

**Meeting in Commemoration of the
90th Anniversary of the Birth
of Dr. Sun Yat-sen**

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In Commemoration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen

Mao Tse-tung

Let us commemorate our great revolutionary predecessor, Dr. Sun Yat-sen!

We pay tribute to his memory for the steadfast struggle he waged, taking a clearcut stand as a Chinese revolutionary democrat against the Chinese reformists in a period that paved the way for China's democratic revolution. In this struggle he was the standard-bearer of China's revolutionary democrats.

We pay tribute to his memory for his brilliant achievement in leading the people to overthrow the monarchy and found the republic in the Revolution of 1911.

We pay tribute to his memory for the great work he did in developing the old Three People's Principles into the new Three People's Principles during the first period of co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party.

He bequeathed to us much that is useful in the sphere of political thought.

With the exception of a handful of reactionaries, the whole Chinese people in our time have rallied to carry forward the revolutionary cause for which Dr. Sun Yat-sen worked.

We brought to fruition the democratic revolution left unfinished by Dr. Sun; we have developed it further into a socialist revolution, which we are now in the course of completing.

Things develop ceaselessly. It is only 45 years since the Revolution of 1911, but the face of China today is completely changed. In another 45 years, that is, in the year 2001, we shall

be entering the twenty-first century. By then China will have undergone even greater changes. She will have become a powerful, socialist, industrial country. And that is as it should be, for she is a land of nine million six hundred thousand square kilometres populated by six hundred million people. China ought to have made a still greater contribution to humanity. The contribution she has made over the ages is far too small. This makes us feel rather ashamed.

We must, moreover, be modest, not only now, but forty-five years hence as well. We should always be modest. In our international relations, we should determinedly, thoroughly eradicate great-nation chauvinism, lock, stock and barrel.

Dr. Sun was a modest man. I heard him speak on many occasions and I was impressed by the grandeur of his mind. He applied himself to the study of China's historical conditions as well as contemporary social conditions and to the study of conditions in foreign countries, including the Soviet Union. We can see from this that he was a man of great modesty.

His whole life was devoted heart and soul to the rebuilding of China. To this, he truly gave his all till the last beat of his heart.

Like most great historical figures who guided the march of events in a positive direction, but nevertheless had their shortcomings, Dr. Sun too had his failings. An explanation of all this, making it clear to everyone, should be sought in a study of the historical conditions of the time. We cannot be too exacting with regard to our predecessors.

Sun Yat-sen—Great Revolutionary Son of the Chinese People

Soong Ching Ling

Today we are celebrating the 90th anniversary of the birth of Sun Yat-sen, great revolutionary son of the Chinese people. His name and achievements are honoured in our ranks because for forty years he gave his utmost strength to the people's revolution. His name and achievements have been preserved in our hearts and minds because he gave his all so that China might throw off the blinders of feudal superstition and the shackles of economic backwardness and imperialism. Because of his selfless devotion to this cause, his name and achievements have served as an inspiration for the entire nation as we go forward to complete the task which he did not have time to finish.

Sun Yat-sen was a great revolutionary because he was an undaunted spirit. In his "Account of the Chinese Revolution" he wrote: "If a man with a foreknowledge and a keen perception of things resolves to accomplish something which conforms to nature, responds to human feelings, agrees with the trend in world affairs and serves the urgent needs of the community, he is bound to succeed."

We know that Sun Yat-sen lived by this credo. Although he led a life constantly exposed to danger, he never wavered. Although he met innumerable difficulties and suffered many setbacks in his struggles against feudalism and imperialism, he never faltered. The record of his revolutionary career is studded with countless examples of unswerving perseverance in pursuit of his objective.

Sun Yat-sen was the son of a poverty-stricken peasant. It was this intimate experience with the wretched conditions of existence in the rural areas of old China that set his course in life. The sufferings of the people made such a deep impression on him that he resolved to spend his strength and energy on helping them. It was thus that the seed of revolution was planted in his mind.

His thirst for knowledge began early, and fortunately he was able to join his brother in Honolulu to attend school there. As he advanced in his education, the desire to work for his people took a humanist turn. He decided to become a physician and serve the people in that capacity. But it was while he was studying medicine in Hongkong that his activities as a revolutionist began.

Along with a small group of friends, every spare moment was spent in discussing China's fate and how to revive the nation. It was not hard to trace the source of weakness to the rank corruption and inefficiency of the Manchu regime. Sun Yat-sen soon arrived at the conclusion that the only solution for China was to work for the overthrow of the Manchus. He knew that only if this were brought about would China be able to stand up in freedom and equality, a power among the nations of the world, guiding its own destiny. He worked out a platform on this basis and began to agitate for revolution. His slogan then was "no reverence for the throne!" Shortly afterwards he put before his comrades the idea of a democratic republic.

His revolutionary activities continued unabated after he began to practise medicine in Macao, and he found sympathizers for his ideas especially among fellow students. At that time he formed a secret society known as the Hsing Chung Hui (Society for the Revival of China) and the Agricultural Science Society in Canton, both of which served as headquarters for the revolution.

China's defeat at the hands of Japan in 1894 emphasized for Sun Yat-sen the deep peril which the nation faced. It convinced him that the only way out was by revolution and that the moment had come to strike against the Manchus. He gave up the practice of medicine to dedicate himself without reserve to this cause. His first organized attempt was against the Manchu yamen in Canton in the autumn of 1895. But this attack was unsuccessful. The first martyrs of the Chinese democratic revolution, Lu Hao-tung and Chu Wei-chen, fell, while seventy others of Sun Yat-sen's comrades were imprisoned. The Manchus ordered the arrest of Sun Yat-sen himself, and it was only with difficulty that he was able to escape from Canton and take refuge abroad.

Sun Yat-sen used this opportunity to begin his agitation among his countrymen abroad for revolution. At first he met with little response, but he was persistent. Actually he found that the idea of nationalism was in a latent state, it had not died out among the overseas Chinese, even though the homeland had been ruled by the Manchu conquerors for more than two centuries. The scholars of the Ming dynasty had through a secret society kept alive the idea of the Chinese nation during the whole of that period, and this secret order was still in existence among the overseas survivors of the Ming officials. Sun Yat-sen used this situation to enlist moral and financial support for the great task he had set himself. His ability to succeed in this respect aroused the bitter anger of the Manchus abroad and led to his narrowest escape from death. While in London, in 1896, he was kidnapped by the Chinese Legation there with the intention of smuggling him back to China for execution. It was only by pure good fortune that he succeeded in smuggling out a note to his old teacher and friend, Dr. James Cantlie, who after strenuous efforts obtained his release.

The next few years Sun Yat-sen spent in Europe, propagating the idea of revolution among the students and his compatriots, but also studying and observing the capitalist world in ferment. Out of this period came his first formulation of the "equal distribution of the land," which was his attempt to provide the answer to the poverty of the Chinese peasant and lay the foundation for the advance of the nation as a whole. Although this formulation, as pointed out by Lenin, was one "advocating a purely capitalist, a maximum capitalist, agrarian programme," still it struck at the very root of China's troubles, the vicious landlord-feudal system. It was also at this time that Sun Yat-sen first developed his vision of socialism, although as yet he had not differentiated between the true socialism of Marx and Engels and that "socialism" advocated by certain bourgeois reformist theorists in the West. However, it was becoming clear in his mind that capitalism did not offer the solution to China's problems.

Returning to Japan in 1899, Sun Yat-sen started on the task of reorganizing the revolutionary forces. In the meantime within China itself there was much unrest and mounting anger at the Manchu regime. This culminated in the patriotic, anti-imperialist "Boxer" uprising, which was brutally suppressed by eight imperialist countries. The defeat was followed by even greater humiliation for the country, the imperialists exacting heavy indemnity payments and rapacious concessions from China. This only served to arouse large sections of the people of all classes and many were ready to turn to revolutionary means in order to preserve China as a nation. This finally resulted in the formation of the Tung Meng Hui (China Revolutionary League) in Tokyo in 1905, of which Sun Yat-sen was chairman. An unprecedented revolutionary wave had been unleashed in China, and the Tung Meng Hui was a prime manifestation of this.

In 1907 Sun Yat-sen made his way to Indo-China, from which he personally led the military attack upon Jan Nan Kwan. Three forts were captured and the prospects were good for further advance, but reinforcements did not arrive in time, so he and his comrades were forced to retreat to Annam, from which he was later expelled by the French Government.

After this defeat, which was but one of several, many of Sun Yat-sen's comrades were discouraged, and were also disheartened by the empty treasury of the revolution. But Sun Yat-sen called a meeting at Penang at which he fired his comrades with new spirit and courage. He proved that the people were still with the revolution by raising money under seemingly impossible conditions. He was in the midst of further campaigning for funds abroad when the 1911 Revolution took place on October 10 in Wuhan. This was Sun Yat-sen's eleventh attempt and it sparked similar actions in province after province until the Manchu regime collapsed and the 2,000-year-old system of feudal monarchy passed from the scene. This was an event of great historical significance. It infused the Chinese people with irrepressible hopes for their motherland and at the

same time dealt feudalism and imperialism a blow from which they were never able fully to recover.

China was proclaimed a republic, and after sixteen years of exile and bitter struggle, Sun Yat-sen returned to his homeland to become the first provisional president. However, he was not able to carry out his plans for the reconstruction of the country. Due to the disorganization of the Kuomintang, into which the Tung Meng Hui had been reorganized, and its infiltration by former reformists, officials and traitors, the revolution was undermined. They entered into negotiations with Yuan Shih-kai, the northern warlord who was supported by the imperialists and feudal forces. The result was that after three months in office, Sun Yat-sen was forced to resign. A year later when Yuan's true counter-revolutionary plot was clear to him, he began a new struggle to save the democratic republic and preserve the revolutionary spirit of the country. In this period he reorganized his political party in an attempt to revive it, but a broad mass base was lacking because of the absence of a clear-cut programme against feudalism and imperialism, and the fact that the mistake was repeatedly made of relying mainly on personal loyalty rather than instituting strict party discipline.

On the question of providing the programme which would give the party a mass base, this was the source of many bitter internal struggles. Sun Yat-sen consistently fought to enlist the peasants in the struggle since he knew from his own background the importance of the agrarian question to the fate of the revolution and the nation. But many bourgeois elements within the Kuomintang were afraid of stirring up the masses, and in reality did not want to change the relations of land ownership. Sun Yat-sen, lacking experienced cadres, and fighting tooth and nail to establish a base from which he could carry out operations, was forced to scale down his objectives.

During all these years of unceasing struggle, frustrations and defeats, Sun Yat-sen refused to bow his head. Rather he remained erect, true to the people's revolution and immovable in his determination to continue the fight. But there was more to him than mere determination. In his search for the key to the Chinese revolution, he made relentless demands on himself for self-improvement. He hated subjectiveness and he demanded humbleness at all times. As he put it, he preferred "solid truth to vainglory." He was willing to learn his lessons from the facts of life and from defeat. And if these facts demanded change in his ideas, he had the wisdom and the courage to rid himself of obsolete ideas and set up principles which sprung from new ideas.

It was this demand for self-improvement that enabled Sun Yat-sen to be progressive at each stage of the Chinese revolution through which he lived. Absorbing the most advanced ideas of the world of his times, reflecting the desires of the Chinese people for freedom and progress, he earnestly sought self-improvement so that he could better understand

each new historical task before the nation and exert a stimulating influence on the people in their fulfilment of those tasks.

It was Sun Yat-sen's determined desire for progress that in the final period of his life enabled him to appreciate the lessons of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, to understand that the Chinese Communist Party and the working class were the most dynamic forces in the nation. Once he saw the truth, he acted without equivocation. He revised his old policies and principles. He declared his alliance with Soviet Russia. He welcomed the close co-operation of the Chinese Communist Party because it was of advantage to the revolution. He arrived at a more accurate conception of socialism. He tossed aside his quest for a bourgeois-democratic republic because he had learnt it could never be realized in a China beset by feudalism and imperialism. In its stead he put forth his new dream, that of a people's republic. Finally he set down his slogan of "Land to the Tillers" to solve the problems of the peasants, the goal toward which he had been striving those many decades.

His government in Canton was besieged from all sides. 1923-24 were years of constant battles. The imperialists sent gunboats to Canton to threaten him. They instigated a revolt by the Merchant Volunteers under Chen Jim-pak, the comprador of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation. In addition, the internal strife in the Kuomintang became increasingly tense. At each step forward Sun Yat-sen took in his thinking, he was to meet with resistance from the right-wing members. They tried all ways to tie him hand and foot, since they knew he could not be silenced. They tried to warn him by spurious arguments against his new policies, and when these failed they attempted to undermine him behind his back. Such persons would arouse his anger to the point where he could not eat, and on many occasions he suffered acute pain—a warning of the disease that later proved fatal. For he had but one standard for all his thought and action: what would most quickly liberate the Chinese people from feudalism and imperialism. Anyone who obstructed the path of this struggle was certain to feel the full force of his wrath.

Sun Yat-sen stood up to the imperialists. With the help of the Communist Party he suppressed the revolt of the Merchant Volunteers of Canton. With the help of the Chinese Communist Party and the technical aid given by Soviet Russia he set in motion a revolutionary force which turned the tide of many a struggle with the rebellious warlords.

During 1924 hostilities broke out between the Fengtien and Chihli cliques in north China. He saw this as a good opportunity to mobilize forces for another Northern Expedition. However, after the overthrow of Tsao Kun in October 1924, he was invited to go north for a round-table conference. He accepted, but let it be known that he would advocate the convening of a national assembly as the condition for unity and peace in the country, that the unequal treaties with the imperialists would have to be abolished and steps would have to be taken to ensure the freedom of the people and national independence.

I recall the trip very well because we went by way of Japan. At that time the Japanese people were still smarting under the Immigration Act passed by the United States Congress, which tore up previous agreements and barred Japanese along with other Asian peoples from immigrating to that country. Sun Yat-sen spoke at several meetings at which I saw men in the audience weeping in anger at the humiliation dealt them by the American Government. Sun Yat-sen explained to them about the Chinese revolution and appealed to them to unite and work with all Asians to overthrow imperialism and the arrogance it breeds, to uphold the honour of the Asian peoples and their national independence and racial equality.

When we arrived in Tientsin before the meetings with the warlords could start, Sun Yat-sen fell ill. From his sick-bed he received the emissaries sent by them. He mustered all his remaining strength to denounce their masters in no uncertain terms for their hypocrisy and self-interest. But he could not carry on. His illness became worse, and in Peking, on March 12, 1925, his stout heart ceased to beat.

Although in his lifetime he was not able to see his dream of a great China on the world stage, he never doubted for one moment that this would be the final result of all his efforts. The Chinese Communist Party picked up his tasks, and after further years of hard and difficult struggle led the Chinese people to their triumph in revolution, and on to the construction of a socialist state. Sun Yat-sen's dream has materialized. It has been fulfilled in every way.

But Sun Yat-sen left us more than a dream. He left us what the great Lenin described in a letter to him as "continuous zeal" for the revolutionary cause. In the tasks ahead of us we can use such zeal because what we have to accomplish is not simple nor easily done. I want especially to say to our young people, upon whom so much depends in this new phase of the struggle: Learn from Sun Yat-sen! Imbibe his continuous zeal, study his demand for constant progress, emulate his lack of subjectiveness, his humbleness and his closeness to the people. Make these characteristics part of your own make-up. With these you can surely go forward to build a great socialist China.

It is in this manner that we can best remember Sun Yat-sen. It is in this way that the heritage of this great revolutionary son of the Chinese people should be handed down from one generation to the next.

Opening Address

Chou En-lai

*Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese
People's Political Consultative Conference*

Friends, Comrades:

I now declare the Meeting in Commemoration of the 90th Anniversary of the Birth of Dr. Sun Yat-sen open.

Today is the 90th anniversary of the birth of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Reverently, in respectful remembrance, we pay tribute to this outstanding forerunner of the democratic revolution in modern China. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was a valiant fighter who led the struggle to overthrow the feudal monarchy and build up a democratic republic. He was a patriot who fought against imperialist aggression and for the independence and freedom of China. In his later years, he went a step further. He adopted the Three Policies — alliance with the Soviet Union, co-operation with the Communist Party and assistance to the workers' and peasants' movement, thus developing his old Three People's Principles into the new Three People's Principles. He was a great revolutionary and a great statesman.

Today, as we commemorate the 90th anniversary of Dr. Sun's birth, we see around us the tremendous, fundamental changes that have taken place in China. His ideals and the cause of the democratic revolution, which he began but left unfinished, have been borne on to full victory by the Chinese working class and its party — the Communist Party of China. From a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country ruled by imperialists, bureaucrat-capitalists and feudal landlords, China has been transformed into a country that is independent, free and democratic. Following the completion of their bourgeois-democratic revolution, the Chinese people went on to the rapid, decisive triumph of their socialist revolution. Now the Chinese people are engaged in large-scale socialist construction to change their backward agricultural country into a strong, rich, prosperous industrial land.

Taiwan, a part of China's territory, is still suffering from American aggression. All patriots, all faithful disciples of Dr. Sun should join hands in a common effort to bring about the peaceful liberation of Taiwan.

Today, as we commemorate the 90th anniversary of the birth of Dr. Sun, we also see that tremendous and profound changes have taken place, or are going to take place, in countries in Asia, Africa and elsewhere

that used to be under the imperialist yoke. The democratic-revolutionary ideas of Dr. Sun Yat-sen not only have had a strong influence on the Chinese revolution in its first stage; they have also exercised no small influence on many Asian countries which have achieved national independence and which are engaged in democratic revolution today. In Asia, in the Arab countries and in Latin America, many esteemed patriots and far-sighted statesmen who sympathize with the ideas of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the cause he espoused are doing their utmost to preserve the national independence of their own countries, to fight against colonial rule and clear their lands of the aggressive forces of imperialism. Gone for ever are the days when the colonialists and imperialists could have everything their own way. The 600 million Chinese people have finally, after many years' bitter struggle, won the revolution. Now, as they commemorate the 90th anniversary of the birth of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, they offer a helping hand to the great Egyptian people, now fighting a heroic war of resistance along the banks of the Suez Canal. They offer the same helping hand to all countries and peoples, in Asia, in Africa and throughout the whole world, who are valiantly fighting against colonialism.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was a good friend of the Soviet Union. When he died in 1925, he left a last letter to the Soviet Union imbued with the great friendship between the two countries. The Chinese people treasure this historic document. In the seven years since the triumph of the Chinese revolution, the fighting friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples has grown much more profound. Any plot or provocation the imperialists may direct against the friendship between China and the Soviet Union will come to nothing.

We thank our friends of other nations who supported Dr. Sun in the Chinese revolution. We express our respects to the families of our friends of other nations who shed their blood and gave their lives for the Chinese revolution.

Dr. Sun's immense contributions to the Chinese people are immortal. They will live for ever in China's history. I propose that we all stand up and pay tribute to the great Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

Speech by Lin Po-chu

*Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee
of the Chinese Communist Party*

Friends and Comrades,

Dr. Sun Yat-sen has his place in Chinese history as a national hero. He was the first among us to call for a revolution based on the principle of democracy. He was a great forerunner of the Chinese people's hard-fought struggle against imperialism and feudalism. We are gathered here today to commemorate the 90th anniversary of his birth, to pay our tributes to him and express our esteem for him.

Dr. Sun began his revolutionary career at the end of the nineteenth century when China was being exploited, oppressed and plundered by all the world's imperialist powers. Foreign imperialism, working hand in glove with the decadent feudal forces of China, dominated our country, and aimed to keep her permanently in a backward state.

The revolutionary movement led by Dr. Sun was preceded by that great and stormy peasant revolution, the Taiping—the Heavenly Kingdom. This peasant revolution aimed to improve the bitter lot of the Chinese people; it was of immense significance in the modern history of the Chinese people's struggle for liberation. The Taiping movement, however, was a purely peasant revolution; it did not have the leadership of progressive social forces, and that is why it failed.

Next came the bourgeois reformists. These predecessors of Dr. Sun launched the reform movement which played an outstanding role in the awakening and advancement of the Chinese people. But they, too, failed because they could not grasp the strength of the masses and dared not raise the slogans of revolution. The cause which had been championed by the Taiping peasant revolutionaries and the reformists was carried a big step forward by the revolutionary movement led by Dr. Sun; it opened a new era in the Chinese people's struggle for national independence and democracy.

At the end of the nineteenth century China stood at a turning point in her history. Swift, immense and violent upheavals marked the death of the old society and the birth of the new. At this critical juncture, it was not easy to be a fighter always in the van. Those who stood firm in those days were men sincere and earnest in their desire to save the country, men who could visualize China's future more clearly than others; and Dr. Sun was such a man. For forty years, he devoted

himself to the cause of the revolution, advancing with the advance of the times. Finally, he advanced from the position of a revolutionary democrat to that of a good friend of the Chinese Communist Party; he thus became an ally of the proletariat in the revolution, the most advanced class in Chinese history. His contribution to the cause of the Chinese people's liberation will never be forgotten. He will always be remembered by the Chinese people as a great and immortal man.

Founded in 1905 and led by Dr. Sun, the Tung Meng Hui (Chinese Revolutionary League) put forward its programme in clear-cut terms. It was a new programme, unprecedented in Chinese history. It called for the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the establishment of a democratic republic by revolutionary means. In the old Chinese society, there were two main classes, the landlords and the peasants. Any programme put forward at that time could, therefore, only represent the interests of the one or the other. Those who opposed the Manchu dynasty either advocated restoration of the Ming empire or the establishment of still another empire. The bourgeois reformists wanted only a constitutional monarchy, not a democratic republic. It was a big step forward when Dr. Sun raised the call to overthrow the Manchu dynasty and announced his programme of establishing a democratic republic. This showed that he represented a new progressive force — the national bourgeoisie.

The Tung Meng Hui's programme opposed feudalism. This was because it not only called for the overthrow of the Manchu rule but also for the destruction of the whole superstructure of feudalism which had been handed down from China's immemorial past — the whole feudal, autocratic political system — and the removal of the very basis of feudalism — the feudal agrarian system.

The Tung Meng Hui's programme also opposed imperialism. This was because the Manchu dynasty was not merely part of the superstructure of feudalism but also a tool which foreign imperialism supported and utilized. At that time some people who thought that reformist methods could save the country opposed the Tung Meng Hui's revolutionary programme. One of their reasons was the fear that a revolution might invite foreign intervention. But the revolutionaries led by Dr. Sun were not to be scared by the possibility of such intervention. They were firmly convinced that the Chinese nation would never attain independence and democracy and become rich and strong if it tolerated the reactionary ruling forces supported by the foreign aggressors. It was against the wishes of the foreign imperialists that they raised aloft the great banner of freedom, emancipation and progress on Chinese soil.

At the time of the founding of the Tung Meng Hui, the western bourgeoisie had become senile and corrupt, and was confronted with the grave crisis of proletarian revolution. Dr. Sun understood this. Although he was carrying on a revolution in China with the aim of set-

ting up a bourgeois-democratic republic, he acknowledged the just character of the proletarian revolution in the West and deeply sympathized with the Chinese labouring people condemned to a miserable fate. Thinking along socialist lines in a somewhat subjective way, he demanded that the democratic republic established by the revolution should implement policies which would prevent the evils of capitalism: he regarded his advocacy of the equal distribution of land—which was actually an anti-feudal measure—as being part of his socialist policy. At that time the Chinese people had not yet a correct understanding of what socialism was. However, many Chinese already had doubts about the capitalist system; they based their ideas on an incomplete knowledge of capitalist society, and particularly on the fact of the barbarous oppression of China by the imperialists. They acknowledged that the capitalist system was indeed much better than the age-old feudal system in China; but they also hoped that the revolution would make China a better country compared with the capitalist countries of Europe and America, though nobody knew for certain how this could be done. The subjective socialist thought of Dr. Sun Yat-sen to a certain extent reflected these bold and noble ideals of the Chinese people.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen based his programme on what he called the Three Principles of the People, namely, the Principle of Nationalism, the Principle of Democracy and the Principle of People's Livelihood. This programme was heartily endorsed by the people. It united in the struggle for the establishment of a bourgeois republic all those who opposed feudalism and imperialist aggression and who sympathized with socialism. Many revolutionary elements in the interior had no direct contact with the party led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, nevertheless they were influenced by his teachings and their work also met the needs of the revolution. So many came to support Dr. Sun Yat-sen and respond to his call that within three or four months after the outbreak of the Wuchang Uprising that sparked the 1911 Revolution, the Manchu government was overthrown.

The Revolution of 1911 was a great success; it not only ended the Manchu dynasty, but also sent the entire autocratic feudal system that had lingered on for so long in China to its grave. This system had long been an obstacle to China's progress; its destruction was a great act of spiritual emancipation for the Chinese people. This revolutionary success was of course not complete; the democratic republic brought to birth by the revolution did not live up to its name; nevertheless, that name stood for democracy, and with that name, democracy became the order of the day. In the past, autocracy had been the order of the day; it was sacred and inviolable; whoever opposed it was put to death. Now democracy had become the order of the day; it assumed the same sacred and inviolable character; and though those who dared to violate this sacred order might not be put to death, they were certain to be spurned by the people. Though, following the establishment of the Republic of China, Yuan Shih-kai and a motley collection of other warlords were

able to usurp state power, they had no popular backing and, as a result, one after the other they fell from power. Thus it was clear that despite the fact that confusion reigned throughout the country, the people was able to distinguish the good from the bad. As soon as the people became further awakened and got organized under a firm leadership, they would sweep away the filth and trash in their path.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen continued to play an important role in the mainstream of democracy. Following the Revolution of 1911 it was he who first discovered Yuan Shih-kai's conspiracy to undermine the democratic system. He came out resolutely for a punitive expedition against Yuan Shih-kai and called for a second revolution. It was also he who first called for the preservation of the constitution after the death of Yuan, and carried on an unflinching struggle to snatch the fruits of the 1911 Revolution back from the grasp of the northern (Peiyang) warlords. He suffered many setbacks during this struggle because he lacked sufficient support. A process of differentiation was taking place among the participants of the 1911 Revolution: some of them, discouraged by defeat, withdrew; others wallowed in the slime together with the forces that had been swept aside by the revolution, while the remainder who still stood for the revolution had lost their bearings. Though it was but a few years since the 1911 Revolution, its slogans and programme had lost their popular appeal. The masses too rose spontaneously to seek a new path for the revolution.

This was a testing time for the great revolutionary democrat Dr. Sun Yat-sen. But Dr. Sun was no ordinary statesman; he stood the test. He had a lofty spirit of patriotism, fortified by a sharp perception for the new in life and a stubborn determination to carry through to the end the cause he had espoused. So it was that under extremely difficult conditions he made a bold change in his ideas in keeping with the new currents in the world following the Russian October Revolution.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was inspired by the October Revolution not only because he was sympathetically inclined to socialism in his early years, but also because like all Chinese patriots he saw for the first time in the October Revolution a force which really opposed imperialism. The October Revolution finally ended the rule of Tsarist Russia and established the Soviet Socialist Republic. That new-born republic was hated by all the imperialists in the world and what roused imperialist hatred was bound to win sympathy from the people who suffered from imperialist oppression.

The great success of the October Revolution made Dr. Sun Yat-sen realize that China must learn from Russia if she was to succeed in her own revolution. "Follow Russia's example" were the words Dr. Sun often used in his later years. By "follow Russia's example" he meant to follow the way the Russian Communist Party had led the revolution, that is,

the way it had made the mass of workers and peasants the main force of the revolution. He also meant that, in her resolute struggle against the aggressive imperialist forces, China should be a friend of the world socialist revolution of the proletariat. By this time Dr. Sun had become aware that in order to bring about the further development of the Chinese revolution it was necessary to rely on the great mass of the people and form a revolutionary alliance with a broad social base. This marked a great change in Dr. Sun's understanding of the revolutionary forces in China. As a direct outcome of this understanding, Dr. Sun decided to adopt the Three Policies — alliance with Soviet Russia, co-operation with the Communists, and help to the peasants and workers — and to re-organize the Kuomintang into an alliance of various revolutionary classes. To implement these new policies, he gave a new interpretation to the Three Principles of the People which he had previously formulated. In the light of this new interpretation, the Principle of Nationalism meant thoroughgoing opposition to imperialist aggression; the Principle of Democracy meant the establishment of a democratic system shared by all the people; and the Principle of People's Livelihood meant the equal distribution of land and democratic control over capital. These policies of Dr. Sun gained the full support of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, for they fully answered the needs of the Chinese revolution.

A fierce struggle ensued to effect this change and in this struggle Dr. Sun displayed the lofty qualities of a great statesman — foresight, courage and patriotism. Before the Revolution of 1911 many Kuomintang members had been active revolutionaries, but in the new period they became die-hards who resolutely opposed Dr. Sun's new policies. They were ready to oppose the Communist Party even if it meant the failure of the revolution and allowing China to continue to be a semi-colony of the imperialists. Utterly opposed to these die-hards, Dr. Sun would never tolerate anything that would lead to the failure of the revolution. He regarded the Chinese Communist Party as a force which would push ahead the Chinese revolution, and believed that the liberation of China could not be achieved without the co-operation of this force. He denounced the anti-Communist die-hards and told them: "If you don't want to co-operate with the Communists, I will dissolve the Kuomintang and join the Communist Party." Then he asked: "Do you still refuse to co-operate with the Communist Party?" The die-hards replied that they would not change their stand. "Very well," Dr. Sun replied without the slightest hesitation, "you will be expelled from the Party!" Among the friends and comrades attending this commemoration meeting today there are some who were delegates to the First National Congress of the Kuomintang. They must still remember what a fine stand Dr. Sun took in handling this issue.

It was only natural that, while putting his new policies into practice, Dr. Sun Yat-sen should have faced strong opposition from the old war-