

The Sociocultural Analysis of the Development of Communism Movement in China

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The initiation of the communism group and the founding of the Communist Party of China are deeply rooted in China's political, economic, and social environments, which are not simply the result of Soviet Russia' forced export of revolution. Out of the complete disappointment in China's political reality and the profound reflection on its economic oppression, Chinese progressive intellectuals have yearned for one ideal society since the Republic of China, which is represented by socialism. The practical successful road provided by October Revolution caters to China's trend. Therefore, the early Chinese communists begin to change their clothes and enter the labor masses. They look forward to establishing a revolutionary proletarian regime and carrying on economic career based on communist principle so as to promote national construction. Under the long-term promotion of the early communists, the former poor and undisciplined working class would bring the concept of socialism into their own life.

Keywords: May 4th Period, Communism Movement, working class

With the subjective feelings of the party, Mao Zedong used one sentence that "the October Revolution bring us Marxism-Leninism" to describe the theoretical origin of the founding of the Communist Party of China (CPC). According to this, on the perspective of the development stage of Chinese society at that time, historians of the Communist Party of China from the former Soviet Union always raised the question whether it was premature or not. In addition, based on the same background, some European and American scholars argued that its founding was the result of the forced export of revolution by Soviet Russia as well (Yoshihiro, 2006, Preface: p. 12). The direct reason for the establishment of the CPC was the effect from the activities of Soviet Russia and Comintern in the Far East rather than the acceptance of Marxism, proletariat and the labor movement in some extent, considered by Ishikawa Yoshihiro (Yoshihiro, 2006, Preface: p. 18). However, from the victory of the October Revolution to the launch of the Chinese Communist Group, there was no doubt that it also went through a period of arduous exploration and debate. Standing on the foundation of the whole social trend at that time, and the observation of the early communists' cognition, we would find that the founding of the Communist Party of China was deeply rooted in its own political, economic, and social environments.

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Reflection on China's Disappointing Political Situation and Economic Oppression

After a trip to the mainland, Zhang Dongsun lamented that “only a very small number of Chinese people who reside in commerce port and cities live human life” (1920, p. 1). Under the long-term political repression, the hearts of ordinary citizens were filled with obedience. At the same time, undeveloped industry and commerce brought about the prevalence of extreme egoism among workers. “There is no the habit of collective livings, and the conservative traditional spirit is prevalent. The notices with ‘Don't talk about state affairs’ are often encountered in teahouses or restaurants”. As far as the early communists concerned, it was like social supervision set up for the lower class, so that the patriotism from intellectual class could not take root in the proletariat (The Data Collection Committee of Party History of the CPC Central Committee, 1987, p. 228). When talking with railway workers in Changxindian, Beijing, Zhang Guotao wondered when undergoing tragic experience of being exploited by foremen and supervisors, why they did not organize labor union and workers' cooperative to defend their own right and interest. “Why we should do such affairs”, they answered. Some of them said that they had never heard of such labor union which could work for the welfare of worker. “It seemed that the fear of their factory and the government authority does not change immediately” (Zhang, 1987, p. 343). In addition, class oppression was more common. Foreigners insulted the Chinese, officers treated the masses rudely, and passengers urged rickshaw pullers with whips or sticks.

Government officials, soldiers, bureaucrats and police compete in oppressing the masses. For example, the car of some important people could crush pedestrians. They can control the traffic at will, and can also instigate the police to suppress the masses at will. (Report of Beijing Communist Organization, 1987, p. 230)

All of these constituted good change for early communists to publicize to the masses in order to stimulate the revolutionary spirit of the working class (Report of Beijing Communist Organization, 1987, p. 230).

In terms of the political system, people have tired of the political parties since the Republic of China. They thought that they always took use of other's misfortune to serve their own ends, formed political cliques for private gain, and tried every trick to mislead the public.

If banking on these political parties who are the followers of the rich and powerful, and who have neither the spirit of a political party nor the spirit of an organization, it is unrealistic to make reforms and work for the welfare of people, just as expecting the sun to come out from the west. (Li, 1987, p. 284)

Because it was always ended by building constitutions, the reform movement carried out by non-governmental organizations was often joked as the “Constitution Movement” (Li, 1987, p. 284). Although it was said that Chinese people have experienced the miserable monarchy, given lacking education and the wide corruption of the upper middle class, the representative system was more irrelevant in China than in Europe and America. The congress, provincial assembly and county assembly,

are full of embarrassed situation, which are almost at the end; their so-called “debating brand” workers are notorious, even stink a thousand times more than cesspool. The whole idea of provincial autonomy is nothing but a different name for the armed forces. (Report of Beijing Communist Organization, 1921, p. 1)

On this background, early communist inevitably questioned the political parties in the north and south,

which one is free from playing petty tricks on the sly? Which one has the ability and sincerity to transform China? And which one can stand up with an open and aboveboard attitude, to take the great responsibility of transforming political party, politics and China? (Report of Beijing Communist Organization, 1921, p. 1)

All of these were the political mission of Communist Party of China (Report of Beijing Communist Organization, 1921, p. 1).

Then all aspects of China should be liberated, just as Mao Zedong said, “the liberation of mind, politics, economy, gender and education, all of these should be freed from the former unbearable situation...the deeper the pressure, the greater the resistance, and the longer it is stored, the faster it will happen”. He further asserted that in future,

the reform of the Chinese nation will be more thorough than any other nation, and the Chinese nation’s society will be brighter than any nation. The great union of Chinese nation will be more successful than that of any nation in any region. (Mao, 1919a, p. 1)

Therefore, the corrupt society surrounded by political chaos, the outrageous social injustice, and the misery of economic life, all of these have become the factors causing the outbreak of the revolution.

Whether the early communists could make good use of the proletarian revolutionary spirit which is easy to be stimulated, and whether they could lead the democratic revolution to the track of working class social revolution. All of these would depend on the degree of our efforts in struggle to raise the red flag. (Report of Beijing Communist Organization, 1987, p. 234)

It was precisely out of the dissatisfaction with China’s current situation and the expectation of transformation in struggle for political reform that some people intended to take advantage of the growing power of the Chinese worker’s movement, while others “sincerely linked their own destiny with the career of organizing the proletarian revolutionary movement, and with the struggle and victory of the proletarian revolution” (Shumyatskiy, 1987, pp. 415-416).

Political oppression exacerbated the already unfair people’s life, and made their economic situation more miserable. Those rich masters,

don’t do anything from day to night, don’t get up until they sleep for a long time. When they get up, they either play card or talk, either by horse or by car. And they either visit the brothel or embrace concubine, either in the recreational arena or in theatre. (Li, 1920a, p. 3)

Even so, “they still have big house to live, delicious food to eat, nice cloth to wear, carriage to ride, car to ride, concubine to hug, arena to visit and play to watch” (Li, 1920a, p. 3). On the contrary, workers were the hardest in the world. When investigated in Daye mining plant in Hubei Province in May 1920, Wang Chongzhi thought there was a clear difference between the former and current Hubei Province. In the former Hubei, because lacking plant people made a living by fishing and planting, the result was that they cannot make ends meet and most of them had to displace. In the current Hubei, because of the building of plant, one household could earn more than a bunch of money, so their life was happier than before. However, Wang still thought the situation of workers was miserable. On average, one miner and machinist of Hanyeping Company died every day. Once a huge rock fell down from a mine and smashed nine people on the spot, the dead’s pension was only dozens of strings of money per person. This event led Wang call life was too worthless. Wang also investigated the paper factory of the Finance Bureau. Because it was run by government, it had good factory building and machines, and had about 300 workers. However, the reality was that

although there are many clerks, they are just name and earn money with nothing to do...The hardest workers are women workers who tear the cloth. Each of them works ten hours during one day, and earns 300. I can’t describe the fume of the broken cloth. In short, the house is full of dust and stink, so that when we walk in we would die in less than ten

minutes! Isn't the thirty-six layers of hell in the world? I asked. Moreover, the green gas of bleach in the factory, the foul gas and microorganisms in rags are enough to kill people everywhere. (Wang, 1920, p. 21)

This was the epitome of the general situation of Chinese worker at that time.

Although this was tragic, there was still work to do. "The most bitter worker in Hankou's labor circle is those who take burden of goods; There are so many people working on this job that their life is especially difficult; and they grow and die without outside interference". They had no winter or summer clothes, only a broken sack to cover their private parts;

The broken straw is used as cloth...When spring comes, nine out of ten people get sick...There are some people can't get enough all day, and some people can't eat a meal for several days. When they can't bear to be hungry, they would sneak into the end of lane to pick up rotten fish and meat abandoned by others; (Liu, 1920, pp. 11-12)

as to those who were unable to take burden, "they would apply toxic mud from sewer to their lower shins, then the poison would fester it immediately. They would limp around the streets to invite people's sympathy and provide money or goods to survive". There were more than 10 thousand of these coolies in Hankou, and they could be found in railway station and the streets. Their similar living showed how it was difficult to make a living, "It is hard to get on without the introduction of friends" (Liu, 1920, pp. 11-12). Although our industry was not as developed as Europe, America, and Japan, the misery situation of Chinese proletariat was evident worse than them. Considering this, Li Da thought that China has stepped into the period of industrial revolution. Because of the influence from large workshops of Europe, America, and Japan, workers who previously made a living through engaging in the industry of silk, tea, cloth, sugar, nail making, and iron making were now unemployed. These unemployed workers cannot go to the large workshops to "earn money to make a living as the mechanical slaves". What's more, domestic warlords who addicted to militarism had competed for power and profits for a long time; the result was that the small agricultural and industrial organs of production were almost completely destroyed. "It's hard to describe the doom of Chinese proletariat. In my opinion, Chinese people are already in the process of industrial revolution, however they just see it as a dream" (Li, 1921, p. 5).

The miserable economic fate was pregnant with the resistance of industrial revolution. "Where we live, what we eat, drink and use, are all not good!" (The Red New Year, 1920, p. 1) Under the same circumstances, the first conscious workers realized the interests of mutual unity and began to demand the value of personality. Then the drama of modern labor problems began. The mutual sympathy, mutual aid, unity and organization among workers also needed their class consciousness that

the capitalists are their common enemy, their interests are consistent. They should know that to cater to capitalists and to squeeze the other out are definitely not their interest. Only taking the capitalists as common enemy and helping each other can gain success. (Li, 1920b, p. 2)

Although there were some intellectuals out of the sympathy with the miserable state of workers who tried best to improve their status and situation before, only when they had the class consciousness, the real problem of them would occur. The proper time was when they understood with autonomous training and organized action against the unreasonable oppression to realize social justice (Li, 1920b, p. 2).

This sense of class consciousness was not far away. In February 1921, a mechanical worker in Hunan Mint repeatedly called, "Marx! Whether you comes to China or not? Life in the ten layers of hell is really sad!" (Luo, 1921, p. 7) Li Hanjun believed that the capitalists who abused prestige and treated workers as slaves were already walking to their death. On the contrary, although the workers under the current system had nothing,

“they still have an invincible weapon of unity”. As for laborers, “only rely on their own power to force others to admit” (Li, 1921, pp. 1-2), can they make their own interests become objective truth and be recognized by society. For this reason, The Manifesto of the Communist Party of China put forward that in terms of economy the production tools such as machine factory, raw materials, land and transportation organ should be jointly owned by the society. “When the production tools are jointly owned and shared, the private property and banking leasing system will naturally disappear. And the situation of deprivation of individuals in society will never be occurred”. Thus, in society “there will just have one class (which means no class)—the class of the working masses” (The Manifesto of the Communist Party of China, 1987, pp. 48-49). This assumption of the early communists was exactly the practical path of October Revolution which conformed to people’s hesitation and searched for an ideal society under the background of Chinese politics and economy.

The Yearning for Socialist Ideal Society and the Practical Path of October Revolution

Through reading Chinese magazine after the First World War, Dong Biwu felt that there was a common tendency at that time, that because something was wrong with modern society, the traditional idea, moral and method would all be changed. How to make a change and what change will come, Dong had no idea. As far as socialism is concerned, some introduced anarchism, some introduced communism, and some introduced guilds at that time, all are “just with written propaganda and have no actual organization” (Dong, 1987, p. 423). Most people did not have a clear idea of this doctrine, “Many people advocate reform but only with a vague goal. How extent to get (namely the final purpose)? And what method will be applied, how to make the beginning? Few of these questions have been studied in detail” (Mao, 1987, p. 503).

For many people at that time, socialism has gone beyond a strict doctrine and was more like the time spirit of the world. It had complicated content,

it is the respective historical spirit and current situation of all nations. And under the influence of this times spirit it causes the unique ideal world of all nations. This ideal world is collectivism, or communism, anarchism, industrial and commercial socialism... (Li, 1920b, p. 1)

The low status of modern proletarians provided a big stage for labor problem; its background can be traced back to the result of the French Revolution—the thought of freedom and equality and democracy (Li, 1920b, p. 2). Zhang Dongsun believed that the socialism was a kind of outlook on life and the world, as well as “the most evolved and latest outlook”. He also thought that

socialism is to transform the whole life of human beings, from individual life to collective life, from spiritual life to material life...All in all, socialism will integrate all factors that to transform human life and in accordance with the principles of socialism. (Zhang, 1919, p. 5)

There has been a temporary phenomenon of socialism in thought circle. Shao Lizi also said that “It is not only caused by the psychology of curiosity and favor for new, but also a sign of the need for this doctrine in the trend of times” (Shao, 1920, p. 1).

In other countries where capitalism was prevalent, people can use socialism as the tool to overthrow the capitalist class; however in China, where the bureaucratic warlords who do not care about production are rampant, people can also use it as a tool to “drive away this class of bureaucratic bandits who are born without work” (Li, 1919, p. 1). During the May 4th Movement, the leaflet calling for continuation of struggle of Shanghai Student Union put forward that the struggle was only the beginning, “Shandong Province has not yet

taken back; there is still militarism in Asia that we should overthrow; we still need to carry out the campaign of educating the people so that we can benefit from the initial victory". All of these require patriotic sons and daughters of Chinese people to wage a fiercest struggle in order to make China a country ruled by the people (The leaflets calling for continued struggle by Shanghai Federation of Students, 1987, p. 57). After the Paris Peace Conference disillusioned with the west, and faced with Soviet government's declaration on China, Chinese workers felt deeply that until now the workers who had never had an international concept heard the speech of the most cordial working compatriots, "the responsibilities we have borne since human existence and the pain we have experienced from the oppression of the bandit class, are all clearly imprinted in our minds and will not be forgotten for a moment", so they determined to cooperate fully with Soviet Russia to take the responsibility of creating a new, beautiful, and permanently peaceful human world (The Notice answer to the Russian `s peasant and worker government, 1987, p. 10).

Socialism was also considered to be the real way to develop industry and "to enable ordinary people to have a human life". In Shao Lizi's opinion, the situations what Zhang Dongsun said "China is really poor to the extreme" and "Most Chinese people have never experienced the taste of extraordinary life" were well understood by everyone, so that the scene of people's poverty and nation's want would not be realized until Zhang have traveled to the mainland. It was hard for farmers in the mainland, so was it for workers at the treaty ports. The essence of socialism was just like the tradition "abandoning evil goods on the ground never hiding in themselves and doing best for the public never pursuing selfish interests". The difference between it and capitalism was not whether to increase prosperity and develop industry, but in using what method to achieve. Socialists expected that industry would develop generally after its implementation, and believed that only the development of industry under socialism can enable ordinary people to have "human life". Zhang also asserted that, if industrial development was not on basis of socialism, the more developed the city on its surface the more miserable on its inside, and fewer people would gain what Zhang called "people's life", the poorer the hinterland would be. This was exactly what Russell said, "The most important lesson is that China must develop industry, and the way must be different from the capitalism of Europe and America" (Shao, 1920a, p. 1). The value of Marxism was that it can lead the trend of times, "At first, the pioneers of Europe and West are all enthusiastic about reform when they realize the disadvantage industrial revolution, however with few responders the disadvantages are very serious up to now" (Shao, 1920a, p. 1). As for the reform of social system, "it must aim to create instead only advocating improvement", Mao Zedong said (Mao, 1919b, p. 5). In other words, this "new trend" in 20th century produced a "new Russia", and the reverse would not work (Peng, 1920, p. 7). Only when we become aware of the current political, economic, and social evils will we understand the meaning of socialism.

At that time, people still lacked a clear understanding of the distinctions between "socialism" and "socialism". Before and after the May 4th movement, Marxists often worked together with anarchists. For example, there were both articles promoting Marxism and anarchism in the *Weekly Review*. Although intellectuals began to yearn for the Soviet Union after the October Revolution, Marxism has not been widely spread in China, so that many people have not yet realized Marxism, "Some even think that the nihilist party has contributed to the victory of the Russia Revolution, that some of them accepted the thought of anarchism" (Shao, 1987, p. 191). There were more anarchists than Marxists among Peking University students; the former were also very active, and they even often made comments to form the Communist Party of China with Marxists. Although they thought there were different views on proletarian dictatorship among anarchists, when

invited to join the early communist organization in Beijing by Li Dazhao, they expressed that because they were in favor of the proletarian revolution they were willing to join in. Even so, Li Dazhao and Zhang Guotao thought that because Chinese revolutionary movement was still a long way from the proletarian dictatorship, so the anarchists and Marxists can go hand in hand in one organization regardless of their difference (Zhang, 1987, p. 335).

During the wide spread of the spirit of October Revolution in China, this relatively obscure “socialism” gradually gave way to Soviet-Russia Marxism with the rise of worker’s movement. Movement followed the theory, “Boom! Boom! Boom! The Drums in the distance sound! Labor! Labor! Injustice! Injustice! Unfair! Unfair!” (The Red New Year, 1920, p. 1) “Without the movement, the purpose of the theory will not be realized”, Mao Zedong said (1920a, p. 2). The new tide of Marxism from Soviet Russia was like a red thread suddenly emerging in the dark, rolling from the near east to Far East, which made a new red year and new world. “There are countless hammers and hoes on the tide, which are about to hammered and hoe away all of the injustice in the world! Ah! Reflecting the rising sun, all the land is red for a moment!” (The Red New Year, 1920, p. 1) It can be said that “a new cultural flower is found in Russia on the Arctic Ocean coast, and grows fiercely” (The origin of cultural bookstore, 1920, p. 7). The new cultural flower was also like what Li Dazhao said, “the future world will become the world of labor” (Li, 1918a, p. 3), where the proletariat of the united world would do their best to “create a free local land”. This would be the best news for the poor, like “a shortcut to make heaven on earth”. The spirit of Russia Revolution which was just as a tree leaf astonishing the world will be the “spirit of common consciousness” in hearts of everyone in the 20th century (Li, 1918b, pp. 10, 13). After the First World War, faced with the changed politics and laws, Mao Zedong said “the politics and laws of the future will not in the minds of gentlemen in long clothes, but in minds of workers and farmers” (Mao, 1920b, p. 2). It can be said that in the view of early communists, the world revolutionary movement has changed a general direction since the success of the Russian Revolution, “it begins to the proletariat obtained political power to transform society” (Cai, 1987, p. 526).

If you want to transform the society, you should never leave it for moment. In a letter to Luo Zhixiang, Yu Xiusong said “If you take the new village organized by yourself as the pioneer of social transformation to make people in the society unattainable, then the society will not be easy to transform!” Considering this, Yu left the weekly review magazine, “goes into the factory and changes his name and clothes” (1987, p. 526). At that time, advanced intellectuals were determined to go deep into the factory, to get close to the workers, and to carry out social investigation. In 1920, the investigation reports on Wuhan named Investigation of Wuhan Factories, Summary of Wuhan Factories, Conditions of Coolies in Hankou, and Conditions of Workers in Wuchang were published in magazines such as *New Youth* and *Youth World*. Chen Duxiu called on conscious workers to unite quickly to organize real workers’ groups. Chen knew deeply that workers’ group like the trade unions in Shanghai which were mostly dominated by dirty politicians, and the old labor unions which were mostly arranged by shop owners’ foremen, “although are exaggerated to the number of ten thousand would never be successful” (Chen, 1920a, p. 14). China’s latest trend was to unite all workers to organize trade unions; Li Da thought further that, “As soon as have considerable organization and training, the trade unions to serve as schools to propagandize socialism and production organs to learn manage will take direct action to carry out social revolution to build a country for workers”. Then the public production organs would be created to avoid the disadvantages of the capitalist production system in Europe and America, rather than just as one “beggar’s socialist movement” for the distribution of production products (Li, 1921, pp. 5-6). Especially after Voitinsky

came to China in May 1920, some intellectuals inclined to Marxism understood the situation of Soviet Russia and the Soviet Communist Party better. They saw “the outline of a new socialist revolution” (Luo, 1987, p. 316), and then came to a unanimous conclusion: “take the Russian Road” (Li, 1987, p. 183).

This road was to create a new society in accordance with the communist ideal. To make it, “the first step is to eradicate the current capital system”, and the class struggle would provide a tool to overthrow capitalism (The Manifesto of the Communist Party of China, 1987, p. 49). Different from the former and current the state and politics of the capitalist class which built on economic plunder, the future state and its politics would be the state and politics of the working class, Chen Duxiu said. He still thought that the future state and its politics would be a kind of “country that prohibits plunder, politics that eliminates bureaucracy, and laws that abolishes private ownership of capitalist property”, which was also the difference between it and anarchic party. Faced with such a state and politics, “who can judge it will be still dark and have absolutely no hope of progress?” “A few idle consumption bourgeoisie using the state, political, legal and other organs crushed the majority of hard-working labor class who were not as good as cattle, horse and machine”. The above situation was the most unfair and painful thing in the world. To wipe out the unfair and suffering, “the working class who are oppressed production must form new power and stand in the national status to conquer bourgeoisie making oppression with politics, law and other organs completely”. Only doing these is it possible to abolish the systems of private property and labor exploitation and change the unequal economic situation (Chen, 1920b, pp. 3-4).

Chen also believed that if Soviet Russia replaced Lenin’s labor dictatorship with Kropotkin’s free organization at this time, not only the capitalist class would immediately restore their power, but also the revival of imperial politics would be inevitable. Therefore, the shackles of the labor class were “clearly brought by liberalism”. If the future ideal society does not carry out thorough political transformation and believes in the omnipotence of liberalism, they would “go the wrong way with open eyes”. Chen further asserted that if the working class wants to occupy the position of power class without through class struggle, which means that “democracy would be the exclusive property of capitalist class forever, in other words, capitalist class would hold the political power to resist working class forever” (Chen, 1920b, pp. 8-9). No wonder some people thought the anarchist idea out of Kropotkin would be seemed as religion. Although revolutionaries cannot live without religious enthusiasm, “revolutionary thought can’t have religious content”. Revolutionary thought needs practical theoretical content which can be completely implemented in reality. Perhaps anarchism was too optimistic about the study of human nature and too pessimistic about politics. “The prisons and police are all necessary to resist those who are against communism. At the same time, soldiers are also necessary to resist capitalist country”. There must be a new force capable of fighting to carry out such a revolutionary career, and the force was Marxism (Jiang, 1921, pp. 22-23). The differences between anarchist and Marxist led to their separation. Because of some organization problems and against the dictatorship of proletariat, the anarchists of Peking University withdrew the communist group in November 1920. According to free joint point of view, they did not agree there would have national and local leadership, title and discipline, which made Li Dazhao, a moderate who advocated the “unity of socialists” have a headache (Zhang, 1987, p. 337).

In China, Voitinsky preached Russia’s October Revolution; this was the first time in history for workers to escape the yoke of the rich, and “recapture their natural rights”. As for Chinese workers and farmers, in order to escape from the oppression of foreign and Chinese capital, from the sufferings of warlords and from the burdens imposed by officials, they should link up with each other, “and then get in touch with workers and

peasants of other countries to do what the Russia workers and peasants do". The workers and peasants dictatorship in Soviet Russia, "created an implementation system to liberate the suffering of workers and farmers, and established the law to save the poor" (1920, p. 2). Although China's industry has not been revitalized, the machinery industry has sprouted, and the situation like this was also applied for Soviet Union before the October Revolution, where its industry was also seemed as fresh, this did not prevent its socialist movement. "It is all at the beginning of the development of the machinery industry, they can't wait to save the poor laborers when seeing their terrible conditions in the factories" (Shao, 1920a, p. 1). At the inaugural meeting of Shanghai Workers' Recreation Club at the end of 1920, Li Qihan proposed that in order to avoid the hardship of former workers who could only sell their strength, we should unite and discuss ways. "It's not only to get such recreation, but also to reform and break what money can do and labor can't do!" (Chen, 1920, p. 13)

To succeed, it must propagandize to workers, farmers, soldiers, sailors, students, and other trades, "with the purpose to organize some large industrial associations, then to form a general confederation of industrial associations, and to form a communist party, the political party of the revolutionary proletariat". The Communist Party would lead the revolutionary proletariat to fight against the capitalists and obtain political power from them, "then they will put the obtained political power in the hands of workers and farmers, just as the Russian Communist Party did in 1917". The task of Communist Party is to organize and concentrate the forces of class struggle, so that the forces attacking capitalism would become more and more powerful. The overthrow of the capitalist government and the transfer of power to the hands of the revolutionary proletariat would not mean the completion of the task of the Communist Party, "the class struggle still continues with changed way—that's the dictatorship of the proletariat" (The Manifesto of the Communist Party of China, 1987, p. 50). The task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to continue to fight with force against the remaining forces of capitalism on one hand, and to create the communist construction with revolutionary means on the other hand. After the capitalist forces all over the world are eliminated and production begins to operate in accordance with the principles of communism, "then the dictatorship of the proletariat has to create one way to reach communism" (The Manifesto of the Communist Party of China, 1987, p. 51). Under this background when Shanghai founding group organized the Communist Party of China, Li Hanjun drafted the first draft of the party constitution. As to the means for CPC to achieve social revolution, "labor dictatorship" and "production cooperation" were written down by Li.

Conclusion

After the May 4th Movement, with the expanding influence of the October Revolution in China, Marxism began to be combined with the specific practice of the Chinese revolution, which directly contributed to the establishment of communist group in various places. This was the earliest product of the combination of the theoretical brilliance of Marxism and the specific practice of the Chinese revolution. The reason that the combination in China can form a majestic process at that time was that it fitted for some kind of social reality and ideological trend. Since the Republic of China, China's advanced intellectuals had become increasingly disappointed with its political reality, and made a profound reflection on its economic oppression from the perspective of international labor issues, and then they produced the yearning for an ideal society represented by socialism. The success of the October Revolution and its practical path it provided were in line with the ideological background and realistic demand of Chinese society seeking for reform. As a result, China's early communists began to take off their long shirts and enter the labor masses. By seeking labor dictatorship and

production cooperation, they hoped to establish a revolutionary proletarian regime and production career in line with communist principles in China. Under the continuous promotion of the early communists in a way close to the life of workers, the poor and disorganized workers through wandering and hesitation in China finally put the socialist concept into their own reality, and developed a new picture of the labor movement represented by Changxindian.

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