

*Based on Sun Shun & Liang*

Mao Liu Shao-ch'i, Chu Teh & Chou En-lai were all involved in fight for survival for no less than 22 years--from destruction by Chiang Kai Shek of 1925-27 Rev. till Communist conquest of power. NONE wrote a word of theory until after they had been fighting for some time. 1st "Education Campaign" is of themselves, and it begins in Yanan in 1937. With Mao's philosophical essays--"On Contradiction, On Practice" but it is to Military Academy where he definitely has established himself. Preceded however by 2 periods where MAO showed differences--(HUNAN-1927--Kang Dr.) KANGSI Soviet, 1928-35 --Military action & writings  
As told to Snow 1927 MAO DISMISSED, as alt. to Polburo, sec. of Hunan & sec. of party front  
1929 - Mao is in Kiangsi forming soviets  
1930 - Li Li San still tries urban insurrection, then is replaced by Wang Ming & 28 "returned students" but on 12.90 Mao executes 100's who opposed him (Rabt. North, Moscow & Ch Com-ists) or as Mao put it to Snow "rebels disarmed and liquidated."  
1931 - 1st Const. of Sov. Rep., elect Mao Chmn  
1934 - Long March begins in Oct to save from Chiang's 4th Exterminative Campaign begun in 1933

*Will in 1927 Mao was in Hunan*

1935 - Jan. Tsunyi Party conf. as full victory for Mao according to Peking Hist. but in '36 he still had one battle to fight--with Chang Kuo-t'ao who opposed Mao's peasant sov. (1937--finally in full control after however 10/37 conf., which was going against him was closed by Mao & Chang expelled from Party & his followers killed. (Official study which is aimed at economic & completely false records none of these.)  
BUKHARIN HAD PUBLISHED HUNAN REPORT (where?) which spoke of peasantry as REV. & not just p/b. (1937)  
While, when 1st Sov. est'd. ARMY WAS STRONGER THAN PARTY, in '48 PARTY FINALLY CONTROLLED ARMY.  
1940 - Mao's NEW DEMOCRACY: "not to build up socialist agric., but to turn the land into the pvt. prop. of peasants. A rich peasant eco. will also be allowed to exist. POLICY HOLDS TILL 12/46, in '47 begins radical distribution of land but in spring '48 this is described as "ultra-left" and reversion to moderate policy till victory in '49. ARMY WAS CONSIDERED "educative instrument" in anti-Jap/communist, military & pol. academies, called K'ANGTA. 2nd new phen. MASS ORG. formed according to sex, age, occ. & guided by party candidates for local office.  
1949 - 61 IN POWER

1949 On People's Dem. Dic. by MAO--Ch. of '50 becomes STATE PLAN eliminated 20 mln. landowners "as a class" having killed 5 mln.; '55-58 peasants brought into agric. producers coops--high incr. in prod./, but this is followed by Peoples Communes--740,000 agric. producer coops of 160 hshlds merged into 24,000 communes, averaging 5,000 hshlds--ALL IN 7 mos. The Communist China Digest, 5/2/60 states "The People's commune is the combination of ind., agric., commerce, education & military affairs within scope of their activities."

*the CCP always had a peasant base*

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Liu Shao Ch'i claimed as early as (45) that Mao had formulated the of Ch. which meant new dov. on rev. conquest of power. Arthur A. Cohen is right in one thing & that is that no country has ever gone through anything either like great leap or said capitalists: too can be MENTALLY TRANSFORMED INTO WORKS.--MAO'S TECHNIQUE OF THOUGHT REMOLDING--moreover shortcut to c-ism doesn't require high degree of ind. & tech. dev. John Kautsky says USSR Academy of Sciences on 6/47 heraded abandonment of rt. & left strages, & on 6/49 india tes adoption of Maoist strategy & on 11/23-23/51 at INSTITUTE FOR ORIENTAL STUDIES E.M/Zhukov delivers address  
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*On course of Mao's revolution in 1943-1949*

THE SOUL OF CHINA BY Amaury de Riencourt, '58 claims that even in 100 Schools of Phil. & great upheaval & disintegration of feudalism, "The Chinese never discovered the syllogism." (p.44) Science honored always even when 21 BC when state ordered all books, including Confucius burned, SCIENTIFIC WORKS were spared.

peasant revolts 3,000 yrs.  
1918 - LI TE-chao forms Study of Marxism group at Peking you; Mao asst. lib.  
1920 - but it is LI & Ch'en Tu-hsiu who accepted Marxism in 1920 until 1931 little attention pd, but MAO AGRARIAN MOVEMENT OCCURRED OUTSIDE OF PARTY framework.

MAO, ON PRACTICE: "The sum total of innumerable relative truths is the abs. truth."  
Stalin's Failure in Ch., 1924-27 by Conrad Brandt "On Changkashan, a mo. fastness popular with bandits, Mao, seeking refuge, FOUND INSTEAD THE DOORWAY TO DESTINY." "LT's usual outlook remained profoundly European --in this sense, PROVINCIAL!"  
CH.C ISM & THE RISE OF MAO by Benj. I/Schwartz-- (Nym-Wales, INSIDE RED CH. the Ch C-ists seem to consider their party itself equivalent to direct participation by the prod.)  
A DOCUMENTARY HIS OF Ch C-ism by Standt, Schwartz, Fairbano  
CH'Sov. Rep. declared war on Jap as early as feb. '32 & in Apr. '33 issued Manifesto

*1943-1949*

for United Front against Jap. but it is only in 12/12/36 with Sian incident that it had its chance.

IN 1945, at time of YALTA CONF., 7th Congress of CCP (April 23-6/11)  
MAO: "ON COALITION GOVT." Party Const. REVISED, drafted by Liu Shao-ch'i it resolves  
to follow MAO TSE-TUNG's THOUGHT, as well as Marxism, for guidance  
of all work of the CCP."

*7/18*  
*Party Const. revised*  
*drafted by Liu Shao-ch'i*  
*to follow MAO TSE-TUNG's THOUGHT*

In 1938 (6/24) Mao already put it upside down: "The CCP is the M-L Party of the Ch. w/golass... Its historic mission is the final liberation of the Ch. nation & the Ch. people, for it is only by liberation the whole nation that the w/golass can liberate itself!"

++++AMP, 5/41, ON REFORM OUR LEARNING: "Youths of 17 or 18 are taught to digest Das Kapital & Anti-Duhring. As a result, an ABNORMAL PSYCHOLOGY is created among the students who lose interest in CHINESE PROBLEMS & NEGLECT THE DIRECTIVES OF THE PARTY. They only worship words passed on to them by teachers, holding them to be dogma that will remain forever valid. This is what motivated CHANG-FENG MOVEMENT in 1942.  
CONSTITUTION OF CCP (6/11/45): "The CCP takes the theories of M-L & the combined principles derived from the practical experience of the Ch. Rev. -- The ideas of Mao Tse-tung as the guiding principles of all work."

Li Li-san, Peking Minister of labor AFTER conquest of power "Greater prod. is the most fundamental task of the Ch. u. .... develop labor enthusiasm. Observe labor discipline. Regard for both public & pvt interest benefit BOTH LABOR & CAP."

MAO ON PRACTICE (July 1937) "Outstanding characteristic of Marxist phil. is ITS PRACTICALITY. ITS EMPHASIS ON THE DEPENDENCE OF THEORY ON PRACTICE. EMPHASIS ON PRACTICE AS THE FOUNDATION OF THEORY WHICH IN TURN SERVES PRACTICE."

*Practicality is <sup>proven</sup> practice*

- ① The change is made on top (Mao's check)
- ② This practice, in turn, becomes further theory
- ③

JONATHAN'S (Cf. also Benj. Schwartz Ch. C-ism & rise of Mao)  
Brand, Schwarz, Fairbank

1927 (Nov.) Mao dismissed from 3 positions: alternate to Polburo,  
sec. of Hunan com  
sec. of party front com

1937 he is in full command; tells story to Snow;  
1950--An Outline His. of Ch. by For. language press, Peking.

'29 Mao is in Kiangsi area, forming soviets; description in '31.  
(Labor Li Li-san still depends on city)

Mao claims (Edgar Snow "Red Star Over China") no difference  
with Moscow since 6th Congress, late '28.

'53 publication of '29 speech "On rectification of incorrect  
ideas in the party", asks roots of "extreme  
democratization" had to be eradicated -- also to be stopped

is many wanting to leave rev. army because of "incorrect leader-  
ship" there but not that of him or Chu Teh.

12/29 West Fukien conf. offices or "a Trotskyist faction"

eliminated; Struggle against "opportunism", those opposed to  
land redistribution (INPRECOR 3/30 PRINTS MAO'S OBITUARY!!!)

6/30 Li Li-san Rases Red army to spur urban

insurrection & in July attack on  
Changsha--city held for few days. Fall of Li-li san (2nd  
purge of army; replaced by Wang Ming & 28 Bolsheviks "returned  
students" whose counsel was Pavel Mif of CI. PURGE OF DEC. '30

400 EXECUTES 100's of C-ists opposed to him. (Robt. North--"Moscow  
Ch. C-ists) Mao tells Snow "rebels disarmed & liquidated")

'31 Mukden incident & 2nd extermination campaign by Chiang.

1st All-China Congress of Soviets pleats Mao Chmn. (11)

1st Const. of Sov. Rep. adopted pledging shorter hrs., emancipation  
of women (dec'dio. of wks. & peasants)

Land Law GIVES PLOT OF LAND TO EACH MAN IN RED ARMY TO BE TILLED  
IN HIS ABSENCE. -- equal distribution of land; no enforced coll.

'32 CCP is brought from Shanghai to Kiangsi & Wang Ming to Moscow

'33 Chiang launches 4th extermination campaign & in Oct.

starts 4th, blocking the whole Kiangsi area & suppresses Fukien  
rising.

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'34 (Jan.) 2nd All-China Congress struggle for leader-  
ship. -- LONG MAR. -- BEGINS IN OCT. '34.) Peking His. credits (1/35)

Teany party conf. as full victory to Mao "THIS NEW PARTY LEADER-  
SHIP WAS GUARANTEE FOR THE VICTORY OF THE CH. REV."

But '36 Mao still has one battle to fight neither against Jap. nor

RMT but CHANG KUO-LIANG who had opposed Mao's peasant soviets

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Conf. in 10/'37 in Lochuan -Mao closes meeting when it goes  
against him--Chang is expe. led from party & his followers killed.

MAO BECOMES UNDISPUTED LEADER FINALLY..

"STORY IS SIMPLE & COHERENT AND COMPLETELY FALSE" (Peking His.)

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Hunan Report speaks of peasantry as rev., not just p. BUKHARIN

published IT IN RUSSIA.

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"Ch. Sov. Rep. est'd. in '31 in Kiangsi. (also known as "Juichin Rep.")

RED ARMY IS STRONGER THAN PARTY. "A Soviet area coincides with a  
red army's sphere of action"

G. AGRARIAN POLICY OF CCP, 1921-'59 by Chao Kuo-chun, 1960

Asia Pub. Hse. New Delhi

JOANATHAN'S - II - 5/30/61 Hunan Per. 1921

Kiangsi Soviet, 1928-35

I. YENAN PER., 1936 to victory, 1949

II. '49 to present.

I. YENAN - per. of compromise, ARRIVED AT WITH THE KMT AFTER THE KIDNAPING OF CHIANG AT SIAN IN 12/'36, per. of united front.

In contrast to Soviets which stipulates confiscation of land, Yen'an is just ques. of rent & int. reduction.

4) MAO'S NEW DEMOCRACY (but it may not have been written till and backdated): it is not to build up socialist agric., but to turn the land into the pvt. prop. of the peasants. A rich-peasant eco. will also be allowed to exist.

POLICY HOLDS THROUGH 12/45 when CCP begins policy of compulsory purchase at very low rate of "excess lands"; OCT. '47 begins radical redistribution of all land & elimination of rich peasants; in Spring '48 this is condemned as "ultra-left" & reversion to moderate policy until victory in Dec. '49.

BY NOW PARTY CONTROLS ARMY, as against Kiangsi, where the opposite held true, army being considered an educative instrument anti-Jap, communist, military & pol. academies called K'angta. 2nd new phenomenon, mass org. formed according to sex, age, occupation & guided by party candidates or local office

II. IN POWER - '49-61

p. 6 Mao Tse-Tung's "On People's Dem. Dic." 7/1/49 - social. of agric

Movement to state coll. lay thru 1) indiv. ownership 2) mutual aid teams, 3) coop. farming 4) coll. CHINA OF THE '50s BECOMES STATE PLAN: 1) 50-53 leaves only 3 mln. out of 500 mln. peasants unaffected

transitional stage only as pe capita holding is only 2 mou (a mou is 1/6th of acre) - eliminates 20 mln. landowners "as a class", having killed 5 mln.

2) '55-58 peasants brought into Agric. Producers COOPs; pvt. prop. allowed & peasants could work 10% of land for themselves. high inc. in prod.

3) FORMATION OF PEOPLE'S COMMUNES '58. -- achieved bet. Apr. & Nov. 120 mln. peasant hshlds. who had been in 740,00 agric. producers coops of 160 hshlds each MERGED INTO 24,000 peoples communes AVERAGING 5,000 hshlds -- all in 8 months.

COINCIDES WITH CH'S 2nd 5 yr. Plan. Q from The Communist China Digest 5/2/60: "The people's communes is the combination of ind., agric., commerce, education, & military affairs within scope of their activities."

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\*\*\*\*\* ONLY CRITICISM FROM WITHIN MAINLAND CHINA: LIN SHI-ling, young girl student of 19 Or 20, CF. "THE 100 FLOWERS CAMPAIGN & CHINESE INTELLECTUALS By Roderick MacFarquhar," CCP IS NEW CLASS \*\*\*\*\* INDISTINGUISHABLE FROM EXPLOITING CLASSES OF PAST & IS NOT MXIST

Mao, Liu Shao-ch'i, Chu Teh & Chou En-lai all involved in fight for survival for 22 yrs. NONE WROTE A WORD OF THEORY UNTIL THEY HAD BEEN FIGHTING FOR SOME TIME