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# CCP Research Newsletter

No. 1 (Fall 1988)

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## **CCP Research Newsletter**

**No. 1 (Fall 1988)**

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The editors would like to thank those colleagues who accepted our invitation to the Newsletter's informal "advisory group." We deeply appreciate your comments and suggestions. Particular thanks are due to Professor David Finley, Dean of the College, and to the administration of The Colorado College for their support in the production of this newsletter. Start up costs and a portion of the first issue has been funded by a grant from the China and Inner Asia Council of the Association for Asian Studies.

### **Correspondence & Subscriptions**

Editorial correspondence, submission of notes, reviews, news, and queries may be addressed to the Editor at the above address *or* may be addressed to any of the Editorial Board members. Subscriptions should be sent to the Editor and are \$12.00 per year (3 issues) for individuals inside the United States, Canada and Mexico; \$20.00 per year for institutions. For other areas (Asia, Europe, and elsewhere): \$17.00 per year for individuals and \$25.00 for institutions. For airmail delivery add an additional \$10.00 per year. Make checks payable in US dollars to: CCP Research Newsletter.

## Invitation to New Members

CCP Research Newsletter is published by the Chinese Communism Research Group, an informal international network of scholars including the editorial board of the Newsletter, individual subscribers, and readers. The group exists to promote scholarly research on the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and to provide, through the Newsletter, a guide to sources, scholars, and trends in research and teaching .

The group and Newsletter focus on the CCP from its origins to the present. Our interests are, however, not limited to "Party history" alone. We will cover three broad topics: the pre-49 Chinese Communist Movement, the post-49 Party/State in the PRC, and the post-79 reform of the socialist system in China. The Newsletter thus focuses on current research issues in the study of the CCP and its central role in Chinese politics and society.

The Newsletter is not a forum for publishing research findings, but rather one for exchanging information about where to *find sources*, how to *assess them*, and how to *interpret them*. The intended audience is scholars in all fields whose active research includes the CCP. Since the main focus of the Newsletter is primary source materials, we will print Chinese characters when needed for scholarly convenience. The language of the Newsletter is English; the romanization is *pinyin*.

The Newsletter is intended to provide a medium through which a group of scholars can keep in closer touch than is currently the case. Thus, we have tried to make this an international affair, though at present it is based in the United States. We want no unanimity of opinion but strive for scholarly detachment and even handedness. All scholars, world-wide, are welcome and invited to participate by reading and contributing to the Newsletter and by returning the information questionnaire in this issue for the "Research Directory" of scholars, their research interests, and their contact addresses (which will be published in the Newsletter). The Newsletter is a cooperative venture, and its success or failure depends on your active support.

Each Newsletter will try to provide new information on sources, scholars, and trends in research and teaching. We hope to print introductions to major collections, libraries, and reference aids which help us locate **sources**. Three types of sources will be reviewed: original or reprinted documents; other source materials, such as "reminiscences" and reminiscence-style biographical collections, etc.; and particularly informative or insightful books from China and, less frequently, Japanese or Western language studies where they make heavy or insightful use of new sources. We will compile "Working Bibliographies" of major works on topics to do with Party history. For **scholars**, we would like to build and constantly update a guide to each other, our research interests, and the nature of the source materials we use. Under **trends** in research, we would like not only to provide notices of conferences, panels, projects, and other activities, but also discuss *methodological issues*, debate points of contention and generally ward off analytical flab. Sections on teaching will aim to pass along the experience of colleagues in incorporating new findings in university teaching.

One special role for the Newsletter is to facilitate the fair exchange of materials difficult to locate, particularly the *neibu* books. We encourage our colleagues to send their recent "finds" to CCRM--the Center for Chinese Research Materials, Oakton, Virginia--for microfilm publishing and to send a book note or review to the Newsletter to alert colleagues. (See details in the **Book Notes** section in this issue.) The CCRM will provide a free reprint of your choice as well as return your materials.

This first issue of the CCP Research Newsletter includes a survey of current research interests, as well as suggestions for improving the Newsletter. Whether you wish to subscribe or not, please feel free to return the survey and contact information for the directory. New members are invited to join by subscribing to the Newsletter.

Timothy Cheek

### Guidelines for Contributors

Contributions are welcomed from scholars world-wide, regardless of institutional affiliation or country of residence. A look at the first issue of the Newsletter and its "Invitation to New Members" will give you an idea of what sort of contributions will be most welcome. Reviews, book notes, teaching experiences, research notes, or commentaries, as well as letters responding to material previously published in the Newsletter, can be sent to the editor or any listed member of the editorial board. Within reason and subject to normal academic revisions, we will publish everything sent to us.

A few particulars to keep in mind: Your review of a source or a book should remind non-specialists of the significance of the topic concerned, very briefly review current research and outline what this new source has to offer. The critique should aim to inform readers *by detailed example* (including page references) about the strengths and weaknesses of the text. Finally, the review should be written in a manner that invites readers to go to that source themselves: give full bibliographic information (including *hanzi* for author, title, publisher); explain technical terms and provide Chinese characters (or whatever original script) for important names or terms (but not for well-known terms such as "Chairman Mao" and "CCP"). We find it particularly helpful to give precise page references to topics or examples cited in such reviews.

Most manuscripts should be between 750-1250 words (3-5 pp. double spaced manuscript). Book notes should be under 100 words. Both must give precise information as to how the text can be located by other scholars. Research activities and other notices should give name and address for a contact person.

## A MESSAGE

The publishing explosion in China following the Cultural Revolution has been nothing short of phenomenal. At no time since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949 has there been such an outpouring of publications, including so many primary sources essential to the study of the Chinese Communist Party State, as we have witnessed since the early 1980s. Documentary compilations of the history of the CCP in its various phases and in different localities, biographies of Party leaders, reminiscences, secret speeches of Mao Zedong and others, and works that for one reason or another could not be published in the past, have all made their appearance in quantity within a short span of seven or eight years. The implication of this for scholarship is enormous. This new treasure trove, much of it *neibu* publications, will certainly be helpful in bridging the gaps in our knowledge and understanding of people and events in the history of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic. It also creates a new context within which to reassess some of our past findings. Surmises may now be confirmed or rejected in some cases, and unreliable data corrected in others. Research on topics heretofore impossible to undertake for lack of sources also may now be attempted. On the other hand, such a bountiful harvest of new sources will necessarily require more time in research and more discerning care in the use of these materials in order to separate the grain from the chaff, as the articles in this issue demonstrate. The need for more research tools will likewise increase.

Although a great many of these new materials have been collected by individuals and libraries in the West and elsewhere outside of China, there is no established mechanism for reporting their availability, except for those acquired through commercial channels and recorded in library catalogs. The existence of most of the *neibu* materials, in fact, is made known only by word of mouth, since many such publications tend to remain in the hands of individual scholars. How to make the news of such acquisitions more widely known and thereby shared has been a concern of the community of contemporary China scholars. By launching the CCP Research Newsletter as a forum for the exchange of information on sources, and with the agreement of the Center for Chinese Research Materials to reproduce hard-to-find items that are submitted to the Newsletter, Professor Timothy Cheek and his international board of contributors have performed a signal service to the scholarly

community by creating an appropriate medium through which a long-felt need can be satisfied. As the "Invitation to New Members" makes clear, the success of this undertaking will depend on the cooperation of all concerned. It cannot be disputed that individual scholars and libraries, however resourceful they may be, can no longer hope to be self-sufficient in terms of research materials. This is nowhere more true than in contemporary China studies. Resource sharing and mutual help hold the key to advancing scholarly pursuits. The Chinese sayings, "rising water lifts the boat" and "fragments of fur make a fine robe" serve to encourage all of us as we salute the publication of the CCP Research Newsletter.

*Eugene W. Wu*

## Edited Records: Comparing Two Versions of Deng Xiaoping's 7000 Cadres Speech

by  
Michael Schoenhals  
Fairbank Center, Harvard University

In February 1987, the CCP released an official transcript of a speech made by Deng Xiaoping in the afternoon of 6 February 1962, at the so-called Seven Thousand Cadres Conference (*Renmin Ribao*: 16 Feb 1987). The transcript is of considerable interest to analysts of current events and biographers concerned with Deng Xiaoping's political career. It is also of interest to historians and political scientists concerned with the CCP's turn away from the disastrous policies of the Great Leap Forward. As a historical document, however, it must be approached with some caution. In their introductory note, the publishers--the CCP Central Committee's Documentary Research Office<sup>1</sup>--do not indicate that it has in fact been subjected to a number of revisions prior to publication. A comparison between it and a complete pre-Cultural Revolutionary internal text reproduced in *Collection of Deng Xiaoping's Reactionary Statements and Deeds*,<sup>2</sup> published at Beijing University in 1967 (Photocopy forthcoming from Center For Chinese Research Materials, Washington), reveals numerous minor and major changes in the text now made public.

It should be noted here that the *Huibian* is a collection in two parts, the first of which is a list of excerpts and quotes, and the second of which consists of complete (or almost complete) texts. Some of these texts are taken from open sources such as the *Renmin ribao*, and a careful comparison between them and these easily available 'originals' suggests that the *Huibian* is a reasonably well edited and reliable collection.

Among the minor and/or trivial changes in the now official transcript of Deng Xiaoping's "7000 Cadres" speech, there are a fair number involving references to the Party Chairman. Originally, Deng had referred respectfully to Mao Zedong as 'Chairman Mao', and, rather more intimately, to Liu Shaoqi as 'Comrade Shaoqi'; in the official transcript, Deng is simply quoted as calling Mao 'Comrade Mao Zedong' and as referring to Liu as 'Comrade Liu Shaoqi'. Originally, Deng had claimed that China's masses knew that 'to follow the Party along Chairman Mao's road is to follow the right road'; in the official transcript, the reference to the Party's 'road' as being 'Chairman Mao's' is no longer to be found. Originally, Deng had claimed that whenever the CCP corrected its mistakes, the masses praised it and exclaimed 'Chairman Mao's Communist Party is back again'; in the official transcript, the 'Communist Party' is no longer referred to as being 'Chairman Mao's'. (*Huibian*, p. 70)

The decision to delete the above references to Mao would seem to be in line with the present CCP leadership's policy of subjecting CCP-history to a broad *ex post facto* de-Maoisation. Attempts are made to make it appear as if Mao was treated like no more than a first among equals by his colleagues; attempts are made to make Deng look like a strict opponent of 'the cult of the individual' from beginning to end. That Deng never was a great supporter of the Mao-cult may be true. But it is worth noting that Deng originally called upon his audience and 'all of us engaged in practical work' to 'read the Quotations from the

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<sup>1</sup> 中共中央文献研究室

<sup>2</sup> <<邓小平反动言行汇编>>

Works of Chairman Mao' (published regularly, since May 1961, in the *Jiefangjun Bao*).<sup>3</sup> Many mistakes in economic planning, Deng furthermore said, had come about as a result of an inability on the part of cadres concerned to 'truly understand' the 'Chairman's exhortations'.

The major passages in Deng's speech deleted from the official transcript are those dealing with the correctness of the General Line, and the need for China's Communists to 'oppose revisionism while upholding proletarian internationalism'. This is what Deng originally said about the political line and ideological foundation of the Great Leap Forward:

*The General Line of our Party and the guiding ideology of our Party are, on the whole, correct. This was affirmed in Comrade Shaoqi's report. In our work we have quite a few shortcomings, and we have committed quite a few errors. But, as for the Party as a whole, our achievements predominate. Our achievements are primary, while our shortcomings and errors are secondary. Our shortcomings and errors have emerged in the process of policy-implementation, or manifested themselves in the form of imperfections or flaws in certain concrete policies. They are not errors in line or errors in guiding ideology. Of course, just as Comrade Shaoqi said, in some areas, errors of a line-nature have been committed. (Huibian, p. 68)*

Compare these comments of Deng's to the evaluation of the General Line given in the June 1981 'Resolution On Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic'!

The following passage about the Central Party Secretariat's responsibility for shortcomings in the implementation of the General Line was alluded to in *Dangshi Yanjiu* in 1981 (No.5, p.29).<sup>4</sup> Then it was said to express the 'self-critical spirit of the leading Comrades at the Party Center' from which the delegates attending the 7000 Cadres Conference derived 'a profound education'. Now it has been deleted from the official transcript:

*It has already been mentioned in Comrade Shaoqi's report that the responsibility for shortcomings and errors in our work over these last few years lies with the Central Leadership. The provincial levels are only responsible in the second instance. At the Center, the main responsibility must be said to lie first of all with the Central Party Secretariat that deals in practical matters. The Central Party Secretariat has submitted a report to Chairman Mao and the Standing Committee of the Politburo, consisting of a critical investigation of Central Documents issued over the last few years. Of course, we must still wait and see whether this critical investigation will suffice. During our discussions at the present meeting, some of you will come up with*

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<sup>3</sup> 解放军报

<sup>4</sup> 党史研究



*suggestions. Once the meeting is over, you may still come up with suggestions. If [our investigation] has been insufficient, we will add to it.*

*In Comrade Shaoqi's report, shortcomings and errors in our work have been summed up under four points. Chairman Mao and Comrade Shaoqi have both said that if that is enough, then let us leave it at that. If it is not enough, then add some more points. We should add as many as we have to. We must seek the truth from facts. (Huibian, p. 68)*

One can speculate about the reasons for why this passage has been deleted. Is it perhaps in order to 'protect' Comrade Deng Xiaoping, who headed the Central Party Secretariat during the Great Leap Forward?

This same problem applies to the handling of Deng's original remarks about revisionism, and his defense of the CCP leadership's posture and conduct within the international Communist movement, which are hawk-like. Since 1956, Deng had been a member of the CCP Politburo's small inner circle of foreign policy-makers. On more than one occasion, in China and abroad, he had criticized and condemned the politics pursued by the CPSU. Now he insisted that, regardless of whether or not the CCP leadership's independent and 'truly Leninist' line was seen as provocative by foreigners, or unwise by domestic critics for one reason or other, it would continue to be adhered to:

*Our Party is the major Party of a major country. Our Party has been victorious in revolution. It has become China's leading political power. Our Party is, as we have always said, a glorious, great and correct Party. It is a Marxist-Leninist Party worthy of the name. Consequently, our Party--the Communist Party of China--has to shoulder a special responsibility within the international Communist movement. We have a responsibility from which we cannot escape. Are we not the major Party of a major country? Are we not a Party that has gained revolutionary victory? Are we not a Marxist-Leninist Party worthy of the name? Since we are a Marxist-Leninist, victorious revolutionary major Party of a major country, we must shoulder our inescapable responsibility of upholding Marxism-Leninism while opposing revisionism within the international Communist movement. Especially at a time when modern revisionism has undergone further development, it is even less permissible for us to attempt to escape our responsibility. Internationally, our Party must hold high the banner of anti-imperialism! We must hold high the banner of revolution and the banner of proletarian internationalism! . . . .*

*Within the international Communist movement, our Party must shoulder its responsibility. This, of course, is not an easy task. We face a protracted, arduous and complex struggle. Therefore, as Comrade Shaoqi said in his report and Chairman Mao said in his speech, we must be very*

*cautious--both in international relations and our handling of anti-revisionism. Whether or not we shall be able to fully shoulder our international responsibility depends first of all on whether or not we shall be able to handle our domestic work well. Whether or not we shall be able to handle our domestic work well--and make a good job of domestic construction, etc.--depends first of all on the leadership of our Party. (Huibian, pp. 68-69)*

One might at first conclude that these paragraphs have been deleted solely in order not to create irritation or embarrassment for the CCP in the context of a possible normalization of relations with the CPSU at some date. There may, however, be an additional reason for why they have been deleted.

In February 1962, the head of the CCP's International Liaison Department, Wang Jiaxiang, proposed (in a letter to Deng, Zhou Enlai and Chen Yi) that the CCP ought to moderate its criticism of the Soviet Union. In the words of Wu Xiuquan,<sup>5</sup> he argued that:

*In foreign policy, China should adopt a long term policy of easing tension and of not making too many enemies. As far as giving foreign aid is concerned, we ought to be practical and realistic, and act according to capability. We should do our utmost to create a relatively calm international environment in order to be able to overcome our domestic difficulties, and get out of our international predicament as quickly as possible. (Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao:, vol.7, p.199)<sup>6</sup>*

Today, we are told that it was because these policy-suggestions found disfavour with Kang Sheng--who was directly responsible for locating and neutralizing political dissenters and 'agents of influence' within the higher echelon of the Party--that Wang Jiaxiang was swiftly demoted from his post within the Liaison Department, and accused of having gone 'revisionist'.

There is perhaps little reason to believe that Deng would not have agreed more with Wang than with Kang on how the CCP should arrange its political priorities. To Deng, as to Wang, the correct handling of 'domestic work' must have been more important than the pursuit of anti-revisionist 'international responsibilities'. But at some point, in the winter of 1961-62--when the first signs suggesting that Wang might soon be in trouble for advocating the above views may have appeared--Deng seems to have decided that it might be wise not to support them too firmly.

Judging from Deng's contradictory remarks (the first paragraph would seem to express the views of one 'camp' and the second that of another), he was not that firmly opposed to Wang's being 'eased out' of handling the CCP's international liaison with other Communist parties. This, then, is an additional reason for why the above paragraphs have been excised from the official record. Nothing is--if it can be avoided--to be made public that would suggest that there was a conflict of views between Deng Xiaoping and Wang

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<sup>5</sup> 伍修权

<sup>6</sup> 中共党史资料

Jiaxiang, whom the CCP today posthumously refers to as 'a truly great revolutionary'. And nothing is to be made public that would suggest that there was a convergence of views between Deng Xiaoping and Kang Sheng whom the CCP Central Committee posthumously deprived of his Party membership in October 1980.

The following references to Russian and Yugoslavian Communist leaders have also been deleted from Deng's speech:

*When Comrade Enlai was in Moscow in 1957, he spoke to a leader of the Soviet Communist Party and asked 'Would it not be possible for you to engage in some self-criticism as well? Are you not the least bit responsible for Stalin's errors?' He [the Soviet leader] said frankly: 'We could not engage in self-criticism'. No matter how you look at it, that cannot be said to be in accordance with Lenin's stipulated standards for a serious proletarian political party. Our Party makes the grade. (Huibian, p. 69)*

*. . . . We are now building socialism. Comrades! Do not assume that the building of socialism is unproblematic. Comrade Shaoqi in his report and Chairman Mao in his speech both mentioned that if we do not make a good job of it--and in particular if we do not do a good job at implementing democratic centralism--our Party may degenerate. The individual may also degenerate. Is Yugoslavia not a case indeed? Originally, the Yugoslavian party was a real Communist party and not a fake one. This man Tito was at one time a real Communist, not a fake one. But have they not already led Yugolsavia down the revisionist road? Have they not already degenerated? (Chairman Mao interrupts : Kautsky was once a real Communist, and Plekhanov was once a real Communist as well. But later they all degenerated.) Communist parties may degenerate. (Huibian, p. 71)*

The deletion of the references to the un-named Soviet leader (presumably Nikita Khrushchev) and Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia has almost certainly been motivated by diplomatic concerns. Mao's interjections concerning Kautsky and Plekhanov may have been deleted so as not to upset those CCP academics who today are in the midst of re-evaluating the role played by these two revolutionaries in the history of the world Communist movement.

## **The Sneevliet (Maring) China Archives: An Introduction and Listing of Holdings**

by  
**Tony Saich**  
**Leiden University &**  
**Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis**

The archive material concerning Sneevliet's period as Comintern representative in China (1921-23) came into the possession of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, in 1965. However, Sneevliet's family placed certain restrictions on the use of the archive until after a source publication had been completed. This is not the place to go into the problems that surrounded the publication of the sources but suffice it to say that the work has now been completed and will be published early in 1989.<sup>1</sup> As a result the archives are now open for others to profit from the rich pickings to be found there.

The Sneevliet China Archive forms a part of the much larger Sneevliet Archive that contains materials on his work in the Indonesian revolutionary movement (1913-17) and the Dutch communist movement (pre-1913 and 1924-42). The Sneevliet Archive has now been ordered chronologically and thematically by Mw.A.H. van der Horst making research considerably easier.<sup>2</sup>

The materials in the archives are in a variety of languages: Chinese, Dutch, English, French, German and Russian. In general, correspondence between Sneevliet and the Comintern and other Russian organisations is in German. When writing to his friends and acquaintances about the situation in China Sneevliet, of course, used Dutch. As Sneevliet could not speak Chinese, most of the materials concerning his dealings with the CCP or the Kuomintang (KMT) are in English. In the source publications both the original language version has been used together with an English language translation should it be necessary.

The materials permit a reconstruction of the time spent by Sneevliet in China as the official representative of the Comintern (1921-23). He had a major influence on the earliest years of the CCP, in particular concerning its relationship with the KMT. In addition, Sneevliet was actively involved in the founding of the communist labour movement and later in negotiations on behalf of Narkomindel (People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs) in China. In addition some documents shed interesting light on the communist movement in Korea while there is a whole section of reports, etc. that he

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<sup>1</sup> The author began this work in 1984. See Tony Saich, *The Origins of the First United Front in China: The Role of Sneevliet (Alias Maring)*, Two volumes (Leiden: E. J. Brill).

<sup>2</sup> For an inventory of the archive see A.H. van der Horst, *Inventaris van het archief van H.Sneevliet. (1901) 1907-1942, (1945-1984)* (Inventory of the H.Sneevliet Archive. (1901) 1907-1942, (1945-1984)) (Amsterdam: International Institute of Social History, 1985).

gathered during his time in the Eastern Department of the Comintern (late 1923 and early 1924).<sup>3</sup>

Chronologically, the Sneevliet China Archive can be divided into four periods.

Period One - materials relating to the First and Second Congress of the Comintern (1919-1920). Much of the material in this part consists of copies or drafts of documents, etc. that have been published officially elsewhere. However, of particular interest are Sneevliet's hand-written notes of the discussions held in the Committee on the Nationalities and Colonial Question of which he was Secretary (See Sneevliet Archive (S.A.) No. 194).

Period Two - materials concerning Sneevliet's first trip to China, April 1921-April 1922. These materials were not kept by Sneevliet in any systematic fashion and hence large gaps still remain to be filled in. However, a number of interesting pieces exist concerning his general familiarization with the situation in China. Of special note are the materials concerning his trip to the South in late 1921/early 1922 to meet with Dr. Sun Yat-sen and other leaders of the nationalist movement. An outline of Sneevliet's trip itinerary is contained in one of his notebooks (S.A.221) and notes of his discussions with Dr. Sun and others are to be found in two other documents (S.A.Nos.214 and 221). Before leaving Guilin (where he met with Dr. Sun), Sneevliet drafted a memorandum on the basis of their talks which he entitled "The Chinese Reconstruction and the Relations to Russia." (S.A.223) This document calls on the KMT to develop its propaganda work and recognise Soviet Russia. Failing public recognition, secret relations should be established by sending a delegation to Moscow.

Period Three - materials concerning Sneevliet's second trip to China (July 1922-August 1923). This section is by far the richest part of the archive and materials have been collected by Sneevliet in a much more systematic way. Essentially, there are three types of materials. There is a very extensive correspondence consisting of letters and telegrams with figures such as M.Borodin, N.Bukharin, Chiang Kai-shek, J.Davtian, A.Joffe, L.Karakhan, Liao Zhongkai, Sun Yat-sen, G.Voitinsky, and Zhang Tailei. Secondly, there are notes and materials relating to various meetings attended by Sneevliet. Thirdly, there are Sneevliet's reports to the Executive Committee of the Comintern concerning the situation in China, the development of the CCP and negotiations with Dr. Sun Yat-sen over aid and cooperation.

The materials in this section provide new information on a number of key issues. Concerning the CCP, two of the documents contain information on the Hangzhou Plenum of August 1922 (S.A.No.270 and 271) and by far the most interesting are the materials concerning the Third Party Congress (June 1923) (S.A.Nos.275, 276, 277, 278 and 279). These materials include delegates reports, notes of discussions over the problems of cooperation with the KMT, Mao Zedong clearly voted against the policy of cooperation at the Congress. According to Mao, no bourgeois revolution was possible in China and the national revolution could succeed only after the world revolution had overthrown the capitalist class in the capitalist countries.

One striking fact to come out of the materials in this section is that Sneevliet had an extremely close working relationship with Joffe who was in China for the Narkomindel. Sneevliet also undertook a considerable amount of work on behalf of Narkomindel. Sneevliet was the go-between for Joffe and Sun before they signed their Joint Declaration in January 1923 (See, for example, Letters from A.Joffe to Sneevliet

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<sup>3</sup> These two categories of documents have not been included in the source publication. The information provided in such documents while interesting falls outside of the scope of the source publication. It is to be hoped that others will be able to use such materials more fruitfully than I could have done.

on 7 and 17 November 1922, S.A.No.231). Indeed until the end of February 1923, Sneevliet was more busy with work for Narkomindel than for the Comintern and Joffe acted as his boss demanding regular reports on his activities. This focus on Narkomindel work even drew a rebuke from his Comintern masters. Further materials shed new light on the question of aid to Dr. Sun, the Soviet position on the Chinese Eastern Railway and the web of intrigue between Sun, Zhang Zuolin and Wu Peifu. The archive contains one very interesting report from Sneevliet to the Politburo of the Boshevik Party reporting Sneevliet's discussions in February 1923 with Zhang Zuolin on the question of the railway (S.A.No.296). In the report Sneevliet warns against any ideas of Soviet invasion.

Period Four - materials from Sneevliet's stay in Russia, December 1923-March 1924. During this period Sneevliet was assigned to work in the Eastern Department of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. This section contains a number of interesting reports prepared for the Comintern or by local communists on the situation in countries such as Persia, China, Korea, Egypt, Germany, Ireland and India. However, Sneevliet's assignment to the Department marked a further step in his marginalisation within the Comintern and eventually he decided to return to Holland.

Lest this all seem a little dry, as with all personal archives, the political and the personal intertwine, and there exists another story within the archives of Sneevliet, the European, in a strange distant land trying to convince the local communists of the correctness of his policies. Here personal conflicts with men such as Chen Duxiu and Zhang Guotao played an important role. Sneevliet's continual complaints about personal affairs and money matters, and his use of official channels to vent such grievances eventually caused him to clash with his mentor, Joffe. Sneevliet coming to the end of his one year tour of duty was agitating for the position of Consul in Canton. In two angry telegrams, Joffe stated "allow me as an old comrade to say openly that all behaviour recently from you absolutely unacceptable for good Com. Continuously only personal affairs after already received directives" (Telegram A.Joffe to Sneevliet, deciphered 28 June 1923 no.238, S.A.232). On the question of the post of Consul, adding insult to injury, Joffe wired that the post could not be combined with Comintern pursuits, adding "thus even supposing that you could be a good consul which is unlikely because this work demands prior knowledge as it demands generally what you do not have" [Sic.] (Telegram from A.Joffe to Sneevliet, deciphered 6 July 1923 no.241, S.A.232).

Even the flourishing of a new love life can be traced through the archive materials! (Those with an inquisitive disposition should start with Letter to N.Bukharin, 21 March 1923, S.A.No.230.)

### List of Documents

[errors in document titles are in original]

#### First Congress of the Comintern (2-19 March 1919)

<u>S.A. No.</u>	<u>Description</u>
188	Text of a Lecture by S.J. Rutgers Concerning the Situation in the Netherlands. 2 March 1919.
189	"Bericht aus der Turkei," Speech by M.Subhi.
190	"Bericht des Zentralburo der Kommunistischen Organisationen der Völker des Ostens," Text of a Speech, Anonymous.
191	Draft text of a Speech by N.I.Bukharin concerning "Richtlinien (des Internationalen Kommunistischen Kongresses)."

**Second Congress of the Comintern (Petrograd 19 July, Moscow 23 July-7 August 1922)**

- 192 Draft Report of H.Maring (Sneevliet) Concerning the Situation in the Dutch Indies.
- 193 Notes on a Visit to the "Gewerkschaftshaus 'Die Erwachende Arbeit' centrum van 22 huizen der vakbonden" on 9 July.
- 194 Notes of a Discussion of the Commission for the National and Colonial Questions. Under the direction of V.I.Lenin.
- 195 Resolutions proposed by F.K.Kohn "Zu These 2" and "Zu These 9."
- 196 "Bericht der Kommission über die Nationalitäten und die Kolonialfrage" by H.Maring, Secretary. Also, "Rapport de la commission des questions nationales et coloniales" and "Samevatting thesen Lenin 1920."
- 197 Notes of the evening session of 29 July and of 30 July concerning "Bedingungen der Aufnahme in die Kommunistische Internationale."

**Sneevliet's First Trip to China: April 1921-April 1922**

General Correspondence

- 207 Letter received and copies of letters sent. Includes some letters written before Sneevliet's departure. Also, includes some copies of letters sent by Sneevliet that are held in other archives.  
 Adler F., 1921, 1 letter.  
 Bergsma P., 1921, 2 letters.  
 Braambeek H.J. van, 1921, 1 letter.  
 Jasin Mohamad, 1921, 1 letter.  
 Miura, T, 1921, 1 letter.  
 Munster G.J. van, 1921, 1 letter.  
 Semaoen, 1921, 4 letters. Including a concept of a political and economic programme for the CSI [Central Sarekat Islam] in connection with the CSI Congress in Surabaya, 6-10 October 1921.  
 Sneevliet rido, 1921, 1 postcard.  
 Soebakat (PKI [Perserikatan Kommunist Di India] section, Bandung), 1921, 1 letter.  
 Waard, de, 1921, 2 letters.

Contact Addresses. Authorisations

- 208 Recommendation letter for H.Sneevliet from the Indian Revolutionary Committee of Europe. Two cloth pieces.
- 209 List of names and addresses of people in India and Japan.
- 210 Authorisation given to H.Sneevliet on behalf of the SI and PKI, 5 September 1921.
- 211 Authorisation given to H.Sneevliet on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Trades Union Federation in Indonesia.

Collected Materials and Notes

- 212 List of important articles that were published in "Construction" (*Jianshe*) in 1919.
- 213 Summary of an article by V.Vilensky on China in *Die Kommunistische Internationale*, no.16, 1920, pp.133-43.

- 214 Notes On the Existing Parties in China Excluding the KMT.
- 215 Notes On the Political Groups in China and Their Leaders.
- 216 Notes on the Political Opponents of the KMT After the First Revolution (1911).
- 217 Text of the "General Constitution" and the "Regulations of the Chun Kuo Min Tung," adopted on 9 November 1920.
- 218 Text of the Oath to be Sworn on Joining the KMT, in Chinese and English.
- 219 Notes on Sun Yat-sen's Speech of 6 march 1921 on the Three Principles.
- 220 Lecture by Sun Yat-sen on the Five Powers' Constitution, 20 March 1921.
- 221 Notes Relating to Sneevliet's Trip to the South, December 1921 - February 1922.
- 222 Notes on the Situation in Korea and the Political Organisation of the Koreans Abroad.
- 223 "The Chinese Reconstruction and the Relations to Russia," 10 January 1922.
- 224 "Instructions for the representative of IKKI [Ispolnitel'nyi Komitet Kommunisticheskogo Internatsionala] in South China," 1922.
- 225 "Bericht des Genossen H.Maring für die Executive," Moscow, 11 July 1922.
- 226 Sneevliet's Travel and Expenses June 1920 -23 December 1922.
- 227 Bill for Expenses 24 November -2 February 1921.
- 228 Two receipts in the name of Sneevliet from The Great Northern Telegraph Company (Ltd) of Denmark, Shanghai station.
- 229 Six Exchange slips from the American Express Co., Shanghai.

**Second Trip to China, July 1922 - August 1923**

- 230-231 Letters received and copies of letters sent 1922-1923. Two files.
- 230 Broido, G.I.
  - 25 June 1923.
- Bukharin, N.I.
  - 21 March 1923.
  - 31 May 1923.
  - 14 July 1923.
- Chantaly (Zhang Tailei)
  - 14 November 1923.
- Chiang Kai-shek
  - 12 November 1923.
  - 28 November 1923.
- Davtian J.
  - 5 May 1923.
  - 21 May 1923.
  - 30 May 1923.
  - 8 June 1923.
  - 12 June 1923.
  - 13 July 1923.
  - 20 July 1923.
- Franke F.
  - 1923, 1 Letter.
- Heller L.



- 231 Joffe A.  
     9 March 1923.  
     30 May 1923.  
     1 July 1923.  
     7 November 1922.  
     17 November 1922.  
     February 1923.  
     31 May 1923.  
     20 June 1923.  
     18 July 1923.  
     Karakhan L.  
         11 January 1923.  
         3 February 1923.  
     Liao Zhongkai  
         21 July 1923.  
     Munster G.J. van  
         1923, Two Letters.  
     Radek K.  
         30 May 1923.  
     Safarov G.  
         20 June 1923, also to N.Bukharin, K.Radek and  
         G.Zinoviev.  
     Sun Yat-sen  
         6 December 1922.  
         11 February 1923.  
     Zhang Ji  
         Undated, 1 Letter.  
     Voitinsky G.  
         9 March 1923.  
         27 March 1923, with as appendix a letter to the  
         Japanese Communist Party.  
     Wilde S.L.  
         30 May 1923.  
         3 July 1923.  
     Wompe P.  
         12 April 1923.  
         30 May 1923.
- 232 Sneevliet's notebook of dispatched and received telegrams. 30 April to  
 18 July 1923.
- 233 Part of a telegram from Davtian, end April 1923.
- 234 Six telegrams to or from A.Joffe. For the telegram of 1 May 1923, see  
 Document N.2.
- 235 Wilde S.L., two telegrams.
- 236 Sima, two telegrams.
- 237 Practice exercise in Japanese (*Kanji*).
- Visa, Instructions and Other Official Documents
- 238 Entry and Exit Visa for the RSFSR valid from 10 June 1922 until 20  
 December 1923, with photograph of Sneevliet.
- 239 Order of the Comintern to the Central Committee of the CCP to move to  
 Canton, July 1922.
- 240 Authorisation for Sneevliet to be correspondent for the Far East of the  
 Comintern and the International Presse Correspondence.

- 241 Certification for a trip by H.Sneevliet (under the name of Martin Bergman) to Chita, 10 January 1923.
- 242 Mandate from the ECCI naming H.Sneevliet to the Vladivostok Bureau, 11 January 1923.
- 243 Extract from the notes of the Presidium Session of 10 January 1923 concerning the appointment of H.Sneevliet to the Vladivostok Bureau, 12 January 1923.
- 244 Copy for A.Joffe of the Decision to Set Up a Vladivostok Bureau of the Comintern, January 1923.
- 245 Notes from telegrams received and sent during the period 7 May to 5 June 1923.
- 246 Sneevliet's pass (no.189) for entry to Sun Yat-sen's headquarters in Canton.

Notes from Various Journals

- 247 List of articles published in "New Youth" (*Xin Qingnian*), vols. 8 (nos.1-6) and 9 (nos.1-16).
- 248 Translation of the "Declaration" published in the first issue of the "Guide Weekly" (*Xiangdao Zhoubao*).
- 249 Extract from the "Eastern Times," 21 June 1921, concerning population statistics for different parts of China and extracts from "Agrarian conditions in China" by Chen Duxiu. This article was published in *Qianfeng* (Vanguard) in July 1923 under the title "Zhongguo nongmin wenti."
- 250 Notes from the "Daily Herald" concerning the number of people working in Changsha in different professions and their wages.
- 251 List of names and addresses of left-wing journals in London and New York.

Notes on Political Organisations and Unions

- 252 Notes of a report by Liem Bui Tsu (Lin Boqu?) on the military situation in Canton after Sun Yat-sen was driven out, August 1922.
- 253 Notes on the "People's Right Organisation" and "Among Peking Professors a.s.o.," 1922.
- 254 Notes on a meeting in Peking on 10 October 1922 of 86 political, union and women's organisations.
- 255 Notes of a talk with Deng Zhongxia on 15 October concerning the organisation of the unions among the railway workers and about women's organisations in Peking.
- 256 Notes on the organisation and membership of unions in the large cities and the number of communist members.
- 257 Notes on a "discussion on reorganisation labour work" and Wu Peifu's attitude towards the unions. Also, on union work in Shanghai and women's organisations in Shanghai, Canton and Hankou.
- 258 Notes concerning the labour situation in Hubei.
- 259 Notes on the Zhengzhou railway workers' strike: 4 to 10 February 1923.
- 260 Notes about a "general conference Student Unions," 15 March in Shanghai and about a meeting of students in Peking on 23 March.
- 261 Notes concerning a meeting at Li Dazhao's house, 30 March 1923.
- 262 Notes of a meeting with Deng Zhongxia concerning labour work, 4 April 1923.
- 263 Notes on possibilities for labour work in different places, June 1923.

- 264 Notes concerning the situation on the Peking-Hankou Railway Line and the Labour Movement in May and Early June, 1923.
- 265 Notes on the union situation in Canton.
- 266 Name-card of Li Toen from the "Union of waiters in teahouses," with notes on the union.
- 267 Notes on the "Causes of suffering of the rural population," "methods to bring them into the nationalist movement," and "forms of organisation."
- 268 Addresses for Luo Zhanglong, Shanghai and Gao Yuhan, Gottingen. Name-cards for Liao Zhongkai, the Building Workers' Union in Canton and Len Chen Ying and Wang C.

Notes on the CCP

- 269 Budget for CCP publications and labour work, latter part of 1922.
- 270 Notes of Sneevliet's about cooperation with the KMT, end-November/early December, 1922.
- 271 Chen Duxiu, "The Immediate Tactics of the Communist Party of China," November 1922.
- 272 "Resolution passed by the E.C. of the Comintern on the relations of the Communist Party of China to the 'Kuomintang Party'," 12 January 1923.
- 273 Notes of the most important points in a report by Kao on the "21 demands abrogation movement" and the activities of the KMT in Peking.
- 274 "Directives to the II Congress of the Communist Party of China" from V.Kolarov, Secretary of the ECCI, 24 May 1923.
- 275 Notes of comments by Qu Qiubai, Teng, Mao Zedong, Deng Pei, Li Dazhao and Lin Yunan on cooperation with the KMT at the Third Party Congress.
- 276 Notes of comments by the Guangdong branch, Chan Shin Tin, the Peking branch, Cai Hesen, Chen Duxiu and Zhang Guotao on cooperation with the KMT at the Third Party Congress.
- 277 H.Sneevliet, "Discussion on the Relation Between the CPC and Kuomintang."
- 278 "Thesis on the Relation between National Movement and Komintan [sic]."
- 279 Letter from the Central Committee to Sun Yat-sen, sent with accompanying letter from Sneevliet to G.Zinoviev, N.Bukharin, A.Joffe and J.Davtian, 25 June 1923.
- 280 Chen Duxiu, "Statement of the Communist Party of China on the Present Political Situation," July 1923.
- 281 K.Radek, "The Tasks of the Chinese Communist Party."
- 283 Notes concerning the differences between the CCP and the KMT.
- 284 Call by Sneevliet for an end to measures that cause disunity in the workers' ranks.
- 285 "The scheme for the establishment of a news agency," objectives, organisation of the Bureau and a budget for the initial period.
- 286 Notes concerning the "Monthly Review" with a list of contributors.

Notes Concerning the KMT

- 287 "Declaration of Quomintang" and the "Programme of Quomintang (Nationalist Party)," 1 January 1923.

- 288 Hand-drawn map of Guangdong and Fujian provinces showing troop concentrations, arsenals and name lists of KMT military leaders and functionaries.
- 289 Draft of "Plan of reorganisation of the K.M.T." and an earlier version "Organisation of the Kuo Mintang."
- 290 Plans for the organisational structure of the KMT with a list of personnel drawn up by Sneevliet.

#### Reports for the ECCI

- 291 Notes of Sneevliet's concerning his activities from 12 August to 7 September 1922.
- 292 Notes of Sneevliet's for his report concerning activities after the Hangzhou Conference.
- 293 Notes for a report of Sneevliet's concerning his activities for the period 14 October to 1 November 1922.
- 294 A.Joffe and H.Sneevliet, "Zur Frage unserer Arbeit in den Kolonial-Halbkoloniellaendern ueberhaupt und in China ins besonders."
- 295 Notes with headings "report situation," "informations," "activity for next future."
- 296 "Bericht über meine Reise nach Mukden und meine Besprechung mit dem Marschall Tschang Tso Lin," from H.Sneevliet to L.Karakhan, A.Joffe and Members of the Politburo.
- 298 Letter from H.Sneevliet to the ECCI, Profintern and the Vladivostok Bureau, 25 June 1923.
- 299 "Manifest of the Third Annual Conference of the Comm. Party of China (June 1923)," sent by Sneevliet to the ECCI and the Vladivostok Bureau, 3 July 1923.
- 300 Letter from H.Sneevliet to the ECCI and G.Safarov, 3 July 1923.
- 301 "Bericht ueber die Lage und die Arbeit in China ueber die Periode von 23 Juni bis 15 Juli van H.Maring," 15 July 1923.
- 302 "Should a new southern government be established after the fall of Chen Chun Ming in Canton?."

#### Articles by Sneevliet

- 303 "Lincheng and the Kuomintang."
- 304 "Foreign help for the reconstruction of China."
- 305 "The political crisis and the demands of the workersunions [sic] at Shanghai."
- 306 "Their Ways and Ours."
- 307 "Survey of the Nationalist Movement in China. The Past and Future."
- 308 "An Unbelievable Statement."
- 309 "His Force and Ours."
- 310 "The character of the Nationalist Movement in China and our place in that movement."

#### Finances

- 311 Correspondence with O.Piatnitsky concerning Sneevliet's financial affairs with the Comintern, 1922 and 1923.
- 312 Two receipts from S.L.Wilde for money recieved from Sneevliet for the liquidation of "Shanghai Life" and the setting up of "New Russia."
- 313 Receipts for money recieved by the CCP from S.L.Wilde and H.Sneevliet.

- 314 Declaration of costs for a trip from Peking to Shanghai and Canton to meet Sun Yat-sen and for telegrams sent from Canton during the period 15 to 30 May 1923.
- 315 Copies of letters to J.Davtian concerning financial affairs and the accounts for the period 31 May to 20 July 1923.

Journals

- 316 Copies of *Xiangdao Zhoubao*, nos.1 to 33, 1922-1923.
- 317 Copy of the *China Review*, vol.iv, no.3, 3 March 1923, "China and the powers."
- 318 "Special banking and financial issue of The Weekly Review," supplement to the number of 30 June 1923.

**Travel and Residency Permits, and Work Related Papers.**

- 320 Holiday Pass for H.Sneevliet, 29 August 1923.
- 321 Certificate for H.Sneevliet from S.J.Rutgers.
- 322 Passport from the Secretariat of the ECCI for H.Sneevliet, valid until 2 March 1924.
- 323 Letter from N.Bukharin to J.Stalin introducing H.Sneevliet, note that this letter is from January 1923 not 1924.
- 324 Letter from H.Sneevliet to G.Zinoviev with as appendix "The Organisation of the Eastern Bureau of the Comintern," 8 March 1924.
- 325 Letter from H.Sneevliet to the Eastern Department of the Comintern, 13 March 1924.
- 326 Extract from the Protocol of the Secretariat of the ECCI, 24 March 1924.

Articles and Reports

- 328 H.Sneevliet, "Die Bedeutung der Transportarbeiterbewegung für die allgemeine Bewegung im Osten," 3 March 1924.
- 329 H.Sneevliet, "Unsere Verbindung mit den Transportarbeiten des Ostens," incomplete.
- 330 "Sun Yat-sen and his Canton Position," late-1923/early-1924.
- 331 G.Voitinsky, "Report to the Eastern section of the ECCI," 15 January 1924.
- 332 Resolution and a draft on the "Koreanische Frage," 26 February 1924.
- 333 "Thesen der Oppositionsdelegation der K.P.D.," Moscow, December 1923.
- 334 "Skizze über die Entwicklung der Opposition in der K.P.D.," December 1923.
- 335 "Zur Gewerkschaftsfrage in Deutschland," Concept text of a memorandum by Ruth Fisher.
- 336 Rough draft concerning points on which the Versailles Treaty should be revised and the viewpoint concerning the Ruhr region.
- 337 Report containing copies of the "Resolution of the Presidium of the E.C. on the Irish Question" and of a report and letters from the British Communist Party and the Communist Party of Ireland in the period December 1922-February 1924. This was intended for the "Commission on Ireland and the present situation in Britain," signed with the initials R.S.
- 338 Notes concerning the number of inhabitants and the industrial development in British India.

- 339 Summary of M.N.Roy's report on India, December 1923.  
340 "Program of the Provisional All-India Central Revolutionary  
Committee" and a "Draft of the programme of the All-India Central  
Revolutionary Committee (made by a commission of the Executive  
Committee of the Comintern)."  
341 "Revolutionary movement in India and the Indian peasantry" a  
memorandum of Zakaria (Rahmat Ali)  
342 "An open letter to the reception committee of the IV All-India Trade  
Union Congress" by M.N.Roy. March 1924.  
343 "Reise nach Java," Report of A.Langkemper to the Eastern Department  
of the ECCI. 1923.  
344 "Bericht des Genossen Semaoen über die Indonesische Bewegung für  
die Periode Januar 1922 bis Dezember 1923," to the Comintern and the  
Profintern. Translated by H.Sneevliet.  
245 "The Communist Movement in Indonesia (Dutch East-Indies)," a draft  
article by H.Sneevliet. With as appendix a copy of *De Tribune* of 20  
February 1924.  
346 "Die ökonomische und politische Bedeutung Indonesiens (Vortrag des  
Genossen maring bei der Gesellschaft zur wissenschaftlichen  
Erforschung des Ostens). Am 23. Februar 1924."  
347 "Die Revolutionäre Bewegung Indonesiens," and article by H.Maring  
[Sneevliet], 4 March 1924.  
348 "Der weisse Terror in Hollandisch-Indien," article by H.Maring.  
349 "Instruktion an den Bevollmächtigten des Ost-Ressorts (Abteilung) der  
Executive der Komintern für die Arbeit in Indonesien," written on the  
text in Russian is "Secret. Project Comrade Maring."  
350 Draft resolution from the ECCI concerning the Palestinian Communist  
Party.

**Relevant Correspondence After Returning to the Netherlands, 1924**

- 361 Borodin M.  
29 April 1924.  
Chantaly (Zhang Tailei)  
1 May 1924.  
Joffe A.  
20 April 1924.  
21 April 1924.  
20 June 1924.  
Sun Yat-sen  
29 April 1924.  
Zetkin K.  
23 April 1924.  
Sima  
20 June 1924.  
366 Authorisation for Marriage of Sima L.Zholkovskaya from  
T.Zholkovskaya, 5 July 1924.

**New Sources for the 1920s: A Review of *Selected CCP Central Committee Documents*, Vols. I, II, III**

by  
**Hans van de Ven**  
Cambridge University

In 1982 the Central Committee Archives<sup>1</sup> began publishing a compilation of high-level Communist documents. Entitled *Selected CCP Central Committee Documents*,<sup>2</sup> it contains the most complete and authoritative set of source materials on early Party history that has been accessible to Western scholars. By 1986 eight volumes had been published, covering the first ten years of CCP history, and I have heard that additional volumes for the late thirties are now available. This article will present a critique of the first three volumes, which contain documents from 1921-1927. They are available in the Fairbank Center Library at Harvard University and through CCRM.

The *Selected Documents* chronicles the policies, attitudes, debates, and actions of the official CCP leadership nearly on the day-to-day basis. Its volumes allow us to peer into the organization and operation of the CCP from the vantage point of its ruling bodies. The collection amounts in essence to a printed Central Committee archive.

The original compilation and editing of the *Selected Documents* took place in the 1950s under the supervision of Wu Shanchang,<sup>3</sup> then the director of the Central Committee Archives. The present edition received some additional editing. It is distributed in printed form to, as far as I know, the History Departments of major universities as well as the Modern History Institute of the Chinese Academies of Social Sciences and its provincial-level equivalents. Chinese scholars state that the *Selected Documents* draws from the more comprehensive *Compilation of CCP Central Committee Documents*.<sup>4</sup> No information about this source is available to Western scholars.

CONTENTS

The single most important category of documents in the collection is the reports to Central Committee meetings and the resolutions adopted at them. From 1923 on members of the Central Committee (until 1927 officially called the Central Executive Committee (*Zhongyang Zhixing Weiyuanhui*))<sup>5</sup> convened on a quarterly basis. They discussed not only Party policy, but also heard reports of the Central Bureau (*Zhongyangju*),<sup>6</sup> the forerunner of the Politburo Standing Committee, as well as of Regional Committees

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<sup>1</sup> 中央档案馆

<sup>2</sup> <<中共中央文件选集>>

<sup>3</sup> 吴善昌

<sup>4</sup> <<中共中央文件汇编>>

<sup>5</sup> 中央执行委员会

<sup>6</sup> 中央局

(*Quwei*)<sup>7</sup> and the Local Committees (*Diwei*)<sup>8</sup> directly subordinate to the Central Committee. Before describing the next variety of documents in the collection, below follow illustrations of how the reports to the Central Committee and its resolutions compel us to review our understanding of CCP history.

In his political report to the Special Central Committee meeting of December 1926, Chen Duxiu attacked Borodin, the Comintern advisor, as well as members of the Guangdong Regional Committee for what he termed "leftist infantilism" (II:384-385). Chen meant by this the refusal of Borodin and the Guangdong Regional Committee members to cooperate on a basis of equality and respect with KMT members. He stated that they possessed a low opinion of KMT members and did not accept his idea of the existence of a KMT Left-Wing with which the CCP could ally. One member of the Guangdong Regional Committee, Chen wrote, vocalized this opinion bluntly when he said:

*With March 20 [of 1926 when Chiang Kai-shek executed his coup d'etat in Canton], the KMT died. After May 15 [when the KMT leadership endorsed Chiang's purge of CCP members in the KMT], the body began to stink. Now why do we clench this stinking corpse to our bosom? (II:384)*

Chen's report is surprising because it reveals severe conflict between Chen Duxiu on the one hand and members of the Guangdong Regional Committee and Borodin on the other. Conrad Brandt in *Stalin's Failure in China* (xii) wrote that he suspected this but had no evidence. Brandt was not aware of what the conflict was about or how deep the division ran. In addition to the above report, the *Selected Documents* provides three letters of September and October 1926 from the Central Executive Committee to the Guangdong Regional Committee (respectively II:224-227; II:261-262; II:263). Chen Duxiu defended in these his view that cooperation with the KMT was a necessity and that the independent CCP seizure of power, the strategy favored by the Guangdong Regional Committee and Borodin, was bound to fail given Chiang Kai-shek's strength and CCP weakness. On November 4 Chen followed up with a report at a leadership meeting<sup>9</sup> of November 4 and 5 in which he first set out his own ideas and appended a statement by members of the Guangdong Regional Committee which defended their point of view (II: 278-288).

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<sup>7</sup> 区委

<sup>8</sup> 地委

<sup>9</sup> A footnote to the document explains that this was a Politburo 政治局 meeting. This is problematic because it was the Third Revised Party Constitution passed on a June 1, 1927 Politburo meeting which for the first time officially recognized the institution of the Politburo. See "中国共产党第三次修正章程决案 (一九二七年六月一日中央政治局会议决议案)" <<中国共产党第二次至六次全国代表大会文件汇编>>, "Resolution on the Third Revised Constitution of the CCP: (Passed by the June 1, 1927 Central Politburo Meeting)," in Central Committee Archives, ed., *Compilation of Documents from the Second to Sixth CCP Congresses*, p. 199. This meeting followed shortly after the Fifth Party Congress. It is possible then that an organization like the Politburo came into existence in the second half of 1926, replacing the Central Executive Committee; that participants in the Fifth Congress discussed it; and that the Politburo (elected by the Central Committee established and elected at the Fifth Congress) ratified it on June 1, 1927.



Besides laying bear a schism in the Party, these documents also show the complexity of Comintern-CCP relations. Here we have a Comintern agent actively undermining the continuation of the United Front with the KMT, while Brandt as well as Harold Isaacs in *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution* blamed the Comintern as a juggernaut forcing the CCP to continue the United Front at great cost. While Chen Duxiu was usually described as a reluctant executor of Comintern directives, at least at this occasion he pulled out all the stops to defend the policy, even against a Comintern agent. Chen acted this way perhaps because he depended ultimately on Moscow's approval. It is also possible that he was convinced the CCP was not able to seize power independently, and that therefore the call to action of the Guangdong Regional Committee members was suicidal. There is much in the *Selected Documents* to bear this out. If nothing else, in analyzing the impact of the Comintern the collection will force us to be more sophisticated and to delineate carefully whom we are talking about, and what his relation is to different groups both within the CCP and the Comintern.

It is the reports and resolutions which are most able to draw us inside the CCP and reveal how Party members went about their affairs. Central committee meetings were work-meetings, routinely taking up matters of procedural violations or difficulties encountered in the implementation of a policy. A document of the February 1926 Special Central Committee meeting entitled "The Henan Problem" (*Henan Wenti*)<sup>10</sup> stated that members of the Henan Regional Committee complained that their committee secretary, referred to in the document as Z.F., "frequently did not follow procedures,...possessed a bad attitude toward other committee members, and in his personal life often indulged in careless romantic behavior." (II:36) The Central Committee argued that Z.F. had been remiss in not reporting tensions in the committee to the Central Committee, and that "in this respect, Z.F. indeed was lax and made errors" (II:37). But it then went on to say that those who lodged the complaint committed grave violations of Party discipline by convening the regional committee to depose Z.F. when he was away on Party business, and that they did so without informing the Central Committee. Central Committee members in this case, it seems, backed up a lower level executive in order to maintain their organization's procedures as well as to show that they would stand by their people.

One of the surprises that comes out of the Central Committee reports dealing with the implementation of the United Front is that it remained a paper program until well into 1924. Even though the CCP leadership accepted the United Front policy designed by the Dutch Comintern agent Maring at its August 1922 meeting, the Central Bureau report (*zhongyangju baogao*)<sup>11</sup> of November 25, 1923, stated that "the resolution of the Party Congress [of July 1923 to launch the United Front] was still not carried out because many members possess deep reservations." (I:136) The Peking Regional Committee report presented at the same meeting wrote that the "national movement....will not quickly succeed because many comrades doubt the wisdom of the policy, they squabbled with Nationalist comrades when they met, and KMT people tried to use some of our comrades to stir up trouble in the Party." (I:138). Reports from other regions were equally unfavorable about the United Front. The documents of the May 1924 Expanded Central Committee meeting were more positive; yet they spoke not about achievements but about the possibilities created by the KMT's First Congress of January 1924. Sun Yat-sen carried out a re-organization of the KMT at this congress, strengthening his own position, and appointed CCP members to high-level KMT and Nationalist Government positions. Of course this created possibilities. A resolution of the Fourth CCP Congress of January 1925 confirmed that after the KMT re-organization most CCP members joined the KMT as stipulated by the Party's United Front policy. The United Front, then, became a reality

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<sup>10</sup> 河南问题

<sup>11</sup> 中央局报告

only in the course of 1924. But as Chen Duxiu revealed in his report to the Fifth Congress of April/May 1927, serious preparations were made even then for the withdrawal of CCP members from the KMT.<sup>12</sup> The *Selected Documents* also contains the complete resolutions and declarations of the five Party Congresses held between 1921-1927.

A further category of documents contained in the collection is Central Committee Announcements (*zhongyang tonggao*).<sup>13</sup> The Central Bureau issued these in name of the Central Committee when the latter was not in session. Announcements had a number of functions. They communicated to the Party membership the leadership's justifications for its decisions set out in Party resolutions. They also formed a way for the members of the Central Bureau to inform the membership about the Party line on a sudden development such as Sun Yatsen's death. During the turbulent 1925-1927 period the CCP leadership increasingly seized upon the announcements as a tool to direct Party campaigns, change policy, and coordinate the increasingly disparate Party constituencies. The struggle between Chen Duxiu and the members of the Guangdong Regional Committee undermined this function when Chen especially in early 1927 employed the announcements to enhance his position. Researchers in the past only had access to scattered announcement of uncertain reliability. The *Selected Documents* contains hundreds.

The announcements, reports, and resolutions form the backbone of the *Selected Documents*. There are, in addition, "letters" (*xin* or *han*),<sup>14</sup> which CCP leaders used to communicate with one specific person or lower level organization. As mentioned, letters were the medium which Chen employed in his attempt to bring the Guangdong Regional Committee to heel in 1926. Earlier on April 6, 1922 it was in a letter to the Comintern member Voitinsky in Moscow in which Chen set out his objections against Maring's suggestion that the CCP join the KMT (I:15). It was also in letter of August 20, 1927, that Mao Zedong attempted to persuade the new Qu Qiubai leadership to adopt a policy of total land confiscation and the establishment "soviets of workers, peasants, and soldiers" (II:303), declaring that the Chinese revolution had reached its socialist stage. Three days later the Central Committee declined Mao's suggestion, writing that the revolution was still in its bourgeois-democratic stage.<sup>15</sup> While few the letters belong to the most revealing items in the *Selected Documents*.

The collection finally brings together major Party statements to the Chinese public such as "manifestoes" (*zhuzhang*)<sup>16</sup> and "declarations" (*xuanyan*).<sup>17</sup> The CCP also issued "statements" (*shu*)<sup>18</sup> of "warning" (*gao*),<sup>19</sup> "commemoration" (*jinian*),<sup>20</sup> or

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<sup>12</sup> "陈独秀在中国共产党第五次全国代表大会上的报告 (一九二七年四月二十九日)" <<中共党史资料>> "Chen Duxiu's Report at the Fifth CCP Party Congress (April 29, 1927)) in *Materials for CCP Party History*, III (1982), p. 31.

<sup>13</sup> 中央通告

<sup>14</sup> 信, 函

<sup>15</sup> On this episode see also Stuart Schram, "On the Nature of Mao Tse-tung's 'Deviation' in 1927," *The China Quarterly*, XVIII (April-June 1964).

<sup>16</sup> 主张

<sup>17</sup> 宣言

<sup>18</sup> 书

<sup>19</sup> 告

<sup>20</sup> 纪年

"congratulation" (*zhuhe*)<sup>21</sup> on such occasions as the suppression of a strike, the death of Sun Yatsen, or the opening of a congress of the Socialist Youth League. In addition to the incidental CCP statements, the collection also furnishes key writings from CCP leaders. The first three volumes incorporate articles by Chen Duxiu, Cai Hesen,<sup>22</sup> Deng Zhongxia,<sup>23</sup> Mao Zedong, and Qu Qiubai. Most of these documents are well known, but never were put together as conveniently.

#### OMISSIONS AND RELIABILITY

The publication of this collection no doubt warrants euphoria. Yet important qualifications are in order. What we have here is not unlike the Veritable Records, the *Shilu*,<sup>24</sup> of dynastic times: a collection of carefully selected documents, some edited, indicating the "court's" point of view and put out for the consumption of a select audience. Without access to the original archival copies, it is impossible to gauge with certainty to what extent the selection of documents is misleading and whether or not individual documents have been tampered with.

Even so, some comments can be made concerning the general categories of documents which the *Selected Documents* omits and the faithfulness of those included to their originals. Given the fact that local and regional organizations had the duty to report weekly, it is likely that many more reports exist than now are presented in the collection. This is the case even if Local and Regional Committees at times, or even frequently, failed to file reports, an issue dealt with in Central Committee Announcement Number 21 of November 1, 1924 (I:233). The fact that the Central Committee Archives is now bringing these reports out in separate document collections lends further evidence to this conclusion. For instance, the *Archival Sources for the First CCP Congress: Revised and Enlarged*, (Central Committee Archives, ed, Beijing: People's Press, 1984)<sup>25</sup> contains reports by delegates from Peking and Canton to the First Congress of July 1921. This collection also contains a report from a communist organization in Sichuan, an area without representatives at the First Congress. None of these regional reports appear in the *Selected Documents*.

Other material which the collection excludes is the records of the meetings of the Politburo and Standing Committee of the CCP Central Committee. The editors' epilogue to the document collection *The August Seven Emergency Conference*, edited by the Editorial Committee for Party History Documents of the CCP Central Committee & Central Committee Archives (Beijing: CCP Historical Materials Press, 1986)<sup>26</sup> reveals that records were kept for these meetings from the May 29, 1927 meeting of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee onward (p. 196). An archive was set up to preserve these as well as other Central Committee materials.<sup>27</sup> The *August Seven Emergency*

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<sup>21</sup> 祝贺

<sup>22</sup> 蔡何森

<sup>23</sup> 邓中夏

<sup>24</sup> 实录

<sup>25</sup> <<中国共产党第一次代表大会档案资料(增订本)>>

<sup>26</sup> <<八七会议>>, 中共中央党史资料征集委员会 & 中央档案馆.

<sup>27</sup> Zhu Shaowei, ed., 朱少伟, 编, "我党第一个管理档案文件

条理" (Our Party's first Regulations for Handling Archival Documents) in *Party*

*History Newsletter*, 党史信息, XVI (Shanghai, 16 August 1986), p. 2.

*Conference* is based upon this archive, and contains many more documents on the Emergency Conference than the *Selected Documents*, including statements by participants. It is unclear why the editors of the collection omitted them. It is possible that later volumes will draw more heavily from this archive.

Communications from the Comintern also seem under-represented. The CCP reported frequently to Moscow and Comintern leaders likely dispatched numerous directives. The *Selected Documents* incorporates on the whole only well-known Comintern resolutions on the Chinese situation.

The compilers of the collection appear to have avoided those subjects which could still create a furor. We remain in the dark about Chen Duxiu's role during the period between the Fifth Congress of April-May 1927 and the August Seven Emergency Conference of the same year. Neither do we learn much about Comintern interference during this period or Qu Qiubai's seizure of power in the Party. It may be of course that no archival material exists to shed further light on these matters.

One factor inspiring confidence in the reliability of the documents which the *Selected Documents* does contain is its high level of classification. The title pages of the volumes state that the collection contains "secret party materials" (*dangnei mimi wenjian*)<sup>28</sup> and that they should be carefully stored and not be copied. Chinese scholars in a position to consult the collection may not refer to it in their work, and in conversations some deny its very existence.

The editorial policies followed by the compilers also enhance one's faith in the collection. As seems to be the practice in recent Chinese documentary collections, the editors create titles and subtitles for each document to indicate its nature and they add dates as well. These do not seem misleading. When there is doubt about a date, the editors explain themselves in a footnote. They also use brackets to indicate illegible characters in the original, suggesting a reading in a footnote. The editors of the first three volumes of the *Selected Documents* did not have to deal with one obstacle which may have hampered those working on the later volumes, namely the rule that documents unnecessarily harming the reputation of people alive should not be made available, at least not in their complete form. These factors as well as the revealing nature of the documents themselves suggest that the collection is on the whole reliable, even if important material was omitted. Without the possibility of an archival check, though, researchers would be foolish not to treat the *Selected Documents* with caution.

This is true also because publications, such as the *Selected Documents*, still serve political purposes. Its distribution fits current policies of greater openness and of "seeking truth from facts." At the same time the collection could well be intended, although this is only a guess, to serve as a counterweight to *Before the Sixth Congress*, and *Since the Sixth Congress*.<sup>29</sup> These two collections, first printed in Yan'an in December 1941, furnish a selection of Party documents to buttress the Maoist interpretation of CCP history which was eventually elevated to doctrine in the "Resolution on Several Historical Questions" of 1945. While *Before the Sixth Congress* was issued publicly in China by the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee (*Zhonggong Zhongyang Shujichu*),<sup>30</sup> (Beijing: People's Press, 1980), the Japanese clearinghouse for Chinese classified materials, Gendai Shiryo Kenkyujo,<sup>31</sup> this year published the second title. The *Selected Documents* is not as blatant in its ideological bias as these two collections. It does serve the current regime by 'de-

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<sup>28</sup> 党内秘密文件

<sup>29</sup> <<六大以前>>, <<六大以来>>

<sup>30</sup> 中共中央书记处

<sup>31</sup> 现代资料研究所

Maoisation' of the history of the CCP; it is not a straightforward academic compilation of CCP documents. Its editors operated in a world of limited possibilities.

Despite this note of caution, the *Selected Documents* seems a rich source certain to add to our knowledge. It will force reconsideration of a number of contentious issues in CCP history and open up new areas of inquiry. It is as good a set of Party documents as we are likely to get in a long time.

Like the dynastic *Shilu* the collection is not only valuable for its own documents. As it amounts to a record of the CCP leadership's policies and activities, it provides a framework from which to approach compilations of Party documents with a more narrow focus. Many of these have appeared in recent years, some dealing with one even or figure, such as *The Three Armed Uprisings of Shanghai Workers*, Shanghai Municipal Archives, ed., (Shanghai, 1983)<sup>32</sup> or *Historical Sources for the Study of Peng Pai*, (Canton, 1982).<sup>33</sup> Provincial or even lower level research units produced collections of documents, some in periodical form, which provide information for the Party in a given province. *Sources for CCP History in Guangdong*<sup>34</sup> is an example of this. Similar periodicals now exist for most provinces, with many reaching us through Hong Kong. By placing the information from publications such as these into perspective, the *Selected Documents* brings into sharp focus the activities of CCP members as well as the reactions these provoked throughout Chinese society. It is perhaps when employed in this fashion that the *Selected Documents* best displays its research potential.

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<sup>32</sup> 上海市档案馆, 编, 《上海工人三次武装起义》。

<sup>33</sup> 《彭湃研究史料》

<sup>34</sup> 《广东党史资料》

**The Party Organization Department:  
Sources in An Ziwen's Biography**

by  
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陈野苹, 韩劲草, 著 <<安子文传略>> (太原, 山西人民出版社, n.d.)

Chen Yeping & Han Jincao, *The Biography of An Ziwen* (Taiyuan, Shanxi renmin, n.d.). Forward by Bo Yibo. Copy available at the Asian Library, University of Michigan & Fairbank Center Library, Harvard; excerpts to be translated in *Chinese Law and Government* (Winter, 1988-89).

Personal biographies of Communist Party leaders are a rich, new source on the history of the CCP. During the Cultural Revolution Party historiography focused almost exclusively on the leading role of Mao Zedong, but since 1978 China's leadership authorized the publication of literally hundreds of biographies and reminiscences to demonstrate the "collective" contributions of leaders, many unknown in the West, to the Chinese Communist revolution. In addition to the substantial biographies contained in the series *Communist Party History Personnel Biographies* (*Zhonggong dangshi renwu zhuan*)<sup>1</sup>--now numbering over 30 volumes--there are also many new individual biographies, such as the one reviewed here, published by national and provincial presses. Most of these works review the lives of Party leaders--many now dead--who after suffering during the Cultural Revolution have been rehabilitated by the post-1978 leadership. There are also a few "critical" biographies of past political leaders currently condemned in China, such as Kang Sheng, though his biography, *Kang Sheng pingzhuan*, has been withdrawn from circulation (see *Book Notes*, this issue). A similar work on the leftist leader, Wang Dongxing, is also reportedly planned, but since the biography's subject (or his/her heirs) must reportedly give permission to publish such a work--which Wang apparently has not granted--this book has yet to be written.

For Western scholars these biographies contain *two* important sources of information. First, there is rich detail on the lives and political experiences of the men and women who fought in the revolution and built the new Chinese state. Although undoubtedly hagiographic, these works provide considerable detail on the human drama behind the Communists' rise to power. With a close, but critical, reading of these works, Western scholars can begin to supplement the generally impersonal concepts which have dominated historical interpretation--e.g. "peasant nationalism" and "power relations"--with a deeper appreciation of the personal ties and individual sacrifices involved in CCP history. Second, and more importantly, these works are a good source of data on broader topics of pre- and post-1949 Chinese history and political analysis for scholars generally uninterested in biography per se. These include such topics as the institutional development of the CCP; local history of the many Communist war-time base areas in North and Central China; the implementation of land reform in the early 1950s; and, of course, the Cultural Revolution.

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<sup>1</sup> <<中共党史人物传>>

*The Biography of An Ziwen* provides both types of information. Most previous Western scholarship has focused on An Ziwen's role as a major figure in the CCP's Organization Department in the 1950s and 1960s, when involvement in high level politics culminated in his purge during the Cultural Revolution. However, in this biography, written by two of An's old associates in the Organization Department, we learn a great deal about An Ziwen's earlier revolutionary days: his dangerous underground work in the KMT-controlled "white areas" during the 1930s; his role in establishing the Taiyue Anti-Japanese Base area; and finally, his contributions to building the war-time Party apparatus, particularly the Organization Department, at CCP headquarters in Yan'an. Since much information is presented to clear An's name from accusations brought by Kang Sheng during the Cultural Revolution--especially regarding events surrounding An's (and Bo Yibo's) 1936 release from a KMT prison--the biography must be used carefully, in conjunction with other sources.<sup>2</sup> Yet even where possibly tainted by contemporary political considerations, this biography chronicles the extraordinary efforts of An Ziwen and his generation in building the Chinese Communist movement.

The most attractive aspect of this biography is its information on the CCP's Organization Department and the Party's overall institutional development. Although Western scholars have produced major studies of the CCP (most notably, Franz Schurmann's *Ideology and Organization in Communist China*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), we still know precious little about the Party's organizational formation in the 1940s and early 1950s. Fortunately, An's biography fills in some gaps with important material, particularly on the evolution and internal structure of the CCP's Organization Department.<sup>3</sup>

The six main chapters of the book provide rich data on, for instance, the organization of Party cells in prison (pp. 18-25); the development of the CCP's "dossier" (*dang'an*) and internal "reporting" (*huibao*) systems (pp. 55, 60);<sup>4</sup> controversies over implementation of early rectifications in post-1949 China (pp. 76-77); and recruitment and management of cadres in the early 1950s (p. 87). Perhaps the liveliest material here is the authors' description of the intense negotiations between central and local authorities regarding Beijing's plan to transfer local cadres in the early 1950s to staff the rapidly expanding national government apparatus. Despite the center's formal authority over local units, An Ziwen's biographers emphasize the extraordinary resistance of local political leaders to such encroachments on their scarce personnel resources, which often caused the postponement of cadre transfers for months.

There are also interesting descriptions of the evolving conflict over the severity and frequency of early Party rectifications. In addition to providing rich detail on such early campaigns as the "Three-antis" and "Five-antis" (1950-52), the biography demonstrates how An Ziwen and other leaders apparently resisted Kang Sheng's attempts to run intermittent and highly politicized rectifications which, they believed, quickly produced "leftist" errors. Although we can question the veracity of any post-1978 interpretation of CCP history involving Kang Sheng, this book, like other recent works, suggests that the

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<sup>2</sup> For example, Tai Huaiji, 态坏济, <<天地有正气: 草岚子监狱斗争与"六十一人案">> (北京出版社, 1982). *Heaven and Earth Have Upright Spirit: The Struggle in Caolanzi Prison and the "61 Man Case"* (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1982). This and other similar works will be reviewed in the next Newsletter by Timothy Cheek.

<sup>3</sup> Also see An Ziwen's earlier work: <<中华人民共和国三年来的干部工作>>, *Cadre Work in the People's Republic of China over the Last Three Years* (Beijing, 1952).

<sup>4</sup> 党案, 汇报

fundamental policy differences and personal animosities among top leaders which exploded in the Cultural Revolution had deep historical roots in the Party. No mention is made, however, of An Ziwen's apparent opposition in 1954 to Mao Zedong's early tendencies toward arbitrary decision-making which An criticized elliptically in an important speech supporting "collective leadership" (*jiti lingdao*).<sup>5</sup> While describing An's personal conflicts with Kang Sheng and Rao Shushi (the latter was An's superior in the Organization Department in the early 1950s), the facade of unity with the Chairman--a constant theme in almost all recent biographies--is maintained here by totally neglecting An's critical 1954 speech. Some new material is presented on the Gao Gang-Rao Shushi affair, especially on Rao's capricious leadership style which evidently alienated many Party leaders, including Mao (pp. 99-106). Overall, however, the book presents an image of a generally harmonious leadership group up to the Cultural Revolution. Finally, chapter 10 provides concrete information on the deteriorating conditions of the CCP organization after the Great Leap Forward. No other work examined by this reviewer (except the *Lianjiang Documents* which were acquired by Taiwan authorities and described conditions in Fujian province) presents such a vivid and comprehensive description of the organizational chaos following the destructive economic policies of 1958-60.<sup>6</sup>

The last three chapters of An's biography focus on his experiences during the Cultural Revolution and his brief return to political life in the late 1970s just prior to his death in 1980. Although some interesting vignettes are provided--such as a description of how An was feted by Mao on one day and denounced by Red Guards in Tian'anmen on the next--there is little material of scholarly interest here. An Ziwen, like many CCP leaders, suffered greatly at the hands of Mao and the "Gang of Four," but he survived and returned to political work with his faith in the Party allegedly unshaken. This biography is a valuable source for expanding our knowledge of the early institutional development of the CCP. To understand the human tragedy of the Cultural Revolution, however, scholars must go elsewhere.

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<sup>5</sup> "集体领导保证了共产党的胜利" <<中央版>> 和 <<新华月报>> "Collective Leadership Assures the Victory of the CCP," (*Central Party Publication*), No. 33, 1954, reprinted in *New China Monthly*, 1 December 1954, p.62.

<sup>6</sup> <<福建连江县匪方文件 及其研究>> (台北, 国防部情报局, 1964) *Documents and Research on Chinese Communist Methods in Lianjiang County, Fujian Province* (Taipei: Guofang bu Qingbao ju, 1964).



## Mendacity and Veracity in the Recent Chinese Communist Memoir Literature

by  
Joshua A. Fogel

As anyone working on the history of the Chinese Communist movement knows, the last decade has witnessed an explosion of memoir literature, or *huiyilu*<sup>1</sup> in Chinese. Previously, the history of the Communist revolution was often mentioned, though rarely examined, in PRC "scholarship;" it has now emerged as a bonafide subject for inquiry. And, as in the Soviet Union during Khrushchev's de-Stalinization, people are writing their memoirs. This new body of material is providing invaluable information for students of contemporary Chinese history and may force us to rewrite the history of Chinese Communism. We now have more details about the Communist movement in China than any one person can digest. However, this material is not without its flaws, and our excitement at its appearance should not blind us to them. It must be approached with just as much critical acumen as we would any other body of documents, especially those produced in a state where the press is controlled by the government. I shall try to illustrate what I have in mind here with examples from my work on the Chinese Communist "philosopher," Ai Siqi<sup>2</sup> (1910-1966).

Ai Siqi wore only one hat during his lifetime. Unlike Wu Han<sup>3</sup> who was a historian and a journalist and a deputy mayor of Beijing, Ai was only a "philosophical laborer." As a result, unlike Wu Han and similar intellectuals, Ai has received relatively less attention within the body of memoirs, altogether about forty essays including a special volume entitled *One Philosopher's Path: Remembrances of Comrade Ai Siqi* (Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 1981).<sup>4</sup> It was, as is common with this literature, published by the People's Press of his native province, in this case, Yunnan. In addition, a two-volume edition of his writings, *The Writings of Ai Siqi* was published by the People's Press in Beijing in the early 1980s (Vol 1, 1981; Vol. 2, 1983), comprising less than 10 percent of all his writings.<sup>5</sup> Also, his most famous book, *Talks on Philosophy*,<sup>6</sup> also titled *Philosophy for the Masses*,<sup>7</sup> was reprinted in 1979, along with others of his works. And, a letter of 1937 from Mao Zedong to Ai was reprinted three times in 1979-1980 with long commentaries and notices.

Let me assess first the advantages of the memoir literature, which without a doubt outweigh disadvantages. Two areas are enormously enhanced for scholarship by this material: first and foremost, personal details. Until the publication of *huiyilu* about Ai Siqi, we did not even know his real name, Li Shengxuan,<sup>8</sup> nor were we sure of the date of his birth. On the basis particularly of essays about his youth and early education, we can now begin to write the history of the Communist movement in Yunnan in the 1920s and 1930s. "Bourgeois," foreign influences are no longer ignored or downplayed in describing his personal and political development; his affection for foreign writers, even those vilified in the Communist movement (as Bogdanov was by his erstwhile friend V. I. Lenin) appear not to be reason for embarrassment. He begins to appear three-dimensionally, rather than as the cardboard figure even he himself helped to create. We can also begin to write the history of the second wave of Chinese students going to Japan to study, the generation *after* the 1911 Revolution. And, we can begin to write intelligently about the Communist underground in Shanghai (and elsewhere) after the 1927 debacles.

The second large area opened up by this material for scholars is probably more significant in our coming to understand (or re-understand) the prewar Communist movement

in China: the light shed on hitherto shady political groups, political associations, and underground political activities. Many organizations that were until recently just names are now clearly identified as "Communist Party front organizations." Who sponsored whom for membership in the Party is also being revealed. When we begin to get a better handle on this huge body of material and start to compile aides and guides to research, something to which this Newsletter may contribute greatly, the Chinese Communist movement should begin to appear more as a flesh and blood series of events and people and groups.

There is one major problem I see with the *huiyilu* literature, for it is not simply the opening up of archives full of objective information. As was also the case in the early 1960s in the Soviet Union, the writings of memoirs has a contemporary political aspect about it. There are two sides to this phenomenon. First, people are settling old scores or attempting to use a memoir as a way to enhance their position in the contemporary world. In the case of memoirs about Ai Siqi, the most obvious instance of this was that of Ding Ling.<sup>9</sup> On several occasions, Ai attacked her, most vociferously during the early 1940s when her "bourgeois feminism" became the butt of a campaign. Her subsequent ouster from the literary editorship of *Jiefang Ribao*<sup>10</sup> enabled him to take over that job. Nonetheless, in her laudatory piece about Ai, published in 1983 or 17 years after his death, she foams with praise for all the help Ai gave her in the late 1940s to get a novel published.

I have no proof to claim that Ding Ling was dissembling (and it would not have been the first time), but, by the same token, memoir literature does not require of itself the ordinary rigors of scholarly evidence. It comes without footnotes or even corroborative data. Who among us believes uncritically the memoirs of Nixon, Kissinger, or any of the other members of that government? Is Mao's *bakufu* any less worthy of our strenuous critical attention? I would not suggest we all turn into clones of Simon Leys and disbelieve everything published by the present regime. Nonetheless, who isn't thankful that we have one brilliant Simon Leys to troubleshoot for the rest of us?

The other downside to the avalanche of memoir literature is the use to which dead people are put. The volume of memoirs concerning Ai Siqi, as I point out in my biography, was not thrown together haphazardly. The 32 authors were not simply asked to write a few pages. The volume was carefully crafted; there is almost no redundant information; and each essay serves a particular function in describing one aspect or era in the life of Ai. Several examples should suffice. Chu Tunan,<sup>11</sup> Zhang Tianfang,<sup>12</sup> and Zhang Kecheng<sup>13</sup> all offer reminiscences of Ai from their days at Number One Middle School (*Yizhong*) in Kunming,<sup>14</sup> and all present pieces of information unavailable elsewhere. Chu's task was clearly to describe the local revolutionary activities in which he and Ai were both involved in the mid-1920's; the bonds they established early on remained strong, he claims, till the very end, a point he substantiates by citing the occasions in which he and Ai shared experiences in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Zhang Tianfang's task was to describe going with Ai from Yunnan to Japan and how hard Ai studied (a theme many others reiterate). To Zhang Kecheng fell the job of describing the local propaganda efforts in Kunming to which he and Ai devoted many hours of their time.<sup>15</sup> From these three pieces, among which there is scarcely any overlap save that with a distinct message, we learn (respectively) that Ai was a trustworthy friend, a hard worker, and a revolutionary devoted to the common people. Several of the other essays depict the lonely taciturn, but warm Ai Siqi in Yan'an.<sup>16</sup> Several others examine his selfless devotion to a variety of post-1949 Communist campaigns, always working to spread philosophical knowledge.<sup>17</sup>

There is a clear overall tone to the work, which anyone who can read Chinese will be quick to observe: Ai Siqi was a quiet, hard-working man; he was devoted to one area in which he excelled (philosophic popularization); he was the consummate Party man (*dangxing hen qiang*).<sup>18</sup> As Liu Baiyu,<sup>19</sup> the well known cultural bureaucrat, points out in his introduction, this volume of reminiscences "will introduce an honest and trustworthy man

who poured his entire life spirit into a silent devotion to the tasks of Communism." (p. 3) Eight of 32 essays describe Ai as *chenmo quayan*<sup>20</sup> (a serious man of few words), indicating more than a mere coincidence.

Similarly, the memoir literature is being used to discredit further people who are out of favor at present; in the case of Ai Siqu, that points to Kang Sheng and Chen Boda.<sup>21</sup> Little external evidence would indicate that Kang and Ai were ever close friends; Kang resented Ai, and on occasion used his position to make life difficult for Ai,<sup>22</sup> and we have no evidence at present that sheds light on Ai's true feeling about Kang. Chen, on the other hand, had been a close associate of Ai's from their Shanghai days in the early 1930s. Both men were enticed to Yan'an by the Chairman to play their parts in his brain trust. Discrediting Chen via Ai, as a result, requires considerable legerdemain, and it is not convincing in the least. Perhaps Chen and Ai did not get along after 1949, but that has yet to be demonstrated satisfactorily.

Perhaps the most interesting, although by no means the most important, area in which the memoir literature has offered enlightenment is in the relativization of the Chairman himself. This has taken several forms, but let me focus on Ai Siqu. We now know how important Ai was to Mao, the reason in part for the repeated publication of Mao's letter to Ai in Yan'an.<sup>23</sup> We are learning how much Mao liked Ai,<sup>24</sup> how much Mao used Ai's writings in composing his own philosophical essays of 1937, and how central Ai was to the formation of what has come to be known as "Mao Zedong Thought." Repeated reference to Ai's philosophical work acts to relativize Mao's previously superhuman capacities, indeed to begin painting him with more human strokes.

When all is said and done, though, do we have the real Ai Siqu? With so much else going on behind the scenes in the writing and publishing of this memoir literature, can we hope that the portrait that emerges of Ai is more accurate? Certainly, it is more accurate, for the wealth of personal details, critically examined, assure that. Yet, the opening of Chinese presses to memoirs and to writing about Chinese Communism as history does not mean that a political line has simply disappeared. There are still villains and unwritten agendas at work, and we must not allow them to influence our work overly much.

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<sup>1</sup> 回忆录

<sup>2</sup> 艾思奇

<sup>3</sup> 吴晗

<sup>4</sup> <<一个哲学家的道路, 回忆艾思奇同志>> (昆明, 云南人民, 1981).

<sup>5</sup> <<艾思奇文集>> (北京, 人民, 1981, 1983). It is worthy of note that recently Chinese publishers have reverted to the more "traditional" designation *wenji* 文集 for a collection of works (with overtones of countless Chinese literati of bygone days), eschewing the more modern *xuanji* 选集 (selected works) or *quanji* 全集 (collected works).

<sup>6</sup> <<哲学讲话>>

<sup>7</sup> <<大众哲学>>

<sup>8</sup> 李生萱

<sup>9</sup> 丁玲

<sup>10</sup> <<解放日报>>

11 楚图南

12 张天放

13 张克诚

14 一中, 昆明

15 Chu Tunan, "学生, 战友, 同志" [Student, fighting friend, comrade], in *Yige* [i.e., *One Philosopher's Path*] pp. 10-12; Zhang Tianfang, "勤奋的学者, 坚韧的战士" [Diligent Scholar, Tenacious Warrior] in *Yige*, pp. 13-16; and Zhang Kecheng, "艾思奇同志在昆明一中" [Comrade Ai Siqu at Number One Middle School in Kunming], *Yige*, pp. 17-22.

16 For example, Lin Mohan 林默涵, "怀念艾思奇同志" [Reminiscences of Comrade Ai Siqu], in *Yige*, pp. 74-77; Wu Liping 吴黎平, "忠诚正直的革命哲学家" [A loyal and upright revolutionary philosopher], in *Yige*, pp. 80-84; and Wang Kuang 王匡, "我所知道的艾思奇同志" [The Comrade Ai Siqu I knew], in *Yige*, pp. 96-98.

17 For example, concerning land reform, see Wang Zhongwu 王仲武, "和艾思奇同志一起参加土改" [Participating in land reform together with Comrade Ai Siqu], in *Yige*, pp. 101-104; on offering training courses in philosophy to local cadres, see Han Shuying 韩树英, "艾思起同志在河南登封" [Comrade Ai Siqu in Dengfeng County, Henan], in *Yige*, pp. 125-127; and on the active use to which he put time during one or another rectification, see Zhang Lei 张磊, "马列主义毛泽东思想的热情宣传者" [Enthusiastic propagandist of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought], in *Yige*, pp. 135-138.

18 党性很强

19 刘白羽

20 沉默寡言

21 康生, 陈伯达

22 The following essays are just a sample of those that attack Chen and Kang, and perhaps implicitly offer an evaluation of someone like Ai Siqu: Chu Tnan, in *Yige*, p. 11; Wu Liping, in *Yige*, p. 85; Song Zhenting 宋振庭, "我的好老师" [My great teacher], in *Yige*, pp. 94-95; Ai Linong "艾力农 艾思起同志的理论联系实际学风" [Comrade Ai Siqu's method of study in which theory was linked to practice], in *Yige*, p. 146; Ma Qingjian 马清健, "怀念艾教员" [Reminiscences of Professor Ai], in *Yige*, p. 161; and Lu Guoying 卢国英, "学者和战士" [Scholar and fighter], in *Yige*, p. 183.

23 For the circumstances of the original letter and its post-Mao republication, see Joshua A. Fogel, *Ai Ssu-ch'i's Contributions to the Development of Chinese Marxism* (Cambridge: Harvard Council on East Asian Studies, 1987), pp. 10-11 & 81-83. [ed.]

24 According to Liu Baiyu (*Yige*, pp. 3-4), Mao once said: "Comrade Ai Siqu is a really great guy." I could cite many similar sentences from various memoirs about Ai.

**Sources in Institutional Biography: A Review of Essays on the  
December First Movement**

by  
John Israel  
The University of Virginia

成实, 卫平, 丁永, 编, <<一二·一运动论文集>> (昆明, 云南人民出版社, 1987), 372 pp.

Cheng Shi, Wei Ping, and Ding Yong, eds., *Yier-yi Yundong Lunwen Ji* [Essays on the December First Movement] (Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 1987), 372 pp.

*The Guomindang's December 1, 1945 murder of a teacher and three students on the campus of Southwest Associated University (Lianda) <sup>1</sup> in Kunming was no accident. <sup>2</sup> Nor was it an isolated campus protest. <sup>3</sup> It was, rather, the central event in the December First Movement -- a political phenomenon of historical proportions that dramatized popular resistance to the KMT's tyrannical, brutal, and divisive policies.*

*Though the product of concrete conditions in the postwar southwest, especially in Kunming, the December First Movement had a far-reaching significance. It was the opening shot on the urban "second front" in China's burgeoning civil war, in which the Chinese people opted for a bright and progressive future rather than the resurrection of a benighted and corrupt past. More than its better-known predecessors, the May 4 and December 9 movements, the December 1 Movement went beyond students and intellectuals to include workers, peasants, and soldiers. In a broad sense, December First was an inseparable part of China's century-old struggle for modernization, independence, and democracy. The movement succeeded thanks to the canny, flexible, and far-sighted leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and, in turn, was the matrix in which countless revolutionary cadres were tempered. Its spirit lives on even today, inspiring the present generation of Chinese youth to exert themselves for the Four Modernizations.*

The above is a distilled composite of the twenty-three essays in this volume, most of them written for a 1985 Kunming conference marking the movement's fortieth anniversary. Though not all make each and every point, there is sufficient narrative overlap and interpretive repetition to challenge the patience of even the most dedicated revolutionary history buff. Nonetheless, this is a landmark volume, for it places clearly on the map an important constellation of events that have been little noticed abroad, understudied in the PRC, and virtually ignored on Taiwan.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 联大

<sup>2</sup> 并非偶然

<sup>3</sup> 学潮

<sup>4</sup> For historiography in the PRC and Taiwan, see John Israel, "The Fifth Martyr: Thoughts on the 40th Anniversary of the December First Movement," *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Sinology*, Taipei, Academic Sinica, in press.

Reasons for the neglect of the December First Movement are spelled out in Yang Xinming's essay on textbook treatments of December First (pp. 327-335). Yang argues that by the late fifties, when the dust had settled from a decade of civil war and socialist revolution, historians were engulfed in a "leftist" climate uncondusive to the study of December First. Hence, archival and scholarly work on the subject began only in 1977. Paving the way for the collection under review was the publication of seven volumes of materials from the December First Movement Archives, the accessibility of materials at the Number Two Archives in Nanjing, published reminiscences by Zheng Boke<sup>5</sup> and others, and pathbreaking scholarship by Kunming specialists such as Jiang Zhongli,<sup>6</sup> Liu Keguang,<sup>7</sup> Chen Changchi,<sup>8</sup> and Huang Yongjin.<sup>9</sup>

Both the neglect of the December First Movement from 1957 to 1977 and the subsequent fever of scholarly activity -- more than a hundred people participated in the 1985 conference! -- are inextricably linked to politics. Neither the students and intellectuals who carried out the movement nor the CCP's conciliatory united front policies that allegedly guided them were comfortable topics for Party historians during the Anti-Rightist Movement and Cultural Revolution -- particularly when it came to making a claim for a generation that, unlike May 4 and December 9, had yet to win an established place in official historiography. Contrariwise, in the era of Deng, old cadres who had worked under Zhou Enlai's Southern Bureau (the Chongqing-based Communist headquarters for southwest China) were delighted to lay claim to their laurels through memoirs and interviews. Simultaneously, a cluster of Party historians in Kunming was able to expand December First studies from a local industry to a national concern.

Naturally, a topic that blooms and withers with the winds of politics is not easily subject to dispassionate treatment. Indeed, whether blatantly or subtly, every author in this volume grinds his political ax. Guidelines were established by Zheng Boke, former Yunnan underground leader, who delivered the keynote address to the 40th anniversary conference. "Since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party," he told the delegates, "the history of China has developed under CCP leadership. If you refuse to accept this tenet, no matter how much rich material you have collected, the guiding ideas in your book will be equivocal and the book will have little value." (p. 4) Not surprisingly, nearly all of the authors in this volume assert that the December First Movement was "under the leadership of the Party."

Such statements, ironically, are grist to the mill of anti-Communist diehards on Taiwan, who have claimed, ever since the event, that Kunming's students were manipulated and exploited by the wiley "Reds" -- now seen as "confessing" to their devious deeds. In spite of considerable evidence presented in these essays that the Party played an important role, I would suggest that historians should be no less skeptical of *ex parte* arguments when they come from both sides.

It is every bit as much in the CCP's interest to claim responsibility for the movement now as it was for the KMT to make its accusations then. By arguing that the Party has always provided "correct" leadership for idealistic, patriotic youth, the CCP

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<sup>5</sup> 郑伯克

<sup>6</sup> 蒋中礼

<sup>7</sup> 刘克光

<sup>8</sup> 陈昌炽

<sup>9</sup> 黄永金

See, *Ibid.*, *passim*, especially "Notes." Most of these authors are represented in the volume under review. See pp. 1-26 (Zheng Boke), 75-95, 336-371 (Huang Yongjin and Chen Changchi), 134-149, (Jiang Zhongli), and 184-201 (Jiang Zhongli under the pseudonym, Li Bing 力兵).

bolsters its claim to the loyalty of the younger generation and gives itself the authority to interpret the past in ways that underwrite the legitimacy of current policies.

December First veterans have political, psychological, and, possibly, economic motives for coming out of the memory-closet to which they were consigned by ultra-leftist rivals. During the Cultural Revolution, former underground operatives who had faithfully executed the CCP's united front strategy were persecuted for having followed a rightist line. Now, with moderate policies once again in high repute, they welcome the chance to restore sullied reputations and -- not incidentally -- to lay claim to the special retirement (*lixiu*) benefits granted to pre-Liberation cadres.

The reader of these essays on the December First Movement frequently is reminded that recent history in general, and Party history in particular, are still generally seen as morality plays, with heroes and villains clearly identified, the moral predetermined, only the arrangement of details to be filled in. In such a situation, key words -- such as "patriotic" and "democratic," "progressive" and "reactionary" -- are often evoked, seldom defined, because their importance is more liturgical than analytical.

The reader is also reminded that what you seek is what you find. If you are looking for evidence of a Party-centered movement, talk to the Party people or their close associates. Ignore factions such as Lianda's New Year's Eve Society, which took a principled position to the left of the Party. Do not look too closely at the ideas and behavior of unaffiliated students, most of whom appear to have remained blissfully unaware that they were "following" Party leadership. Above all, do not consult the works of "bourgeois" scholars such as Suzanne Pepper, who suggests that right up to the eve of Liberation "the students in general remained ideologically uncommitted to the principles of communism" and gave the CCP no more than "a qualified mandate."<sup>10</sup>

Chen Changchi and Huang Yongjin's brief but informative history of the December First Movement (pp. 336-371) says very little about Party control and inadvertently shows how easily Party edicts could become overtaken by events (p. 341). However, even if one accepts the proposition that the Party "led" or "guided" the movement, one may question whether the vitality of the historical dialogue is enhanced when so many scholars work within the strict confines of Party history. Among the more interesting articles in this volume that depart from the conventional framework are Zou Mingde's<sup>11</sup> piece on KMT strongman Li Zonghuang (pp. 150-169), Jiang Zhongli's sophisticated political analysis of Lu Han (pp. 134-149), Yu Jiahua's<sup>12</sup> study of funereal scrolls for the Four Martyrs (pp. 310-326), and Gao Zhengjun's<sup>13</sup> socio-geopolitical analysis of how the movement made such a broad and deep impact (pp. 273-286).

One hopes that subsequent treatments of December First and other student movements will break out of the molds of Party History and of political history narrowly conceived. Much could be done through generational analysis, theories of collective behavior, the history of higher education or of individual institutions -- Ding Baozhu's<sup>14</sup> essay on Yunnan University (pp. 229-241) marks a beginning -- and the comparative study of student movements in various societies. One potentially fruitful, though highly controversial, approach, would be to follow the December First generation into the post-Liberation years, particularly in terms of the major themes of patriotism, democratic values, and relations between Party and intellectuals. Scholars should take note of a path-breaking

<sup>10</sup> Suzanne Pepper, *Civil War in China*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 92 and chapter III, "The Student Anti-War Movement," *passim*.

<sup>11</sup> 邹明德

<sup>12</sup> 余嘉华

<sup>13</sup> 高整军

<sup>14</sup> 丁宝珠

collaborative study of Shanghai students by young historians at U.C. Berkeley and Fudan that seeks to understand configurations of protest through an examination of patterns of student life during "normal" times.<sup>15</sup>

The editors of the December First collection understandably refrain from altering the contents of articles chosen for publication. If books such as this are to fulfill the editors' hopes of stimulating further study, however, a stronger guiding hand is needed. Editors and contributors should be identified in terms of professional affiliations and related publications. Reprinted articles should be labeled as such. Direct quotations should be footnoted. Notes should provide full information on both published and archival materials. In the volume under review, violations of footnoting canons are too numerous to mention; an extreme example is Zou Mingde (of the Number Two Archives), who disposes of thirty-five of thirty-eight notes with just two references: "3-35: Documents and Materials in the No. Two Archives," "37-38: Taiwan Newspaper and Periodical Materials" (p. 169).

Finally -- and I realize that this verges on the utopian -- would an index be too much to hope for?

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<sup>15</sup> Jeffrey Wasserstrom and Liu Xinyong, "Student Life and Student Protest: Shanghai, 1919-1949," mss., to be published in *Social History* (January 1989) and as a chapter of Wasserstrom's dissertation, "Taking It to the Streets: Shanghai Students and Political Protest, 1919-1949."



### Book Notes

'It is not really necessary  
to read all that many books'  
Mao Zedong 1964

仲侃, 著 <<康生评传>> (北京: 红旗出版社, 1982).

Zhong Kan. *Critical Biography of Kang Sheng* (Beijing: Hong Qi Chubanshe, 1982). A 437-page biography of China's Beria, written in the ironical mode! A goldmine of information, though naturally within the limits of the post-Mao attack on Kang Sheng. Withdrawn from distribution shortly after publication, allegedly at the request of higher level CCP functionaries who felt that it went too far in describing the seamy side of Chinese high-level politics. (Photocopy at UC Berkeley CCSL, Fairbank Center, & CCRM).

<<谈谈报纸工作>> (北京: 新闻研究所, 1978).

*On Newspaper Work* (Beijing: Xinwen Yanjiusuo, 1978). Part one of this 231-page work consists of instructions from anonymous CCP leaders (Hu Qiaomu?) to the *People's Daily* on a broad range of subjects, such as how to write editorials, make international propaganda, run internal intelligence bulletins, etc. Part two consists of comments by the same authority on 'flaws' in particular *People's Daily* articles, mainly from the 1950's. Very handy as a guide the inner workings of the PRC press. (Photocopy at UC Berkeley CCSL; Fairbank Center, & CCRM).

<<中国共产党新闻工作文件汇编>> 上,中,下 (北京: 新华出版社, 1980).

*Compilation of Documents on Journalism Work of the CCP* (Beijing: Xinhua Chubanshe, 1980), 3 Vols. Edited by the Journalism Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. This huge collection of documents covers the Party's journalism and propaganda work for the period 1921-1956. Vol. 1 contains documents from 1921-49 (422 pp.); Vol. 2 documents from 1950-56 (512 pp.). Vol. 3 contains inaugural statements and key editorials from major Party publications from 1921-56 (pp. 1-119) and signed articles by major journalists and leaders (pp. 124-388). Although a number of these documents have been available before, a number are new to Western scholars and together this mass of material outlines a graphic picture of how the Party institutionalized its mass-line directives in journalism. Particularly interesting are the documents on the 1941-42 reorganization of the Party press and the 1950-53 establishment of the socialist press. A number of the signed articles in Vol. 3 have not been available before. For example, Zhang Wentian's "How To Complete the Leadership Work of Party Newspapers" from 1931 and *People's Daily* editor Deng Tuo's "How To Improve our Newspaper Work" from 1954. (Photocopy at Fairbank Center Library).

<<三中全会以来重要文献汇编>> (北京: 人民出版社, 1982).

*Collected Important Documents Since the Central Committee's Third Plenum* (Beijing, 1982). This is the larger collection (256 articles, totalling 1.8 million characters or roughly 2,000 pages) on the basis of which the now widely available two-volume *Selected Important Documents...* was compiled. "Distributed down to units on the prefectural and division level for safekeeping and use by the collective. Aside from Party and government cadres on that level, it may also be read by certain research personnel, such as researchers, associate

researchers, professors and associate professors." (No copy known to exist outside the PRC).

### 【--刘少奇论教育--】

[*Liu Shaoqi on Education.*] (In Chinese: title-page missing) (N.p., n.d. 98 pages). This is a 'no-nonsense' cultural revolutionary collection of 19 texts by Liu on educational affairs. It includes a number of Liu's important 1958 talks on communist 'part-work, part-study' and nine of his 1964 provincial talks on the two kinds of labor and educational systems. A very good complement to the official *Selected Works*. (Photocopy at Fairbank Center).

### 《刘少奇反革命修正主义言论汇编》(北京:科学院, 革命史研究所及现代革命史研究所, 1967).

*Collection of Liu Shaoqi's Counter-revolutionary Revisionist Utterances* (Beijing: Chinese Academy of Sciences, Institute of Revolutionary History and Institute of Modern Revolutionary History, 1967). This large 228-page compilation is probably one of the best of the numerous collectanea of quotations and extracts from Liu's works to come out in 1967-68. Beware of misleading introductory material, biased textual selection and sinister editing practices. Convenient and useful for those who know how to read this kind of material. (Photocopy at UC Berkeley CCSL).

### 《毛泽东同志论无产阶级专政和肃反工作》(北京:群众出版社, 1960).

*Comrade Mao Zedong on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Elimination of Counter-revolutionaries* (Beijing: Qunzhong Chubanshe, 1960). A substantial (over 300 pages) 'neibu' collection of texts and extracts from Mao's works up through the 1950's. Contains nothing that is not readily available in the *Selected Works*, *Readings* and *People's Daily*. Only for the very serious bibliophile. (Original at Far Eastern Library, Stockholm).

### 《五十二种文史资料编目分类所引》(上海:复旦大学出版社, 1982).

*Index to 52 Wenshi Ziliao* (Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 1982). Compiled by the Materials Center, Department of History, Fudan University. An index to 52 complete sets of *Wenshi Ziliao* series up to but not including 1982. Organized under four main headings: Political and Military Affairs, Economy, Culture and Education, and Society, with four levels of further sub-divisions. Reputedly Fudan will bring out additional volumes to update the index. (Photocopy at UC Berkeley CCSL).

### 王健英, 编, 《中国共产党组织史资料汇编: 领导机构沿革和成员名录》(北京: 红旗出版社, 1982).

Wang Jianying, ed., *Compilation of Information on the Organizational History of the Chinese Communist Party: The Genealogy of Leadership Institutions and Their Staffing* (Beijing: Hong Qi chubanshe, 1982). Covering the years from 1921 to 1953, this reference work in 662 pages does exactly what the title says: it outlines CCP institutions throughout the period, giving such particulars as founding dates, staffing (names of leading personnel given), and the dates of meetings. It includes the military, government institutions, and some CCP controlled mass organizations such as labor unions and the Youth League. The level of coverage depends on the period, but is deep. The 1920-27 period coverage is complete; the 1929-53 period still incorporates the regional (*qu*) and city (*shi*) levels for the Party. An indispensable reference aid, but with occasional omissions and alterations to

comply with official CCP accounts of Party history. An appendix covers the period from the Eighth to the Twelfth Party Congresses, furnishing information on the staffing of Central Party committees and on the dates and decisions of Central Committee meetings. (Photocopies at most research libraries & CCRM) [A full review of this text will appear in the next issue of the Newsletter--ed.]

«十二大以来: 重要文献选编» 上 & 中 (北京: 人民出版社, 1986).

*Compilation of Important Documents Since the Twelfth Party Congress, Volumes 1 & 2* (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1986). Two out of the three volumes containing central Party decisions, reports, and speeches since the 1982 Congress. Although many have been published and translated elsewhere, some materials are unique to this volume and, while undoubtedly edited for publication, provide interesting insight into the leadership's continuing challenge of implementing reform. Contains excerpts from Hu Yaobang's 9 April 1986 speech on "The Problems of Correcting Two Kinds of Contradictions in the Party" for which he was apparently criticized, contributing to his subsequent demotion in January 1987. Deng Xiaoping's 17 January 1986 politburo speech reveals his growing frustration with unanticipated aspects of reform and economic commercialization, such as the public sale of children and prostitution in Guangdong. Substantial materials are also available on the intra-Party rectification inaugurated in 1983 and on central Party decisions on political problems in Tibet. Ideological issues and military matters involving the demobilization of PLA officers and troops are covered in speeches by Peng Zhen and Yang Shangkun. (Copies at Fairbank Center & other research libraries)

陈玉堂, 编, «中共党史人物名录 (字名, 笔名, 化名)» (北京: 红旗出版社, 1985). 226 pp.

Chen Yutang, ed., *Pseudonyms of Personalities in the History of the CCP (Original Names, Pen-Names, Aliases)* (Beijing: Hong Qi Chubanshe, 1985). A dictionary whose time has come! Simply an a first-rate dictionary of 150 leading Chinese Communist figures and their many alternative names. Entries include brief biographies and instances of when and where (as in article titles) each alias was used. When an alias is uncertain, the editor admirably notes *daikao* (awaiting investigation). A cause for rapture is the comprehensive *index of aliases*, meaning that one can look up a fishy looking "author" to find the Party member behind it. An appendix does the same for eight foreigners, including Maring, Borodin, and Voitinsky. (Copies at Harvard-Yenching & other research libraries).

蒋少春, 等, «中国共产党历史讲议, 下册» (济南: 山东人民出版社, 1985).

Jiang Shaochun, et al., *Teaching Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party, 2nd Volume* (Jinan: Shandong Renmin chubanshe, 1985). One of many provincial publications on Party history intended as basic text for instructing Party members in post-1978 historiography of the Chinese Communist Party. Reviews major events in CCP history since 1949 in terms generally consistent with the interpretative "line" laid out in the 1981 Sixth Plenum "Resolution on Certain Historical Questions in the History of Our Party," but with interesting vignettes and some new insights into high-level leadership conflicts. Especially good descriptions of decision-making process leading to the collectivization of agriculture during the 1950s and of Mao Zedong's very early concerns with the ideological purity of the CCP. Activities of Kang Sheng, Lin Biao, and members of the subsequent "Gang of Four" in the 1950s and during the Cultural Revolution are also covered heavily, though the reader should be wary of the veracity of such accounts given

the current leadership's highly negative portrayal of leftist leaders. This volume should be used in conjunction with other similar provincial "teaching materials" and with the *Zhongguo Gongchan Dang Liushi Nian (Sixty Years of the Chinese Communist Party)* (Beijing: Jiefang Jun Chubanshe, 1984). (Copies at Harvard-Yenching Library; East Asian Library, University of Michigan).

**CCRM**

As part of **Book Notes** the Newsletter has arranged with Dr. Pingfeng Chi, Director of the Center for Chinese Research Materials to assist in reprinting some of the more difficult to locate materials reviewed in the Newsletter. If readers come upon interesting materials not available through usual channels, we suggest that you send a copy to CCRM and a Book Note or review to us. In general, CCRM agrees to return your copy and offer an additional copy of a *similar sized text* from their current catalog. Final decision is up to CCRM. We hope this will be a reasonable way to make *neibu* and other difficult materials easier to locate for scholars. Please send materials to:

Dr. Pingfeng Chi, Director  
Center for Chinese Research Materials  
P.O. Box 3090  
Oakton, VA 22124  
ph. (703) 281-7731

## Readers' Survey

This is the first issues of CCP Research Newsletter. The editors would be grateful for your criticisms and suggestions. In addition, we hope to compile, and publish in the Newsletter, a "Research Directory" of scholars involved in collecting, assessing and interpreting sources on Chinese Communism. Whether you wish to subscribe to the Newsletter or not, please let us know about yourself (on the form below) and what you think of our enterprise (in the form you best see fit). Please return this form to:

Timothy Cheek  
CCP Research Newsletter  
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The Colorado College  
Colorado Springs, CO 80903 U.S.A.

\_\_\_\_\_ I would like to subscribe to the CCP Research Newsletter. My subscription is enclosed (see inside front cover for rates).

\_\_\_\_\_ I do not wish to subscribe, but I am sending you the following information about my research and comments about the Newsletter.

### Research Directory

Name & Contact Address:

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Research Area(s)

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Type of Documents  
in which I am interested:

Additional Comments:

I would be willing to write a piece for the Newsletter on:

*some forthcoming notes & reviews*

*in*

## **CCP Research Newsletter**

"Remembering Who Did What -- The CCP's Compendium of Materials on Organizational History" (*Frederick Teiwes*)

"Sources on the Women's Movement from the 1920s: a review of *Zhongguo Funu Yundong Lishi Ziliao, 1921-1927*" (*Christina Gilmartin*)

"Japanese Approaches to the Cultural Revolution: A Review of Kokubun Ryōsei's Survey of the Literature" (*Joshua A. Fogel*)

"The '61 Prisoners' Speak for Themselves: A Review of Tai Huaiji's *The Struggle in Caolanzi Prison* and other Reminiscences from the 1930s" (*Timothy Cheek*)

"The Secret Biography: A Critical Assessment of *Kang Sheng pingzhuan* and other Recent Materials on Kang Sheng" (*Ming Chu-cheng*)

"A Conversation with Sun Changjiang on Cultural Revolution Editions of Mao's Works" (*Michael Schoenhals*)

"A New Data Base of Provincial Leaders in the PRC: An Introduction and Overview" (*David S.G. Goodman*)

"Mao Studies Outside Beijing: A Review of *Mao Zedong sixiang yanjiu* (Sichuan, CASS)" (*Nick Knight*)

In addition, there will be notes on Party history studies in Germany from Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, and in Japan from Yang Zhongmei. Carol Hamrin will be writing on the influence of current trends in the disciplines on the study of Chinese Communism.