CHAPTER IX : SUN YAT-SEN'S THREE PRINCIPLES & NEW DEMOCRACY IN CHINA

1. San Min Chu I

This was the title of Sun Yat-Sen's projected *magnum opus* towards the end of his life. But the *manuscript* and a great part of the library were destroyed in an attack by Ch'en Ch'iung-ming in 1922. The makeshift volume came out as a collection of sixteen lectures which he delivered in Canton in 1924 when he was a sick man. These improvised lectures became the fundamental document for a new China.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's political doctrine is embodied in *San Min Chu I* or the three principles of the People. It had its moorings deep in Chinese traditional thought coming down from Confucius. The central point in Confucius' teaching is *jen* or society-mindedness, community-mindedness which is the moral and ideological cohesive of society. Political control comes in only to fill up the gaps of ideological control. While firmly standing upon the bedrock of Confucian teaching Sun was seeking to develop a modern democratic state to regenerate the Chinese nation. But he opposed the grafting of a juristic law-and-order organization with a parliament and police and was anxious to continue the old controls of morality and non-political discipline.

Sun Yat-sen's philosophy was not merely a copy of Western thought, neither was it a replica of old ideology. The two were united in a living synthesis to meet the new situation.

Although Sun Yat-sen wanted to raise the fabric of New China upon old ideology, this old ideology was to be subject to continual modification and rectification by means of the doctrine of *cheng ming*. Sun's view of ideological rectification and extension was not just the same as that of Confucius. While Confucius sought to establish a totalitarian system of traditional control which would perpetuate society and civilization inspite of the failures and imperfections of government, Sun wanted to build up a strong liberal protective state within the framework of an immemorial society which was largely
non-political. Accordingly, his Three Principles of Nationalism, Democracy and People's Livelihood differed considerably from the connotations given to these ideas by Western thought.

**Nationalism:** China's nationalism grew as a racial struggle against the Manchus previous to the Republican Revolution of 1911. China was always a nation. But since the imperial age she had fallen under the lure of a cosmopolitanism which enabled 100,000 Manchus to subjugate hundreds of millions of Chinese. Dr. Sun realised that if China is to survive she must get back her race consciousness. Nothing was more needed for China than racial solidarity. Nationalism, therefore, became the first principle in Sun's ideology. China can rise to nationhood again through three ideological methods, viz., return to the old morality, return to the old learning and adoption of Western science.

Sun's faith in nationalism was too strong for him to share the Marxian doctrine of class struggle. Class struggle to him was not a feature of every kind of unequal social organization. It was a pathological development found in a disordered society. Here in China the race problem has been identified with the economic problem. The white race has imposed itself upon the coloured in the shape of imperialism. His own ideology of the Chinese race nation had coincided with the Marxian ideology for anti-imperialist struggle. Here in Asia there was the problem of the class war of nations. China will therefore be drawn into a pan-Asian movement simultaneously with the anti-imperialist struggle; and in this movement the USSR and international communism were accepted allies.

**Democracy:** To Sun Yat-sen national unification is an essential pre-requisite to the realization of autonomy and establishment of a free democratic state. Although China had a democratic governmental system she had all the basic requisites of a democratic structure. She had never a hereditary aristocracy like Europe nor a caste system resembling that of India or Japan. In the place of governmental control there were other social organizations like the family, village
and the association through which the individual asserted himself. China had already enough of individual liberty; Sun wanted to fit it into the framework of national liberty. The first step to China's redemption is min t'u, the union of the people (nationalism). Then comes min ch'üan, the power of the people (democracy). One is expressed through the other. The two are identical.

But Chinese democracy was not to be a government of the people after the Western model, which would mean a helpless clique of diplomats and officials like the Peking Government overpowered by the military lords. Nor did he believe that the Soviet system would be appropriate to China. "The Communist order or even the Soviet system cannot actually be introduced into China because there do not exist here the conditions for the successful establishment of either Communism or Sovietism."¹ Sun Yat-sen insisted that China should adopt democracy in her own way and in China it would be a diarchy of the people and government, of the majority and the officialdom, checking and balancing each other and assuring integrity, efficiency and stability of democracy.

Sun Yat-sen believed that democratic revolution would come by three stages, (a) the revolution proper, i.e., acquisition of political power by the teachers of the new ideology, (b) tutelage, i.e., teachings of the new ideology and (c) constitutional democracy, i.e., government by the people in accordance with the new ideology. One would be immediately reminded of the triple communist parallel of proletarian revolution, proletarian dictatorship and classless society. But the Kuomintang dictatorship is a dictatorship of the patriotic elite, not of any class nor a "democratic dictatorship of the working workers and peasants." Thus Dr. Sun's classification in society was not of the Marxist-Leninist order. He did not subscribe to the creed of economic class war but believed in a classification of society according to ability and intelligence.

Revolution will be followed by military rule for the restoration of order and unification of China. After this task is accomplished

¹ Sun-Joffe Manifesto, January 26, 1922
military rule would cease and the period of tutelage, i.e., the rule of the intellectual aristocrats would begin. As the hsieus (districts) will adopt the technique of local self-government party dictatorship will yield to constitutional government or democracy. How could democracy be reconciled with the leadership and ideological control of an intellectual class?

The answer is that the masses will rule but not necessarily govern. The government will be made up of men especially fit and trained to govern. The masses will choose between a wide selection of able leaders. By using their rights of initiative, referendum, election and recall the people will control the government in the broad sweep of policy. The actual government will be outside their reach, otherwise there will be petty political interference leading to inferiority and corruption.

The democratic state machine was again to lead back to ideological control. The new ideology based upon practical experience and experimental method adapting itself to Western science and politics was not to grow among a special class of literati as before but among the whole people. The higher standard of living and the increased literacy of the people will enlarge the number of persons participating in ideology so that democratic and ideological control will no longer be inconsistent.

Peoples' Livelihood: China needed not only unity and freedom. She had also to become physically and healthy and wealthy. This was to be through min sheng, the third of the Three Principles. If nationalism means unity and democracy means freedom, then min sheng means survival. The words had become meaningless in their old usage. Sun put a new meaning to them suited to the needs of the time. It means (a) a national economic revolution against imperialism, (b) an industrial revolution for enrichment of China, and (c) a social revolution.

Was min sheng identical with socialism, socialism or communism? Sun claimed that min sheng was the practical application of communism. The difference was in method.
In 1922 Sun formulated his vast scheme of economic planning comprising state-controlled capital and private enterprise. Thus large sectors of economy were to be nationalized, as communication and transport were already done; others to follow were public utilities, public domains, industrial combines, cooperative stores, etc. Private enterprise was to be encouraged but regulated against harmful use. Labour organizations should have full facilities to fight for a just share of the national wealth. Middlemen's profit should be reduced. Taxation should be a means for reducing disparity of income. In short, min shéng stands to oppose Western imperialism and exploitation and to support economic progress through industrialization, land reform, nationalization, state control and distributive justice.

The primary duty of every government is to ensure the five material essentials of life, viz., "food, clothing, shelter, means of locomotion and the printed page". The question of private or public enterprise is to hinge on this issue. "All matters that can be and are better carried out by private enterprise should be left to private hands ....... all matters that cannot be taken up by private concerns and those that possess monopolistic character should be taken up as national undertakings." China was not menaced by Chinese capitalists but by foreign capitalists and imperialists. Here was a class war of nationalist Chinese workers against foreign imperialism. Collectivism will gradually expand its sphere and ultimately replace private enterprise. As an empirical collectivist Sun was opposed to rigid programmes and economic predestinations. His scheme of industrial planning is comparable to the Russian state plans. Its very magnitude and execution showed that no private capital could cope with it and that the state would have to initiate and lay down the foundation of industrial revolution.

The ultimate goal, i.e., the utopia to which min shéng will lead is a community of industrial and social profits, a state which is the common property of all and whose politics is shared by all. There will

1. Sun Yat-sen: International Development of China
be not only communism in property but in everything else. That will be a society without state, law and private property where 4en is the bond which ties all for common good. But unlike in the communist classless society the Chinese nation is not lost in the classless millennium. The Chinese nation will live beyond the state through the family system in clearly traceable lines of descent, through the natural intellectual orders preserving the cultural heritage. Sun did not discard the teleological element in the old ideology which required humanity to live through national-cultural groups.

Sun Yat-sen and Karl Marx: Like Hegel and Marx, Dr. Sun had a sense of inevitability of social progress. He had a dialectical view of the passing world tide which, like the Yellow river, flows in many directions but keeps nevertheless towards the east. So, along the course of political progress men have passed from force to theocracy, then to monarchy and then to democracy. In time and in space he saw states after states throwing off monarchical rule and turning to democracy. He had a sense of inevitability and justice of democracy in historical process so that it became the desideratum of China's progress.

Sun was no less an anti-imperialist than his Marxist-Leninist compatriots. He felt that in China the economic problem and the race problem were identified. The whole Chinese race stood in the position of the exploited class while the imperialist races stood as exploiters. So the task of the Chinese race was to make themselves free from these imperialists. But as Sun did not believe in class struggle he never thought that the anti-imperialist war would be followed by a civil war.

A German Marxist, writing about min shêng and its two main planks, viz., land reform and state capitalism, says, "This very vague programme which does not refer to class interests nor to the class struggle as the means of breaking privileged class interests, was objectively not Socialism at all, but something else altogether. Lenin coined the formula 'subjective socialism' for it."¹ Sun Yat-sen, according to this

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¹ Karl Wittfogel: Sun Yat-sen
critic, stands on the borderland of bourgeois-democratic and proletarian-socialist movements in the vast field of Asiatic struggle for liberation.

With his strong ethical bias and Confucian moorings Sun Yat-sen developed a socio-ethical interpretation of history. His classification of society was not a twofold one based on economic production but a threefold one according to intellectual stature. He found that in China the leadership of an intellectual aristocracy will be quite in keeping with democracy and economic justice. The key to history was not in the classes or in the means of production, but in the development of man as a social animal, development of his humanity. In Maurice William's social interpretation of history Sun had an effective support to this doctrine as opposed to the Marxian materialist interpretation.

2. Communism and Bourgeois Democratic Revolution

Towards the beginning of the nineteenth century a new class was rising to power in Europe, viz., the industrial bourgeoisie who owned capital and invested it in large-scale enterprise. But the state and its organs were still dominated by the feudal aristocracy. Feudal landlords were enjoying privileges which retarded expansion of trade and industry and economic progress. It was the need of history that the bourgeoisie should embark upon a serious political contest with feudal privileges and royal absolutism. The French Revolution and the English Reform Act served the revolutionary purpose of constructing an independent democratic society in these countries. But political democracy, keeping social and property relations intact, is ineffective as it limits itself to substituting one group of exploiters for another in the seat of power. The expensive and complicated parliamentary machinery remains outside the reach of the poorer classes and therefore social legislation does not alter the basic property structure. Marx forecast that under the bourgeois regime a class is developing which
is destined to cut up root and branch the older order of society. In order to overthrow the bourgeoisie from economic and political control the exploited masses will rally round the proletariat, the working class who run the new industrial system but who are deprived of the fruits of their labour. The proletariat will be the vanguard of a battle against the capitalists, and after capture of power they will run a dictatorship of their own to eliminate the capitalist class. This is the revolutionary socialism of Karl Marx, an antithesis of Western capitalist democracy.

Marx thought that the proletariat are the only class which can destroy the bourgeoisie. In his time capitalism was more or less confined within national limits and imperialism with its colonial problem did not yet reach its full growth. Towards the beginning of the twentieth century Lenin observed that capital, after reaching the saturation point within the state, had become moribund and so was exported in the backward countries of Asia and Africa. This is imperialism, the latest phase of capitalism which thus became an instrument for exploiting inferior nations. The main contradiction of imperialism is the antagonism between the foreign ruling classes on the one hand and the colonial dependent peoples of the world on the other. "Imperialism is the most barefaced exploitation and the most inhuman oppression of hundreds of millions of people inhabiting vast colonies and dependent countries." As the inevitable result of feudal and imperialist oppression the national bourgeoisie in the colonial countries take the lead in the struggle for freedom and start the fight against foreign imperialism and feudal remnants of the country. But such a revolution cannot stop half-way. It cannot cease with the achievement of independence and democracy keeping the bourgeoisie in power. "From the democratic revolution we shall at once, and just in accordance with the measure of our strength, use the strength of the class-conscious and organized proletariat,

1 J.Stalin: Problems of Leninism, Moscow, 1947, pp.15-16
begin to pass to the Socialist revolution. We shall not stop halfway. This was a new line in the question of the relation between the bourgeois revolution and the socialist revolution, a new theory of a regrouping of forces around the proletariat toward the end of the bourgeois revolution, for a direct immediate transition to the Socialist revolution -- the theory of the bourgeois democratic revolution passing into the Socialist revolution."¹ Thus Lenin, in view of the new situation of feudalism and capitalism, set forth a new theory which held that "the socialist revolution would be accomplished not by the proletariat in isolation but by the proletariat as the leading class which could have as allies the semi-proletarian elements of the population, the toiling and exploited millions." The special conditions of the revolutionary struggle prevailing in feudal and colonial countries impose upon the bourgeois democratic dictatorship the task of preparing the ground for the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat by gradual elimination of the bourgeoisie from the struggle and by keeping the proletariat in the field. "The proletariat must carry to completion the democratic revolution, by allying to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy and to paralyse the instability of the bourgeoisie. They must accomplish the socialist revolution by allying to itself the mass of the semi-proletarian elements of the population in order to crush by force the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to paralyse the instability of the petty bourgeoisie."² This was so because the overthrow of imperialism, the monopoly stage of capitalism, implies the overthrow of the very foundations of world capitalism itself. Thus, democratic revolutions are intermediary stages to socialist revolution.

On the basis of the experience of the Russian Revolution and Leninist teaching the Sixth Congress of the Communist International

1. V. I. Lenin : Attitude of Social Democracy towards the Peasant Movement, 1905
2. V. I. Lenin : Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution, 1905
laid down the following programme for the revolutionary classes of colonial countries:

(a) Emancipation of the country from the yoke of foreign imperialism and the establishment of national unity.

(b) Emancipation of peasants from all sorts of exploitation, feudal, and imperialist and consequent nationalization of land.

(c) Better development of industries and widespread development of trade union organizations of the working class.

(d) Safeguarding rights of nationalities with equality of the sexes.

After the formation of the socialist state in Russia the whole centre of gravity of socialist revolution was shifting to China and Stalin further developed the colonial thesis of the Communist International. "Revolution in colonial and dependent countries is another thing; in these countries the oppression exercised by the imperialism of other states is one of the factors of revolution; this oppression cannot but affect the national bourgeoisie also; the national bourgeoisie at a certain stage and for a certain period, may support the revolutionary movement of its country against imperialism, and the national element as an element in the struggle for emancipation, is a revolutionary factor." Foreign imperialist oppression upon the bourgeoisie throws them on the side of the national liberation movements. But the political weakness of the bourgeoisie, their dependence on imperialism soon drive them to the reactionary camp, accelerate "the task of the hegemony of the proletariat, the task of the leadership of the party of the proletariat with respect to the Chinese peasantry," for effecting a transition to China's non-capitalist or more exactly, socialist development.

3. China and New Bourgeois Democratic Revolution

Mao Tse-tung's political doctrine is a logical development and further elaboration of the Leninist-Stalinist standpoint. New democracy

or people's democracy is not a new political creed. It is a new strategy for political and social emancipation developed in China and Eastern Europe where the masses were oppressed under foreign occupation and its indigenous allies of capitalist and feudal interests. As in all colonial and semi-colonial countries, so also in China "development of productive forces and socialisation of labour" stand at a very low level. This circumstance together with the fact of foreign imperialist oppression upon the national bourgeoisie determine the social and political nature of China's revolution. In her national and democratic struggle to overthrow the imperialist and the semi-feudal forces the revolutionary forces are joined by the national bourgeoisie. So the oppressed class have not directed the revolution against capitalism but against imperialism and feudal monopolies. The nature of the Chinese revolution at its present stage is not that of proletarian socialism but of bourgeois democracy. Mao Tse-tung declares that the Chinese will next continue the struggle for the socialist revolution. Thus, the historical nature of Chinese revolution is that it is divided into two stages,— the first being that of new democracy and the second that of socialism.

Although the present democratic revolution belongs to the category of the bourgeois democratic revolution it is not the old and ordinary kind of bourgeois democratic revolution. Here the bourgeoisie are associated with active proletarian forces of workers and peasants and all these classes jointly hold power. Mao Tse-tung makes a distinction between two types of bourgeoisie in China. One is the compradore big bourgeoisie to serve imperialistic foreign capital, who are related to the feudal elements and who "have monopolised the economic life-lines of the entire country." The four big families of Chiang, Soong, Kung and Chen belonged to this group and formed what Mao calls state monopoly capitalism or bureaucratic capitalism. The other is the national bourgeoisie who are oppressed by the former class and by foreign imperialism and are restricted by the feudal elements. The former are an enemy of the Chinese revolution, while the
latter are a part of the revolutionary forces. Since the Japanese invasion in China the national bourgeoisie have taken an active part in the anti-imperialist movement. Although at times wavering in their attitude because of their dual nature, -- exploited and exploiting, revolutionary and at the same time compromising, this class has never surrendered to the Kuomintang. 1

Mao Tse-tung divides China's revolutionary process into two steps. "The first step is to change the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal form of society into an independent democratic society, while the second step is to push the revolution forward to establish a socialist society." 2 The first step of the revolution is being carried out ever since the Opium War of 1840. The revolution which of 1911 which led to the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty was the climax of the first phase of bourgeois democratic revolution. Since the first imperialist war and the Russian Revolution the Chinese bourgeois democratic revolution changed its character. The old bourgeois democratic revolution, during the period of 1841-1917, was under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. Oppressed by the imperialists and the war-lords they were opposed to them, but not very sharply because of their dependence on them. The minority of vacillating compromising bourgeoisie monopolised power and the proletariat only followed them. Since the movement of May 4, 1919, the proletariat became an independent class force, leadership passed on to the workers, peasants and the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeois democratic revolution entered into a new phase. Although not a socialist revolution it has become a part of the proletarian or socialist world revolution because of its steady anti-imperialist character and its alliance with the USSR.

Accordingly, New Democracy has not followed the Marxian or the Russian pattern of post-revolutionary government. Marx thought that seizure of power by workers would be followed by proletarian dictatorship. In Russia power was seized and exercised by one party in the

1. Mao Tse-tung : (1) The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China. (2) The Present Situation and Our Task
name of the proletariat. In China, New Democracy aims at the establishment of a new type of society ruled by the alliance of several revolutionary classes including workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie. The Communists led the revolution, yet they did not set up a party dictatorship. All parties who agree on the overthrow of foreign imperialism, big monopoly capital and feudal landlordism have got a share in the government on the basis of a common programme.

Thus, according to Mao, the new Republic of China is not only different from the Western style bourgeois republics ruled by capitalists but also from the Soviet style socialist republic ruled by communists. The historical necessity of China has made it impossible to follow the Russian principle. Tsarist Russia was a military-feudal-imperialist country which oppressed others. On the contrary, Chinese national bourgeoisie being oppressed by foreign imperialists, actively participated in the national struggle for overthrowing imperialism. So the national polity of China has become of a new type, i.e., of new democratic society. The bourgeoisie have a place in New Democracy because private enterprise is still essential for the development of economic resources.

Although the present is the phase of bourgeois democratic revolution the workers and peasants are active partners in building up new China. Surely, the exploited masses will no longer tolerate a bourgeois society after their victory in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggles. The future programme of New Democracy is socialism. As the economic programme will gradually alienate the bourgeoisie and drive them into the counter-revolutionary camp, the proletariat will take control of the state, run a dictatorship and proceed along socialism.

4. Politics of New Democracy

The politics of New Democracy is described by Mao Tse-tung as "a national polity of the joint rule of several revolutionary classes plus a governmental polity of democratic centralisation."¹ In 1949

1. Ibid
a People's Political Consultative Conference was called to lay down the Common Programme and Organic Law. As many as thirteen political parties and independents were represented there through 142 delegates. The regions sent 102, the army 60 and public organizations 206. The Kuomintang and the allies of Japan were excluded and they were deprived of citizenship for a specific period. Universal suffrage was introduced and the new Republic admitted the political rights of the working class, the peasantry, the middle class and the national capitalists. The new constitution adopted in 1954 ensures the observance and execution of the decrees of the Common Programme.

The new constitution of China has some remarkable resemblance with that of the USSR. Following the model of the USSR the administrative set up of the People's Republic of China is of a hierarchical order. Thus "the country is divided into provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly subordinate to the central authority. Provinces and autonomous regions are divided into autonomous chou, counties, autonomous counties and municipalities. Counties and autonomous counties are divided into hsiang, nationality hsiang and towns. Municipalities directly subordinate to the central authority and other large municipalities are divided into districts. Autonomous chou are divided into counties, autonomous counties and municipalities."

All local bodies have their separate people's congresses and local councils under the supreme control of the National People's Congress and the State Council. The people's congresses at every level elect the people's congresses of the next higher level and are under its control. The local council is elected by and is the executive organ of the local congress.

1. The National People's Congress, the local people's congresses at every level and all other state organs practise democratic centralism. "By democratic centralism is meant: firstly, the organs of state power in our country are created by popular elections and are supervised by the voters and the electoral units, which in

1. Constitution of 1954, Art. 53
accordance with law, have the right to replace their own deputies.
Secondly, the state administrative organs, the courts and the procurator's offices are all created by the organs of state power. They are responsible to the organs of state power, report to them and are supervised by them. The central and local administrative organs at every level are the executive organs of the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at every level. The organs of state power have the right to remove personnel in all state organs created by them. Thirdly, democratic centralism combines the initiative and creativeness of central and local organs with the principle of the subordination of the lower level to the higher level, of the local to the central organ.  

Another important resemblance with the USSR is that here also the ubiquitous tentacles of state authority take hold of the judiciary. The independence of the law courts is solemnly assured in Art. 78: "The people's courts at every level are independent in the exercise of their judicial authority and subject only to the law." But this is contradicted in Art. 80 where it is clearly stated that "the Supreme People's Court is responsible to the National People's Congress and reports to it or, when the National People's Congress is not in session, to its Standing Committee. Local people's courts at every level are responsible to the local people's congresses of corresponding levels and report to them." According to Art. 31 the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress supervises the work of the Supreme People's Court.

The fundamental rights of the people are described in same terms as in Soviet Russia. These include freedom of speech, press, assembly, association, procession, demonstration and religious belief (Arts. 87, 88). The citizens are free from arrest except on court warrant (Art. 89). Unlike in the parliamentary systems the duty of the state does not end with guaranteeing some political rights. Every citizen is provided with the right to work. "By planned development of the national

economy, the state increases employment step by step, and improves working conditions and wages to guarantee the enjoyment of this right to citizens" (Art. 91). Workers are assured of social security, "the working people of the People's Republic of China have the right to material assistance in old age, in illness or in disability. To guarantee to the working people the enjoyment of this right, the state provides social insurance, social relief and public health services and, step by step, expands these facilities" (Art. 93).

The democracy practised in New China is not of the traditional parliamentary type. The pendulum of government does not oscillate between the poles of a party system and the electorate has to exercise its right within the framework of a policy laid down from the top. The whole policy is framed and the list of candidates prepared by the joint platform of the political parties.

5. Economics and Culture of New Democracy

In the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference of 1949, a decision was taken to protect the public property of the state and of the cooperatives as well as the economic interests and private property of workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie (Art. 3). The rights of citizens to inherit private property are protected by the constitution (Art. 12). But all bureaucratic capital has been confiscated by the state. Big banks, industries and business are owned by the Republic. "Enterprises foreign or Chinese which possess a monopoly character or which, due to their big scale are beyond the individual's power to establish such as banks, railways, aviation companies, etc., shall be run and managed by the state so that private capital cannot manipulate the life of the people. Such is the main principle of capital restriction." This resolution adopted at the first Kuomintang Congress in 1924 became the guide for new democratic reconstruction. Ownership of the means of production falls into four categories, viz., state ownership, cooperative
ownership, worker's private ownership and capitalist ownership (Art.5). But it is the avowed purpose to transform the fourth into the first (Art.15). In fact, the basic principle for the present economic construction of China is to bring about a prosperous economy benefitting both labour and capital.

'Restriction of capital' and 'equalisation of land rights' are the two different phases of New Democracy. With a view to emancipate the peasants from the yoke of feudalism China intends to confiscate the land of big landlords and distribute it among the landless peasants. Thus she is on the way to realise Sun Yat-sen's motto 'land to the tiller'. But China is yet to establish a socialist agricultural system. It only turns the land into the private property of the peasants and helps them to form cooperatives. This is the principle of equalisation of land rights. The contradiction between rich peasants and hired land labour remains. The former may keep industrial and commercial enterprise. This is so because the task which is more urgent than socialisation is increased production along with equalisation.

The economic progress under New Democracy has thus been assessed by the People's Daily of Peking: "According to statistics for 1952, the proportion of industrial production in the national economy increased from ten per cent it was before liberation, to 28 per cent; in modern industry, the sector of state-owned industry of a Socialist character already came to 50.7 per cent; state and cooperative trade already came to more than 50 per cent of the total value of sales within the country. Cooperative economy in agriculture and handicrafts also holds an important position in the national economy. By the end of 1953 there were more than 14,000 agricultural producer cooperatives in the country. Now they have increased to 95,000."

The culture and education of New Democracy are adjusted to the new political and economic order. Before the construction of the People's Republic the semi-feudal culture with its 'slave ideology' prevailed in China. This is the classical culture based on old privileges, prejudices and manifold restraints upon the life of the people. The aim of this culture was to muzzle revolutionary activities so as
to exploit the working class and keep them in bondage. In place of this classical feudal culture China has placed a national, scientific and popular culture and is trying to make the scheme of universal education effective. The constitution guarantees every citizen the right to education (Art. 94). These steps, together with the abolition of serfdom and emancipation of women constitute new democratic culture.

6. Modification of Marxism

The victory of the revolution in China has introduced in Marxian ideology some basic modifications. Marxism has two most outstanding features. The first is its class character, the second is its revolutionary philosophy. Marx thought that at any given period society is divided into two hostile classes, — the rich and the poor, on the basis of conflicting economic interests. The capitalist society is no exception to this law. Creating large-scale industries and eliminating small-scale industries capitalism intensifies competition, causes unemployment and ruins the masses. Finding no effective demand for the goods produced the capitalist falls into the periodical crises of over-production. This circumstance, together with the fact of the social nature of the products while ownership remains private, reveals the contradictory nature of capitalism. This proves that capitalism is pregnant with revolution and that the revolution is to be led by the proletariat as the vanguard of the exploited masses.

But the Republic of China with her new democratic politics and economics has modified this contradiction. Unlike Tsarist Russia, a military-feudal-imperialist country where the bourgeoisie had nothing revolutionary about them, in colonial and semi-colonial China the bourgeoisie had a revolutionary role which could not be neglected by the proletariat. New democratic principle of capital restriction alongside gradual land equalisation has exhausted the possibility of future capitalist crisis and has enormously increased the field of collectivism. The formation of the transitional all-parties government is a new and altogether novel conception developed in the peculiar situation.
of China. Apparently, Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese communists believe that the other parties will either be absorbed or will peacefully fall out during the process of socialisation. The only possible opposition in future is from the national bourgeoisie. But they have no scope for expansion in the new state. In 1949 Mao Tse-tung wrote about them: "When the time comes to realise socialism, i.e., to nationalise private enterprise we will go a step further in our work of educating and reforming them. The people have a strong state apparatus in their hand and they do not fear rebellion on the part of the national bourgeoisie."

It implies that in China conditions for social revolution and proletarian dictatorship no longer exist and the present political characteristic of Chinese revolution is suggestive of the adoption of a gradualist policy of complete socialisation. It is only when contradictions have become sharpest that a revolution matures. With the elimination of monopoly capital this contradiction is on the wane; and accordingly the prospects of a revolution are receding. This is frankly admitted in the preamble of the constitution: "The system of people's democracy -- new democracy .... ensures that China can in a peaceful way wipe out exploitation and poverty and build a prosperous and happy Socialist society." Apparently, China may reach the goal of socialism gradually and peacefully by expanding collectivist economy and by contracting the sphere of private enterprise. The more it becomes truly democratic the less will it be an instrument of coercion. The state, therefore, is not likely to wither away with the advent of classless society. It is only to shed off its tooth and nail and become an institution of public good.

The Chinese Revolution, like the Russian, made an inversion of Marx's law of historical materialism. The Revolution was not led by the proletariat. It was a bourgeois revolution which is now being transformed into a proletarian revolution. Industrialization does not precede and is no pre-condition of socialism, it proceeds

1. On People's Democratic Dictatorship
simultaneously with socialism. The mode of production does not determine the form of state, it is the state which determines the form of production. The builders of new China do not make any secret of this inversion of Marxian dialectics. The new constitution avows:
"The People's Republic of China shall ensure the step-by-step abolition of systems of exploitation and the building of a Socialist society by relying on the organs of state and the social forces and through Socialist industrialization and Socialist transformation" (Art.4).
New China is on the way towards socialism. But this socialism is not of the scientific variety of Karl Marx.

7. San Min Chu I and New Democracy

Although the revolutionary influence of Marxian ideology upon New Democracy is undeniable this seems to be more a realization of Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of Nationalism, Democracy and People's Livelihood than a product of Marxian philosophy of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship. With Sun, Mao agreed that in China the principal obstacle on the way to recovery is imperialism. Mao went further and discovered the fundamental characteristic of feudal landlord and big bourgeoisie: the characteristic of compromise with the imperialists for their class interests. Hence New Democracy has overthrown the bureaucratic overlords and of the country along with their imperialist friends.

The new democratic Republic of Mao Tse-tung is in full conformity with Sun Yat-sen's democratic state. Like Sun, Mao admires the remarkable achievements of the USSR but denies that the Soviet style republic can be fittingly practised in colonial and semi-colonial countries, the national polity of which will therefore be of a third type -- that of New Democracy. To use Sun Yat-sen's words, China will adopt democracy but it will be Chinese as well.

Although Sun Yat-sen was not in agreement with the Marxian theory of class struggle nor with the Soviet system he was very clear
in his mind about the necessity of the friendship of the USSR. In
the Sun-Joffe Manifesto, the agreement between the Kuomintang and
the Communists was stipulated and the support of Russia was assured
to China in the task of achieving her unification and national
independence. During the period of the Canton-Moscow entente (1923-27)
the Kuomintang was reshaped and reorganized by Soviet advisers headed
by Michael Borodin so that it had a system of registered and disci­
plined membership and it resembled the Russian Communist hierarchy
with the administrative and legislative systems united into grades
of conferences and committees.

In the first Kuomintang Congress of 1924 Sun extended his three
principles to include alliance with the USSR, cooperation with the
communists and protection of the interests of workers and peasants,
thus further paving the way for the present Chinese regime. Although
not a believer in international struggle, class struggle, Sun always
recognized the importance of the working class in the min shéng.

The principle of min shéng or people's livelihood included vast
schemes of industrial planning comparable to the Russian state
plan. In 1922, Sun formulated his plan involving the state in ambitious
schemes of industrial enterprise. The principle of nationalization
going side by side with private enterprise was thus introduced by
Sun Yat-sen and is now being followed in People's China. In the
policy of land reform Sun would allow private ownership but con­
fiscate unearned increment. He never went on with collectivization
or nationalization of land but wanted only to redistribute it among
the tillers. Thus in all spheres of the national economy
private enterprise is allowed to remain; only "those that possess
monopolistic character should be taken up as national undertakings".
In all these details Mao is following the lines laid down
by his nationalist predecessor.

So far as the present policy is concerned there is very little
difference between San Min Chu I and New Democracy. But there is
fundamental difference in ideology and objectives. While according to Sun Yat-sen the present stage should lead to the Confucian Ta tung or utopia where Chinese nation and national polity will survive with maximum political freedom and ideological control, according to Mao Tse-tung the present transitional phase should lead to a communist classless and stateless society.