyu 戰友
comrade-in-arms

chao chentungchih 我真同志
"look for real comrades"

chenli 真理
truth

chengch'ueh 正確
correct

chierhte shehuichuyi 基爾特社會主義
guild socialism

chilu 紀律
discipline

chiehchi chuehwu 階級覺悟
class consciousness

chiehchi toucheng 階級鬥爭
class struggle

chihshih fentzu 知識份子
intellectuals

chihye kemingchia 職業革命家
professional revolutionaries

chinpu 進步
progressive
chunfa 軍閥
warlord
ch'unchung 群象
the masses
diyitsz daipiao tahui 第一次代表大會
First Representatives Congress
fatung 發動
vanguard
fangfa 方法
methods
fenhsi 分析
analysis
hsiaotsu 小組
small group or cell group
hsien 縣
county
hsin ch'ingnien 新青年
New Youth
hsin shihtai 新時代
Modern Age
hsinmin hsuehhu 新民學會
New People's Study Society
hsuanch'uan 宣傳
propaganda
huiyi 会议
meeting, conference

kanpu 干部
cadre

kungch'an kuochi 共産国际
Comintern

kunghui 工会
labor union or trade union

kungjen 工人
blue-collar worker

kungt'uanchuyi 工團主義
syndicalism

kuochia 國家
the state

kuomin 國民
all the people within the nation

lich'ang 立場
standpoint

lingtao 領導
leadership

lilun 理論
theory

Losu 罗素
Bertrand Russel
Majih Incident

Marxist Study Society

Marxism-Leninism

Mensheviks

secretism

peasant association

White Terror

faction or clique

criticism or critique

Bolsheviks

Prodhoun

Socialism
shehuichuyi ch'ingnientuan 社會主義青年團
Socialist Youth Corps
shihfan hsuehhsiao 紳範學校
Normal School
'szuhsiang 思想
thought
tichu 地主
landlord
tiguochuyi 帝國主義
imperialism
tiyitzu kuonei kemingtou 第一次國內革命鬥爭
First Revolutionary Civil War
toucheng 鬥爭
struggle
tuiwu 隊伍
rank and file
t'ungyi chanhsin 統一戰線
united front
tzuhsiu tahsueh 自修大學
self-cultivation university
tzuwo p'ip'ing 自我批評
self-criticism
weiwu shihkuan 唯物史觀
historical materialism
wenchien  文件  
documents  

wenhua shushe  文化書社  
Cultural Bookstore  

wuch'anchiehchi 無產階級  
proletariat  

wuch'anchiehchi chuancheng 無產階級專政  
proletarian dictatorship  

wuchengfuchuyi 無政府主義  
anarchism  

wussu yuntung  五四運動  
May Fourth Movement  

yaup'ien chantou  鴉片戰爭  
Opium War
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93


