

Appendix I

MAO TSE-TUNG: "GENESIS OF A COMMUNIST"

by Edgar Snow

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Editor's Note: In 1936, Edgar Snow, an American journalist living in China, spent three months with the Communist forces in the northwest and interviewed Mao Tse-tung in the village of Pao-an. This interview produced the only authoritative biography of Mao's early years, and it provides some very interesting insight into the genesis of the man who, in 1967, must be identified as the world's most important communist. The following quotations are selections from that interview.

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I was born in the village of Shao Shan, in Hsiang T'an Hsien, Hunan province, in 1893. My father's name was Mao Jen-sheng, and my mother's maiden name was Wen Ch'i-mei.

My father was a poor peasant and while still young was obliged to join the army because of heavy debts. He was a soldier for many years. Later on he returned to the village where I was born, and by saving carefully and gathering together a little money through small trading and other enterprise he managed to buy back his land.

As middle peasants then my family owned fifteen mou\* of land. On this they could raise sixty tan\*\* of rice a year. The five members of the family consumed a total of thirty-five tan--that is, about seven each--which left an annual surplus of twenty-five tan. Using this surplus, my father accumulated a little capital and in time purchased seven more mou, which gave the family the status of 'rich' peasants. We could then raise eighty-four tan of rice a year.

When I was ten years of age and the family owned only fifteen mou of land, the five members of the family consisted of my father, mother, grandfather, younger brother and myself. After we had acquired the additional seven mou, my grandfather died, but there

\*One mou is approximately 900 sq. yd. or the area of a baseball diamond.

\*\*One tan is a picul, or 133 $\frac{1}{3}$  lbs.

came another younger brother. However, we still had a surplus of forty-nine tan of rice each year, and on this my father steadily prospered.

At the time my father was a middle peasant he began to deal in grain transport and selling, by which he made a little money. After he became a 'rich' peasant, he devoted most of his time to that business. He hired a full-time farm labourer, and put his children to work on the farm, as well as his wife. I began to work at farming tasks when I was six years old. My father had no shop for his business. He simply purchased grain from the poor farmers and then transported it to the city merchants, where he got a higher price. In the winter, when the rice was being ground, he hired an extra labourer to work on the farm, so that at that time there were seven mouths to feed. My family ate frugally, but had enough always.

I began studying in a local primary school when I was eight and remained there until I was thirteen years old. In the early morning and at night I worked on the farm. During the day I read the Confucian Analects and the Four Classics. My Chinese teacher belonged to the stern-treatment school. He was harsh and severe, frequently beating his students. Because of this I ran away from the school when I was ten. I was afraid to return home, for fear of receiving a beating there, and set out in the general direction of the city, which I believed to be in a valley somewhere. I wandered for three days before I was finally found by my family. Then I learned that I had circled round and round in my travels, and in all my walking had got only about eight li\* from my home.

After my return to the family, however, to my surprise conditions somewhat improved. My father was slightly more considerate and the teacher was more inclined to moderation. The result of my act of protest impressed me very much. It was a successful 'strike.'

My father wanted me to begin keeping the family books as soon as I had learned a few characters. He wanted me to learn to use the abacus. As my father insisted upon this I began to work at those accounts at night. He was a severe taskmaster. He hated

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\*One li is approximately 1/3 of a mile.

to see me idle, and if there were no books to be kept he put me to work at farm tasks. He was a hot-tempered man and frequently beat both me and my brothers. He gave us no money whatever, and the most meagre food. On the 15th of every month he made a concession to his labourers and gave them eggs with their rice, but never meat. To me he gave neither eggs nor meat.

My mother was a kind woman, generous and sympathetic, and ever ready to share what she had. She pitied the poor and often gave them rice when they came to ask for it during famines. But she could not do so when my father was present. He disapproved of charity. We had many quarrels in my home over this question.

There were two 'parties' in the family. One was my father, the Ruling Power. The Opposition was made up of myself, my mother, my brother and sometimes even the labourer. In the 'United Front' of the Opposition, however, there was a difference of opinion. My mother advocated a policy of indirect attack. She criticized any overt display of emotion and attempts at open rebellion against the Ruling Power. She said it was not the Chinese way.

But when I was thirteen I discovered a powerful argument of my own for debating with my father on his own ground, by quoting the Classics. My father's favourite accusations against me were of unfilial conduct and laziness. I quoted, in exchange, passages from the Classics saying that the elder must be kind and affectionate. Against his charge that I was lazy, I used the rebuttal that older people should do more work than younger, that my father was over three times as old as myself, and therefore should do more work. And I declared that when I was his age I would be more energetic.

The old man continued to 'amass wealth,' or what was considered to be a great fortune in that little village. He did not buy more land himself, but he bought many mortgages on other peoples' land. His capital grew to \$2,000 or \$3,000.

My dissatisfaction increased. The dialectical struggle in our family was constantly developing.<sup>1</sup> One incident I especially remember. When I was about thirteen my father invited many guests to his home, and while they were present a dispute arose between the

two of us. My father denounced me before the whole group, calling me lazy and useless. This infuriated me. I cursed him and left the house. My mother ran after me and tried to persuade me to return. My father also pursued me, cursing at the same time that he demanded me to come back. I reached the edge of a pond and threatened to jump in if he came any nearer. In this situation demands and counter-demands were presented for cessation of the civil war. My father insisted that I apologize and k'ou-t'ou as a sign of submission. I agreed to give a one-knee k'ou-t'ou if he would promise not to beat me. Thus the war ended, and from it I learned that when I defended my rights by open rebellion my father relented, but when I remained meek and submissive he only cursed and beat me the more.

Reflecting on this, I think that in the end the strictness of my father defeated him. I learned to hate him, and we created a real United Front against him. At the same time it probably benefited me. It made me most diligent in my work; it made me keep my books carefully, so that he should have no basis for criticizing me.

"My father had had two years of schooling and he could read enough to keep books. My mother was wholly illiterate. Both were from peasant families. I was the family 'scholar.' I knew the Classics, but disliked them. What I enjoyed were the romances of Old China, and especially stories of rebellions. I read the Yo Fei Chuan (Chin Chung Chuan), Shui Hu Chuan, Fan T'ang, San Kuo, and Hsi Yu Chi, while still very young, and despite the vigilance of my old teacher, who hated these outlawed books and called them wicked. I used to read them in school, covering them up with a Classic when the teacher walked past. So also did most of my classmates. We learned many of the stories almost by heart, and discussed and rediscussed them many times. We knew more of them than the old men of the village, who also loved them and used to exchange stories with us. I believe that perhaps I was much influenced by such books, read at an impressionable age.

I finally left the primary school when I was thirteen and began to work long hours on the farm, helping the hired labourer, doing the full labour of a man during the day and at night keeping books for my father. Nevertheless, I succeeded in continuing my reading,

devouring everything I could find except the Classics. This annoyed my father, who wanted me to master the Classics, especially after he was defeated in a lawsuit due to an apt Classical quotation used by his adversary in the Chinese court. I used to cover up the window of my room late at night so that my father would not see the light. In this way I read a book called Words of Warning (Shen Shih Wei-yen), which I liked very much. The authors, a number of old reformist scholars, thought that the weakness of China lay in her lack of Western appliances--railways, telephones, telegraphs and steamships--and wanted to have them introduced into the country. My father considered such books a waste of time. He wanted me to read something practical like the Classics, which could help him in winning lawsuits.

I continued to read the old romances and tales of Chinese literature. It occurred to me one day that there was one thing peculiar about these stories, and that was the absence of peasants who tilled the land. All the characters were warriors, officials or scholars; there was never a peasant hero. I wondered about this for two years, and then I analyzed the content of the stories. I found that they all glorified men of arms, rulers of the people, who did not have to work the land, because they owned and controlled it and evidently made the peasants work it for them.

My father, Mao Jen-sheng, was in his early days, and in middle age, a skeptic, but my mother devoutly worshipped Buddha. She gave her children religious instruction, and we were all saddened that our father was an unbeliever. When I was nine years old I seriously discussed the problem of my father's lack of piety with my mother. We made many attempts then and later on to convert him, but without success. He only cursed us, and, overwhelmed by his attacks, we withdrew to devise new plans. But he would have nothing to do with the gods.

My reading gradually began to influence me, however; I myself became more and more skeptical. My mother became concerned about me, and scolded me for my indifference to the requirements of the faith, but my father made no comment. Then one day he went out on the road to collect some money, and on his way he met a tiger. The

tiger was surprised at the encounter and fled at once, but my father was even more astonished and afterwards reflected a good deal on his miraculous escape. He began to wonder if he had not offended the gods. From then on he showed more respect to Buddhism and burned incense now and then. Yet, when my own backsliding grew worse, the old man did not interfere. He only prayed to the gods when he was in difficulties.

Words of Warning stimulated in me a desire to resume my studies. I had also become disgusted with my labour on the farm. My father naturally opposed this. We quarrelled about it, and finally I ran away from home. I went to the home of an unemployed law student, and there I studied for half a year. After that I studied more of the Classics under an old Chinese scholar, and also read many contemporary articles and a few books.

At this time an incident occurred in Hunan which influenced my whole life. Outside the little Chinese school where I was studying, we students noticed many bean merchants, coming back from Changsha. We asked them why they were all leaving. They told us about a big uprising in the city.

There had been a severe famine that year, and in Changsha thousands were without food. The starving sent a delegation to the civil governor, to beg for relief, but he replied to them haughtily, 'Why haven't you food? There is plenty in the city. I always have enough.' When the people were told the governor's reply, they became very angry. They held mass meetings and organized a demonstration. They attacked the Manchu yamen, cut down the flagpole, the symbol of office, and drove out the governor. Following this, the Commissioner of Internal Affairs, a man named Chang, came out on his horse and told the people that the Government would take measures to help them. Chang was evidently sincere in his promise, but the Emperor disliked him and accused him of having intimate connections with 'the mob.' He was removed. A new governor arrived, and at once ordered the arrest of the leaders of the uprising. Many of them were beheaded and their heads displayed on poles as a warning to future 'rebels.'

This incident was discussed in my school for many days. It made a deep impression on me. Most of the other students sympathized with the 'insurrectionists,' but only from an observer's point of view. They did not understand that it had any relation to their own lives. They were merely interested in it as an exciting incident. I never forgot it. I felt that there, with the rebels, were ordinary people like my own family and I deeply resented the injustice of the treatment given to them.

Not long afterward, in Shao Shan, there was a conflict between members of the Ke Lao Hui,<sup>2</sup> a secret society, and a local landlord. He sued them in court, and as he was a powerful landlord he easily bought a decision favourable to himself. The Ke Lao Hui members were defeated. But, instead of submitting, they rebelled against the landlord and the Government and withdrew to a local mountain called Liu Shan, where they built a stronghold. Troops were sent against them and the landlord spread a story that they had sacrificed a child when they raised the banner of revolt. The leader of the rebels was called P'ang, the millstone maker. They were finally suppressed and P'ang forced to flee. He was eventually captured and beheaded. In the eyes of the students, however, he was a hero, for all sympathized with the revolt.

Next year, when the new rice was not yet harvested and the winter rice was exhausted, there was a food shortage in our district. The poor demanded help from the rich farmers and they began a movement called 'Eat Rice Without Charge.' My father was a rice merchant and was exporting much grain to the city from our district, despite the shortage. One of his consignments was seized by the poor villagers and his wrath was boundless. I did not sympathize with him. At the same time I thought the villagers' method was wrong also.

Another influence on me at this time was the presence in a local primary school of a 'radical' teacher. He was 'radical' because he was opposed to Buddhism, and wanted to get rid of the gods. He urged people to convert their temples into schools. He was a widely discussed personality. I admired him and agreed with his views.

These incidents, occurring close together, made lasting impressions on my young mind, already rebellious. In this period also I began to have a certain amount of political consciousness, especially after I read a pamphlet telling of the dismemberment of China. I remember even now that this pamphlet opened with the sentence: 'Alas, China will be subjugated!' It told of Japan's occupation of Korea and Formosa, of the loss of suzerainty in Indo-China, Burma and elsewhere. After I read this I felt depressed about the future of my country and began to realize that it was the duty of all the people to help save it.

My father had decided to apprentice me to a rice shop in Hsiang T'an, with which he had connections. I was not opposed to it at first, thinking it might be interesting. But about this time I heard of an unusual new school and made up my mind to go there, despite my father's opposition. This school in Hsiang Hsiang hsien (county), where my mother's family lived. A cousin of mine was a student there and he told me of the new school and of the changing conditions in 'modern education.' There was less emphasis on the Classics, and more was taught of the 'new knowledge' of the West. The educational methods, also, were quite 'radical.'

I went to the school with my cousin and registered. I claimed to be a Hsiang Hsiang man, because I understood that the school was open only to natives of Hsiang Hsiang. Later on I took my true status as a Hsiang T'an native when I discovered that the place was open to all. I paid 1,400 coppers here for five months' board, lodging, and all materials necessary for study. My father finally agreed to let me enter, after friends had argued to him that this 'advanced' education would increase my earning powers. This was the first time I had been as far away from home as fifty li. I was sixteen years old.

I had never before seen so many children together. Most of them were sons of landlords, wearing expensive clothes; very few peasants could afford to send their children to such a school. I was more poorly dressed than the others. I owned only one decent coat-and-trousers suit. Gowns were not worn by students, but only by the teachers, and none but 'foreign devils' wore foreign clothes. Many of the richer students despised me because usually I was wearing my ragged coat and trousers. However, among them I

had friends, and two especially were my good comrades. One of those is now a writer, living in Soviet Russia.

I was also disliked because I was not a native of Hsiang Hsiang. It was very important to be a native of Hsiang Hsiang and also important to be from a certain district of Hsiang Hsiang. There was an upper, lower and middle district, and lower and upper were continually fighting, purely on a regional basis. Neither could become reconciled to the existence of the other. I took a neutral position in this war, because I was not a native at all. Consequently all three factions despised me. I felt spiritually very depressed.

#### Days in Changsha

I began to long to go to Changsha, the great city, the capital of the province, which was 120 li from my home. It was said that this city was very big, contained many, many people, numerous schools, and the yamen of the governor. It was a magnificent place altogether! I wanted very much to go there at this time, and enter the middle school for Hsiang Hsiang people. That winter I asked one of my teachers in the higher primary school to introduce me there. The teacher agreed, and I walked to Changsha, exceedingly excited, half-fearing that I would be refused entrance, hardly daring to hope I could actually become a student in this great school. To my astonishment, I was admitted without difficulty. But political events were moving rapidly and I was to remain there only half a year.

In Changsha I read my first newspaper, the People's Strength (Min Li Pao), a nationalist revolutionary journal which told of the Canton Uprising against the Manchu dynasty and the death of the Seventy-two Heroes, under the leadership of the Hunanese named Wang Hsing. I was most impressed with this story and found the Min Li Pao full of stimulating material. It was edited by Yu Yu-chen, who later became a famous leader of the Kuomintang. I learned also of Sun Yat-sen at this time, and of the program of the T'ung Meng Hui. The country was on the eve of the First Revolution. I was agitated so

much that I wrote an article, which I posted on the school wall. It was my first expression of a political opinion, and it was somewhat muddled. I had not yet given up my admiration of K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. I did not clearly understand the differences between them. Therefore in my article I advocated that Sun Yat-sen must be called back from Japan to become President of a new Government, that K'ang Yu-wei be made Premier, and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao Minister of Foreign Affairs!

The anti-foreign capital movement began in connection with the building of the Szechuan-Hankow railway and a popular demand for a parliament became widespread. In reply to it the Emperor decreed merely that an Advisory Council be created. The students in my school became more and more agitated. They demonstrated their anti-Manchu sentiments by a rebellion against the pigtail. One friend and I clipped off our pigtails, but others, who had promised to do so, afterward failed to keep their word. My friend and I therefore assaulted them in secret and forcibly removed their queues, a total of more than ten falling victim to our shears. Thus in a short space of time I had progressed from ridiculing the False Foreign Devil's imitation queue to demanding the general abolition of queues. How a political idea can change a point of view!

After the Wuhan Uprising occurred, led by Li Yuan-hung, martial law was declared in Hunan. The political scene rapidly altered. One day a revolutionary appeared in the middle school and made a stirring speech, with the permission of the principal. Seven or eight students arose in the assembly and supported him with vigorous denunciation of the Manchus, and calls for action to establish the Republic. Everyone listened with complete attention. Not a sound was heard as the orator of the revolution, one of the officials of Li Yuan-hung, spoke before the excited students.

Four or five days after hearing this speech, I determined to join the revolutionary army of Li Yuan-hung. I decided to go to Hankow with several other friends, and we collected some money from our classmates. Having heard that the streets of Hankow were very wet, and that it was necessary to wear rain-shoes, I went to borrow some from a friend in the army, who was quartered outside the city. I was stopped by the

garrison guards. The place had become very active, the soldiers had for the first time been furnished with bullets, and they were pouring into the streets.

Rebels were approaching the city along the Canton-Hankow railway, and fighting had begun. A big battle occurred outside the city walls of Changsha. There was at the same time an insurrection within the city, and the gates were stormed and taken by Chinese labourers. Through one of them I re-entered the city. Then I stood on a high place and watched the battle, until at last I saw the Han flag raised over the yamen. It was a white banner with the character Han in it. I returned to my school, to find it under military guard.

Many students were now joining the army. A student army had been organized and among these students was T'ang Sheng-chih.<sup>3</sup> I did not like the student army; I considered the basis of it too confused. I decided to join the regular army instead, and help complete the revolution. The Ch'ing Emperor had not yet abdicated, and there was a period of struggle.

My salary was seven dollars a month--which is more than I get in the Red Army now, however--and of this I spent two dollars a month on food. I also had to buy water. The soldiers had to carry water in from outside the city, but I, being a student, could not condescend to carrying, and bought it from the water-peddlers. The rest of my wages were spent on newspapers, of which I became an avid reader. Among journals then dealing with the revolution was the Ksiang Kiang Daily News (Hsiang Kiang Erh Pao). Socialism was discussed in it, and in these columns I first learned the term. I also discussed Socialism, really social-reformism, with other students and soldiers. I read some pamphlets written by Kiang K'ang-hu about Socialism and its principles. I wrote enthusiastically to several of my classmates on this subject, but only one of them responded in agreement.

The outcome of the revolution was not yet decided. The Ch'ing had not wholly given up the power, and there was a struggle within the Kuomintang concerning the leadership. It was said in Hunan that further war was inevitable. Several armies were organized

against the Manchus and against Shih-k'ai.<sup>4</sup> Among these was the Hunan army. But just as the Hunanese were preparing to move into action, Sun Yat-sen and Yuan Shih-k'ai came to an agreement, the scheduled war was called off, North and South were 'unified,' and the Nanking Government was dissolved. Thinking the revolution was over, I resigned from the army and decided to return to my books. I had been a soldier for half a year.

My scholastic adventure was in the First Provincial Middle School. I registered for a dollar, took the entrance examination, and passed at the head of the list of candidates. It was a big school, with many students, and its graduates were numerous. A Chinese teacher there helped me very much; he was attracted to me because of my literary tendency. This teacher loaned me a book called the Chronicles with Imperial Commentaries (Yu Pi T'ung Chien), which contained imperial edicts and critiques by Ch'ien Lung.

I did not like the First Middle School. Its curriculum was limited and its regulations were objectionable. After reading Chronicles with Imperial Commentaries, I had also come to the conclusion that it would be better for me to read and study alone. After six months I left the school, and arranged a schedule of education of my own, which consisted of reading every day in the Hunan Provincial Library. I was very regular and conscientious about it, and the half-year I spent in this way I considered to have been extremely valuable to me. I went to the library in the morning when it opened. At noon I paused only long enough to buy and consume two rice cakes, which were my daily lunch. I stayed in the library every day reading until it closed.

During this period of self-education I read many books, studied world geography and world history. There for the first time I saw and studied with great interest a map of the world. I read Adam Smith's The Wealth of Nations, and Darwin's Origin of Species, and a book on ethics by John Stuart Mill. I read the works of Rousseau, Spencer's Logic, and a book on law written by Montesquieu. I mixed poetry and romances, and the tales of ancient Greece, with serious study and history and geography of Russia, America, England, France and other countries.

I was then living in a guild house for natives of Hsiang Hsiang district. Many soldiers were there also--'retired' or disbanded men from the district, who had no work to do and little money. Students and soldiers were always quarrelling in the guild house, and one night this hostility between them broke out in physical violence. The soldiers attacked and tried to kill the students. I escaped by fleeing to the toilet, where I hid until the fight was over.

I had no money then, my family refusing to support me unless I entered school and since I could no longer live in the guild house I began looking for a new place to lodge. Meanwhile, I had been thinking seriously of my 'career' and had about decided that I was best suited for teaching. I had begun reading advertisements again. An attractive announcement of the Hunan Normal School now came to my attention, and I read with interest of its advantages: no tuition required, and cheap board and cheap lodging. Two of my friends were also urging me to enter. They wanted my help in preparing entrance essays. I wrote of my intention to my family and received their consent. I composed essays for my two friends, and wrote one of my own. All were accepted--in reality, therefore, I was accepted three times. I did not then think my act of substituting for my friends an immoral one; it was merely a matter of friendship.

I was a student in the Normal School for five years, and managed to resist the appeals of all future advertising. Finally I actually got my degree. Incidents in my life here, in the Hunan Provincial First Normal School, were many, and during this period my political ideas began to take shape. Here also I acquired my first experiences in social action.

The teacher who made the strongest impression on me was Yang Chen-ch'i, a returned student from England, with whose life I was later to become intimately related. He taught ethics, he was an idealist, and a man of high moral character. He believed in his ethics very strongly and tried to imbue his students with the desire to become just, moral, virtuous men, useful in society. Under his influence, I read a book on ethics translated by Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei and was inspired to write an essay which I entitled 'The

Energy of the Mind.' I was then an idealist and my essay was highly praised by Professor Yang Chen-ch'i, from his idealist viewpoint. He gave me a mark of 100 for it.

A teacher named T'ang used to give me old copies of the People's Paper (Min Pao), and I read them with keen interest. I learned from them about the activities and programme of the T'ung Meng Hui.<sup>5</sup> One day I read a copy of the Min Pao containing a story about two Chinese students who were travelling across China and had reached Tatsienlu, on the edge of Tibet. This inspired me very much. I wanted to follow their example; but I had no money, and thought I should first try out travelling in Hunan.

The next summer I set out across the province by foot, and journeyed through five counties. I was accompanied by a student named Haiiao Yu. We walked through these five counties without using a single copper. The peasants fed us and gave us a place to sleep; wherever we went we were kindly treated and welcomed. This fellow, Hsiao Yu, with whom I travelled, later became a Kuomintang official in Nanking, under Yi Pei-chi, who was then president of Hunan Normal College. Yi Pei-chi became a high official at Nanking and got Hsiao Yu appointed to the office of custodian of the Peking Palace Museum. Hsiao sold some of the most valuable treasures in the museum and absconded with the funds in 1934.

But gradually I did build up a group of students around myself, and the nucleus was formed of what later was to become a society<sup>6</sup> that was to have a widespread influence on the affairs and destiny of China. It was a serious-minded little group of men and they had no time to discuss trivialities. Everything they did or said [had] a purpose. They had no time for love or 'romance' and considered the times too critical and the need of knowledge too urgent to discuss women or personal matters. I was not interested in women. My parents had married me when I was fourteen to a girl of twenty, but I had never lived with her--and never subsequently did. I did not consider her my wife and at this time gave little thought to her. Quite aside from the discussions of feminine charm, which usually play an important role in the lives of young men of this age, my companions even rejected talk of ordinary matters of daily life. I remember once being in the house of a

youth who began to talk to me about buying some meat, and in my presence called in his servant and discussed the matter with him, then ordering him to buy a piece. I was annoyed and did not see this fellow again. My friends and I preferred to talk only of large matters--the nature of men, of human society, of China, the world, and the universe!

We also became ardent physical culturists. In the winter holidays we tramped through the fields, up and down mountains, along city walls, and across the streams and rivers. If it rained we took off our shirts and called it a rain bath. When the sun was hot we also doffed shirts and called it a sun bath. In the spring winds we shouted that this was a new sport called 'wind bathing.' We slept in the open when frost was already falling and even in November swam in cold rivers. All this went under the title of 'body training.' Perhaps it helped much to build the physique which I was to need so badly later on in my many marches back and forth across South China, and on the Long March from Kiangsi to the North-west.

I built up a wide correspondence with many students and friends in other towns and cities. Gradually I began to realize the necessity for a more closely knit organization. In 1917, with some other friends, I helped to found the Hsin Min Hsueh Hui (New People's Study Society). It had from seventy to eighty members, and of these many were later to become famous names in Chinese Communism, and in the history of the Chinese Revolution. Among the better-known communists who were in the Hsin Min Hsueh Hui were: Lo Man, now secretary of the Party Organization Committee; Hsia Hsi, now in the Second Front Red Army; Ho Hsien-hon, who became high judge of the Supreme Court in the Central Soviet regions and was later killed by Chiang Kai-shek; Kuo Liang, a famous labour-organizer, killed by General Ho Chien in 1930; Hsiao Chu-chang, a writer now in Soviet Russia; Ts'ai Ho-sheng, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, killed by Chiang Kai-shek in 1927; Yeh Li-yun, who became a member of the Central Committee, and later 'betrayed' to the Kuomintang, and became a capitalist trade-union organizer; and Hsiao Chen, a prominent Party leader, one of the six signers

of the original agreement for the formation of the Party, but who died not long ago from illness. The majority of the members of the Hsin Min Hsueh Hui were killed in the counter-revolution of 1927.

At this time my mind was a curious mixture of ideas of liberalism, democratic reformism, and Utopian Socialism. I had somewhat vague passions about 'nineteenth century democracy,' Utopianism and old-fashioned liberalism, and I was definitely anti-militarist and anti-imperialist.

I had entered the normal college in 1912. I was graduated in 1918."

### Prelude to Revolution

During my years in normal school in Changsha I had spent, altogether, only \$160-- including my numerous registration fees! Of this amount I must have used a third for newspapers, because regular subscriptions cost me about a dollar a month, and I often bought books and journals on the news stands. My father cursed me for this extravagance. He called it wasted money on wasted paper. But I had acquired the newspaper reading habit,<sup>7</sup> and from 1911 to 1927, when I climbed up Chingkanshan, I never stopped reading the daily papers of Peiping, Shanghai and Hunan.

In my last year in school my mother died, and more than ever I lost interest in returning home. I decided, that summer, to go to Peiping--then Peking. Many students from Hunan were planning trips to France, to study under the 'work and learn' scheme, which France used to recruit young Chinese in her cause during the World War. Before leaving China these students planned to study French in Peiping. I helped organize the movement, and in the groups who went abroad were many students from the Hunan Normal School, most of whom were later to become famous radicals. Hsu Teh-lih was influenced by the movement also, and when he was over forty he left his professorship at Hunan Normal College and went to France. He did not become a communist, however, till 1927.

I accompanied some of the Hunanese students to Peking. However, although I had helped to organize the movement, and it had the support of the Hsin Min Hsueh Hui, I did

not want to go to Europe. I felt that I did not know enough about my own country, and that my time could be more profitably spent in China. Those students who had decided to go to France studied French then from Li Shih-ts'un, who is now president of the Chung-fa (Sino-French) University, but I did not. I had other plans.

Peiping seemed very expensive to me. I had reached the capitol by borrowing from friends, and when I arrived I had to look for work at once. Yang Chen-ch'i, my former ethics teacher at the normal school, had become a professor at Peking National University. I appealed to him for help in finding a job, and he introduced me to the university librarian. This was Li Ta-chao, who later became a founder of the Communist Party of China, and was afterwards executed by Chang Tso-lin. Li Ta-chao gave me work, as assistant librarian, for which I was paid the generous sum of \$8 a month.

My office was so low that people avoided me. One of my tasks was to register the names of people who came to read newspapers, but to most of them I didn't exist as a human being. Among those who came to read I recognized the names of famous leaders of the renaissance movement, men like Fu Ssu-nien, Lo Chai-lung, and others, in whom I was intensely interested. I tried to begin conversations with them on political and cultural subjects, but they were very busy men. They had no time to listen to an assistant librarian speaking southern dialect.

My interest in politics continued to increase, and my mind turned more and more radical. I have told you of the background for this. But just now I was still confused, looking for a road, as we say. I read some pamphlets on anarchy, and was much influenced by them. With a student named Chu Hsun-pei, who used to visit me, I often discussed anarchism and its possibilities in China. At that time I favored many of its proposals.

When I returned to Changsha I took a more direct role in politics. After the May Fourth Movement I had devoted most of my time to student political activities, and I was editor of the Hsiang Chiang Review, the Hunan students' paper, which had a great influence on the student movement in South China. In Changsha I helped found the Wen-hua Shu Hui

(Cultural Book Society), an association for study of modern cultural and political tendencies. This society, and more especially the Hsin Min Hsueh Hui, were violently opposed to Chang Ching-yao, then tuchun of Hunan, and a vicious character. We led a general student strike against Chang, demanding his removal, and sent delegations to Peiping and the South-west where Sun Yat-sen was then active, to agitate against him. In retaliation to the students' opposition, Chang Ching-yao suppressed the Hsiang Chian Review.

In the winter of 1920, I organized workers politically, for the first time, and began to be guided in this by the influence of Marxist theory and the history of the Russian Revolution. During my second visit to Peking I had read much about the events in Russia and had eagerly sought out what little Communist literature was then available in Chinese. Three books especially deeply carved my mind, and built up in me a faith in Marxism, from which, once I had accepted it as the correct interpretation of history, I did not afterwards waver. These books were The Communist Manifesto, translated by Chen Wang-tao, and the first Marxist book ever published in Chinese; Class Struggle, by Kautsky; and A History of Socialism, by Kirkupp. By the summer of 1920 I had become, in theory and to some extent in action, a Marxist, and from this time on I considered myself a Marxist. In the same year I married Yang K'ai-hui."<sup>8</sup>

#### The Nationalist Period

In May of 1921, I went to Shanghai to attend the foundation meeting of the Communist Party. In its organization the leading roles were played by Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-chao, both of whom were among the most brilliant intellectual leaders of China. Under Li Ta-chao, as assistant librarian at Peking National University, I had rapidly developed toward Marxism, and Ch'en Tu-hsiu had been instrumental in my interests in that direction too. I had discussed with Ch'en, on my second 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 in my life.

The Third Congress of the Communist Party was held in Canton in 1923 and the historic decision was reached to enter the Kuomintang, co-operate with it, and create a United Front against the northern militarists. I went to Shanghai and worked in the Central Committee of the Party. Next spring (1924) I went to Canton and attended the First National Congress of the Kuomintang. In March, I returned to Shanghai and combined my work in the executive bureau of the Communist Party with membership in the executive bureau of the Kuomintang of Shanghai. The other members of this bureau then were Wang Ching-wei (later Premier at Nanking), and Hu Han-min, with whom I worked in co-ordinating the measures of the Communist Party and the Kuomintang. That summer the Whampoa Military Academy was set up. Galen became its advisor, other Soviet advisors arrived from Russia, and the Kuomintang-Communist Party entente began to assume the proportions of a nation-wide revolutionary movement. The following winter I returned to Hunan for a rest. I had become ill in Shanghai, but while in Hunan I organized the nucleus of the great peasant movement of that province.

Formerly I had not fully realized the degree of class struggle among the peasantry, but after the May 30th Incident (1925), and during the great wave of political activity which followed it, the Hunanese peasantry became very militant. I left my home, where I had been resting and began a rural organizational campaign. In a few months we had formed more than twenty peasant unions, and had aroused the wrath of the landlords, who demanded my arrest. Chao Heng-t'i sent troops after me, and I fled to Canton! I reached there just at the time the Whampoa students had defeated Yang Hsi-ming, the Yunnan militarist, and Lu Tsung-wai, the Kwangsi militarist, and an air of great optimism pervaded the city and the Kuomintang. Chiang Kai-shek had been made commander of the First Army and Wang Ching-wei chairman of the Government, following the death of Sun Yat-sen in Peking.

I became editor of the Political Weekly, a publication of the political department of Kuomintang. It later played a very active role in attacking and discrediting the Right wing of the Kuomintang, led by Tai Chi-t'ao. I was also put in charge of training organizers for the peasant movement, and established a course for this purpose which was attended

by representatives from twenty-one different provinces, and included students from Inner Mongolia. Not long after my arrival in Canton I became chief of the Agit-prop department of the Kuomintang, and T'an P'ing-shan, another Communist, was chief of the worker's department.

I continued to work in the Kuomintang in Canton until about the time Chiang Kai-shek attempted his first coup d'etat there in March, 1926. After the reconciliation of Left and Right wing Kuomintang and the reaffirmation of the Kuomintang-Communist solidarity, I went to Shanghai, in the spring of 1926. The Second Congress of the Kuomintang was held in May of that year, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. In Shanghai I directed the peasant department of the Communist Party, and from there was sent to Hunan, as inspector of the peasant movement. Meanwhile, under the United Front of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, the historic Northern Expedition began in the autumn of 1926.

In Hunan I inspected peasant organization and political conditions in five hsien-- Changsha, Li Ling, Hsiang T'an, Hung Shan and Hsiang Hsiang--and made my report to the Central Committee, urging the adoption of a new line in the peasant movement. Early next spring, when I reached Wuhan, an inter-provincial meeting of peasants was held, and I attended it and discussed the proposals of my thesis, which carried recommendations for a widespread redistribution of land. At this meeting were P'eng Pai, Fang Chih-min and two Russian Communists, York and Volen, among others. A resolution was passed adopting my proposal for submission to the Fifth Conference of the Communist Party. The Central Committee, however, rejected it.

By the spring of 1927, the peasant movement in Hupeh, Kiangsi and Fukien, and especially in Hunan, had developed a startling militancy, despite the lukewarm attitude of the Communist Party to it, and the definite alarm of the Kuomintang. High officials and army commanders began to demand its suppression, describing the Peasants' Union as a 'vagabond union,' and its actions and demands as excessive. Ch'en Tu-hsiu had withdrawn me from Hunan, holding me responsible for certain happenings there, and violently opposing my ideas.

In April, the counter-revolutionary movement had begun in Nanking and Shanghai, and a general massacre of organized workers had taken place under Chiang Kai-shek. The same measures were carried out in Canton. On May 21, the Hsu Ko-hsiang Uprising occurred in Hunan. Scores of peasants and workers were killed by the reactionaries. Shortly afterwards the 'Left' Kuomintang at Wuhan annulled its agreement with the Communists and 'expelled' them from the Kuomintang and from a government which quickly ceased to exist."

### The Soviet Movement

I was sent to Changsha to organize the movement which later became known as the Autumn Crop Uprising. My programme there called for the realization of five points: (1) complete severance of the Provincial Party from the Kuomintang, (2) organization of a peasant-worker revolutionary army, (3) confiscation of the property of small and middle, as well as great, landlords, (4) setting up the power of the Communist Party in Hunan, independent of the Kuomintang, and (5) organization of Soviets. The fifth point at that time was opposed by the Comintern, and not till later did it advance it as a slogan.

While I was organizing the army and travelling between the Hanyang miners and the peasant guards, I was captured by some min-t'uan, working with the Kuomintang. The Kuomintang terror was then at its height and hundreds of suspected Reds were being shot. I was ordered to be taken to the min-t'uan headquarters, where I was to be killed. Borrowing several tens of dollars from a comrade, however, I attempted to bribe the escort to free me. The ordinary soldiers were mercenaries, with no special interest in seeing me killed, and they agreed to release me, but the subaltern in charge refused to permit it. I therefore decided to attempt to escape, but had no opportunity to do so until I was within about two hundred yards of the min-t'uan headquarters. At that point I broke loose and ran into the fields.

I reached a high place, above a pond, with some tall grass surrounding it, and there I hid until sunset. The soldiers pursued me, and forced some peasants to help them search

for me. Many times they came very near, once or twice so close that I could almost have touched them, but somehow I escaped discovery, although half a dozen times I gave up hope, feeling certain I would be recaptured. At last, when it was dusk, they abandoned the search. At once I set off across the mountains, travelling all night. I had no shoes and my feet were badly bruised. On the road I met a peasant who befriended me, gave me shelter and later guided me to the next district. I had seven dollars with me, and used this to buy some shoes, an umbrella and food. When at last I reached the peasant guards safely, I had only two coppers in my pocket.

With the establishment of the new division, I became chairman of its Party Front Committee, and Yu Sha-t'ou, a commander of the garrison troops at Wuhan, became commander of the First Army. Yu, however, had been more or less forced to take the position by the attitude of his men; soon afterwards he deserted and joined the Kuomintang. He is now working for Chiang Kai-shek at Nanking.

The little army, leading the peasant uprising, moved southward through Hunan. It had to break its way through thousands of Kuomintang troops and fought many battles, with many reverses. Discipline was poor, political training was at a low level, and many wavering elements were among the men and officers. There were many desertions. After Yu Sha-t'ou fled, the army was reorganized when it reached Ning K'ou. Cheng Hao was made commander of the remaining troops, about one regiment; he, too, later on 'betrayed.' But many in that first group remained loyal to the end, and are today still in the Red Army --men such as Lo Yun-hui, political commissar of the First Army Corps, and Yang Lo-sou, now an army commander. When the little band finally climbed up Chingkanshan<sup>9</sup> they numbered in all only about one thousand.

In May of 1928, Chu Teh arrived at Chingkanshan, and our forces were combined. Together we drew up a plan to establish a six-hsien Soviet area, to stabilize and consolidate gradually the Communist power in the Hunan-Kiangsi-Kwangtung border districts, and, with that as a base, to expand over greater areas. This strategy was in opposition to recommendations of the Party, which had grandiose ideas of rapid expansion. In the

army itself Chu Teh and I had to fight against two tendencies: first, a desire to advance on Changsha at once, which we considered adventurism; secondly, a desire to withdraw to the south of the Kwangtung border, which we regarded as 'retreatism.' Our main tasks, as we saw them, were two: to divide the land, and to establish Soviets. We wanted to arm the masses to hasten those processes. Our policy called for free trade, generous treatment of captured enemy troops, and, in general, democratic moderation.

After the forces of our army combined at Chingkanshan there was a reorganization, the famous Fourth Red Army was created, and Chu Teh was made commander, while I became political commissar. More troops arrived at Chingkanshan, after uprisings and mutinies in Ho Chien's army, in the winter of 1928, and out of these emerged the Fifth Red Army, commander of which was P'eng Teh-huai. In addition to P'eng there were Teng P'eng (killed at Tsun-yi, Kweichow, during the Long March), Huang Kuo-nu (killed in Kwangsi in 1931), and T'ien Teh-yuan.

Conditions in the Red Army began to improve, both materially and politically, but there were still many bad tendencies. 'Partisanism,' for example, was a weakness reflected in lack of discipline, exaggerated ideas of democracy, and looseness of organization. Another tendency that had to be fought was 'vagabondage'--a disinclination to settle down to the serious tasks of government, a love of movement, change, new experience and incident. There were also remnants of militarism, with some of the commanders maltreating or even beating the men, and discriminating against those they disliked personally, while showing favoritism to others."

On February 7, 1930, an important local Party conference was called in South Kiangsi, to discuss the future programme of the Soviets. It was attended by local representatives from the Party, the Army and the Government. Here the question of the land policy was argued at great length, and the struggle against 'opportunism,' led by those opposed to redistribution was overcome. It was resolved to carry out land distribution and quicken the formation of Soviets. Until then the Red Army had formed only local and district Soviets. . . . To the new programme the peasants responded with a warm,

enthusiastic support which helped, in the months ahead, to defeat the extermination campaigns of the Kuomintang armies.<sup>11</sup>

### Growth of the Red Army

Gradually the Red Army's work with the masses improved, discipline strengthened, and a new technique in organization developed. The peasantry everywhere began to volunteer to help the revolution. As early as Chingkanshan the Red Army had imposed three simple rules of discipline upon its fighters, and these were: prompt obedience to orders; no confiscations whatever from the poor peasantry; and prompt delivery directly to the Government, for its disposal, of all goods confiscated from the landlords. After the 1928 Conference emphatic efforts to enlist the support of the peasantry were made, and eight rules were added to the three listed above. These were as follows:

1. Replace all doors when you leave a house.<sup>10</sup>
2. Return and roll up the straw matting on which you sleep;
3. Be courteous and polite to the people and help them when you can;
4. Return all borrowed articles;
5. Replace all damaged articles;
6. Be honest in all transactions with the peasants;
7. Pay for all articles purchased;
8. Be sanitary, and especially establish latrines a safe distance from people's houses.

The last two rules were added by Lin Piao. These eight points were enforced with better success, and today are still the code of the Red soldier, are memorized and frequently repeated by him.<sup>11</sup> Three other duties were taught to the Red Army as its primary purpose: first, to struggle to the death against the enemy; second, to arm the masses; third, to raise money to support the struggle.

It was at this time that the First Army Corps was organized, with Chu Teh as commander and me as political commissar. It was composed of the Third Army, the

Fourth Army commanded by Lin Piao, and the 12th Army, under Lo Ping-hui. Party leadership was vested in a Front Committee, of which I was chairman. There were already more than 10,000 men in the First Army Corps then, organized into ten divisions. Besides this main force, there were many local and independent regiments, Red guards and partisans.

Red tactics, apart from the political basis of the movement, explained much of the successful military development. At Chingkanshan four slogans had been adopted, and these give the clue to the methods of partisan warfare used, out of which the Red Army grew. The slogans were:

1. When the enemy advances, we retreat!
2. When the enemy halts and encamps, we trouble them!
3. When the enemy seeks to avoid a battle, we attack!
4. When the enemy retreats, we pursue!

These slogans [of four characters each in Chinese] were at first opposed by many experienced military men, who did not agree with the type of tactics advocated. But much experience proved that the tactics were correct. Whenever the Red Army departed from them, in general, it did not succeed. Our forces were small, exceeded from ten to twenty times by the enemy; our resources and fighting materials were limited, and only by skillfully combining the tactics of manoeuvring and guerrilla warfare could we hope to succeed in our struggle against the Kuomintang, fighting from vastly richer and superior bases.

The most important single tactic of the Red Army was, and remains, its ability to concentrate its main forces in the attack, and swiftly divide and separate them afterwards. This implied that positional warfare was to be avoided, and every effort made to meet the living forces of the enemy while in movement, and destroy them. On the basis of these tactics and mobility, the swift powerful "short attack" of the Red Army was developed.

In expanding Soviet areas in general the programme of the Red Army favored a wave-like or tidal development, rather than an uneven advance, gained by 'leaps' or 'jumps,'

and without deep consolidation in the territories gained. The policy was pragmatical, just as were the tactics already described, and grew out of many years of collective military and political experience. These tactics were severely criticized by Li Li-san, who advocated the concentration of all weapons in the hands of the Red Army, and the absorption of all partisan groups. He wanted attacks rather than consolidation; advances without securing the rear; sensational assaults on big cities, accompanied by uprisings and extremism. The Li Li-san line dominated the Party then, outside Soviet areas, and was sufficiently influential to force acceptance, to some extent, in the Red Army, against the judgment of its field command. One result of it was the attack on Changsha and another was the advance on Nanchang. But the Red Army refused to immobilize its partisan groups and open up its rear to the enemy during these adventures.

But Li Li-san over-estimated both the military strength of the Red Army at that time and the revolutionary factors in the national political scene. He believed that the revolution was nearing success and would shortly have power over the entire country. This belief was encouraged by the long and exhausting civil war then proceeding between Feng Yu-hsiang and Chiang Kai-shek, which made the outlook seem highly favourable to Li Li-san. But in the opinion of the Red Army the enemy was making preparations for a great drive against the Soviets as soon as the civil war was concluded, and it was no time for possibly disastrous putschism and adventures. This estimate proved to be entirely correct.

By January, 1931, this First Campaign had been completely defeated. I believe that this would not have been possible except for three conditions achieved by the Red Army just before its commencement. First, the consolidation of the First and Third Army Corps under a centralized command; second, the liquidation of the Li Li-san line; and, third, the triumph of the Party over the anti-Bolshevik (Liu Ti-tsao) faction and other active counter-revolutionaries within the Red Army and in the Soviet districts.

After a respite of only four months, Nanking launched its Second Campaign, under the supreme command of Ho Ying-chin, now Minister of War. His forces exceeded

200,000 men, who moved into the Red areas by seven routes. The situation for the Red Army was then thought to be very critical. The area of Soviet power was very small, resources were limited, equipment scanty, and enemy material strength vastly exceeded that of the Red Army in every respect. To meet this offensive, however, the Red Army still clung to the same tactics that had thus far won success. Admitting the enemy columns well into Red territory, our main forces suddenly concentrated against the second route of the enemy, defeated several regiments, and destroyed their offensive power. Immediately afterwards we attacked in quick succession the third route, the sixth and the seventh, defeating each of them in turn. The fourth route retreated without giving battle, and the fifth route was partly destroyed. Within fourteen days the Red Army had fought six battles, and marched eight days, ending with a decisive victory. With the break-up or retreat of the other six routes, the first route army, commanded by Chiang Kuang-nai and Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, withdrew without any serious fighting.

One month later, Chiang Kai-shek took command of an army of 300,000 men 'for the final extermination of the "Red-bandits".' He was assisted by his ablest commanders: Ch'en Ming-shu, Ho Ying-chin and Chu Shao-liang, each of whom had charge of a main route of advance. Chiang hoped to take the Red areas by storm--a rapid 'wiping-up' of the 'Red-bandits.' He began by moving his armies 80 li a day into the heart of Soviet territory. This supplied the very conditions under which the Red Army fights best, and it soon proved the serious mistake of Chiang's tactics. With a main force of only 30,000 men, by a series of brilliant manoeuvres, our army attacked five different columns in five days. In the first battle the Red Army captured many enemy troops, and large amounts of ammunition, guns and equipment. By September, the Third Campaign had been admitted to be a failure and Chiang Kai-shek in October withdrew his troops.

The Red Army now entered a period of comparative peace and growth. Expansion was very rapid. The First Soviet Congress was called on December 11, 1931, and the Central Soviet Government was established, with myself as chairman. Chu Teh was elected Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army. In the same month there occurred the

great Ningtu Uprising, when over twenty thousand troops of the 28th Route Army of the Kuomintang revolted and joined the Red Army.

In April, 1933, began the Fourth, and, for Nanking, perhaps the most disastrous, of its Extermination Campaigns.<sup>12</sup> In the first battle of this period two divisions were disarmed and two divisional commanders were captured. The 59th Division was partly destroyed and the 52nd was completely destroyed. Thirteen thousand men were captured in this one battle at Ta Lung P'ing and Chiao Hui in Lo An Hsien. The Kuomintang's 11th Division, then Chiang Kai-shek's best, was next eliminated, being almost totally disarmed, and its commander seriously wounded. These engagements proved decisive turning-points and the Fourth Campaign soon afterwards ended. Chiang Kai-shek at this time wrote to Ch'en Ch'eng, his field commander, that he considered this defeat 'the greatest humiliation' in his life.

For his Fifth and Last Campaign, Chiang Kai-shek mobilized nearly one million men and adopted new tactics and strategy. Already, in the Fourth Campaign, Chiang had, on the recommendations of his German advisors, begun the use of the blockhouse and fortifications system. In the Fifth Campaign he placed his entire reliance upon it.

In this period we made two important errors. The first was the failure to unite with Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai's army in 1933 during the Fukien Rebellion. The second was the adoption of the erroneous strategy of simple defense, abandoning our former tactics of manoeuvre. It was a serious mistake to meet the vastly superior Nanking forces in positional warfare, at which the Red Army was neither technically nor spiritually at its best.

As a result of these mistakes, and the new tactics and strategy of Chiang's campaign, combined with the overwhelming numerical and technical superiority of the Kuomintang forces, the Red Army was obliged, in 1934, to seek to change the conditions of its existence in Kiangsi, which were rapidly becoming more unfavorable. Secondly, the national political situation influenced the decision to move the scene of main operations to the North-west. Following Japan's invasion of Manchuria and Shanghai, the Soviet Government had, as early as February, 1932, formally declared war on Japan. This

declaration, which could not, of course, be made effective owing to the blockade and encirclement of Soviet China by the Kuomintang troops, had been followed by the issuance of a manifesto calling for a United Front of all armed forces in China to resist Japanese imperialism.

In January, 1934, the Second All-China Soviet Congress of Soviets was convened in Juichin, the Soviet capital, and a survey of the achievements of the Revolution took place. Here I gave a long report, and here the Central Soviet Government, as its personnel exists today, was elected. Preparations soon afterwards were made for the Long March. It was begun in October, 1934, just a year after Chiang Kai-shek launched his last Campaign--a year of almost constant fighting, struggle and enormous losses on both sides.

The victorious march of the Red Army, and its triumphant arrival in Kansu and Shensi with its living forces still intact, was due first to the correct leadership of the Communist Party, and secondly to the great skill, courage, determination and almost super-human endurance and revolutionary ardour of the basic cadres of our Soviet people. The Communist Party of China was, is, and will ever be, faithful to Marxist-Leninism, and it will continue its struggles against every opportunist tendency. In this determination lies one explanation of its invincibility and the certainty of its final victory."

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Mao used all these political terms humorously in his explanations, laughing as he recalled such incidents.

<sup>2</sup>The same society to which Ho Lung belonged.

<sup>3</sup>T'ang Sheng-chih later became commander of the Nationalist armies of the Wuhan Government of Wang Ching-wei, in 1927. He betrayed both Wang and the Reds and began the "peasant massacre" of Hunan.

<sup>4</sup>Yuan later became "President" of China, and in 1915 attempted to become Emperor.

<sup>5</sup>The Tung Meng Hui, a revolutionary secret society, was founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and was forerunner of the Kuomintang, which now has power in Nanking. Most of its members were exiles in Japan, where they carried on a vigorous "brush-war" against Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and K'ang Yu-wei, leaders of the "reformed monarchist" party.

<sup>6</sup>The Hsin Min Hsueh Hui.

<sup>7</sup>Modern newspapers were then still a novelty in China, and many people, particularly officials, looked upon them with extreme repugnance, as indeed they do today!

<sup>8</sup>Mao made no further reference to his life with Yang K'ai-hui. She was a student of Peking National University and later became a leader of youth during the Great Revolution, and one of the most active women Communists. Their marriage was celebrated as an "ideal romance" among radical youths in Hunan. It seems to have begun as a trial marriage; and they were evidently very devoted to one another. She was killed by Ho Chien--in 1930, I believe.

<sup>9</sup>Chingkanshan was a nearly impregnable mountain stronghold, formerly held by bandits, on the Hunan-Kiangsi border. An account of the Communists' seizure of this mountain and their subsequent experiences there will be found in China's Red Army Marches, by Agnes Smedley (New York, 1933).

<sup>10</sup>This order is not so enigmatic as it sounds. The wooden doors of a Chinese house are easily detachable, and are often taken down at night, put across wooden blocks and used for an improvised bed.

<sup>11</sup>Also sung daily in a Red Army song.

<sup>12</sup>There is considerable confusion, in many accounts written of the anti-Red wars, concerning the number of major expeditions sent against the Soviet districts. Some writers have totalled up as many as eight different "annihilation drives," but several of these big mobilizations by Nanking were purely defensive. Red Army commanders speak of only five main anti-Red campaigns. These are, with the approximate number of Nanking troops directly involved in each, as follows: First, December, 1930, to January, 1931, 100,000; Second, May to June, 1931, 200,000; Third, July to October, 1931, 300,000; Fourth, April to October, 1933, 250,000; Fifth, October, 1933, to October, 1934, 400,000 (over 900,000 troops were mobilized against the three main Soviet districts). No major expedition was launched by Nanking during 1932, when Chiang Kai-shek was using approximately 500,000 troops in defensive positions around the Red districts. It was, on the contrary, a year of big Red offensives. Evidently, Nanking's defensive operations in 1932, which were, of course, propagandized as "anti-Red campaigns," were misunderstood by many writers as major expeditions. The Reds do not so discuss them, nor Chiang Kai-shek.