

Province, and the houses, roads, and gardens along the lake shore formed a scene of indescribable beauty. I thought of the saying that Hangchow was one of the earthly paradises, and realized that it was no exaggeration: "Above there is Heaven, below there is Soo and Hang" (Soochow and Hangchow). *Shang yu tien tang, hsia yu su hang.*

Mao and I visited many famous spots but despite the splendor of the outer world, we were not happy. At one time I said, "Look at these marvelous gardens. How could they have been made, and how could people come here to enjoy them without money?"

Mao Tse-tung replied, "This is a criminal production. Many people use their money for criminal purposes!"

"Well, we shall be two temporary little criminals today," I smiled.

"Tomorrow we must get away from here quickly!" said Mao.

Next day we took the train back to Shanghai and soon Mao returned to Changsha. I remained for a week to finish my business and then returned to Peking.

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"Before the World Comes to an End."

Up to this time Mao had kept no secrets from me as regards his Communist activities; indeed, he had told me many things in confidence of which I had breathed not a word to anyone! After we separated in Shanghai, we wrote to each other frequently, sometimes using secret language which only we could understand. When I returned to France several months later, our letters took ten to twelve weeks to reach their destination, since there was no air mail service then. It was fortunate for Mao's pocket that air service was not available, because his writing was so big and clumsy and his letters were always so long, that he would have had to spend a fortune on stamps!

When I returned to China late in 1924, I lived in Peking. Since I could not go to Changsha to meet with Mao Tse-tung and the other members of the Hsin Min Study Association, we exchanged letters

frequently. At this time Dr. Sun Yat-sen decided to collaborate with the Communist Party and, as a result, the Communists became simultaneously members of the Kuomintang. In reality, however, the Communists simply put on the cloak of the Kuomintang, while they continued to work secretly for their own Party. This collaboration misled the militarists who often accused members of the Kuomintang of being Communists.

During this period both the Kuomintang, to which I belonged, and the Communist Party had the same primary aim—to attack and destroy militarism. I participated actively in this movement of the Revolution. Mao Tse-tung, my other friends of the Hsin Min Study Association and I all shared this same focal purpose.

Although I had direct communication with Li Ta-chao, the leader of the Communists, and with other active Communists, naturally I knew nothing at all of the secret discussions or plans within the Chinese Communist Party. Mao Tse-tung continued to write me long and intimate letters. Although he could not discuss openly the actions of his Party, we carried on our theoretical discussions as frankly as we had done in the past.

In Peking, the members of the two parties worked well together. For example, when I was named General Editor of the *Ming Pao* (*People's News*), the only newspaper of any importance in the north, we held an editor's conference every day after midnight. We sat around a large table: opposite me was my secretary, to my left were three Kuomintang members, and to my right, three Communists. One of the Communists was Fan Hung-chi, who later was hanged with Li Ta-chao. I smile now to think that it was in reality a miniature Deputies' meeting and that we were in complete agreement.

Both the Communists and the Kuomintang felt that there was a great need to print articles and pamphlets against militarism, but the business houses did not dare to print them. The Communist leader, Li Ta-chao, proposed at one of these conferences that we organize a publishing house at Peking in the name of the Kuomintang. I was named Director General, and the Treasurer of the Kuomintang gave me a considerable sum of money for the project. I proposed Hiong King-ting to come from Changsha to Peking as my Executive Editor. (Hiong was a professor with me at the Ch'u Yi School and later a

member of the Hsin Min Study Association. Now he is working in Peking with other old members of this Association.) I had worked at the project for only four or five months before the police began to watch me in a suspicious manner. Finally I returned the balance of the money to Ku Mong-yu, who was Professor and Director of Studies of the National University at Peking and later Minister of Railways for the Republic of China. This incident illustrates again the close collaboration between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang.

In 1925 I was constantly under police surveillance and I lost my freedom. Often it was necessary for me to hide in the Foreign Concession in Peking or Tientsin in order to escape capture. In 1926, when Li Ta-chao and many other Communists were hanged by the Military Government, we Revolutionists worked even more actively, though more dangerously. Our homes were often thoroughly searched by police and soldiers. Once when I was hiding in a Foreign Concession, my family burned a whole suitcase full of letters which Mao Tse-tung and other friends in the Hsin Min Study Association had written to me. Periodically I received some short verbal messages brought by friends traveling between Changsha and Peking, but gradually even these messages were stopped.

I remember very vividly one of the last letters I wrote to my friend Mao Tse-tung. In it I made the following points: we are faced with two great problems and choices, liberty or totalitarianism, the supremacy of the state or of the individual. . . . No politics are entirely good. Any political power may be bad and political power usually is bad. Comparatively speaking, democracy is better by far than other forms of government. . . . You should read "La Philosophie de la Misère," not "La Misère de la Philosophie." . . . *Tao kao yi che, mo kao yi chang* (Goodness grows slowly; badness grows quickly) is as true in government as in other human relationships. In the evolution of humanity, material progress always greatly exceeds our moral and social progress. . . . Confucius said, "The commander of the forces of a large state may be carried off, but the will of even a common man cannot be taken from him." * A nation is not a machine which can be

* From a translation by James Legge (1861).

set in motion at will by the operator. It is neither just nor is it intelligent to attempt to bind the thoughts and will of a people. Our great philosopher said, "Do not unto others that which you do not want done unto you." He did not say to do to others what you want for yourself. . . . The driver with a whip thinks he is more intelligent than his beasts which he brings into subjection. I am sure that driver is very bad for his animals and I doubt that he has more intelligence. . . . I hope we have an opportunity to conclude our discussion before the world comes to an end.

