



SELECTED WORKS
OF
LIU SHAOQI

Volume I

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!



刘琦

SELECTED WORKS
OF
LIU SHAOQI

Volume I

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PUBLICATION NOTE

Comrade Liu Shaoqi was a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary and an outstanding leader of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China. Throughout the course of China's new-democratic revolution, socialist revolution and socialist construction, he consistently adhered to the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with concrete conditions in China. He made monumental contributions in the fields of Party building, the united front, armed struggle, the labour movement, work in the White areas, the establishment and building of the anti-Japanese democratic base areas behind enemy lines, economic development, the building of political power, culture and education, and foreign affairs. He also made brilliant contributions to the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought.

To meet the needs of readers in their study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the history of the Chinese revolution and construction led by the Party, and the life and thought of Comrade Liu Shaoqi, we have compiled and are now publishing the *Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi*, which consist of two volumes. The first volume includes works before and the second those after the founding of the People's Republic of China.

In the long years of revolutionary practice, Comrade Liu Shaoqi wrote many articles, documents, telegrams and letters and made numerous speeches. We include in these volumes the most important ones, many of which are published here for the first time.

Writings which were published during Comrade Liu Shaoqi's lifetime or which exist in manuscript are reproduced here in their original form with a minimum of changes in language or of corrections of errors of fact. Records of speeches have been edited. To assist our readers, editorial and explanatory notes have been provided. Each

editorial note is placed at the bottom of the page on which an article begins, while the explanatory notes come at the end of each volume.

Editorial Committee on Party
Literature, Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China

August 1981

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THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE REVOLUTION AND OUR POLICY CONCERNING THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

May 1926

(1) In the past year the Chinese labour movement has made tremendous advances, taking an especially big stride forward during the May 30th Movement.¹ In the national revolution, the working class has shown itself capable of leading the people in mounting attacks on the imperialists and warlords. The massacres which have occurred in various places were all perpetrated during the suppression of strikes, and most of those killed or wounded were workers. In the May 30th anti-imperialist struggle, it was the workers who made the greatest sacrifices, had the most progressive programme, fought the most resolutely, and best demonstrated their enormous strength. The various kinds of struggles have proved amply the unalterable fact that in the national revolutionary movement the working class plays the leading role.

(2) Over the past year the labour movement has been subjected to oppression and assault by the warlords. During the May 30th Movement, the Fengtian and Zhili warlord cliques² were especially cruel in their attacks against the workers. These facts show clearly that the domestic warlords are the tools and running dogs of imperial-

The Third National Labour Congress was held in Guangzhou from May 1 to 13, 1926. Liu Shaoqi acted as secretary-general of the Congress and was entrusted by the Presidium to deliver a report entitled "The Development of China's Labour Movement in the Past Year". It was divided into five parts: 1. The Significance of the Second Labour Congress and a General Review of China's Labour Movement Before and After the Second Congress; 2. The "May 30th Movement"; 3. The War Against the Fengtian Warlords; 4. The Present Situation in the Labour Movement Throughout the Country and Its Prospects; and 5. Conclusion and Our Policies. This is Part Five of the report, which was carried in Bulletin No. 11 issued by the Congress.

ism and that the imperialists and warlords will always remain enemies of the masses and the targets of the national revolution. These facts also prove that in order to win victory in the anti-imperialist movement it will be necessary to overthrow the warlords.

(3) Because the Chinese bourgeoisie³ is oppressed by the imperialists and warlords, it is possible for it to participate in the national revolution, but when it does participate, it tends towards compromise and lacks thoroughness. Moreover, as soon as the proletariat rises up in revolution or demands improvements in its conditions, the bourgeoisie turns reactionary. The reactionary behaviour of the Shanghai bourgeoisie in the May 30th Movement should be a lesson to us. During certain periods of our struggle, namely, the periods when the clashes between the bourgeoisie and the imperialists are most fierce, our working class should co-operate with the bourgeoisie in common opposition to imperialism, in order to strengthen the anti-imperialist movement. But whenever the bourgeoisie shows a tendency to compromise or to oppress the workers' movement, the working class should strenuously oppose the bourgeoisie and prevent it from selling us out.

(4) The Chinese petty bourgeoisie, including small traders and students, has an important part to play in the national revolution. Over the past year of the anti-imperialist movement, the petty bourgeoisie has proven its strength and shown its ability to make revolution. The working class should take effective measures to unite with this group and build a united front. It should also encourage the Left-leaning sympathies of the petty bourgeoisie and help it overcome its deep-rooted vacillation and conservatism, so that it cannot be manipulated by the big bourgeoisie.

(5) The peasants are an important force in the national revolution. They are the natural allies of the working class. While carrying out the Chinese revolution, the Chinese working class should conscientiously guide and support them. Workers everywhere should help the peasants to organize peasant associations, give guidance on methods of struggle and render practical assistance in all their struggles. When deciding on its own forms of struggle, the working class should take the peasants' interests into account.

(6) The Chinese working class has made very great progress in its organization. Not only has the national membership of the trade unions been substantially increased, but the organization of the mem-

bership has also been improved. Everywhere the workers are calling for a united trade union organization. The movement aimed at forming united unions in Hongkong and Guangdong is one example. Another is the fact that, despite cruel oppression, 200,000 workers in Shanghai remained in secret organizations conducting sporadic struggles on different issues. This proves that the organization of the Chinese working class can no longer be destroyed by reactionary forces.

(7) As the economic organizations of the workers, the trade unions must be open. At present, Chinese trade unions are neither protected by the law nor recognized by society. To develop the labour movement, the Chinese working class must vigorously and openly develop a movement for trade union legislation. Even if it should fail to win the enactment of trade union laws, such a movement could lead the Chinese workers in the direction of political struggle. The Chinese labour movement is sure to grow in the course of this movement for trade union freedom.

(8) While it is true that the labour movement in the past year has been an anti-imperialist political struggle, the workers' economic demands are discernible in all aspects of the struggle. The abominable conditions of the Chinese worker are unrivalled in any other country in the world. Therefore, it should be the policy of the Chinese labour movement from now on to strengthen all aspects of the economic struggle. In no case should workers abandon their demands for economic improvements. They should fight for their economic interests. The development of the economic struggle means the development of the Chinese labour movement.

(9) The great struggles of the Chinese working class during the past year have shaken the entire world. The working class everywhere has started to take note of the Chinese workers' movement, and closer links have been forged between the Chinese working class and the working class of the world. For example, during the strikes following the May 30th Movement, trade unions and trade unionists of many countries sent messages and telegrams of support, held demonstrations, made collections and dispatched delegations to China to make contact with the Chinese workers. In all its future activities and organization the Chinese working class should build a close relationship with the working class of the world, in order to promote world revolution.

(10) With the rapid growth of the Chinese labour movement, scabs are running wild. Everywhere they have at their disposal enormous forces to disrupt us. We must find a way to deal with their activities. The trade unions should have an organization for their own defence.

MR. LIAO ZHONGKAI⁴ AND WORKER AND PEASANT POLICY

September 26, 1926

For the Chinese national revolution to succeed, the participation of the masses of all classes and the building of a united front of all classes are necessary. But among the classes taking part in the national revolution, the working class and the peasantry constitute the main force. As the political party which has taken on responsibility for the national revolution, the Chinese Kuomintang⁵ must on no account neglect this main force. If the Chinese national revolution is to succeed, there must be a specific worker and peasant policy conducive to the development of the worker and peasant movement.

The reason why Dr. Sun Yat-sen did not succeed in his revolution despite forty years of endeavour is that he failed to win the active participation of the worker and peasant masses who constitute the great majority of the Chinese nation. It was only after its reorganization that the Kuomintang adopted a positive worker and peasant policy, formulated a programme of political struggle for the interests of the workers and peasants, accepted Communist Party members into its ranks and led the great majority of the workers and peasants onto the path of revolution. And only after these steps were taken did the forces of the national revolution grow stronger and more consolidated with each passing day.

Mr. Liao understood clearly that the Kuomintang should not regard the workers and peasants in the same way as it does the other classes in society. The worker and peasant policy, formulated personally by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, has actively assisted the growth of the worker and peasant organizations and helped to mobilize the worker

Written in memory of Liao Zhongkai on the first anniversary of his death. The article first appeared in the journal *The Workers' Road*, No. 412, sponsored by the Guangzhou-Hongkong Strike Committee.