

# The Evolution of Chen Duxiu's Ideas About Patriotism: A Computational Analysis of His Writings, 1897-1942

Anne S. Chao<sup>\*</sup>

## Abstract

This paper uses the method of text-mining by way of statistical analysis (using R programming) to trace the evolution of Chen Duxiu's idea on patriotism from 1897 to 1942. The methodology centers on the calculation of the frequency of appearance of six keywords, 國民 (citizen), 青年 (youth), 民主 (democracy), 革命 (revolution), 民族 (people) and 愛國 (being patriotic) throughout Chen's writing career. I conclude that Chen's thoughts on patriotism matured from a generic, sentimental desire to love one's country, to advocating Western style democracy, to championing Marxist socialism over time. However, toward the end of his life, Chen argued that Soviet style dictatorship was not socialism, and that capitalist democracy afforded better protection of the individual than Soviet-style dictatorship. An important aspect of the paper is to demonstrate the pros and cons of using a digital humanistic approach to

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historical analysis.

Keywords: New Culture Movement, Chen Duxiu, Zipf's Law, socialism,  
being patriotic

# 陳獨秀「愛國」觀念的演變：

以數位人文方法研究的文本分析（1897-1942）

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摘 要

本文主要以 R 語言資料統計方式進行文本探掘，追蹤陳獨秀從 1897 年至 1942 年「愛國」觀念的演變。在研究方法上，本文透過計算貫穿陳獨秀寫作生涯的六個關鍵字詞所出現的頻次：國民、青年、民主、革命、民族和愛國，認為陳獨秀的愛國主義思想成熟化的歷程，是從一種渴望熱愛國家的普遍感性出發，發展至提倡西方式民主、擁戴馬克思社會主義，並且對中國政治意識形態進行理性批判的「愛國主義」。然而，陳獨秀晚期也開始質疑蘇維埃社會主義的獨裁政權，認為相較之下，資本主義式的民主反而可提供給個人更好的保護。本文的另一重要貢獻也在於嘗試將數位人文方法運用在歷史學分析上，並論證其中的優缺點。

關鍵字：新文化運動、陳獨秀、齊夫定律、社會主義、愛國



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Anne S. Chao

## Introduction

Chen Duxiu, (1879-1942), an intellectual leader and political thinker of the early twentieth century, has made a profound impact on Chinese history. Political figures no less than Mao Zedong hailed him as “the general marshal” of the New Culture Movement, ca. 1915-1923. His writings, in the pages of journals such as *Jiayin* (甲寅), *New Youth* (新青年), *Meizhou Pinglun* (每週評論), and *Xiangdao* (嚮導), fired the imagination of generations of young intellectuals and activists. His words and actions contributed not only to the rise of modern China's first cultural revolution, but also to the creation of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1920. In his sixty-three years of life, Chen produced a corpus of roughly 891 pieces of writing, totaling over 1.2 million words, dating from the 1897's *An Account of the Topography of the Yangzi River* (揚子江形勢論略) to “A Letter for “Y” (給 Y 的信) in 1942.<sup>1</sup> Living

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<sup>1</sup> The most complete and up to date collection of Chen's writing at present is the six volume set of *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuanbian* (CDXZZXB), ed., Ren

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at a time when China was rife with internal unrest and weakened by foreign encroachment, Chen wrote voluminously as a way to awaken his countrymen. In his writings he spoke passionately on the need to reform the people by revolutionizing Chinese culture, thoughts, and politics. He aimed to save the country by popularizing education and by calling for a political system that would bring justice and equality to all. Following the settlement of World War I at the Treaty of Versailles, Chen became disillusioned with Western style democracy and embraced Marxism, and ultimately founded the CCP.

This paper uses the technique of text mining (see section on methodology below) to trace Chen's evolving thoughts on patriotism. Patriotism, as defined in the Merriam-Webster dictionary, is "love for or devotion to one's country." In my view, patriotism, as distinguished from nationalism, is a more protean and visceral love of one's country. It is the basis for nationalism, but does not always involve a political agenda. In Chen's earliest writing about the challenges facing China, he did so as a Chinese subject of the Qing empire ( 中國人 ). He was patriotic but not necessarily nationalistic. As his political knowledge deepened, he realized that patriotism was an emotional state that could be subject to manipulation. Instead he strove to explain to his readers the concept of a nation ( 國家 ) and the duties of a citizen ( 國民 ).

Chen's writing can be generally divided into four chronological periods: period one: 1897-1914, period two: 1915-1921, period three: 1922-1929, and period four: 1930-1942, corresponding to the four

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Jianshu(Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2009). (任建樹主編：《陳獨秀著作選編》，上海人民出版社，2009年。) This total does not include volume 6 of the *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan*, because the latter consists of one long essay and several correspondences on the subject of philology.

different stages of his life. In the first period 1897-1914, Chen was a student and an aspiring publisher, founding the *Anhui Suhua Bao* (Anhui vernacular paper) as his first solo newspaper venture. In the second period, 1915-1921, Chen published the influential *Xin Qingnian* (*New Youth*) magazine, and by 1921 turned it into an organ of the CCP. In the third period, 1922-1929, Chen was at first secretary general of the CCP, but later expelled from the party. In the last period, 1930-1942, Chen was arrested by the Guomindang (GMD), released from jail at the onset of the Sino-Japanese War, and moved to the small town of Jiangjin, Sichuan province, where he died as a political and social pariah. During these four time periods, his thoughts wavered from an idealistic endorsement of Western democracy, to disillusionment and embrace of socialism and Marxism, and ultimately to a philosophical assessment of the political system for China.

## Methodology

Text-mining is a methodology that relies on computational techniques to find frequently occurring words based on statistical calculations and natural language laws. The use of computer program language R facilitates the processing of large quantity of data. Once the keywords are detected and selected, the author studies the contexts in which these words appear, and draw a conclusion based on this empirical method, which can be easily replicated by other researchers, and used on other texts.

My selection process for the keywords is based on Zipf's law. The use of Zipf's Law in linguistics is a standard way to describe word frequency. Simply put, Zipf's law explains that given a body of natural language text, the frequency of any word is inversely proportional to its

rank in the frequency table. Therefore the most frequent word will appear almost twice as often as the second most frequent word, and three times as much as the third most frequent word, and so on.<sup>2</sup> By breaking down a text into word grams, Zipf's law can also be applied to the Chinese language. I follow Prof. Jin's team in using the Zipf-Mandelbrot curve for a closer analysis of the text. As a departure from Prof. Jin's methodology, I create two groups of keywords, one group called "umbrella words" and the other "companion words." In addition I include keywords that are made up of more than two characters, from bi-grams to penta-grams (so I include 國民, 國民黨, 國民會議, as well as penta-grams such as 馬克思主義). The "umbrella words" are defined as those word-grams that are meaningful, and /or have high deviation between the theoretical and the observed Zipf-Mandelbrot curve. The details are explained below.

Of the 891 pieces of writing in the six volume collection of *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuanbian* (陳獨秀著作選編), I focus on the 504 or so articles, short essays and correspondences that discuss politics. The curve of Zipf's law for this body of text is shown in Figure 1. In Figure 1, the frequency of certain words in Chen's writing appears far more than what would be expected in a normal language text. As a result, those words whose frequency of appearance deviates from the norm are words that interest the author.

I designate eighteen words found as deviating from the normal Zipf's curve as umbrella words. The eighteen umbrella words are: 青年 (youth), 民主 (democracy), 科學 (science), 精神 (spirit), 進化 (evolution), 道

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<sup>2</sup> The model for this methodology is created by Prof. Jin Guantao's team. See Jin Guantao, Leong Yinyee, Yu Yihsoong, and Liu Chaolin, "Application of Statistical Residual Analysis to Humanities Studies: Using Xin Qing Nian as Example," *Journal of the History of Ideas in East Asia* (東亞觀念史集刊) 6 (June 2014):327-366.



德 (morality), 革命 (revolution), 共和 (republic), 經濟 (economy), 勞動 (labor), 社會 (society), 共產 (communism), 共產黨 (communist party), 工人 (worker), 民主主義 (democracy [as ideology]), 國民 (citizen), 民族 (people) and 愛國 (being patriotic). These umbrella words not only appear throughout his writing, but are iconic and central to his expression of patriotism, and crucial to the understanding of his thoughts. Then there are other words that appear frequently only in certain periods of time, and these I call “companion words.” The umbrella words form a superstructure across the four time periods, from which the companion words arrange themselves in certain clusters, and together these two sets of words give us clues to the change in Chen’s thoughts on saving China. (See Figure 2 “Time series”).

The companion words are found by using Pearson’s coefficient calculation. Simply put, Pearson’s coefficient correlation measures the linear correlation between two variables, and in this case, the correlation between the companion word and the umbrella word. Therefore if in one time period, the word 政權 (political power) occurred more frequently than 國民會議 (citizen’s assembly) with the umbrella word 國民 (citizen), then it has a higher correlation coefficient with 國民 (citizen) than 國民會議 (citizen’s assembly) has with 國民 (citizen).

Because the Chinese language is a mono-grapheme language, where each character is a syllable/grapheme, and can be a stand-alone word, or can be part of a series of characters that make up one word, the way we calculate Pearson’s coefficient is to go through a selection process where bi-grams, tri-grams, quadri-grams and penta-grams of Chinese characters are all calculated. See Figure 3 for 國民 (citizen), Figure 4 for 革命 (revolution), Figure 5 for 民族 (people), Figure 6 for 民主 (democracy), Figure 7 for 青年 (youth), and Figure 8 for 愛國 (being patriotic).

## The Importance of the Selected Umbrella Words

As mentioned earlier, even though I identify eighteen umbrella words relevant to the topic of patriotism, nationalism and freedom<sup>3</sup>, for the purpose of this article, I will concentrate on six, and they are: 國民 (citizen), 青年 (youth), 民主 (democracy), 革命 (revolution), 民族 (people) and 愛國 (being patriotic). In terms of the degree of deviation of the words from the theoretical Zipf-Mandelbrot curve, 國民 (citizen) shows the largest deviation, followed by 革命 (revolution), 民族 (people), and 民主 (democracy), whereas 青年 (youth), and 愛國 (being patriotic) appear less frequently than the standard or theoretical frequency curve. Below I explain the reasons for choosing these six umbrella terms:

國民 (citizen): From the beginning of his academic career, after having won first place in the entry level of the civil service exam, Chen's thoughts were centrally focused on the best strategies to save China. In the first period of his writing career, Chen himself was learning about the concept of a nation, and in turn educated his readers on the meaning of being a citizen (國民 citizen). The umbrella word 國民 (citizen) appeared over 2700 times in the 504 pieces of writing. If we removed the roughly 1110 mentions of “國民黨” (Nationalist party) and the 14 uses of “國民性” (national character), the remaining 1600 or so occurrences of 國民 (citizen) were spread throughout his writing career. His early writing on patriotism was found mainly in the pages of the *Anhui suhua bao* (ASB), where Chen chose to use the colloquial writing style and a simpler set of

<sup>3</sup> They are: 青年 (youth), 民主 (democracy), 科學 (science), 精神 (spirit), 進化 (evolution), 道德 (morality), 革命 (revolution), 共和 (republic), 經濟 (economy), 勞動 (labor), 社會 (society), 共產 (communism), 共產黨 (communist party), 工人 (worker), 民主主義 (democracy [as ideology]), 國民 (citizen), 民族 (people).

vocabulary to reach the “farmers ... artisans ... women and children.”<sup>4</sup> The following passage reveals how foreign the concept of nation was to the Chinese:

“Ten years ago,” he wrote, “when I was at home studying, all I knew was eating and sleeping ... [but] in order to honor my family, I would read a few essays, hoping to bluff my way into a few degrees. Who knew what a nation was, and what it had to do with me? Then, in 1895 I first heard of Japan, and that it had defeated our China. Then came 1900, when countries called England, Russia, France, Germany, Italy, America, Austria, and Japan, put their troops together and defeated China again ... That is when I realized that I was part of China, and that my nation's rise and decline had to do with everyone's welfare ... I had to be twenty years old to know that there was such a thing as a nation ... What a shame!”<sup>5</sup>

青年 (youth): In the second period, 1915-1921, Chen achieved great influence among generations of young and educated readers with the publication of the magazine *Xin Qingnian* (*New Youth*). With the addition of professors of Peking University on his editorial board, the journal gained great fame and readership. The editorial group decided to steer away from politics, and aimed instead to overhaul the character of the Chinese person. Chen and his fellow writers embarked on a mission to reform the moral, intellectual, cultural and social orientation of the Chinese youth. In the article “新青年” (“*New youth*”), Chen used the word “青年” (youth) 48 times, and called on his readers to reject the

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<sup>4</sup> CDXZZXB, vol. 1, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Chen Duxiu, “Speaking about the country,” *Anhui Suhua Bao*1 (May 1, 1904), 5.

old model for a new youth, one who is physically strong and spiritually vibrant.<sup>6</sup>

民主 (democracy): In order to replace Confucianism with a new worldview, Chen pointed to three things that represented modern civilization in the article, “法蘭西人與近世文明” (“The French and recent world civilization”), and they are human rights, the theory of biological evolution, and socialism.” He cited 民主 (democracy) and 科學 (science) as two fundamental values with which to reorient Chinese cosmology. In the article titled “‘新青年’罪案之答辯書” (“Letter in response to the crime of *New Youth*”) Chen declared: “in order to support Mr. Democracy, we have no choice but to oppose Confucian religion, rituals, chastity requirements, old ethics, [and] old politics. In order to support Mr. Science, we cannot but oppose national essence and old literature.”<sup>7</sup> Chen’s understanding of democracy evolved from a Western construct of a non-interventionist government, allowing freedom of expression and other liberties, representing the interests of all of the people.<sup>8</sup> As we shall see, in the fourth and last period of his writing, Chen’s use of the word “democracy” as an ideology, or “民主主義,” is no longer the capitalist version of participatory democracy, but one led by the proletariat class. By 1932 when Chen had become a Trotskyite, he argued against the Stalinists that there is a place for capitalist democracy in the quest for a proletariat democracy. Trotsky’s theory of “continuous

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<sup>6</sup> CDXZZXB, vol. 1, 209-210.

<sup>7</sup> Chen Duxiu, “Letter in Response to the Crime of Our Magazine,” *Xin Qingnian* 6, no. 1 (Jan. 15, 1919):10-11, and CDXZZXB, vol. 2, 10. “只因爲擁護那德莫克拉西 (Democracy) 先生和賽因斯 (Science) 兩位先生，才犯了這幾條滔天的大罪。要擁護那德先生，便不得不反對孔教，……要擁護那賽先生，便不得不反對舊藝術。”

<sup>8</sup> H. J. McCloskey, *John Stuart Mill: A Critical Study* (London: St. Martin’s Press, 1971), 119, 133.

revolution,” Chen explained, would reach the goal of a proletarian democracy by transitioning from a capitalist democracy.<sup>9</sup> The words “民主主義” (democracy as ideology) appeared 84 times in an article titled “論國民會議口號” during this period.

革命 (revolution): Chen possessed a fiery temperament, and opted for radical statements and solutions over moderation. Since his foray to Japan as a young student in 1901, he joined many networks of radical activists. He advocated the overthrow of the Qing dynasty as early as 1902 when he joined an anti-Manchu student organization called Youth Society. As an editor of the *Xin Qingnian* journal, he called for the complete overthrow of old ideas and old values. Together with his fellow Anhui co-provincial and philosopher Hu Shi, he brought about a successful literary revolution in the pages of the magazine, which changed Chinese literature forever. He used the words “革命” about 2400 times in his writings.

民族 (people): Chen cared deeply about his countrymen, and 民族 (people) appeared consistently in all of his writing throughout his life. In the 1904 article, “說國家” (“Talk about our nation”), Chen defined 民族 (people) as a group of people with similar ethnicity, history, customs and language.<sup>10</sup> So intently did Chen focus on the survival of his countrymen, that there were over 1000 mentions of the word 民族 (people) in his political writings. In particular, the 1925 article “列寧主義與中國民眾運動” (“Leninism and the Chinese mass movement”) and the 1926 article “孫中山三民主義中之民族主義是不是國家主義?” (“Is the people’s nationalism in Sun Yatsen’s Three People’s Principles nationalism?”) contained 72 and 69 occurrences of 民族 (nationalism) respectively.

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<sup>9</sup> “論國民會議口號,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 36.

<sup>10</sup> “……一國的人民，一定要是同種類、同歷史、同風俗、同言語的民族。” CDXZZXB, vol. 1, 44-45.

Overall, discounting the 74 mentions of 民族主義 (people's nationalism) and the 100 or so uses of 民族運動 (people's movement) there were still more than 800 times when Chen used the umbrella term 民族 (people).<sup>11</sup>

愛國 (being patriotic) is an umbrella term that shows a negative deviation from the theoretical Zipf-Mandelbrot curve, suggesting that Chen used the term less often than the norm. (See Fig. 1) While the majority of Chen's non-scholarly writing focused on saving China, on building the nation and on liberating the people, he actually did not use the words 愛國 (being patriotic) to do so. He was a patriot but chose other words to express his thoughts. This is an example where text-mining must be done carefully, for the inappropriate choice of umbrella terms can lead to erroneous conclusions. 87 articles in this study had mentioned 愛國 (being patriotic) a total of 293 times. As we shall see however, Chen found the concept of patriotism problematic.

Together, these six umbrella terms, 國民 (citizen), 青年 (youth), 民主 (democracy), 革命 (revolution), 民族 (people), and 愛國 (being patriotic) offer great insight into Chen's changing thoughts on patriotism. The general outline of Chen's intellectual peregrination began from a generic and visceral love of the land called China, to effecting a moral and cultural transformation of the young, to championing Western style democracy, to embracing communism, and finally reaching a philosophical judgment on the merits of any political ideology for China. What follows is a close reading of the text and the discovery that Chen's early embrace of Western democracy, evolution, and socialism was deeply embedded in his thinking, even as he engaged in debates with the Communist Stalinist and Trotskyite factions.

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<sup>11</sup> CDXZZXB, vol. 4, 64-69.

## Umbrella Words and Their Companion Words in Different Time Periods

In the first period, only fourteen pieces of Chen's writing dealt with politics, and these do not provide sufficient data for an accurate analysis. Consequently we will start our analysis with the second period for all six umbrella words.

### Umbrella Word “國民” (citizen)

In the second period, from 1915 to 1921, 國民 (citizen) found three significant sets of companion words with a correlation coefficient higher than 0.6, and these are “political condition” (政象), “for democracy” (爲民主), and “cannot be established” (不能成立). As mentioned earlier, the editors of *Xin Qingnian* had agreed not to discuss politics in the pages of the journal. Chen therefore created a short-lived journal, the *Weekly Critic*, (*Meizhou Pinglun*), to comment on current affairs. Chen noted that Chinese political conditions allowed for party politics, but prevented any popular participation.<sup>12</sup> He was hopeful that the year 1916 would bring a change in world polity, where elite party politics would lead to popular rule by a majority of elite citizens.<sup>13</sup> During this period, Chen engaged in a prolonged debate with Kang Youwei in the pages of *Xin Qingnian*. In the late nineteenth century, Kang's radical reformist writing greatly inspired Chen, but decades later, Kang's opposition to republicanism and advocacy of constitutional monarchy made him a target of Chen's attack. On Kang's

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<sup>12</sup> “吾國年來政象，惟有黨派運動，而無國民運動也，” in article “一九一六，” CDXZZXB, vol. 1, 197-200.

<sup>13</sup> “自一九一六年始，世界政象，少數優秀政黨政治，進而爲多數優秀國民政治，” ditto.

statement that only constitutional monarchy can make a nation strong and powerful; Chen rebutted with examples of strong nations with a republican government.<sup>14</sup> For this period, 國民 (citizen) was a novel concept, an ideal which Chen tried to define in the newly established republic. In this second decade of the twentieth century, Chen's preoccupation was to remove the dictator Yuan Shikai from destroying the nascent republic, and then to fight against the various permutations of warlords in the Beiyang clique.

In the third period, from 1922 to 1929, three companion words were found to correlate with 國民 (citizen) with a coefficient higher than 0.6. They are 國民黨 (GMD), 民黨 (Mindang), and 的國民 (of citizen). By examining the context in which the companion word 國民黨 (GMD) was used during these five years, we learn of the political currents that affected Chen's early leadership of the CCP, his increasing marginalization and finally his ouster by the party.<sup>15</sup> These political currents were played out in Chen's writing with regard to the GMD.

One of the dominant issues during this time was the decision by the Russian Communists for the CCP to join the GMD in a United Front, as a way to overthrow the Beiyang warlords ruling Beijing. This was a controversial decision as the CCP was a small organization, and ran the risk of being overwhelmed by the better organized and well financed GMD. In 1922, as secretary general of the nascent CCP, in spite of his own misgivings, Chen attempted to sound positive about the first United Front (1923-1927). In his article "What is the Guomindang?" Chen described

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<sup>14</sup> “其主論之基礎完全不能成立,” in “駁康有為《共和評議》,” CDXZZXB, vol. 1, 399.

<sup>15</sup> I choose to concentrate on the companion word 國民黨, because the other word, 民黨, is included in the word 國民黨. The third companion word, 的國民 is not a complete phrase and does not render significant meaning for our purpose.



the GMD as a party made up of a complex class structure. Chen wrote that because the GMD was made up of an equal number of bourgeois intellectuals and proletariat laborers, a condition that derived from China's weak industrial development and the citizens' low political literacy, the GMD could not just represent the interests of one class.<sup>16</sup> In 1923, Chen reported that while at first most CCP members opposed the United Front, but later were persuaded by the "representatives of the Comintern" to join the alliance.<sup>17</sup>

Once locked into the United Front, Chen plotted to continue the revolutionary goal of the CCP within the alliance. In order to expand and transform the GMD, Chen called for the support of trade guilds, labor unions, student federations, and peasant associations to achieve a citizen's revolution (國民革命).<sup>18</sup> In 1924 he identified the left faction of the GMD as the true and loyal advocate of "citizen's nationalism" (國民主義).<sup>19</sup> The right faction of GMD, however, Chen accused of settling with the imperialist powers and the warlords. 國民主義 (citizen's nationalism) first appeared nine times in Chen's writing in 1924. In 1925 he used the words twice, and once in 1927. By 國民主義 (citizen's nationalism), Chen meant a goal of reclaiming economic and political freedom from the imperialists for the Chinese, and of demanding political freedom for the people. 國民主義 (citizen's nationalism), according to Chen, was a

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<sup>16</sup> "國民黨是什麼?" (1922-9-20), CDXZZXB, vol. 2, 483-4.

<sup>17</sup> See "反動政局與各黨派," CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 4-6. "資產階級的革命與革命的資產階級," CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 33-37. "在中國共產黨第三次全國代表大會上的報告," vol. 3, 68-71.

<sup>18</sup> "給薩法羅夫的信," CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 108-109. "北京政變與國民黨," CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 111-112.

<sup>19</sup> I translate 國民主義 as "citizen's nationalism," to differentiate the concept from "民族主義," which I translate as "people's nationalism."

revolutionary movement that required collaboration of all classes.<sup>20</sup>

Chen praised the left wing of the GMD as the true representative of the people, while castigating the right wing for abandoning the goal of achieving “people’s nationalism.”<sup>21</sup> By October 1924, his criticism of the right wing GMD became strident, labeling it the “running dog of the anti-revolutionary imperialism and warlords.”<sup>22</sup> In 1925 Chen continued his attack on the right-wing GMD: the right wing, he wrote, did not oppose imperialism, suppressed labor and peasant movements, considered Soviet Union an enemy, and yielded to the autocracy of the Duan Qirui rule.<sup>23</sup> By March 1926, Chen’s writing reflected the now open struggle between the right and left wings of the GMD, and alluded to the right wing attack and attempted ouster of the left wing.<sup>24</sup> In 1926, faced with increasing harassment from the right wing, Chen sought legitimacy by reminding his opponents that Sun Yatsen aimed for the same conditions that the left wing GMD laid out in their version of the citizen’s nationalism (國民主義).<sup>25</sup> In an ironic comparison, Chen called for achieving the liberation of the Chinese people by aligning with the world socialist movement, while castigating the right wing GMD for accepting imperialist support.<sup>26</sup>

As tension continued to mount in the uneasy alliance between the CCP and the GMD, Chen issued a joint communiqué with Wang Jingwei,

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<sup>20</sup> “國民黨與共產主義者,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 187-188.

<sup>21</sup> “國民黨左右派之真意義,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 256-257.

<sup>22</sup> “這是右派的行動嗎，還是反革命？” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 382-383.

<sup>23</sup> “寸鐵，1925-4-5;” “反帝國主義與不反對帝國主義，幫助農工運動與壓迫農工運動，聯俄與仇俄，這三件事本是國民黨左右派重要爭點；現在應該加上一個反段與降段了，” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 454-455.

<sup>24</sup> “寸鐵，1926-3-27,” CDXZZXB, vol. 4, 9-10.

<sup>25</sup> “孫中山三民主義中之民族主義是不是國家主義？” CDXZZXB, vol. 4, 64-69.

<sup>26</sup> “世界革命與中國民族解放運動,” CDXZZXB, vol. 4, 75-79.

at the time leader of the left-wing faction of the GMD. The move was to counterbalance Chiang Kaishek's increasing hostility toward the CCP. Chen crafted a statement that was conciliatory but fraught with contradiction. He suggested a model for Chinese development that deviated from the classic Marxist formula. Chen and Wang agreed that based on the semi-colonial economic condition of China, its path from capitalism to socialism may never follow the rigid stages of socialism. What China needed was a democratic dictatorship of the oppressed class to resist the anti-revolutionary elements, and not a dictatorship of the proletariat.<sup>27</sup> Four days after this communiqué, Chiang launched the White Terror in an attempt to annihilate the CCP. The CCP blamed the tragic loss of thousands of members squarely on Chen, and by July, 1927, Chen was removed from his post as party secretary general.<sup>28</sup>

During this period the term 國民會議 (citizen's assembly) first appeared in Chen's writing. He argued that only by convening such a conference would the people have a chance to engage in politics, and ultimately achieve a political revolution.<sup>29</sup> In 1923 Chen defined 國民會議 (citizen's assembly) as a body representative of popular organizations such as labor unions, merchant guilds, educational associations and legal societies. This assembly would use "revolutionary method" to abolish the organizational and electoral process of existing local and national assemblies.<sup>30</sup> 國民會議 (citizen's assembly) is an important tenet of the

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<sup>27</sup> “國共兩黨領袖聯合宣言——告兩黨同志書,” CDXZZXB, vol. 4, 264-265.

<sup>28</sup> 任建樹：《陳獨秀大傳》（上海：上海人民出版社，2009年），頁319-335。

<sup>29</sup> “國民會議及其預備會議,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 395-396.

<sup>30</sup> “用革命的手段廢去現行各級議會的組織法及選舉法，改由由現存等團體（如工會、商會、教育會、律師公會等）選舉的國民會議、市民縣民會議，代替現在職業議員的國會及各級地方會議。” In article, “中國之大患——職業兵與職業議員,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 18-19.

early CCP discourse, as five leaders of the CCP, Chen, Li Dazhao, Cai Heshen, Tan Pingshan and Mao Zedong had petitioned Sun Yatsen to convene such a conference in 1923.<sup>31</sup> Chen also urged the students to organize a meeting of nation-wide student representatives in Shanghai, and for them to collaborate with the citizen's assembly planned by the business sector, in order to achieve revolutionary solidarity of different classes.<sup>32</sup> The people's conference existed in preparatory forms in the provinces, as well as at many different levels in the cities. In Beijing, for instance, Chen mentioned a Beijing national preparatory assembly (國民會議促成會), a general federation of preparatory assembly (促成會聯合總會), a preparatory assembly of all-sector national assembly, (北京各界國民會議促成會), a national citizen's collaborated advance assembly (全國國民會議協進會), and a citizen's assembly support association, but unfortunately were all dismissed by the premier Duan Qirui.<sup>33</sup> Chen attacked the Beiyang/Anfu government's crackdown on the power of the assembly. Premier Duan Qirui limited the constitutional jurisdiction of the assembly, and imposed educational, religious and gender criteria for eligibility as assemblymen and as voters.<sup>34</sup> In 1927 Chen sought legitimacy for the citizen's assembly by stating that Sun Yatsen's will specified the abolition of unequal treaties and the realization of a citizen's assembly. He evoked Sun Yatsen's name to counter those who accused the organizers of assemblies at the various provincial, municipal prefectural

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<sup>31</sup> “陳獨秀、李大釗、蔡和森、譚平山和毛澤東同志致孫中山的信,” in CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 91-92.

<sup>32</sup> “你們應該在上海召集一個全國學生會的代表大會，並努力實現商界所主張的國民會議，以造成國民革命之真實的基礎力,” in “北京政變與學生,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 113-114.

<sup>33</sup> “寸鐵, 1925-5-10,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 465-467.

<sup>34</sup> “愚弄國民的國民會議條例,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 431-432.

and the village levels as violating the last will of Sun Yatsen.<sup>35</sup>

In the period from 1930 to 1942, Chen suffered the most serious setback of his life: he was expelled from the CCP, arrested by the GMD in 1932, released from jail in 1937, and lived in penurious circumstances until his death in 1942. How have these life-changing events affected his view on patriotism? The umbrella word 國民 (citizen) during this period matched numerous companion words with a correlation efficient higher than 0.6.<sup>36</sup> I choose five companion terms from this group to contextualize Chen's final definition of the umbrella term, 國民 (citizen). They are: 國民會議 (citizen's assembly), 蘇維埃政權 (political power of the soviets), 群眾 (masses), 農民 (peasants), and 民主任務 (democratic responsibility).

In this period, citizen's assembly, or 國民會議, has taken on a new meaning. It is now a militant and violent tool to oppose the GMD. Chen cited four pressing issues that the citizen's assembly must address: A fair, direct, and anonymous voting process for representatives of the assembly, an 8-hour daily work limit, confiscation of private property, and people's independence.<sup>37</sup> He envisioned the assembly as the headquarters for all anti-Japanese patriots, akin to the popular assembly forged by the Jacobins during the French revolution.<sup>38</sup> 國民會議 (citizen's assembly) has

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<sup>35</sup> “現在居然有人以為鼓吹國民會議並主張根據中山先生的國民會議組織法成立省民會議、市民會議、縣民會議、鄉民會議，是共產黨造反，是侵犯了省黨部、縣黨部的職權，是違背了中山先生軍政時期、訓政時期的方略，”in “孫中山先生逝世二周年紀念中之悲憤，” CDXZZXB, vol. 4, 247-249.

<sup>36</sup> The companion words are: 政權，國民會議，革命的，國民黨，國民黨政權，立憲，蘇維埃政權，列寧，決民主任務，解決民主任務，黨政，在資產階級，群眾，會議的口號，政府，暴動，資產階級，蘇維埃，階級政權，階級，國民會議口，民會議口號，民主任務，鬥爭，國民黨政府，立憲大會，沙皇，農民，革命的民眾，武裝。

<sup>37</sup> “我們在現階段政治鬥爭的策略問題，” CDXZZXB, vol. 4, 459-474.

<sup>38</sup> “中國民族應該怎樣救國及自救，” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 1-4.

increasingly turned into a signifier for one's political leaning, and it stands in opposition to the soviets, a formula championed by the Stalinists. The Stalinists argued that the slogan for citizen's assembly (國民會議的口號) should not be applied in the countryside, but Chen believed that the slogan for citizen's assembly was a unifying tool to maintain political control of the cities and the countryside.<sup>39</sup> The Stalinists located the power of the soviets (蘇維埃政權) in the dictatorship of the laborers and the peasants, whereas Chen saw it as a flawed dictatorship of the poor peasants.<sup>40</sup> As a Trotskyite, Chen was accused by his former CCP comrade Qu Qiubai of devaluing the importance of the soviets in favor of the citizen's assembly. Chen countered that the CCP should use both the citizen's assembly and the soviet to engage in political struggle, and to invest all of its political power in whichever model emerged as the winning strategy to gain political power.<sup>41</sup> A protracted debate ensued between the CCP members and the ousted Chen after the latter championed Trotsky's definition of the permanent revolution. Chen agreed with Trotsky that the proletariat and petit-bourgeoisie could best be persuaded to use the citizen's assembly as a way to a violent power struggle against the bourgeoisie.<sup>42</sup> Chen identified

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<sup>39</sup> “另外還有一種意見，就是認為在現有的蘇區以外，固然可以採用國民會議的口號，蘇區內則用不著，因為那裡已經有蘇維埃政權。這也不很正確，即令農村中已經有了蘇維埃政權，而畢竟只是農村蘇維埃政權，而不是統治城市階級的政權，尤其不是全國性的，沒有城市階級（無產階級或資產階級）之領導，農民的游擊隊不能擔負大規模的集中的戰術行動，以建立全國性的政府，現在顯然還沒有工業和政治中心城市的蘇維埃可以號召全國，如何能拿現實的農村蘇維埃來代替國民會議之全國性的作用，” in “一個緊急的政治問題，” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 10-19.

<sup>40</sup> “一個緊急的政治問題，” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 10-19.

<sup>41</sup> “我們認為蘇維埃和國民會議並不是兩個絕對不能相容的東西，我們應該為創造我們的國民會議而鬥爭，當然還應該為創造我們的蘇維埃而鬥爭，只有在兩個鬥爭的過程中，看那一個真是我們的，我們才發出全部政權交那一個的口號，” in “一個緊急的政治問題，” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 10-19.

<sup>42</sup> “論國民會議口號，” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 28-37.

himself as the “leftist oppositionist,” and called for the government to invest complete decision-making power to the citizen’s assembly. Only then, Chen reasoned, would this body be able to complete its democratic responsibility 民主任務. This democratic responsibility differed from the bourgeois democratic mission because it would benefit all social classes, and not just the capitalists.<sup>43</sup>

In its correlation with 群眾 (masses), Chen’s use of 國民 (citizen) was contextualized by his Marxist conception of the different social classes. He referred to student masses ( 群眾 ) and labor masses ( 群眾 ) as agents of political change. In 1933 he identified the following masses as agents to topple the GMD: the red labor unions, the association of poor peasants, and the committee on strikes.<sup>44</sup> Unlike Mao Zedong’s emphasis on the power of the peasants ( 農民 ), Chen did not regard them as the foremost revolutionary force in China. In his 1931 and 1932 writing on revolution, Chen followed the Trotskyite position in subordinating the peasants under the guidance of the laborers, and diverged sharply with the Stalinist directive in China. He accused the Stalinist leaning CCP of delaying and even sabotaging the revolution by destroying the revival of the labor movement in the cities, and warned that the CCP itself was

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<sup>43</sup> “因此我們左派反對派應當覺悟到不僅限於「國民會議」之形式的口號，不僅予以民主任務（八小時工作制，沒收土地，民族獨立等）的內容… …群眾問我們，在國民黨政權之下召集的國民會議可以解決民主任務，還是在民眾政權之下召集的國民會議可以解決民主任務，我們又如何回答呢？如果回答說：解決民主任務是將來第三次革命全部政權歸到蘇維埃時的事，現在的國民會議運動，只是在資產階級政權之下做做要求憲法自由的和平運動。這樣的國民會議，至多只能做些向政府要求解決民主任務的決議案，而沒有權與力能夠執行自己的決議。” In “論國民會議口號，” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 10-19.

<sup>44</sup> “兩個路線——答民杰及小陳兩同志 (1931-11-16), CDXZZXB, vol. 4, 527-532.

turning into a peasant labor party.<sup>45</sup>

To summarize Chen's changing conception of citizen (國民), it is evident that during the second period of his writing, 1915-1921, he was preoccupied with the problems of transitioning from a monarchy to a republic. He urged his fellow citizens to oppose constitutional monarchy and warlord dictatorship, as he attempted to forge a new Chinese citizenry by introducing his young readers to philosophy, literature, and political theories from the West. In the third period, as leader of the CCP and a Marxist, Chen divided the citizens into various social classes. He assigned different weights to the social classes, and despite the agrarian composition of China, privileged the urban workers over the peasants as agents of revolution. Even after his ouster from the CCP, Chen continued to side with Trotsky by placing the leadership of the revolution on the shoulders of the laborers, and not of the peasants.

### Umbrella Word “青年”(youth)

Youth, or 青年, was the title of Chen's influential magazine (it was renamed *New Youth* or *Xin Qingnian* in 1915). Youth Society was the first radical student organization that Chen joined in Tokyo in 1902. The society was named after the revolutionary Young Italy Society, the *Giovine Italia*,<sup>46</sup> founded by Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872)--one of the leaders of the Italian unification and independence movement.<sup>47</sup> Naming his journal “Youth” and “New Youth” was a reference to his radical

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<sup>45</sup> “誰能救中國？怎樣救中國？” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 38-44.

<sup>46</sup> From [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Young\\_Italy\\_\(historical\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Young_Italy_(historical))( accessed November 7, 2015).

<sup>47</sup> Wang Guanquan, *Beibang di Puluomixiusi: Chen Duxiu zhuan* [Prometheus bound: A biography of Chen Duxiu]( Taipei: Yeqiang chubanshe, 1996), 62.



student days. In the magazine Chen called for reforming the Chinese character, especially that of the youth.

In the second period, from 1915 to 1929, four companion words, 發財 (to make a fortune), 做官 (become an official), 新青年 (new youth), and 人生 (life) were found. Seeking fortune or 發財, in Chen's mind, is not a bad thing for young people to aspire to, and he realized that developing business is important for the survival of man and society. But he condemned the Chinese mindset of pursuing an official post 做官 with the purpose of enriching oneself via unlawful means. Chen decried, this is the reason why we have created a class of rapacious bandits across the country. He wrote: "Respectable and lovable youth! If you still harbor such base thoughts, then you would lose the quality to become a new youth."<sup>48</sup> Chen lamented that no matter how well-educated and clear headed the enlightened youth maybe, once he or she entered society, the attraction of becoming a bureaucrat would be overwhelming. So he implored the youth to break from this corrupt way of thinking, and to create fresh and authentic thoughts, in order "to become a new and authentic youth as opposed to an old and hypocritical youth."<sup>49</sup> A new youth (新青年), according to Chen, is not only healthy and strong, but able to reject the idea of making a fortune by becoming a government official. Inspired by John Stuart Mill's view that happiness is desirable and

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<sup>48</sup> “夫發財本非惡事，個人及社會之生存與發展，且以生產職業為重要之條件；惟中國式之發財方法，不出於生產職業，而出於苟得妄取，甚至以做官為發財之捷徑，獵官摸金，鑄為國民之常識，為害國家，莫此為甚。發財固非惡事，即做官亦非惡事，幸福更非惡事；惟吾人合做官發財享幸福三者以一貫之精神，遂至大盜遍於國中。人間種種至可恐怖之罪惡多由此造成。國將由此滅，種將由此削。吾可敬可愛之青年！倘留此齷齪思想些微於頭腦，則新青年之資格喪失無餘，” in “新青年”，CDXZZXB, v.1, 208-209.

<sup>49</sup> “新青年”，CDXZZXB, v.1, 208-209.

the end of human action, Chen dissected the five criteria of happiness for life: a) happiness is a lifelong principle and one that should be prepared for early in life, b) happiness is to be derived from a proper occupation, performed by one with a sound mind and healthy body, 3) one's personal happiness must not damage that of the nation, 4) personal happiness should be achieved by personal means and not dependent on others, and 5) present happiness should not lead to future and permanent pain.<sup>50</sup>

In the third period, only one companion word had a high correlation coefficient with 青年 (youth), and that term is 青年學生 (student youth). In contrast with the earlier period when Chen placed a tremendous amount of hope on the youth of China, as secretary general of the CCP, he reclassified youth as a product of the petite-bourgeoisie. Chen considered student youth as a group without economic base, and therefore unable to develop their own political and economic class consciousness. Nevertheless, Chen saw that the responsibility of the Chinese student youth is great, especially in spreading the revolutionary awareness in the different social classes and in becoming a liaison between the different social classes. The role of the Chinese student youth is to forge a unified front for the citizens of different social classes.<sup>51</sup>

There was no correlation of companion words with 青年 in the last period of Chen's writing, ca. 1930-1942. In summary, even though Chen's fame emanated from his publication for the Chinese youth, the word youth was not used as often as the other umbrella words. He urged the young citizens to abandon the corrupt habit of seeking fortune by obtaining an official appointment, and to forge a new and independent lifestyle. As a Marxist, he saw the role of the youth as a liaison for the disparate social

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<sup>50</sup> “新青年”, CDXZZXB, v.1, 208-209.

<sup>51</sup> “青年們應該怎樣做,” CDXZZXB, vol.3, 135-136.

classes, but essentially as a class of petit-bourgeoisie.

## Umbrella Word “民主”(Democracy)

In the second period, 民主 (democracy) matched numerous companion words with correlation coefficient above 0.6 , and I choose to analyze: 民主共和 (democratic republican), 虛君 (constitutional monarchy), 強大國家 (strong and powerful nation) , 武人專政 (military dictatorship), 共和制 (republicanism), 瑞士 (Switzerland), 墨西哥 (Mexico), 民國 (people's country), 公有 (publicly owned), 主國 (sovereign country), 取法 (obtain law). As in the context of the umbrella word 國民 (citizen), the debate over republicanism versus constitutional monarchy dominated the early writings of this period. Most of these companion words appeared together in an 1918 article, titled “On Refuting Kang Youwei's ‘A Critique of Republicanism,’” (駁康有為〈共和評議〉). Chen devoted sixteen pages to this argument, which is a very long article by his standard. Kang's pessimistic analysis of the current political situation in China was reached after the debacle of the warlord Yuan Shikai's rule. Kang warned that China was not ready for republicanism. When military strongmen dominated the government, Kang pointed out, they robbed the national treasury, disregarded the constitution, and abolished the national assembly. Yuan's dictatorship is exactly the result of China prematurely seeking to transform from a constitutional monarchy to a republican government. At the time of Kang's writing, seventeen military governors controlled the legislative assembly, the executive branch, and the constitutional assembly. Kang believed that China's attempt at republicanism would result in chaotic conditions like Mexico, and ultimately meet its destruction by becoming a semi-colonial protectorate of a strong Western

power, as in the fate of Korea. The Chinese unsuccessful model of republicanism, Kang lamented, instead of bringing peace to the country and protecting the welfare, rights, life, and property of the people, would have the opposite outcome. Power struggles and the reign of terror of the French revolution would plague China, and the country would fragment into small units and perish. Kang reasoned that republicanism could only function in small nations, such as Switzerland. The United States was the only large country that could operate on a republican principle, but it experienced distinct historical circumstances. The Russian struggle to change from monarchy to a republic is doomed to fail, he predicted. Kang further declared that but for Chile and Argentina, the twenty states of Central and South America were all in disarray.<sup>52</sup>

Chen countered in strong language that the key to establishing a republican system rests in the level of political understanding of the people. Therefore if the Chinese were unprepared to establish a republic, then a constitutional monarchy would not be any more suitable. While Chen was unsure of the present readiness of his countrymen to establish a republic, he had faith that once the people understood that the nation belonged to everyone, they could find a way to stop the dictator and be ready for republicanism. Chen also used the Social Darwinist perspective to explain that republicanism is an evolving practice, and even in its imperfect form, it is a definite improvement over the monarchist autocracy. The 1898 Hundred Days Reforms, Chen believed, laid the foundation for China's move toward republicanism. Chen asked how Kang could set the Chinese people back to a time when rulers disregarded people's rights. Chen pointed out that Mexico's political struggle was the

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<sup>52</sup> “駁康有爲〈共和評議〉,” in CDXZZXB, vol. 1, 388-394.

result of tolerating a dictator such as Porfirio Diaz, and Kang's support to restore the deposed Qing emperor was exactly the reason why chaos would happen in China. Contrary to Kang's opinion, Chen predicted that the Russian struggle for freedom would impact humanity on even a greater scale than the French revolution. Chen even quoted in English Daniel Webster's speech at the dedication of the Bunker Hill Monument in 1825, "The southern hemisphere emerges from the sea ... at the mighty bidding of the voice of political liberty ..." to rebut Kang's disparaging view of Central and South Americas.<sup>53</sup>

Once Chen assumed leadership of the CCP, the umbrella word 民主 (democracy) matched very different companion words in his writing. Gone are the words associated with nationhood, and the debate of monarchism versus republicanism. Instead companion words associated with Marxism had the highest coefficient with the umbrella term 民主. These companion words are: 封建 (feudal), 民主革命 (democratic revolution), 階級的民主 (class-related democracy), 封建軍閥 (feudal warlords), and 資本民主 (capitalist democracy). In 1922, as an early convert to communism, Chen believed that China must undergo two stages of class struggle to achieve socialism. The first is the democratic struggle of the bourgeoisie against the feudal warlords, and the second is the socialist struggle of the newly arisen proletariat against the bourgeoisie.<sup>54</sup> Democracy is now achieved by class struggles. Interestingly, Chen included moral thinking as a factor in his assessment of the political systems. He explained that only by rejecting the feudal moral and intellectual systems could the bourgeois democratic revolution begin in China.<sup>55</sup> Unlike the "utopian socialists,"

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<sup>53</sup> “駁康有為〈共和評議〉,” in CDXZZXB, vol. 1, 388-394.

<sup>54</sup> “對於現在中國政治問題的我見,” CDXZZXB, vol. 2, 467-470.

<sup>55</sup> “中國封建宗法的道德思想制度最後的崩潰，也就是資本民主革命運動最

Chen did not believe that a socialist society could be realized by skipping over the capitalist stage.<sup>56</sup> Chen and his comrades spent a great deal of time defining the nature of Chinese society to fit the Marxist model. In 1926 Chen determined that China lacked a modern capitalist agricultural production system. Since the relationship between the landlords and the tenants is an exploitative one, Chen concluded that the Chinese society therefore exhibited a semi-feudal, and not a modern capitalist character.<sup>57</sup>

At the end of this period, Chen was expelled from the CCP primarily as the fall guy for the failed urban uprisings that cost thousands of young Communist lives. The party leadership accused Chen for deviating from the party line, even though Chen had vehemently opposed staging urban uprisings in a country where the proletariat was outnumbered by warlord armies. Chen belatedly learned of Trotsky's criticism of the Stalinist emphasis on urban uprising, and soon declared himself a Trotskyite ( 託派 ). In China Chen led a splinter group of CCP members who followed Trotsky's doctrine. In Russia during this period Stalin and Trotsky were engaged in a power struggle that ended with the latter's exile and assassination in 1940.

In the fourth period of Chen's writing, the umbrella term 民主 (democracy) has twenty-six companion words with coefficient higher than 0.6.<sup>58</sup> I select the following companion words to interpret Chen's changing ideas on patriotism: 國民會議口號 (slogan of the citizen's assembly),

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初的開始,” in “資產階級的革命與革命的資產階級,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 33-37.

<sup>56</sup> “我們現在爲什麼鬥爭,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 121-124.

<sup>57</sup> “孫傳芳敗後之東南,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 169-171.

<sup>58</sup> They are: 資產階級, 國民會議口, 階級, 形式, 議會制度, 階級民主, 階級政權, 無產階級的, 階級的民主, 普選, 民主主義的, 無產階級, 民主口號, 徹底, 會議, 托洛斯基同志, 口號, 列寧, 立憲會議, 史大林, 中國革命, 在無產階級, 國民會議, 大眾, and 馬克思主義.

議會制度 (system of assembly), 階級的民主 (class democracy), 普選 (popular election), 民主口號 (slogan of democracy), 立憲會議 (constitutional assembly), 中國革命 (Chinese revolution), 大眾 (public), and 馬克思主義 (Marxism). Chen continued to engage in theoretical debate with his former CCP comrades even after he was expelled. The dominant question for all Communists was to determine the proper path for the proletariat class to achieve political control. The Stalinists and the Trotskyites differed on the interpretation of the correct historical condition of Chinese society, and thus on the proper strategy for winning. The adoption of “slogans” or 口號 is a shorthand for political strategy.<sup>59</sup> At times the debate revolved around the use of citizen’s assembly (國民會議口號) versus that of the soviet (蘇維埃口號).

A point of contention between the Stalinists and the Trotskyites involves the revolutionary function of the citizen’s assembly (國民會議). Chen defined the citizen’s assembly (國民會議) or the constitutional national assembly (國民立憲會議) as being stages of bourgeois democracy, but necessary precursors to the proletarian revolution.<sup>60</sup> Chen rejected the Stalinist soviets (蘇維埃口號) in favor of the Trotskyite citizen’s assembly (國民會議口號) as a way to achieve proletariat dictatorship.<sup>61</sup> However, Chen’s idea of the citizen’s assembly became more violent during this period: “Comrade Trotsky told us that the citizen’s assembly can only be realized through the violent uprising of the masses ... The Chinese party can stage

<sup>59</sup> “無產階級怎樣經過它的政黨實現對於全國各革命階級的政治領導呢？首先，是根據歷史發展行程提出基本的政治口號，和爲了實現這種口號而提出關於每一發展階段和每一重大事變中的動員口號。”這是毛澤東在〈中國共產黨在抗日時期的任務〉一文中的一段話。(From website: <http://people.com.cn/GB/shizheng/252/5303/index.html>, accessed November 4, 2015).

<sup>60</sup> “論國民會議口號,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 28-37.

<sup>61</sup> “一個緊急的政治問題,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 10-19.

armed uprising to obtain political power, and only then can a Communist majority-controlled citizen's assembly approve the system of the soviets.”<sup>62</sup> Chen distinguished the bourgeois version of assembly from the Marxist idea of a citizen's assembly. He pointed out that the bourgeois system of representative assembly, as well as bourgeois democracy, were vast improvement over what existed during the Middle Ages. However, Chen continued, in times of proletarian revolution, these institutions must be completely transformed.<sup>63</sup> He reminded his readers that eventually the assemblies may disappear, but the principle of democracy must be upheld. The reason why the Soviet system is less democratic than the bourgeois assembly, Chen reasoned, was because it suppressed democracy while maintaining the outer shell of a representative body.<sup>64</sup> To defend his endorsement of 立憲議會 (constitutional assembly), Chen commented that even Lenin approved of this method of getting popular support, because this assembly represented the highest form of democratic expression in a capitalist society.<sup>65</sup> Chen agreed with Trotsky that such an assembly could only be convened after the proletariat has gained political control. And the soviet would emerge as a natural outcome of the citizen's assembly.<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, Chen added, this assembly must guarantee the freedom of

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<sup>62</sup> “幾個爭論的問題,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 109-115.

<sup>63</sup> “論國民會議口號,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 28-37.

<sup>64</sup> “許多人，把民主和議會制度當做一件東西，排斥議會制度，同時便排斥民主，這正是蘇俄墮落之最大原因；議會制度會成為過去，會成為歷史殘影，民主則不然也，蘇維埃制若沒有民主內容，仍舊是一種形式民主的代議制，甚至像俄國的蘇維埃，比資產階級的形式民主議會還不如。” In “給西流的信,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 352-357.

<sup>65</sup> “他們完全忘記了列寧在十月革命勝利後所寫的十九條《立憲會議提綱》之第一條，開口第一句便是立憲會議召集的要求，列入革命的社會民主黨的政綱中，是完全應當的，因為在資產階級共和國內的立憲會議是民主主義的最高形式。” In “論國民會議口號,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 28-37.

<sup>66</sup> “論國民會議口號,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 28-37.



assembly, speech, publication, and popular franchise of the people. Unless this takes place, he asked, how could a nation be independent?<sup>67</sup>

Chen mentioned 階級的民主 (class democracy) on numerous occasions during this period. Reverting to his earlier belief in Social Darwinism, he saw a natural evolution from “ancient society to class-society,” and a natural progression from bourgeois to proletariat democracy. While bourgeois democracy was an improvement over the polity of the Middle Ages, Chen explained, but compared to the next stage of proletariat democracy, it had a smaller and narrower impact.<sup>68</sup>

Since the anti-revolutionary GMD was unable to bring about bourgeois democracy to the country, Chen explained, it fell to the proletariat to accomplish this goal. As a result, the proletariat class must adopt the bourgeois democratic slogan (民主口號) and conduct political struggle under its banner. Even as he was expelled from the CCP, Chen continued to counsel the party that adopting the slogan was the best way to win the revolution.<sup>69</sup> Chen explained to his detractors that adopting the bourgeois democratic slogan is not to settle with the capitalist class, but to accommodate the petit-bourgeoisie and the peasants.<sup>70</sup> In this manner, Chen explained, the slogan has transformed from a weapon of the bourgeois class against the feudal warlords, into the weapon of the

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<sup>67</sup> “辯訴狀,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 60-64.

<sup>68</sup> “民主主義的思想，由古代社會傳到階級社會，它也和其他的事物一樣，要受階級的影響，而不能成為超階級的怪物……資產階級的民主主義，在無產階級的民主主義面前，它是狹小的，而比之中世紀制度，則是高度發展的，是進步的。所以，列寧有理由可以說民主主義在工人階級反對資本家的解放鬥爭中是有極偉大意義的。” in “論國民會議口號,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 28-37.

<sup>69</sup> “論國民會議口號,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 28-37.

<sup>70</sup> “論國民會議口號,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 28-37.

proletariat to destroy the bourgeoisie.<sup>71</sup>

Chen believed in the Trotskyite theory of a continuous revolution for China ( 中國革命 ), and opposed the Stalinist theory of the two-stage revolution. He speculated that had the 1925-1927 Chinese revolution (also known as the Northern Expedition) adopted the perspective of the continuous revolution, perhaps the proletariat would have gained political control. Taking a jab at the Stalinists, he was dismayed that the “bankrupt” theory of staged revolution was still being discussed in his days.<sup>72</sup> Chen firmly believed that the leadership of the proletarian revolution must come from the urban area and that the countryside should follow, and that the notion of “Marxism in the mountains” must be eradicated.<sup>73</sup> His Marxist analysis of the role of the CCP was to help workers rise up to fight the imperialist Japanese government during the Sino-Japanese. In so doing, they would oppose imperialists of the world, and strengthen the power of the Chinese, Japanese and Korean workers in their struggle for liberation.<sup>74</sup>

In this period, as he experienced the slings and arrows of his political misfortune, Chen adopted a philosophical perspective on the pros and cons of various political systems. Chen pointed out that even in the Western bourgeois nations, as much as their citizens enjoyed freedom of assembly, publication, speech, and religion, and were able to hold popular election ( 普選 ) to the representative assemblies, these countries still presented an

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<sup>71</sup> “幾個爭論的問題,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 109-115.

<sup>72</sup> “幾個爭論的問題,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 109-115.

<sup>73</sup> “必須把所謂「山上的馬克思主義」的混亂思想從根剷除，因為近代的一切大運動都必然是城市領導農村” in “「五四」運動時代過去了嗎？” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 247-248.

<sup>74</sup> “被壓迫國的無產階級不應該領導愛國運動,” In CDXZZXB, vol. 4, 533-538.

incomplete and false form of democracy.<sup>75</sup> Like the bourgeois counterpart, the masses(大眾) desire these basic rights: that there should be no entity with the power to make arrests outside the courts, that every taxpayer had the right to engage in politics, that the government would not legislate taxation without the approval of the assembly, that the opposition party had the freedom of organization, speech, and publication, that the laborers had the right to strike, that the peasants had the right to till the land, and had the freedom of thoughts and religion. These, Chen said, are features of the bourgeois democracy that was hard won after 700 years of bloodshed since the thirteenth century. And yet today Russia, Germany and Italy aimed to destroy these rights. The difference between the bourgeois democracy and proletarian democracy, Chen reasoned, is only a matter of scale and not of kind.<sup>76</sup> Chen also said that upon deep reflections over 7 years, he concluded that true democracy could only be realized by popular participation, lest the power of the proletariat turn into a dictatorship by the small clique of Stalinist GPU (secret police). He contrasted the freedom and rights under the bourgeois democracies such as England and the United States against those in Russia, Germany and Italy, and pointed out that the bourgeois is better protected in the Western countries, whereas everyone suffered under the dictatorship of the Russian, German and Italian governments.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> “我們要怎樣的民主政治？” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 22-27.

<sup>76</sup> “民主政治的真實內容是：法院以外機關無捕人權，無參政權不納稅，非議會通過政府無征稅權，政府之反對黨有組織言論出版自由，工人有罷工權，農民有耕種土地權，思想宗教自由，等等，這都是大眾所需要，也是十三世紀以來大眾以鮮血鬥爭七百餘年，才得到今天的所謂「資產階級的民主政治」，這正是俄、意、德所要推翻的；所謂「無產階級的民主政治」和資產階級的民主只是實施的範圍廣狹不同，並不是在內容上另有一套無（產階）級的民主。” In “給連根的信，” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 350-351.

<sup>77</sup> “我根據蘇俄二十年來的經驗，沉思熟慮了六七年，始決定了今天的意

## Umbrella Word “革命” (revolution)

During the second period of his writing, the word 革命 (revolution) has three significant correlated companion words. They are 政治革命 (political revolution), 封建主義 (feudalism), and 共和政治 (republican politics). All three companion words appear in Chen's article, “國慶紀念底價值,” written in 1920. As mentioned earlier, when Chen first embraced Marxism, he incorporated elements of Social Darwinism to explain communism. As a result, he described Chinese society as evolving *naturally* from feudalism (封建主義), to republicanism (共和政治), and finally to socialism (社會主義). He also emphasized the need to conduct an economic revolution (革命) at the same time as the political revolution (革命). An economic revolution would enable China's nascent industrial sector to create publicly owned businesses and avoid private property and its inequitable distribution of assets.<sup>78</sup>

In the third period the companion words that had high correlation coefficients with the umbrella word 革命 (revolution) are: 革命運動 (revolutionary movement), 階級 (class), 小資產階級 (petit-bourgeoisie), and 反革命 (anti-revolution). As leader of the CCP Chen was politically on the opposite spectrum from his former colleagues and friend at Peking University. In 1923, Chen chided Cai Yuanpei, his mentor and former chancellor of Peking University, for being an elitist. Cai had published an open letter tending in his resignation as chancellor in protest against the government's unfair prosecution of a colleague. Cai's effort at embarrassing the government, Chen wrote, only affected a narrow class of

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見。我認爲：非大眾政權固然不能實現大眾民主；如果不實現大眾民主，則所謂大眾政權或無（產階）級獨裁，必然流爲史大林式的極少數人的格柏烏政制。” In “給西流的信,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 352-357.

<sup>78</sup> “國慶紀念的價值,” CDXZZXB, vol. 2, 277-280.

intellectuals and bureaucrats, and he was blind to the masses of Chinese who had a conscience and strong capability.<sup>79</sup> He considered the first Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 and the Boxer Rebellion as the final breakdown of the Chinese feudal moral and intellectual system, and the beginning of the bourgeois revolution.<sup>80</sup> Chen said that the revolution must be scientific and conducted by the strength of laborers, peasants, merchants, students, and not by warlords or foreign imperialists.<sup>81</sup> In a letter to Safarov, the director of the East Department of the Comintern in charge of the Near East, Chen explained the difficulty of achieving a proletariat revolution. 70% of Chinese population was peasants, he reported, and they were neither educated nor politically aware. Only the petite bourgeoisie in the city was beginning to realize the importance of a political revolution. However these workers were artisans and unable to be politically proactive, and the small proletariat class was only interested in improving its own welfare. If they were asked to join the CCP, they would quit.<sup>82</sup> Chen did not believe that the Chinese peasants could join the revolution; rather he depicted them as disorganized, uneducated, and conservative.<sup>83</sup> Chen described the Chinese revolution as part of a global movement to transform the capitalist economic system to a proletariat revolutionary society.<sup>84</sup> World revolution and the Chinese revolution are

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<sup>79</sup> “蔡校長之消極的不合作主義……證明他眼中只看見一班無良心無能力的學者官吏，而不看見全國有良心有能力的士、農、工、商大民眾；國民黨的革命運動只看見武力不看見民眾，蔡校長打倒惡濁政治的運動，也只看見學者官吏而不看見民眾，這可以說是中國領袖人物輕視民眾的一個共同缺點。” In “評蔡校長宣言,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 12-13.

<sup>80</sup> “資產階級的革命與革命的資產階級,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 33-37.

<sup>81</sup> “論暗殺暴動及不合作,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 15-17, and in “關於社會主義問題——在廣東高師的講演,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 75-90.

<sup>82</sup> “給薩法羅夫的信,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 108-9.

<sup>83</sup> “中國國民革命與社會各階級,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 153-161.

<sup>84</sup> “列寧主義與中國民主運動,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 458-462.

linked, like two wheels on a spoke.<sup>85</sup>

As he analyzed society through the lens of class (階級), Chen described China as a semi-colonial society with a small decentralized class of capitalists; he divided the bourgeoisie into three strata: the revolutionary bourgeoisie, such as the overseas Chinese and the newly arisen industrialists in the Jiangnan region; the anti-revolutionary capitalists who depended on foreign favors and connections with warlords and bureaucrats; and the non-revolutionary capitalists, who were mainly small businessmen. The last consisted of the majority. It was the Nationalist' task to unite all the classes in order to realize the national revolution.<sup>86</sup> Chen pointed out that the first large scale economic-political revolution occurred when feudal society collapsed and was followed by a bourgeois revolution. The second took place when the capitalist class dissolved and the proletariat social revolution arose. He added a third type, which is a national revolution specific to the colonial or semi-colonial state. This revolution contained an inward democratic element as well as an outward national element.<sup>87</sup> Chen pointed out that Chinese revolution started with the self-strengthening movement (ca. 1861-1895); the second stage was marked by the 1911 revolution, and the third stage was represented by the May Fourth student and labor movement. Although the impact of these past three movements was not significant, nevertheless, Chen noted, at each stage more people from the different classes became engaged. He could not predict the fourth stage.<sup>88</sup> In the Chinese semi-bourgeois society, Chen classified three social forces. The first was the warlords group, which

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<sup>85</sup> “世界革命與中國民族解放運動。”CDXZZXB, vol. 4, 75-79.

<sup>86</sup> “怎麼打到軍閥,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 27-30.

<sup>87</sup> “中國國民革命與社會各階級,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 153-161.

<sup>88</sup> “中國國民革命與社會各階級,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 153-161.

wielded the political and military control. The second was the bourgeoisie, who held the country's economic strength and produced its propaganda. Finally there was the new labor class, with great organizational and fighting strength. Chen explained that they were natural ally of the peasants, and represented the most revolutionary of classes.<sup>89</sup>

Earlier we learned that Chen considered the students and young intellectuals to be petit-bourgeois (小資產階級). He also labeled the anarchists and their assassination tactics as petit-bourgeois and overly romantic. The small businessmen and manufacturers were grouped into the petite bourgeoisie as well. Even though China had a majority of peasants, Chen thought they could not be turned into a revolutionary force until China developed a substantial group of proletariat to lead the way. The reason is that most peasants believed in private ownership, and many belonged to the petit-bourgeois class.<sup>90</sup> Chen's use of 反革命 (anti-revolution) demonstrated how well ingrained was his belief in Social Darwinism. He argued that every phenomenon was subject to the law of evolution, including human society. Violating this law would be considered anti-revolutionary.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> “中國國民革命運動中個人的力量,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 424-425.

<sup>90</sup> 有人見農民之疾苦而人數又如此眾多，未曾看清這只是國民革命的一大動力，以為馬上便可在農民間做共產的社會革命運動，這種觀察實在未免太粗忽了。共產的社會革命固然要得著農民的同情與協助，然必須有強大的無產階級為主力軍，才能夠實現此種革命的爭鬥並擁護此種革命的勢力建設此種革命的事業，因為只有強大的無產階級，才有大規模的共同生產共同生活之需要與可能，獨立生產之手工業者及農民都不需此。尤其是農民私有觀念極其堅固，在中國，約佔農民半數之自耕農，都是中小資產階級，不用說共產的社會革命是和他們的利益根本衝突，即無地之佃農，也只是半無產階級。” In “中國國民革命與社會各階級。” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 153-161.

<sup>91</sup> “反革命，這是社會組織退化的戰爭。遍一切現象界均在進化的過程中變動不息，人類社會也是現象界之一，……革命既是社會組織進化過程中之頓變的現象，則革命必以不違反進化社會組織為條件，反革命必以違反

In the last period of Chen's writing, he had experienced incarceration, was shunned by a majority of his former colleagues and comrades, and lived in poverty in a small town in Sichuan province. He wrote a great deal about revolution, and as a result there were more companion terms associated with 革命 than at any other period.<sup>92</sup> I choose the following companion words to outline Chen's thoughts on patriotism.

The companion words that had high correlation coefficient with 革命 (revolution) are: 無產階級 (proletariat), 民眾政權 (people's political power), 民主口號 (democratic slogan), 反對派 (oppositionist), and 中國革命 (Chinese revolution). In 1940, Chen was disillusioned by the increasingly dictatorial rule in Russia. In a letter to a friend, he said that since the October Revolution (1917) the regime had cast aside democracy when it overthrew the capitalists, and replaced it with dictatorship. When the fundamental principles of democracy were absent, the so-called "democracy of the proletariat," or "democracy of the masses," was nothing but empty words.<sup>93</sup> In one of the last significant pieces of political writing, "我的根本意見" ("My Fundamental Opinions," 1941-11-28), Chen reflected on the difference between democratic rule and dictatorship. He wrote: "The proletariat class is not an empty name; its demand is to obtain the same rights as those of the bourgeois democracy: for all

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進化為條件。” In “革命與反革命。” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 1-3.

<sup>92</sup> 革命 in the fourth period has correlations with: 政權, 級無產階級, 奪取政權, 口號, 國民會議, 同志, 會議的口號, 任務, 階級統治, 民眾政權, 托洛斯基, 反革命, 列寧, 暴動, 群眾, 資產階級, 民主口號, 國民會議口號, 反對派, 托洛斯基, 史大林派, 無產階級專政, 民主任務, 左派, 專政, 會議口號, 左派反對派, 中國革命, 召集國民, 社會主義的, 馬克思, 革命鬥爭, 無產階級的, 革命的民眾。

<sup>93</sup> “不幸十月以來輕率的把民主制和資產階級統治一同推翻, 以獨裁代替了民主, 民主的基本內容被推翻。所謂「無產階級民主」、「大眾民主」只是一些無實際內容的空洞名詞, 一種抵制資產階級民主的門面語而已,” in “給西流的信,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 352-357.



citizens to have the freedom of assembly, speech, publication, and strike. Of utmost importance is the freedom for the opposition party. Without this guarantee, assemblies and soviets alike are worthless ... Even if the proletariat revolution appeared in other countries, without imposing the democratic system as a 'sterilizer,' the world would only have some Stalinist bureaucratic regime, cruel, corrupt, hypocritical ... debauched, and will never realize the so-called socialist ideology. There will not be such a thing as the so-called "dictatorship of the proletariat," it will be a dictatorship of the party, and ultimately the dictatorship of the head of the party. All dictatorships cannot avoid cruelty, falsehood, lies, corruption and debauchery of bureaucratic politics."<sup>94</sup>

In the correlation of 革命 (revolution) with 民眾政權 (people's political power), Chen wrote that the *Shanghai Daily*, a radical paper published by the young journalist, called for 民眾政權 "people's political power" and for the "revolutionary masses to organize their own government." Chen explained that the only way to obtain the "revolutionary power of the masses" is for the revolutionary proletariat to start with the citizen's assembly, to demand universal suffrage, to publicize the effort freely, and to overthrow the Nationalist government so that complete political power can be transferred to the citizen's assembly.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> “無產階級不是一個空洞名詞，其具體內容也和資產階級民主同樣要求一切公民都有集會、結社、言論、出版、罷工之自由。特別重要的是反對黨派之自由，沒有這些，議會或蘇維埃同樣一文不值……即令各國所謂「無產階級革命」出現了，而沒有民主制做官僚制之消毒劑，也只是世界上出現了一些史大林式的官僚政權，殘暴、貪污、虛偽、欺騙、腐化、墮落決不能創造什麼社會主義，所謂「無產階級獨裁」，根本沒有這樣東西，即黨的獨裁，結果也只能是領袖獨裁。任何獨裁都和殘暴、蒙蔽、欺騙、貪污、腐化的官僚政治是不能分離的。” In “給西流的信，” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 352-357.

<sup>95</sup> “一個緊急的政治問題，” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 10-19.

In the correlation of 革命 (revolution) with 民主口號 (democratic slogan), we saw earlier how designating the correct slogan at the appropriate historical stage is vital to the theoretical position of the different factions of the Communists. When the 6th Comintern conference rejected a transitional revolutionary democratic slogan, it denied the CCP a blueprint for future action, thus incapacitated its ability to mobilize masses.<sup>96</sup> At that time Chen in 1933 had become a Trotskyite, and accused the Mensheviks (moderates) of turning their “democratic revolutionary slogan” into a rightist slogan. To Chen and his “leftist oppositionists” (左派反對派), the “democratic revolutionary slogan” is applicable both during the bourgeois capitalist stage, as well as during the mass movement stage, with its violent military struggle for power. The Mensheviks, like the Stalinists, championed a two stage revolution, and therefore needed a second slogan, i.e. the “soviets,” when the mass movement turns violent. In Chen’s oppositionist camp, using one slogan for both historical stages reinforced Trotsky’s idea of a continuous revolution.<sup>97</sup> Chen believed that the two goals of the movement: to overthrow imperialism and to achieve a land revolution, can be incorporated into one slogan.<sup>98</sup> Chen also suggested that in the course of daily life, the CCP should find lively and pragmatic slogans to entice and lead the masses.<sup>99</sup>

Following the umbrella word 革命 with its companion words through Chen’s writing, we see that Chen championed Trotsky’s theory of continuous revolution against the Stalinist two-stage revolution theory. He also steadfastly discounted the political power of the peasants, and insisted

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<sup>96</sup> “論國民會議口號,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 36.

<sup>97</sup> “幾個爭論的問題,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 109-115.

<sup>98</sup> “被壓迫國的無產階級應不應該領導愛國運動,” CDXZZXB, vol. 4, 533-538.

<sup>99</sup> “被壓迫國的無產階級應不應該領導愛國運動,” CDXZZXB, vol. 4, 533-538.

that the proletariat lead the revolution. The progression of revolutionary stages from feudalism to socialism accorded well with Chen's earlier grounding in Social Darwinism. In the last umbrella word for this paper, we shall learn of Chen's perspective on the Chinese people.

### Umbrella word “民族” (people)<sup>100</sup>

In the second period, four significant companion words had high correlation with 民族 (people), and they are 西洋民族 (people in the West), 東洋民族 (people in the East), 法治 (rule of law), and 宗法 (clan system).<sup>101</sup> Chen was interested in comparing the contrasting value systems of the “Eastern” people versus those of the “Western” people. He summarized three prominent differences between the two parties. While the “Western” folks were prone to wage wars, the “Eastern” people were content to be at peace. The “Western” people considered individual person as the unit of cosmological entity, whereas the “Eastern” people thought of the whole clan as a unit of social interaction. Finally while the “Western” folks based their relations on the rule of law, and respected these rights, the “Eastern” people based their relations on sentiment and operated by hypocritical posturing.<sup>102</sup>

For the correlation of 民族 (people) with 法治 (rule of law), Chen explained that the Western people respected the rule of law in both the national arena as well as in the family sphere. Commerce was also dictated by the rule of law. Even in a loving marriage, Chen marveled, the rule

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<sup>100</sup> 民族 can also be translated as “race,” or “ethnic group;” but for the purpose of this paper, I find “people” to be a more appropriate translation.

<sup>101</sup> They were chosen from the full list of high correlation coefficient companion words: 西洋民族, 東洋民族, 本位, 法治, 家庭, 宗法, and 家族.

<sup>102</sup> In “東西民族根本思想之差異,” CDXZZXB, vol. 1, 193-196.

of law governed the relationship between husband and wife. This was a clear example of how the law governed each individual in society, with no exception and no opposition.<sup>103</sup>

For the correlation between 民族 (people) and 宗法 (clan system), Chen observed that the Eastern people progressed from a nomadic social organization to that of the clan system, and had not advanced since then. The political control transformed from a tribal chieftaincy to that of a feudal system, and stopped advancing further. Individuals did not have any rights in such a clan-based society. He identified four evils that resulted from the Chinese clan system: 1. It damaged the self-esteem and dignity of the individual. 2. It impeded the freedom of individual thinking. 3. It robbed the individual the right to equality before the law. 4. It bred a dependence mentality that robbed a person of his / her productivity.<sup>104</sup>

In the third period, the companion words with significance in interpreting Chen's shifting ideas on patriotism are: 民族運動 (people's movement), 民族主義 (people's nationalism), 弱小民族 (weak and small people), 全世界 (the whole world), and 資本帝國主義 (capitalist imperialism).<sup>105</sup> In the correlation between 民族 (people) and 民族運動 (people's movement), Chen explained the difference between the Leninist

<sup>103</sup>“西洋民族之重視法治，不獨國政爲然，社會家庭，無不如此。商業往還，對法信用者多，對人信用者寡……戀愛爲一切男女之共性；及至夫婦關係，乃法律關係，權力關係，非純然愛情關係也。約婚之初，各要求其財產而不以爲貪；既婚之後，各保有其財產而不以爲吝。即上流社會之夫婦，一旦反目，直訟之法庭而無所愧怍。社會亦絕不以此非之。蓋其國爲法治國，其家庭亦不得不爲法治家庭；既爲法治家庭，則親子昆季夫婦，同爲受治於法之一人，權利義務之間，自不得以感情之故，而有所損益。”

In “東西民族根本思想之差異,” CDXZZXB, vol. 1, 193-196.

<sup>104</sup>“東西民族根本思想之差異,” CDXZZXB, vol. 1, 193-196.

<sup>105</sup>The entire list of significant companion words are: 民族運動, 民族主義者, 民族主義, 中國民族, 被壓迫, 壓迫者, 國際, 中國民族運動, 弱小民族, 全世界, 資本帝國主義, 一個國, 的民族革命, and 國家.

(or Bolshevik) view of the people's movement and that of the "moderates" or the Mensheviks. Lenin embraced people of all colors across the world, urged the oppressed to stage revolutions and create their own nations. Lenin saw this as a world movement of the oppressed classes against the imperialists. Even though the political problems of the oppressed people should be dealt separately, however they should collaborate on the economic front. This is in contrast with the Mensheviks view, Chen argued, which was only concerned with the white race of Europe and the United States. The Mensheviks only paid lip service to people's equality, and passively waited for the oppressor to grant the people self-rule. They regarded the people's movement as separate problem within each imperialist country, and consolidated their politics while keeping their economic relations separate and mutually competitive. Chen concluded that while China at the time of his writing was ready to fight imperialism, but there were three groups that posed a threat to this effort. They were the big businessmen and entrepreneurs, the feudal intellectuals such as the bureaucrats in the Nationalist government, and the "laborer-traitors." These were either "aristocratic laborers" or planted union members whose goal was to sabotage the CCP and to fracture the unity of the proletariat.<sup>106</sup>

In analyzing Sun Yatsen's Three People's Principles, Chen concluded that Sun's concept of citizen's nationalism (國家主義) was actually a broad-based people's nationalism (民族主義). Historically, Chen explained, there were three stages of people's movements, such as the feudal aristocratic people's movement of the clan-based society, followed by the capitalist people's movement of the military society, and the people's movement of the colonized people during the age of imperialism.

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<sup>106</sup>“列寧主義與中國民主運動,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 458-462.

Sun realized that China was a semi-colony, and thus reached out to all the oppressed people of the world to rise up against the imperialist powers. Sun's advocacy of the oppressed around the world was not a narrow bourgeois nationalism.<sup>107</sup> Chen pointed out that the Chinese revolutionary struggle against the capitalists was not an isolated local incident, but part of a worldwide movement (全世界) of the weak and small people (弱小民族) against the imperialists.<sup>108</sup> Therefore the proletariat revolution and the people's revolution are two sides of the world revolution to overthrow bourgeois capitalism (資本帝國主義).<sup>109</sup>

In the fourth period 民族 (people) has significant correlations with: 領導 (leadership), 民族解放 (people's liberation), 民族鬥爭 (people's struggle), and 民族主義 (people's nationalism).<sup>110</sup> Chen attacked the leadership (領導) of Stalinists and accused them of delaying the Chinese revolution. He charged the Stalinists of sabotaging the revival of the Chinese labor movement, of overestimating the strength of the peasants, and of giving peasants leadership role in the revolution. Nevertheless, Chen counseled that the people not turn against the party, but correct the party's mistake by reforming the CCP.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>107</sup>“孫中山三民主義中之民族主義是不是國家主義？”CDXZZXB, vol. 4, 64-69.

<sup>108</sup>“列寧主義與中國民主運動,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 458-462.

<sup>109</sup>“列寧主義與中國民主運動,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 458-462.

<sup>110</sup>The entire list of significant companion words are: 領導, 解放, 民族解放, 民族鬥爭, 被壓迫, 全世界, 民族主義.

<sup>111</sup>“我們的黨——中國共產黨——領導者史大林派的錯誤政策足以延遲革命甚至絞殺革命，也和別國共產黨中央史大林派一樣，他們在中國所做的錯誤擺在眼前的如：用命令主義和玩弄政治總罷工，在客觀上是不斷的破壞了城市工人運動復興的萌芽；過份的估量農民在革命中的作用，企圖以農民來代替工人的領導，……但共產黨是全無產階級自己的先鋒隊，並且是全民族的領袖，革命的民眾不應該因為黨的領導者之錯誤而根本反對它，而是應該積極糾正黨的領導機關之錯誤甚至於改造黨，以除我們道路上的困難，這正是我們左派反對派的立場，” in “誰能救中國？怎樣救中國？”

Reading Chen's writing with the correlation between 民族 (people) and 民族解放 (people's liberation), Chen said that the people's liberation could not succeed without abolishing the unequal treaties such as the Boxer Protocol, the treaty signed by the Qing after the debacle of the Boxer Rebellion. The imposition of this treaty symbolized the world domination of imperialists over the colonized. As such the liberation of the Chinese people is part of the world movement of the oppressed workers and peasants against imperialism.<sup>112</sup> Chen explained why he supported the early Russian policy but not the later policy: The October revolution had accomplished three goals: liberation of the workers, of the peasants, and of the oppressed people. Russia, Chen reflected, also volunteered to renounce all unequal treaties signed by the Czarist government, and to relinquish the extraterritoriality rights and concessions in the oppressed nations. For that reason laborers and oppressed people around the world looked to Russia as the beacon of freedom. Chen praised Russia for its solidarity with the world revolution in its early days. But in 1939 its non-aggression pact with Germany was based solely on the self-interest of the Russian people. The world, along with Chen, was disappointed at the change in direction, and regarded Russia as merely another powerful nation, no longer representative of the socialist ideals.<sup>113</sup>

Chen wrote that in a world where the imperialist powers were competing for domination, the people's struggle (民族鬥爭) in the oppressed countries may be limited. But this may not be a bad thing: for in a nation not unified by the revolutionary government, to be unified by an anti-revolutionary government was still progress. The setback to the people's

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CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 38-44.

<sup>112</sup>“由反日到反國民黨,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 5-9.

<sup>113</sup>“被壓迫民族之前途,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 395-398.

struggle for liberation is a good opportunity for the nation to build up its democratic infrastructure, and to develop the industrial sector of the country. Once a strong economic society is created, then the people can link up with their counterpart in other nations, and together achieve a bourgeois democracy. Chen cautioned that the people's struggle must be based on the principle of democracy, and not on narrow national interest. The struggle to liberate the oppressed, Chen continued, is a global problem, and concerns the survival of the democracy and freedom of people across the world. Interestingly, Chen counseled that while the oppressed need to resist the aggression of the imperialist nations, they must not reject the culture of the imperialist nations. For by refusing to absorb other cultures, it usually meant that one's own culture would stagnate and weaken.<sup>114</sup>

Finally, in contextualizing the umbrella word people (民族) with people's nationalism (民族主義), we find that Chen regarded the concept as part of the principle of democracy. Chen pointed out that Chinese history experienced numerous people's nationalist movements without democracy. But he believed that in the twentieth century, a succession of nationalist movements, from the May Fourth, to the May Thirtieth and the anti-Japanese nationalist movements, provided the basis of a democratic movement by bringing together laborers, peasants, and petit-bourgeoisie. He faulted the Stalinists for ignoring this historical development, and it was because the Stalinist two-stage revolution theory artificially separated the goals of democracy and socialism. But the Trotskyite theory of continuous revolution, Chen said, succeeded in incorporating the people's

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<sup>114</sup>“戰後世界大勢之輪廓,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 381-387. “我們應該盡力反抗帝國主義危及我們民族生存的侵略，而不應該拒絕它的文化。拒絕外來文化的寶石傾向，每每使自己民族的文化由停滯而走向衰落。”



nationalism in the goal of democracy movement.<sup>115</sup>

In summarizing Chen's thoughts on the umbrella word 民族 (people), we find that he emphasized the importance of the rule of law, and the need for the Chinese revolution to be incorporated into a worldwide movement of proletariat liberation. The theory of continuous revolution, according to Chen, permitted the stage of bourgeois democracy to play a historical role in a society's transition to socialism.

### Umbrella Word “愛國”(being patriotic)

In his 1914 iconic article, “愛國心與自覺心,” Chen differentiated between patriotism, 愛國心, defined as an emotional state, and self-awareness, 自覺心, defined as an intellectual mindset.<sup>116</sup> In the same article, he famously declared that a nation that did not protect its citizens and did not care for the welfare of the people should not exist, nor earn the patriotism of the people. In the second period of his writing, the companion words with high correlations are: 理性 (rational state) and 同胞 (fellow countrymen). Chen continued to caution youth not to blindly sacrifice their lives for the country, but instead to show patriotism by building up the nation, by developing the economy, the land, the labor and the capital.”<sup>117</sup> Because patriotism is an emotional state, Chen warned that in the hands of the imperialists such as Germany and Japan,

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<sup>115</sup>“被壓迫國的無產階級不應領導愛國運動,”CDXZZXB, vol.4, 533-538.

<sup>116</sup>“愛國心，情之屬也。自覺心，智之屬也,” in“愛國心與自覺心,” CDXZZXB, vol. 1, 146-150.

<sup>117</sup>“我愛國諸青年乎！為國捐軀之烈士……此種愛國行爲……乃治標的而非治本的。吾之所謂持續的治本的愛國主義者，曰勤。傳曰：「民生在勤，勤則不匱。」今日西洋各國國力之發展，無不視經濟力為標準，而經濟學之生產三要素：曰土地、曰人力、曰資本……愛國君子，必尚乎勤，” in “我之愛國主義”，CDXZZXB, vol. 1, 231-236.

patriotism became a narrow-minded rationale for aggression.<sup>118</sup> He quoted Bertrand Russell's counsel to the Chinese, which is to allow a group of people with highly developed sense of political consciousness to guide the patriotic fervor. Alas, Chen lamented that the Chinese lacked public spirit, were disorganized like a pan of loose sand, and all harbored myopic selfishness.<sup>119</sup>

In the third period of his writing, Chen did not use the word 愛國 (being patriotic) frequently enough to be particularly meaning. He still accused the bourgeois class of using the patriotic sentiment to trick the proletariat into supporting the capitalist system. Gone is the suggestion for youth to build the country up economically. Instead he called for the oppressed people to rise up and lead a patriotic movement to resist foreign imperialism, and to bring down the corrupt warlord government.<sup>120</sup> In the last period of his writing, the companion words are: 愛國運動 (patriotic movement), 民族主義 (people's principle), 民主民族 (democratic people), 工人階級 (proletariat), 抗日救國 (resist-Japan and save the country), and 政治口號 (political slogan). In these years the growing Japanese aggression preoccupied Chen, and he urged the proletariat class to unite the country to resist foreign encroachment, and for them to take over leading the patriotic movement from the bourgeoisie. At the same time he lambasted the government for surrendering large swaths of China without a fight, for imposing so many taxes on the people ("resist-Japan

<sup>118</sup>“對德外交,” CDXZZXB, vol. 1, 300-303 and in “對日外交的根本罪惡——造成這根本罪惡的人是誰?” CDXZZXB, vol. 2, 95-97.

<sup>119</sup>“羅素離中國最後的演講《中國人到自由之路》裡面說,「中國最要緊的需要是愛國心底發達,而於有高等智識足為民意導師的尤為要緊」.” Also, “中國人民簡直是一盤散沙,一堆蠢物,人人懷著狹隘的個人主義,完全沒有公共心,” in “隨感錄,” CDXZZXB, vol. 2, 274-276.

<sup>120</sup>“歐戰十週年紀念之感想,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, pp. 340-341; and in “國民黨與交通安福,” CDXZZXB, vol. 3, 46.

tax,” “saving the nation bonds,” “air-raid tax,” and “airplane-tax” ). With such harsh taxation and lack of concern for the people’s welfare, Chen pointed out that the people’s patriotism has dissipated.<sup>121</sup> The only way for the government to inspire the people, Chen suggested, is to grant full political freedom and for the citizens to take ownership of the nation. Only then would the government be able to command the patriotic sentiment of the people.<sup>122</sup>

## Conclusion

The text-mining technique of exploring the changing conception of Chen Duxiu’s thoughts about patriotism offers an empirical structure from which the researcher can refine the textual analysis. By using Zipf’s Law, I select meaningful “umbrella words” that represent the major theme throughout the body of the text. I then divide Chen’s writing into different time periods, and use Pearson’s correlation coefficient calculation to find “companion words” that give context to the umbrella words. The analysis begins as I examine the context of each pairing of the umbrella word with its companion word, and in the different time periods. This method offers a fine-grained, close reading of Chen’s writing, and yields several surprising insights. The most unexpected finding is Chen’s adherence to a Social Darwinian perspective in his understanding of the Marxist stages of political revolution. Chen regarded the transition from feudalism, to capitalism and to Marxism as an evolutionary development abiding by the law of nature. Chen’s assessment that the proletariat democracy and bourgeois democracy differ only in scale but not in kind, and that in the

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<sup>121</sup>“ 上訴狀 ,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 65-69.

<sup>122</sup>“ 怎樣才能夠發動群眾——十一月在武大講演 ,” CDXZZXB, vol. 5, 218-221.

last period of his writing, bourgeois capitalism offered more protection than the Russian communist state, is intriguing. Other minor surprises are the importance of defining the proper “slogan” (口號) for conducting political activities, and the increasingly violent characterization of citizen’s assembly (國民會議). Yet given Chen’s New Culture grounding, his advice to reject foreign imperialist aggression but to remain receptive to foreign imperialist culture, should not come as a surprise. As he approached the end of his life, he seemed to have returned to his deep-seated conviction, as expressed in the 1915 article, “The French and Recent World Civilization,” (“法蘭西人與近世文明”),<sup>123</sup> that human rights, the theory of biological evolution, and socialism, are three most important gifts to mankind. Finally, the word frequency analysis yields a cautionary note as one selects keywords. Even as Chen’s main focus in his non-scholarly writing was targeted to the young generation, and focused mainly on saving China and building a free and strong nation, he actually did not use the words 青年 (youth) and 愛國 (being patriotic) as often as other keywords such as 國民 (citizen), 革命 (revolution), 民族 (people), and 民主 (democracy). The choice of keywords, be they umbrella or companion words, must be conducted in conjunction with a close reading of the text, as word frequency is just one element of the comprehensive text-analysis methodology.

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<sup>123</sup> CDXZZXB, vol. 1, 164-166.

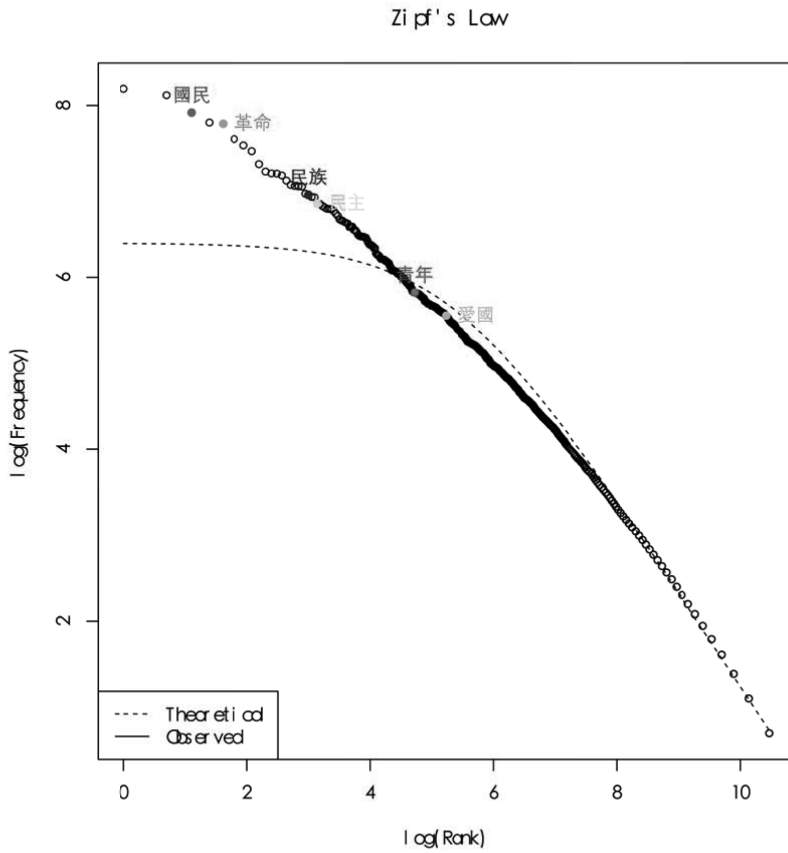


Figure 1: Theoretical and observed Zipf's Law curves of all bigrams in *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuanbian*.

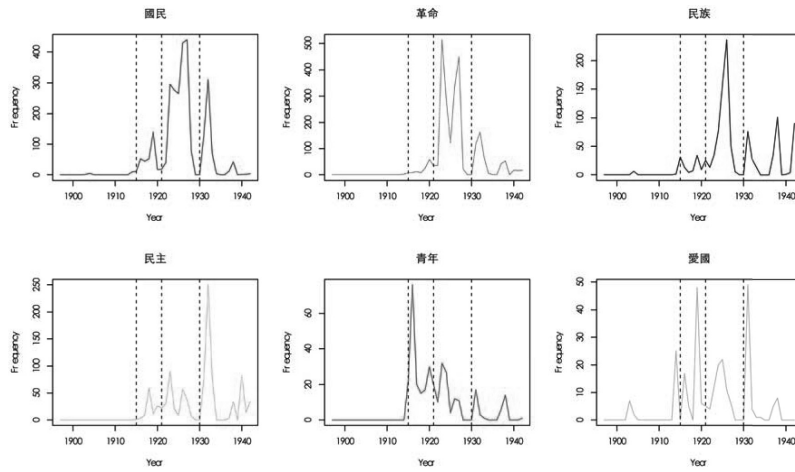


Figure 2: Word frequency of the six selected umbrella words across four time periods. Each period separated by a dotted line.

1915-1921			1922-1929			1930-1942		
Word	Coefficient	p-value	Word	Coefficient	p-value	Word	Coefficient	p-value
政象	0.631	1.000	国民党	0.744	1.000	国民会议	0.820	0.996
为民主	0.630	1.000				苏维埃政权	0.777	0.986
不能成立	0.602	1.000				群众	0.735	0.970
						民主任务	0.688	0.948
						农民	0.655	0.934

Figure 3: List of companion words for the umbrella word citizen (國民).

1915-1921			1922-1929			1930-1942		
Word	Coefficient	p-value	Word	Coefficient	p-value	Word	Coefficient	p-value
政治革命	0.707	0.998	革命运动	0.727	1.000	无产阶级	0.860	0.997
封建主义	0.674	0.996	阶级	0.650	0.999	民众政权	0.805	0.981
共和政治	0.608	0.990	小资产阶级	0.636	0.999	民主口号	0.747	0.967
			反革命	0.607	0.997	反对派	0.741	0.963
						中国革命	0.707	0.943

Figure 4: List of companion words for the umbrella word *revolution* (革命).

1915-1921			1922-1929			1930-1942		
Word	Coefficient	p-value	Word	Coefficient	p-value	Word	Coefficient	p-value
西洋民族	0.732	1.000	民族运动	0.868	1.000	领导	0.754	0.999
东洋民族	0.722	0.999	民族主义	0.740	0.999	民族解放	0.738	0.998
法治	0.712	0.998	弱小民族	0.657	0.996	民族斗争	0.702	0.994
宗法	0.693	0.997	全世界	0.635	0.995	民族主义	0.630	0.989
			资本帝国主义	0.618	0.994			

Figure 5: List of companion words for the umbrella word *people* (民族).

1915-1921			1922-1929			1930-1942		
Word	Coefficient	p-value	Word	Coefficient	p-value	Word	Coefficient	p-value
民主共和	0.903	0.998	封建	0.780	1.000	议会制度	0.809	0.992
虚君	0.903	0.998	民主革命	0.729	1.000	国民会议 口号	0.793	0.988
强大国家	0.903	0.996	阶级的民主	0.650	0.999	阶级的民主	0.752	0.977
武人专政	0.903	0.996	封建军阀	0.637	0.998	普选	0.742	0.975
共和制	0.898	0.990	资本民主	0.600	0.997	民主口号	0.728	0.970
瑞士	0.896	0.989				立宪会议	0.690	0.955
墨西哥	0.892	0.987				中国革命	0.683	0.951
民国	0.888	0.985				大众	0.664	0.942
公有	0.884	0.984				马克思主义	0.657	0.935
主国	0.883	0.984						
取法	0.881	0.983						

Figure 6: List of companion words for the umbrella word *democracy* (民主).

1915-1921			1922-1929			1930-1942		
Word	Coefficient	p-value	Word	Coefficient	p-value	Word	Coefficient	p-value
发财	0.910	0.999	青年学生	0.670	1.000			
做官	0.818	0.999						
新青年	0.729	0.998						
人生	0.676	0.997						

Figure 7: List of companion words for the umbrella word *youth* (青年).



1915-1921			1922-1929			1930-1942		
Word	Coefficient	p-value	Word	Coefficient	p-value	Word	Coefficient	p-value
理性	0.653	0.999				愛國運動	0.948	1.000
同胞	0.616	0.998				民族主義	0.932	0.999
						民主民族	0.924	0.998
						工人階級	0.900	0.996
						的工人	0.858	0.991
						抗日救國	0.818	0.990
						政治口號	0.613	0.977

Figure 8: List of companion words for the umbrella word *being patriotic* (愛國).

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