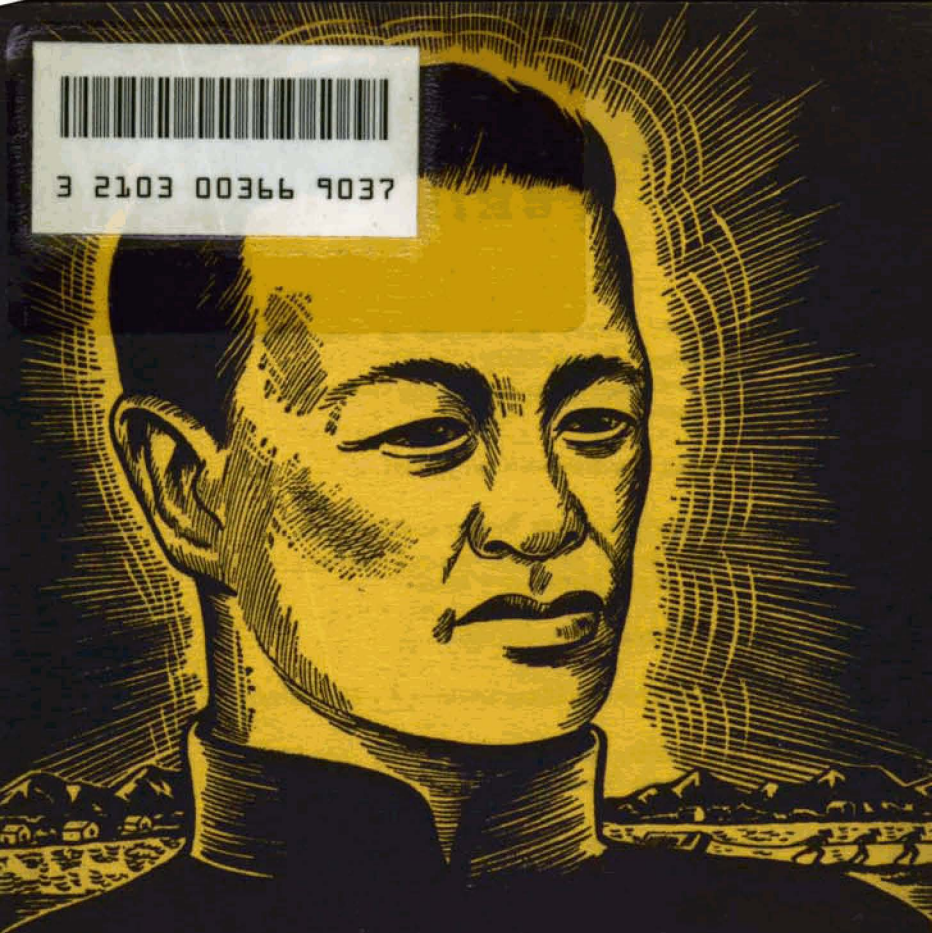




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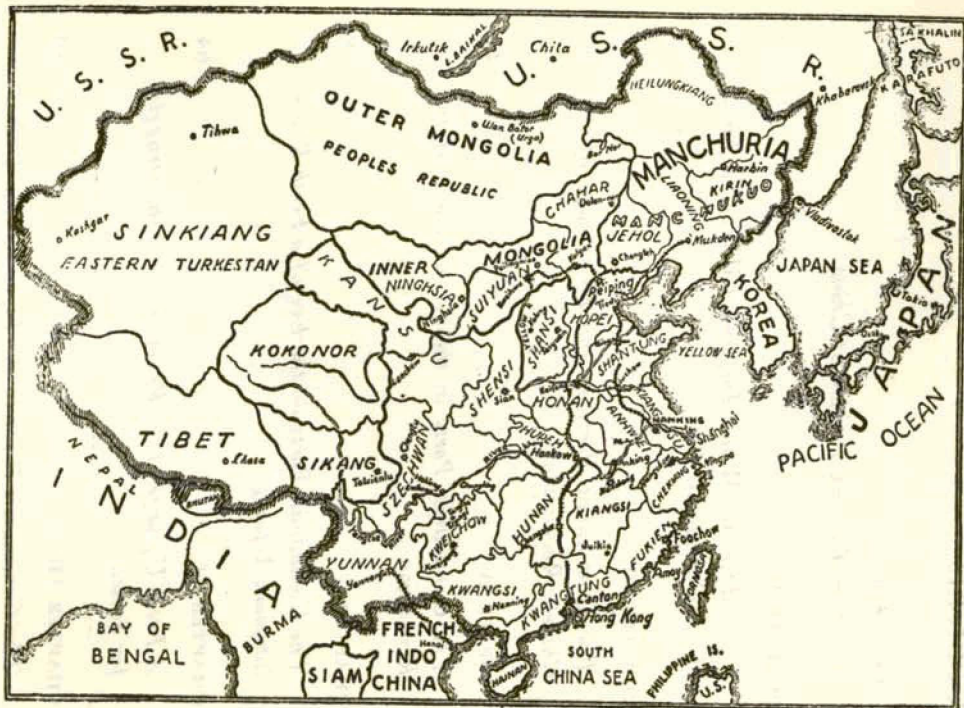
Heroic China

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Drawn by J. Loeb

CHAPTER 1

The Semi-Colonial Position of China

CHINA IS AN ENORMOUS COUNTRY. She has an area of 11,000,000 square kilometers, and in size she is second only to the U.S.S.R. She is larger than all the countries of Europe put together. She has a population of 450,000,000.

The history of the Chinese people goes back 5,000 years. It has produced prominent thinkers, brilliant generals and remarkable inventors. It has created an extensive literature in the most varied branches of knowledge. It has achieved enormous successes in agriculture and manufacture. Two thousand years before the present era the magnetic compass was known in China. The Chinese invented and used gun powder long before the Europeans. The Chinese learned to manufacture paper in the second century of the present era and in the seventh century printing from type carved on boards was invented. In the eleventh century separate type for printing was invented. For many centuries China was celebrated for its metal ware and dyes which preserved their brilliance and color for ages. The Chinese people are noted for their attachment to their country, their remarkable diligence and skill. In spite of all this, China today is one of the most backward countries in the world.

China is a semi-colonial country, and it is this that determines her position. The international imperialists are rending the living body of China and trampling upon the national sentiments of this great people. The international imperialists are subjecting the vast millions of the Chinese toilers to ruthless exploitation and are dooming them to poverty and starvation.

Fostering and strengthening the survivals of feudalism in

the country, the international imperialists have made the condition of the masses of the Chinese peasants absolutely intolerable. More than half the land, and the best land at that, belongs to the landlords. Bondage to the landlord, monstrously high rents, an unbearable burden of military imposts and taxation, high usurer's interest as well as the whole system of imperialist bondage and exploitation are utterly ruining the masses of the Chinese peasants.

The Economic Backwardness of China

China is an agrarian country, but only 10 per cent of the total area of the country is cultivated. Not all the land is fit for cultivation, it is true; but of the land that is fit for cultivation only 26 per cent is tilled. It is characteristic that in recent years the area of land under cultivation has not been expanding but shrinking. Owing to the irrigation system falling into ruin, enormous areas of land are being transformed into deserts. Large tracts of land are being flooded and transformed into swamps because nobody takes the trouble to regulate the flow of the rivers. The ruined peasants are not in a position to cultivate the land and are abandoning it, for under present conditions the land cannot feed them. As a result, the area of land under cultivation is steadily diminishing.

China is an agricultural country but, paradoxical as it may seem, she is compelled to import food, and 8 per cent of the wheat she requires is imported from abroad. Although she could produce all crops in abundance, she even has to import the raw materials for her weakly developed flour milling and cotton industries.

China is rich in natural resources, but only a very small part of these are being developed. Her coal deposits are calculated at 930,000,000,000 tons, but her annual output of coal is only 28,000,000 tons. Of this amount 12,000,000 tons are obtained in Manchuria and Jehol in spite of the fact that coal is to be found nearly all over the country in deposits very convenient for extraction. Her iron ore deposits are calculated at 1,000,000,000 tons, but the annual output is only 2,500,000 tons and the greater part of this is exported to Japan and is not used to satisfy her own economic requirements.

The economic backwardness of China is evident from the fact that 85 per cent of her cotton yarn and 40 per cent of her silk yarn is woven on hand looms. Half the total consumption of cotton goods is met with non-factory production. In coal mining and iron mining, from 25 to 30 per cent of the workings are small enterprises employing primitive methods. China makes hardly any use of her rich water power resources (rivers), oil deposits and rich deposits of non-ferrous metals for her own economic requirements.

The population of China represents one-fourth of the total population of the globe. She possesses rich deposits of useful raw materials, but her share of the world output of these is as follows (per cent):

| | | | |
|--------------------|------|------------------------|------|
| Coal | 0.6 | Lead | 0.1 |
| Iron ore | 0.5 | Tin | 5.0 |
| Copper | 0.22 | No. spindles | 3.0 |
| Pig iron | 0.35 | Raw silk | 15.0 |

These figures strikingly illustrate the industrial backwardness of China.

Foreign capital does all it can to retard the all-sided development of the productive forces of China. In spite of this, however, the invasion of international imperialism has been accompanied by the development of capitalist relationships and the growth of the Chinese working class. At the present time there are 2,750,000 industrial workers in China, and over 12,000,000 workers employed in the handicraft and domestic industries. The Chinese working class is a very formidable force. The most compact units of the Chinese proletariat are concentrated in factories belonging to foreign capital. The long working day, miserable wages, chronic unemployment, complete lack of rights, the absence of any kind of laws for the protection of labor and national oppression—such is the lot of the Chinese workers. They have to bear the double yoke of international imperialism, *i.e.*, ruthless exploitation and national oppression. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Chinese working class is the most compact force and the most stalwart and consistent fighter in the national liberation movement.

The Imperialist Enslavement of China

The international imperialists, having seized all the economic key positions in China, are retarding and distorting the economic development of the country. They own all the important factories and works. The control and management of the railroads and of the water and air transport systems are concentrated in their hands. They control the financial life of the country with the aid of their banks and the loans they have forced upon China. The imperialists control the customs and the salt monopoly. With the aid of the Chinese landlords, usurers and merchants, the imperialists have entangled the masses of the Chinese peasantry in a web of exploitation. After ruining the ancient and most important branches of agriculture, *viz.*, tea and silk, the imperialists are directing the development of agriculture on lines that entirely suit their interests. By fostering and utilizing the survivals of feudalism in the country, the international imperialists doom China's agriculture to a state of chronic crisis.

With the aid of the bayonet the international imperialists are supplementing the economic enslavement of China with political enslavement. They subject the Chinese to incredible restrictions in their own land. The imperialist powers have unrestricted rule over the so-called "leased territories" which they wrested from China by force. They are complete masters in the so-called foreign concessions and settlements. They maintain their garrisons on Chinese territory. They introduced the system of extra-territoriality under which foreigners are not subject to Chinese law and cannot be tried in Chinese courts. Doing all they can to diminish and reduce the political independence of China, the imperialists are forcing the masses of the Chinese people into the state of nationally degraded semi-colonial slaves. Fostering and utilizing the feudal militarist division of China in their own interests, the international imperialists are introducing a regime of colonial enslavement which runs counter to the vital interests of the whole of the Chinese people.

The intolerable oppression and exploitation of the international imperialists give rise to a powerful national liberation movement in China. Increasing masses of the Chinese toilers are realizing

more and more that it is necessary to wage a determined struggle for the complete economic and political independence of their country. Larger and larger masses of the Chinese people are rallying to the call for the overthrow of the yoke of imperialism and for the abolition of the survivals of feudalism. This movement has grown particularly fast in the post-war period as a result of the inspiring example of the victorious great October Revolution in Russia. In this period the Communist Party of China, the most stalwart and consistent fighter for the national and social emancipation of the Chinese people, entered the arena of the political struggle.

It is to the history of the revolutionary national liberation movement in China in the post-war years and the history of the rise and development of the Communist Party of China that we devote the ensuing chapters of this pamphlet.

CHAPTER II

China After the World Imperialist War. The Birth of the Communist Party

THE CHINESE PEOPLE were strongly under the illusion that the Allies' victory over Germany would bring relief to China and that after the war the unequal treaties that were imposed upon China would be revised and annulled. As is well known, China belonged to the group of powers which was victorious in the world imperialist war. Therefore she had the right to expect that the Versailles Peace Conference would at least restore to her the Shantung Peninsula and the Port of Tsingtao which previously had been seized by the Germans and which were occupied by the Japanese during the war. At the opening of the Conference President Wilson promised that as soon as the League of Nations was established every assistance would be given to China to enable her to emerge from her state of inequality and to help the Chinese Republic to become an absolutely independent and a great state. In spite of these declarations and expectations the Versailles Treaty (Clauses 156-158) sanctioned Japanese usurpation and formally transferred to Japan all German rights and privileges in Shantung. Thus, at the Versailles Conference the victors not only plundered the vanquished Central Powers but, taking advantage of the weakness and subjection of China, legalized the further partition and colonial enslavement of that country.

The Demonstration of May 4, 1919

The decision of the Versailles Conference outraged the national sentiments of the Chinese people, and as soon as the news

of these decisions reached China, a powerful wave of popular protest rose up against the signing of the treaty, against the Japanese imperialists and against the Peking government which consisted of representatives of the pro-Japanese Anfu clique. On May 4, 1919, a demonstration of 15,000 students was held in Peking. The students marched to the Legation Quarters and submitted a petition to the Ministers of the Allied Powers, demanding justice for China. On that day the demonstrators wrecked and burned down the house of the universally-hated Minister for Railways, whom they denounced as a "traitor who had sold China to Japan".

The government took repressive measures against the students in Peking and in retaliation the latter declared a strike. A students' union was organized, a wide anti-Japanese campaign was initiated and a fresh boycott of Japanese goods was declared. As a result of the boycott Japanese trade with China dropped by nearly 40 per cent. This movement, and the boycott in particular, was supported by the Chinese bourgeoisie who made big profits as a result of the reduction of Japanese imports. The students' anti-Japanese movement, particularly in its first stages, was regarded favorably by Anglo-American capital, which hoped that the movement would weaken the position and curb the appetites of the Japanese capitalists in China. But despite the plans of the Anglo-American and Chinese bourgeoisie, day after day the anti-imperialist movement assumed wider dimensions and a more acute form. Workers' political strikes broke out in various industrial centers. A wave of students', workers', and merchants' strikes spread over the country. Street demonstrations assumed a more and more formidable character.

Under pressure of the growing mass movement the Peking government was compelled to make certain concessions. It refused to sign the predatory Versailles Treaty. It yielded to the demand of the students for the dismissal of the three most hated Ministers whom they regarded as the "betrayers of the interests of China". Soon, Tuan Chi-jui, the head of the Peking government, was compelled to flee from the capital. In August, 1920, the so-called Coalition Government consisting of representatives of the Fengtien clique and the Chihli group came into power.

The former were agents of Japanese capital, and the latter were pro-British and American. The Chihli group, headed by Tsao Kun and Wu Pei-fu, acquired more and more influence in the government, and in June, 1922, they removed the representatives of the Fengtien clique from office and filled all the ministerial posts with their own men.

At first the Kuomintang stood aside from the rapidly growing anti-imperialist movement. Notwithstanding the enormous influence it enjoyed among the masses, the Sun Yat-sen organization was still at that time a conspiratorial organization which placed its hopes upon the "revolutionary generals". It is characteristic that when a delegation of students arrived in Canton and urged the leaders of the Kuomintang to support the nascent movement, Sun Yat-sen refused on the ground that the Kuomintang was weak.

Influence of the October Revolution

The great October Revolution in Russia gave a powerful impetus to the anti-imperialist struggle in China. Having made a beginning in the world proletarian revolution, the great October Revolution in Russia ushered in a new epoch in the struggle of the Chinese people for national and social liberation. It helped to rouse the class consciousness and to stimulate the organization of the Chinese proletariat. It increased the intellectual equipment of the Chinese revolutionaries and imbued them with confidence in their ultimate victory. It inspired them to wage a self-sacrificing and steadfast struggle for the fundamental interests of the Chinese people. The victorious struggle of the Red Army against the imperialist interventionists and Russian White Guards, the complete abolition of national oppression and inequality over the whole territory of the former Russian empire, the Soviet government's abandonment of all the predatory enslaving treaties imposed upon China by the tsarist government—all this roused among the Chinese people enormous sympathy for the Soviet government and greatly increased the popularity of the U.S.S.R.

It is true that the news of the revolutionary events in Russia reached China somewhat belatedly. For nearly 18 months China was cut off from Soviet Russia by the barrier of the Kolchak

forces, and the Czechoslovakian and Japanese interventionist forces. Only after the Red Army had routed all the White Guard forces and had driven the interventionists out of the country did news of the actual state of affairs in Soviet Russia begin to penetrate into China. It was then that China heard the historic appeal of the Soviet government to the Chinese people of July 25, 1919, in which it annulled all secret treaties by which the tsarist government had enslaved the Chinese people. The Soviet government abandoned all the conquests of tsarist Russia and offered to establish friendly relations with China on the basis of absolute equality.

On September 27, 1920, the Soviet government again appealed to the Chinese government to accelerate the establishment of friendly relations between the two countries on the basis of complete equality and the mutual respect of interests. Enlarging on the principles of the declaration of 1919, the Soviet government enumerated the main points of the proposed agreement between the two countries. The first point again repeated the declaration that "the government of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic declares annulled all treaties concluded between the former government of Russia and China, abandons all conquests of Chinese territory and all Russian concessions in China, and restores to China without compensation and for all time all that was predatorily seized from her by the tsarist government and the Russian bourgeoisie".

These declarations created an enormous impression in China; they were greeted with enthusiasm by the progressive section of the Chinese people. However, on the instructions of the imperialist powers, the Peking government did all it could to put off negotiations with the U.S.S.R. and it was only on May 31, 1924, that a treaty was signed laying down the general principles upon which all questions between the U.S.S.R. and China were to be settled. These principles reflected the thesis advanced by the Soviet government in its declarations of 1919 and 1920. The Peking agreement between China and the Soviet Union of 1924—the only treaty which China has concluded on the basis of complete equality and genuine friendship—was welcomed by the Chinese people with tremendous enthusiasm.

The Formation of the Communist Party and Trade Unions

The year 1919 saw the beginning of a workers' strike movement which assumed wider and wider dimensions as time went on. For example, in 1918, the number of workers who took part in strikes was 6,500; but in 1919 the number grew to 91,500 (according to incomplete figures) and in 1921 it had risen to 108,000. In Shanghai, Peking and other towns, the strikes mainly affected Japanese enterprises. The workers obtained partial satisfaction of their demands. The first labor organizations were formed. In 1920 the trade unions in Shanghai celebrated for the first time in China the First of May.

At this time various circles and societies sprang up among the Chinese radical intellectuals bearing very characteristic names such as "Regeneration", "The New Youth", "New China", etc. Among the progressive intellectuals a movement was started for the reform of the Chinese language. Translations of European literature, including Marxian literature, became more and more widely circulated. A modern Chinese literature also sprang up reflecting the influence of the growing revolution. Circles were formed for the study of Marxism and the experience of the Russian revolution, and evening classes, clubs, and political study circles were formed for workers.

The First Congress of the Communist Party

In the beginning of 1920 a group of seven persons who called themselves Communists gathered around Professor Chen Du-hsu in Shanghai. This group began to publish a newspaper for workers and set to work to form trade unions. In the middle of 1920 this group already had about 50 adherents in Shanghai. Soon, trade unions were formed in Shanghai for mechanics, printers and textile workers. Simultaneously with the formation of the Shanghai Communist group, similar groups were formed in Peking led by Li Tai-chao and Chang Ko-tao, in Hunan, led by Mao Tse-tung and in Hankow and Wuchang headed by Chen Tang-chu and Tung Pi-wu. By the end of 1920 Communist circles had been formed in a number of other important centers in

China and among Chinese immigrants in France. At first these were propaganda groups for the study of the fundamental principles of Marxism. In these circles the first cadres of the Communist movement in China were trained.

The First Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in Shanghai in July, 1921. Thirteen delegates were present, but not all were Communists. Among them were adherents of anarchism, legal Marxism, biblical socialism and casual fellow-travelers of the Communist movement in general. The very moderate program that was discussed at the congress gave rise to heated debate as some of the delegates regarded it (particularly the points on discipline, centralism and the ultimate aim of the party) as being too radical. Nevertheless, after a long discussion it was decided that the party call itself the Communist Party and that its aim should be to organize the proletariat under the leadership of the party for the capture of political power.

From the very first moment of its existence the Communist Party of China suffered severe internal shocks. The anarchist "Communists" broke away. In Peking only two members of the original group were left. In Canton the organization fell entirely into the hands of the anarchists and only after some time had elapsed was a new Communist group formed. At the same time the Party purged its ranks of people like Chen Kun-po and Tai Tsi-tao, who had temporarily attached themselves to the Communist movement. Subsequently, the latter became the ideological leader of the Right Kuomintang. The group of consistent Communists who were inspired by the successes of the U.S.S.R. fought staunchly for a disciplined Bolshevik Party and for a revolutionary trade union movement. The Workers' Secretariat formed in Shanghai under the leadership of the Communists became the center of the working class movement. Particularly strenuous work was carried on by Mao Tse-tung (now head of the Soviet government in China), Li Tai-chao (who in 1927 was tortured to death by the militarists in the dungeons of Peking), Chang Ko-tao (now member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee), Tung Pi-wu (now president of the Supreme Court in the Soviet districts of China), Chen Tang-chu (now People's Commissar of Food Supplies in the Soviet Districts of China)

and other comrades. The activities of the Communists were facilitated by the general situation in the country, by the increasing activity of the workers and the growth of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The Washington Conference

The growing popularity of the Soviet Union and the rapid growth of a wide national movement in China caused considerable alarm in the camp of the international imperialists. At the same time Great Britain, and particularly the United States, regarded the strengthening of Japan's position in China and her unceasing expansion as a direct menace to their interests in the Far East. In order to weaken Japan, to prevent the further growth of the liberation movement in China by means of a few concessions, to counteract the growing popularity of the U.S.S.R. and to foster the illusion that American capital had a "special mission" in China, the U.S.A. convened a conference in Washington which took place from September 12, 1921 to February 6, 1922.

The countries represented at this conference were the U.S.A., Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Holland, Portugal and China. At this conference the U.S.A. succeeded in securing the breakup of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, a partial limitation of the naval armaments of Great Britain and Japan and the restitution to China of Shantung. Moreover, Japan undertook to transfer to China the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway for the sum of 53,000,000 gold marks. But this transfer never took place. Nor did France keep the promise she made at the Washington Conference to restore to China the "leased" territory of Kwangchow-Wan. China was promised the right to raise her customs duties an additional 2.5 per cent, but the final decision of this was postponed for a special conference.

As a result of the United States pressure the Washington Conference endorsed the principle of the "open door" in China and all the powers declared that they would abandon their efforts to establish "spheres of influence" in China. As is well known, these assurances proved binding neither on Great Britain nor Japan; but this formula fully coincided with the interests of the

United States. Unlike Great Britain and Japan, the United States has no territorial spheres of influence in China, but she strives to secure the economic and diplomatic subordination of the whole of China to herself and thus transform the whole of China into her colony. Relying on her economic strength the U.S.A. resorts to more subtle methods of imperialist penetration and screens them by all sorts of liberal phrases.

The only practical significance of the Washington Conference for China was Japan's undertaking to withdraw her troops from Shantung. But this obligation did not prevent Japan from sending more troops to Shantung as well as to other provinces in China. From the standpoint of the interests of the Chinese people the results of the Washington Conference were miserable indeed; but the American imperialists did all they could to exaggerate the importance of this conference and to use it as a means of still further fostering the illusion that American capital was giving disinterested support to China.

Great as were the hopes which the Chinese people placed on the assistance of the foreign powers, the results of the Versailles and Washington Conferences caused disappointment among wider and wider circles. This was accelerated by the sharp contrast between the policy of the imperialist powers and the friendly policy towards China pursued by the Soviet Union.

The first to abandon all hopes of China receiving assistance from the imperialist powers was the Chinese proletariat. As its organizations grew, its confidence in its own strength increased, and the bitter experience of the struggle taught it to recognize who were the enemies and who the friends of the liberation movement. Developing the strike movement under the growing influence of the Communist Party, the Chinese proletariat passed through the stern school of the class struggle and more and more confidently took the path of the revolutionary struggle in defense of national interests.

The Hongkong Seamen's Strike

The most notable incident in this struggle was the Hongkong seamen's strike which broke out just as the Washington Conference was being held. It began on January 12, 1922, under the

leadership of Su Chao-jen, who was not yet a Communist at the time but, nevertheless, was the recognized leader of the Chinese seamen in Hongkong and Canton. The principal demand the seamen put forward was for an increase in pay. At the end of January 30,000 men were on strike. One hundred and sixty-six ocean-going steamers of a total tonnage of 280,000 were held up in the port. The strike spread to other branches of industry and trade. Starting as an economic strike, it soon assumed the form of a national struggle of the Chinese toilers against British imperialism. The government of Sun Yat-sen which was in power in Canton at the time openly supported the strike. Collections for the strikers were made in all the towns of South and Central China. Notwithstanding all the measures of repression taken by the Hongkong authorities to suppress the strike, the strikers stood firm.

After 55 days of struggle the Hongkong government and the shipowners were compelled to negotiate and on March 5 an agreement was signed practically recognizing the seamen's union and providing for increases of pay ranging from 15 to 30 per cent and half pay for the period of the strike. The strike revealed the strength of the organized workers in the struggle against the foreign capitalists. The first outstanding victory of the Chinese toilers over the British imperialists assumed the character of a national and revolutionary triumph of the whole of the Chinese people. The victorious fight of the Hongkong seamen gave a strong impetus to the further development of the working class movement and to the growth of the trade unions.

Immediately after the Hongkong strike successful strikes were waged by the Shanghai seamen, textile workers, tobacco workers, and post office employees. A strike of metal workers in Hankow and that of 15,000 miners in the Province of Hunan also ended in victories. During August, September and October, 1922, the railwaymen on all the principal railways of China went on strike. This upsurge of the working class movement was crowned by the first all-China Congress of Trade Unions held in Canton on May 1, 1921. Amidst this upsurge of the working class movement the Communist Party of China successfully developed its activities.

The Second Congress of the Communist Party

The Second Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in July, 1922. Twenty delegates were present. The Congress adopted a resolution to affiliate to the Communist International. A program of action was adopted containing the following points: (1) To fight against the feudal militarists; (2) To fight against the imperialists for the complete independence of the Chinese people and their state; (3) To fight for the creation of a united, federal, democratic republic; (4) To fight for the right of self-determination for Mongolia, Tibet and Sinkiang; (5) To fight for free speech, freedom of assembly, free press, right to strike and universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage; (6) To fight for an eight-hour day and other improvements for the workers; (7) To fight for the abolition of *likin* (internal customs barriers between the different provinces) and of all arbitrary taxes, for the establishment of a single tax on incomes and for a definite rent law; (8) To fight for equal rights for women and for improvement in public education.

This program, as well as other decisions adopted by the Congress, reflected certain weaknesses of the Party such as its inadequate participation in the national liberation struggle, and its failure properly to understand the importance of the national and peasant questions and of fighting for the leadership of the masses of the peasantry.

The work of the Party consisted mainly of teaching revolutionary theory and organizing trade unions, primarily of the railwaymen, seamen, and textile workers. The Party carried on extensive work among the young people. In May, 1922, under the guidance of the Communist Party, the First Congress of Youth Leagues was convened in Canton. At that time the Youth Leagues had a membership of about 4,000. The influence of the Communist Party rapidly spread among the workers and several score of trade unions, with a total membership of 150,000, were under the leadership of Communists. The growth of the economic struggle and the revolutionary demonstrations of the Chinese proletariat began to cause increasing alarm among the upper stratum of the Chinese bourgeoisie, among the feudal militarists, and par-

ticularly among the international imperialists who were only waiting for an opportunity to strike a blow at and crush the revolutionary movement. This blow was struck at the time of the Peking-Hankow railway strike.

The Peking-Hankow Railway Strike

In October, 1922, the capitalists started an offensive against workers' organizations. The textile and tobacco workers' strikes in Shanghai were suppressed by military force and the trade unions were broken up. In a short period eleven trade unions were suppressed in Shanghai. The big strike of 40,000 Kailan miners, which was marked by two bloody conflicts, ended with the suppression of the trade union. But particularly sanguinary were the incidents in February, 1923.

On February 1, 1923, a conference of railwaymen employed on the Peking-Hankow railway was to have opened. A day before the opening of the conference, General Wu Pei-fu, who had issued an order prohibiting the conference, ordered the military to occupy the premises of the union at Chengchow and to disperse the delegates who had gathered there. In retaliation a strike of railwaymen on the Peking-Hankow railway was called on February 4. On the evening of February 6 a joint conference of foreign consuls, the Chinese military authorities and representatives of the railway management was held in Hankow. At this conference it was decided to suppress the strike by military force. Next day in Changhsintin, Chengchow and Hankow the troops opened fire upon crowds of workers. Mass arrests were made. Workers who refused to resume work immediately were beaten to death. All the workers' organizations were suppressed. The heroic conduct during the strike and at the time of their execution of Ling Hsian-chung, chairman of the railwaymen's union, and the lawyer Shi Yang, roused the admiration of large masses of the Chinese people and will live forever as one of the most glorious pages in the history of the struggle of the working class of China and of its Communist Party.

Notwithstanding the unexampled firmness and courage displayed by the workers, the February strike ended in defeat.

But from this defeat the Chinese proletariat learned a lesson.

The shooting down of the workers dispersed all illusions concerning Wu Pei-fu, whom hitherto a number of workers' organizations regarded as a "friend of the workers" and as "being in favor of working class legislation". It became clear to every worker that Wu Pei-fu was the servant of the foreign capitalists. The Chinese learned from their own experience that their struggle for economic demands must be linked up with the political struggle against the rule of international imperialism and against the tyranny of the Chinese militarists who acted as the tools of the imperialists in enslaving China. The workers realized that they could achieve victory and secure an improvement in their conditions only if they built up strong organizations.

The Third Congress of the Communist Party

After the events of February 7, 1923, the trade union movement in China outwardly seemed to decline. As a matter of fact the trade unions went underground, and in the course of 1923 and 1924 they successfully developed their activities in organizing the masses of the workers. At that time the trade unions already embraced a considerable section of the workers in the most important centers of the country. The Communist organizations also spread all over the country. At that time the membership of the Communist Party reached 400. The small and exclusive propaganda groups which had comprised the Party up to now began to grow into a mass political party.

An important part in this was played by the Third Congress of the Party which was held in Canton in June, 1923. The Congress very sharply raised the question of the Party taking a more active part in the growing national liberation movement. Neither at the Second Congress of the Party nor at the Party Conference held at Western Lakes in February, 1923, was the question of creating a united anti-imperialist front and of the Communists joining the Kuomintang settled definitely. The Third Congress of the Party was guided by the special decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International of January 12, 1923, which stated:

"The only important national-revolutionary group in China is the

Kuomintang which relies partly on the liberal democratic bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie and partly on the intellectuals and workers. Insofar as the independent working class movement in the country is still weak, insofar as the central task confronting China is to carry out the national revolution against the imperialists and their feudal agents within the country, and insofar as the working class is directly interested in the solution of this national-revolutionary problem but is not yet sufficiently differentiated as an absolutely independent social force—the E.C.C.I. considers that it is necessary to coordinate the activities of the Kuomintang and of the Young Communist Party of China.”

While proposing that the Communists join and work inside the Kuomintang the E.C.C.I. at the same time called upon the Party to preserve its complete political and organizational independence from all other political groups. The resolution stated:

“While supporting the Kuomintang in all campaigns on the national-revolutionary front as long as that party pursues an objectively correct policy, the Communist Party of China must not merge with it and must not during these campaigns furl its own banner.”

At the Third Congress this proposal was opposed by the “Lefts” and by the Right deviationists. The “Lefts” underestimated the importance of the national liberation and revolutionary movements and opposed the proposal that the Communists should join the Kuomintang. The Rights, however, interpreted this proposal as the abandonment by the Communist Party of its own policy and of its independence in the national revolution. Repelling the attacks of the Rights and “Lefts”, the Third Congress adopted the historically important decision that the Communists should join the Kuomintang while the Communist Party was to preserve complete organizational and political independence. The Communist Party set itself the task of converting the Kuomintang into a really broad, mass, national revolutionary organization.

The Third Congress also adopted a new Party program. This program was much superior to the preceding programs as it contained a more comprehensive formulation of the demands connected with the abolition of imperialist rule and feudal militarist bondage. But like the preceding programs this one also failed to take into account the fundamental demands of the masses of the

peasantry. It is particularly important to point to this defect in the program because in a special instruction sent by the E.C.C.I. to the Third Congress of the Communist Party emphasis was laid on the primary importance of a correct solution of the peasant problems, and the fundamental slogans of the agrarian revolution, primarily the confiscation of the landlords' land for the benefit of the peasantry without compensation, were indicated. The instruction on this point read as follows:

"The national revolution in China and the creation of an anti-imperialist front will necessarily be accompanied by an agrarian revolution of the peasantry against the survivals of feudalism. This revolution can be successful only if it succeeds in sweeping in the bulk of the Chinese population—the parcelized peasantry. . . . The Communist Party, as the party of the working class, must therefore strive to establish an alliance between the workers and the peasants. This can be achieved only by unceasingly carrying on propaganda for and carrying out the slogans of the agrarian revolution, such as the confiscation of the land of the landlords, the monasteries and churches and their distribution gratis among the peasants, the abolition of starvation rent, the abolition of the present system of taxation, the abolition of customs barriers between provinces, the abolition of tax farming, the abolition of the mandarins, the establishment of peasant local government bodies to which the confiscated land is to be transferred, etc., etc."

This instruction was not reflected in the decisions of the Third Congress of the Communist Party.

The Fourth Congress of the Communist Party

The Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of China, which was held in January, 1925, devoted its attention mainly to the mass work of the Party. By that time the Party had affiliated to the Kuomintang and had started to develop its work within that party. The Congress more precisely formulated the tasks of the Party. It also adopted the Party rules and a number of resolutions on the trade union movement, the peasant movement, work among young people, work among women, etc. While generalizing previous experience the object of these resolutions was still further to improve the agitation, propaganda and organizational work of the Party. One of the most important questions

discussed at the Congress was how to combine the struggle against imperialism with the development of the everyday struggles of the workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie for their immediate demands. Bearing in mind the importance of fighting for the economic demands of the proletariat, the Fourth Congress pointed out in its resolution that to ignore these tasks would not only mean damaging the interests of the proletariat, but also "weakening the national liberation movement". But in drawing up a platform of immediate demands for the peasantry the Congress committed a mistake in not formulating these demands in sufficient detail and in failing to link them up with the fundamental demand for the confiscation of the landlords' land for the benefit of the peasantry without compensation. This mistake arose mainly out of a wrong conception of the stages of the Chinese revolution. The theses on the "National Revolutionary Movement" adopted by the Congress stated that the stage of the united national liberation front would be immediately followed by the stage of the proletarian socialist revolution. Thus, it left out the agrarian revolution which is a stage in the anti-imperialist revolution and serves as a firm base for it.

At the time of the Fourth Congress the Communist Party had nearly 1,000 members. The Young Communist League had 9,000 members of whom 30 per cent were young workers; the majority of the members were representatives of the progressive intellectuals, particularly students. The Party extended its influence over increasing sections of the toilers. The successes of the Party reflected the rapid development of the revolutionary movement in the country and served as an index of the growth of the forces in the revolutionary camp.

The Canton Base of the Revolution

At this time the Canton base of the revolution had become very much stronger. During the preceding years the Kuomintang had experienced a number of serious crises. In 1922, General Chen Chung-ming, Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the Southern Kuomintang government, rose in rebellion against Sun Yat-sen. Chen Chung-ming was opposed to the Kuomintang interfering in the affairs of North China and rose up for the

purpose of "reinforcing order" and of opposing the line pursued by Sun Yat-sen in support of the mass movement. Supported by Wu Pei-fu and receiving material assistance from the British imperialists, Chen Chung-ming secured a temporary victory. He occupied Canton and on June 20, 1922, Sun Yat-sen was compelled to flee. Soon, however, Sun Yat-sen succeeded in organizing his forces and in inflicting defeat upon Chen Chung-ming. As a result of the rebellion, however, the Southern Republic, consisting of Kwantung, Kwangsi, Hunan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, fell to pieces. Chen Chung-ming was not utterly crushed; retreating to the eastern parts of Kwantung he continued to threaten Canton for a long time. Sun Yat-sen restored the Kuomintang government in Canton on February 21, 1923, and began more and more determinedly to support the mass movement and to take up a firm position on questions concerning the anti-imperialist struggle. At that time the Kuomintang government took the management of the Canton customs, which until then had been under the control of the imperialists, into its own hands.

In February, 1924, the first congress of the Kuomintang was held at which the new policy of the party was endorsed. The Congress expressed itself in favor of cooperation with the Communists and measures were indicated for reorganizing the Kuomintang and for transforming it into a mass national revolutionary organization. As a result of these changes the Kuomintang became a revolutionary bloc of workers, peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie.

In Canton there was a reactionary merchants' organization known as the "Paper Tigers" which had its own armed force, numbering 30,000. At the head of this organization was the Chinese millionaire Chen Lim-pak. This organization rose in rebellion against the new policy of the Kuomintang. The British imperialists rendered every possible assistance to this organization and even threatened to bombard Canton if the Kuomintang government attempted to suppress the "Paper Tigers" by armed force. But these threats had no effect upon the leaders of the Canton government. The arrogant attempt of the British imperialists to interfere in the internal affairs of China roused a storm of protest among the toilers of Canton. For several days

stubborn fighting took place between the Canton forces and those of the counter-revolutionary organization. Enjoying the wide support of the masses, and actively assisted by the Communists, the Kuomintang achieved complete victory over the "Paper Tigers". Soon after, the Canton government also succeeded in utterly routing the forces of Chen Chung-ming.

An important part in these operations was played by the Cadets of the Wampu Military College, situated on the Island of Wampu near Canton. The success of the military operations conducted by the Canton units greatly served to raise the prestige of Chiang Kai-shek. In 1923 he was Chief of the General Staff of the Canton forces which conducted the two successful campaigns against Chen Chung-ming and against the Kwangsi militarist clique as a result of which the Kwangsi province submitted to the Canton government. In 1924, when he was Chief of the Wampu Military College, Chiang Kai-shek directed the military operations against the "Paper Tigers" and against the remnants of the forces of Chen Chung-ming. Coming to the front as a result of these operations and skillfully taking advantage of the victory of the Canton troops to strengthen his own authority, Chiang Kai-shek in 1935 became Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the Canton government.

The victories of the Canton government served to strengthen Canton as the base of the growing national revolutionary movement. The successes achieved by the Communists and the Kuomintang in South China, principally in Canton, exercised wider and wider influence upon the anti-imperialist national movement, and particularly upon the working class and peasant movements all over China.

Changed Situation in the North

The political changes which took place in the North of China during this period also served to stimulate the working class movement and the strike movement. Shortly before this the Chihli group had been at the height of its fame and its actual leader, General Wu Pei-fu, had seemed to be the all powerful dictator. In 1923, at a meeting of Parliament, the members of which were all hand-picked men, he succeeded by bribing the members in

securing the election of Tsao Kun as President of the Chinese Republic. Wu Pei-fu crushed every organized action of the working class by armed force. At the same time, on the pretext of fighting for the national unification of China, he waged a successful war against Chang Tso-lin in North China and against the Southern Revolutionary government.

In the autumn of 1924, during the height of military operations, Wu Pei-fu was betrayed by General Feng Yu-hsiang who, joining his forces with General Chang Tso-lin, inflicted defeat upon the Chihli troops. The Tsao Kun government, which had been kept in power by the military forces of General Wu Pei-fu, was compelled to resign in favor of the victorious group. Thus, the last President of the Chinese Republic disappeared from the scene.

Chang Tso-lin, however, was not yet quite secure in his position. His forces were menaced by those of Feng Yu-hsiang which had been renamed the First People's Army and which occupied an independent position. On the other hand, the remnants of Wu Pei-fu's forces had not yet been utterly crushed. This made the establishment of a strong central government in China impossible. As a result, Tuan Chi-jui (who was in fact a Japanese agent and an appointee of Chang Tso-lin) came into power and he was compelled to flirt with the leaders of the national liberation movement. He invited Sun Yat-sen to visit Peking and he issued a statement to the effect that his government was only a provisional government and that it was necessary to convene a National Assembly for the purpose of establishing a lawful government. But instead of a National Assembly he convened the so-called "Reorganization Conference" which consisted of high government officials and generals. This caused a rupture between him and Sun Yat-sen. The negotiations which had been proceeding came to nothing as no agreement could be reached. At that time a powerful mass movement under the leadership of the Communists was developing in all the big towns of China in support of the demand for the convocation of a National Assembly.

The Tuan Chi-jui government was no more democratic than the previous militarist government had been. But its relative weakness and irresoluteness prevented it, at least at first, from

resorting to police methods in combating the mass movement. This created favorable conditions for the resumption of activities by the working class organizations, for the revival of the strike movement and of the whole of the political life of the country. Sun Yat-sen's arrival in Peking and the vigorous propagandist activity which he developed in North China greatly strengthened the Kuomintang and rallied new forces around it. There was also a marked increase in the activities of the Communists in North and Central China.

Death of Sun Yat-sen

At this time severe illness cut short the life of that great Chinese revolutionary, Sun Yat-sen. Long years of revolutionary effort had undermined his health, and on March 12, 1925, he passed away. He had devoted two-thirds of his lifetime, about forty years, to unceasing revolutionary struggle, first against the monarchist rule of the Manchus, and later against the reactionary militarists and international imperialism. The services he rendered in the latter years of his life are particularly noteworthy. Influenced by the great October Revolution in Russia, and studying its lessons, he began to rely more and more upon the broad masses of the people in the revolutionary struggle for the liberation of China. Just before his death he wrote the following letter to the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.:

"Dear Comrades: While I am here laid low by a sickness against which human skill is helpless, my thoughts are turned to you and to the fate of my country. You are at the head of a union of free republics—the heritage which the immortal Lenin bequeathed to the oppressed peoples. With the aid of this heritage the victims of imperialism will inevitably achieve their liberation from the international system which since ancient times has been rooted in slavery, wars and injustice. I am leaving behind me a party which, as I have always hoped, will be connected with you in the historical work of finally emancipating China and other exploited countries from this imperialist system. By the will of fate I must leave my work unfinished and pass it on to those who by remaining true to the principles and doctrines of the Party will be my true successors. That is why I command the Kuomintang to continue the national liberation movement until China is completely liberated. With that end in view I have in-

structed the Party to keep in constant contact with you. I firmly believe that the assistance which you have rendered my country up to now will remain constant. In bidding you farewell, dear comrades, I express the hope that the day is near when the U.S.S.R. will welcome mighty and free China as a friend and ally, and that in the great struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the world both allies will march side by side to victory.

“With fraternal greetings,

“Sun Yat-sen.”

His last will and testament to the Kuomintang, of which he was the creator and constant leader, was written in the same spirit. Friendly alliance with the U.S.S.R., cooperation with the Communists, support for the mass movement and revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of imperialist rule—such were the commands of Sun Yat-sen which served as the banner of the Kuomintang in the best years of its history.

CHAPTER III

The Communist Party in the First Stage of the Chinese Revolution

SUN YAT-SEN DIED at the moment of a new upsurge of the national liberation movement. The working class took advantage of the slightest weakening of the regime of oppression to proceed to new and greater activity.

To this were added circumstances of another kind. At the beginning of 1925 the industrial crisis in China which particularly affected the textile industry caused the already bad conditions of the Chinese workers to become ever so much worse. The capitalist offensive against the standard of living of the proletariat called forth increasing resistance on the part of the Chinese workers. On February 10, 1925, a strike broke out at a Japanese-owned textile mill in Shanghai and soon spread to the other 20 Japanese textile mills in Shanghai employing 40,000 workers. The strike lasted for more than two weeks and ended in a partial victory for the workers. In April the textile workers in Tsingtao, Canton and Hankow went on strike. In the middle of May the strike wave swept back to Shanghai as the mill owners had failed to carry out the terms agreed upon at the settlement of the previous strikes. The workers' demands were of an economic character.

At that time events occurred in the streets of Shanghai which served as the starting point of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27. On May 30, the Shanghai students and workers' organizations organized a demonstration to protest against the brutal treatment of the Chinese workers by the imperialists and, in particular, against the murder of a Chinese mill worker, a Communist named Ku Chen-hun, by a Japanese overseer. The English police in Shanghai opened fire on the demonstrators as a result of which

several score were killed and wounded. Over 600 demonstrators were arrested. This incident caused a wave of indignation to sweep over the whole of the Chinese population of Shanghai. From that moment the fight against international imperialism assumed unprecedented dimensions and force.

These events served as a striking object lesson of imperialist rule in China. A manifesto issued by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions stated:

“Events in Shanghai have illuminated the situation in China like a flash of lightning. Everything has become clear. Everybody—in China and outside of it—has seen the real face of imperialism, the face of a violator and assassin.”

Mass meetings were organized in the streets of Shanghai at which the vast crowds assembled displayed unprecedented enthusiasm. The workers in a body downed tools in factory after factory. On June 12 over a half million workers were on strike. The Chinese merchants joined the political strike of the workers and on June 1 all shops were closed. On June 3 all Chinese banks ceased operations. The business life of the city came to a standstill.

The Shanghai Committee of the Students' Union carried on agitation in the streets; it organized joint demonstrations with the workers and sent its representatives to other centers in China. In the beginning of June huge student demonstrations and strikes of solidarity with the Shanghai workers and students were held in Wuchan, Hankow and other cities. In the middle of June the English police in Hankow fired on a demonstration of workers and students, and to protest against this a general strike of workers was declared. In Kiukiang, a crowd of demonstrators set fire to the premises of the local branch of the Japanese Bank of Formosa. A wave of solidarity strikes swept over the whole country; strikes broke out in Peking, Tsingtao, Nanking, Canton, Kaifeng and other cities. Fearing the further development of events the imperialists concentrated over 30 warships at Shanghai.

The movement of the workers, students and anti-imperialist bourgeoisie developed under the slogans of the struggle for the national liberation of China, the abolition of imperialist rule, the

annulment of the unequal treaties, the establishment of political liberties and the improvement of the conditions of the proletariat. The whole movement was led by the Joint Committee set up on June 5, consisting of representatives of workers', merchants' and students' unions.

The Chinese bourgeoisie did not for long continue their active participation in the national liberation movement in Shanghai. In order to encourage home industry the Chinese manufacturers demanded the cessation of the strike in their factories. The workers were obliged to yield, and on June 15 work was resumed in the Chinese-owned factories in Shanghai. A few days later the Chinese merchants called off their strike. Their argument in support of this was that "the merchants' strike was a resolute step at the moment of popular excitement when it was necessary for everyone to demonstrate his sympathy for the victims and to protest against the murderers. As the cessation of trade causes considerable damage to our interests without causing any serious loss to the foreigners we decided to call off the merchants' strike."

Weakened by the desertion of the bourgeoisie the liberation movement was subjected to fresh trials. The Chinese militarists came to the aid of the international imperialists to suppress the revolutionary struggle of the masses. General Chang Hsueh-liang, son of Chang Tso-lin, flooded Shanghai with his troops and brutally suppressed the workers' and students' organizations. He prohibited meetings and demonstrations, began to arrest the active workers and students and to suppress the trade unions. Left entirely to their own resources the Shanghai proletariat heroically continued the struggle against the imperialists. They held out staunchly for over three months. In view of the changed situation, however, they were compelled for the time being to abandon the slogans of the revolutionary struggle against international imperialism and put forward immediate economic demands. On the basis of these demands the trade unions entered into negotiations with the employers. In September, 1925, the workers in an organized manner resumed work in the Japanese mills, and in October work was resumed in the English mills.

The Shanghai events played an extremely important role in the history of the revolutionary movement of China. They served

the Chinese proletariat as a school of mass political anti-imperialist action. In the course of these events the Chinese proletariat proved itself to be a courageous and consistent fighter against imperialism; it became transformed into an independent force more and more successfully aspiring to leadership in the national movement. The Shanghai events gave a powerful impetus to the growth of the organizations of the Chinese workers. In the very first days of these events 72 trade unions were organized in Shanghai and the Shanghai Trades Council was formed which subsequently led the whole of the strike movement of the Shanghai workers. The Shanghai events exercised enormous influence on the subsequent development of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and helped to strengthen Canton as the base of the national liberation movement in South China. These events called forth demonstrations of the masses of the people against the international imperialists and Chinese militarists all over China.

The Shamin-Hongkong Strike

The effect of the upsurge of the revolutionary struggle for liberation which swept the country as a result of the Shanghai events was felt most in Canton where the soil for it was most favorable. On June 23 a demonstration was organized in Canton to express solidarity with the Shanghai movement. When the demonstration approached Shamin, the foreign concession in Canton, the British police opened fire on it and several hundred Chinese were killed and wounded. In retaliation to this fresh atrocity committed by the imperialists a general strike broke out in Hongkong and Shamin under the leadership of the members of the Communist Party, Comrades Hsu Chao-chen, Teng Chung-hsia, Hsian Ying, Lo Teng-hsian and others. All the Chinese workers left Hongkong and went into Canton where, with the assistance of the Kuomintang government, lodgings, food and work were provided for them. The strikers organized armed self-defense units and set up a Revolutionary People's Tribunal to deal with agents of the imperialists and the blacklegs. The Japanese and English were compelled to leave Canton because the Chinese workers, coolies, domestic servants and rickshawmen refused to do any work for them. The Hongkong

strike lasted 16 months, causing losses to the British capitalists amounting to £50,000,000.

The Hongkong strike roused the sympathy of the whole country. In all parts of China collections were made on behalf of the strikers. Meanwhile, the strike committee in Canton organized bodies of armed pickets to see that the boycott of British goods was maintained, and in all its activities it helped to strengthen the position of the Canton government. It helped the further development of the anti-imperialist struggle and the development of the working class movement all over China, and it helped to draw millions of peasants into the revolutionary struggle. The hundred thousand strikers served as a solid backing for the Canton government. The assistance and protection which the Canton government gave the Hongkong strikers served to raise its prestige very considerably and to strengthen the sympathy of the toilers in the rest of China towards it.

The leadership and active participation of prominent Communists in the Hongkong strike served to stimulate the growth of influence and prestige of the Communist Party among the broad masses of the Chinese people.

The heroic struggle of the Shanghai and Hongkong proletariat in the summer of 1925 marked a turning point in the Chinese national liberation movement. At first the politically most active force in the anti-imperialist movement was the Chinese national bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. The movement mainly assumed the form of mass student demonstrations, mass meetings and the boycott of foreign goods. It was only as a result of the Shanghai and Hongkong general strikes that the national liberation movement took the path of genuine mass revolutionary struggle against international imperialism. The heroic action of the Chinese and Hongkong proletarians marked the beginning of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27.

The Events of March 20, 1926

The growth of the revolution did not proceed evenly, however. The last months of 1925 and the first half of 1926 witnessed a temporary subsiding of the revolutionary wave. With the help of the imperialists the Chinese reactionary elements passed to

the offensive all along the line. Chang Chung-chang, the Shantung militarist, occupied Shanghai and ruthlessly suppressed the workers' organizations. The same fate awaited the workers' organizations in the industrial centers of North China. The workers' strike movement revealed marked signs of weakening.

Meanwhile, as a consequence of the active intervention of the Japanese, Ko Sun-lin, who had risen against the Manchurian satrap Chang Tso-lin, was crushed. Wu Pei-fu concluded a military agreement with Chang Tso-lin, and both militarists hurled themselves upon the First People's Army under the command of Feng Yu-hsiang, who had declared himself a supporter of the Canton Kuomintang government. Hard pressed by his enemies, Feng Yu-hsiang withdrew from Tientsin, Peking, and Kalgan and retired westward into Inner Mongolia. Wu Pei-fu succeeded in winning the cooperation of the peasant organizations, known as the Red Spears, in the Province of Honan and with their aid inflicted defeat upon the Second and Third People's Armies which had been only recently formed.

But the most important events of that time occurred in Canton. On March 20, 1926, General Chiang Kai-shek, Commander-in-Chief of the Canton forces, dismissed Wang Ching-wei and other Left-wing leaders of the Kuomintang from the leadership of the Party, arrested and dismissed the political commissars in the Canton Army and removed the Communists from the responsible posts they occupied in the army and the organs of government. Urged on by the Right wing of the Kuomintang, he took measures to expel the Communists from the Kuomintang. As Comrade Stalin has said: "Chiang Kai-shek's attempt in March, 1926, to drive the Communists out of the Kuomintang was the first serious attempt on the part of the national bourgeoisie to bridle the revolution."

Chiang Kai-shek's action opened the sluice gates of reaction in the local districts. The landlords, the gentry and the usurers in Kwantung started an attack upon the peasant unions.

But Chiang Kai-shek failed to carry out completely his design to break up the national front. He was obliged to rest content with a number of measures calculated to restrict the activities of the Communists. At that moment the national bourgeoisie did

not yet dare to force a complete rupture with the proletariat. The Kuomintang was obliged to continue its cooperation with the Communists who held leading positions in all the mass organizations. Soon after, this short period of reaction was superseded by another and more powerful upsurge of the revolutionary tide.

The revolution in China grew with unrestrained force. What was the character of the revolution, and what tasks confronted it? Comrade Stalin has pointed to the following "fundamental facts which determine the character of the Chinese revolution: (a) The semi-colonial position of China and the financial and economic rule of imperialism; (b) The yoke of feudal survivals supplemented by the yoke of militarism and bureaucracy; (c) The growing revolutionary struggle of vast masses of workers and peasants against the feudal bureaucratic yoke, against militarism, against imperialism; (d) The political weakness of the national bourgeoisie, its dependence upon imperialism, its fear of the revolutionary movement obtaining a wide scope; (e) The growing revolutionary activity of the proletariat, the growth of its prestige among the vast masses of the toilers; (f) The existence of the proletarian dictatorship as a neighbor of China."

The rule of imperialism and the yoke of feudal survivals were incompatible with the independent development of China and the needs of the Chinese people; they were the principal factors which called forth the Chinese revolution. Hence, the Chinese revolution was confronted with the following main tasks:

1. To free the country from the yoke of international imperialism, to win complete economic and political independence.
2. To solve the agrarian problem in a revolutionary manner, abolish landlordism and all other feudal survivals in the social system, and secure the revolutionary unification of the country.
3. To overthrow the reactionary militarist-bureaucratic power and to establish the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.

All these fundamental tasks of the Chinese revolution are inseparably connected with each other and not one of them can be fulfilled unless the other tasks of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution are simultaneously fulfilled. But these tasks can be fulfilled only if the hegemony of the proletariat is strongly

established in the revolution. Only when the Chinese proletariat achieves the leadership of the vast masses of the toilers in town and country, overcomes the resistance of the national bourgeoisie, and paralyzes its influence over the masses will the complete victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution become possible. And in view of the general crisis of capitalism, and particularly in view of the existence of the U.S.S.R., this victory opens the prospects of the Chinese revolution growing into a socialist revolution. Let us now see how events in China developed.

The Northern Campaign

From July, 1926, onwards, a sharp change took place in the political situation of China. In that month the famous Northern Campaign was started. The Canton National Revolutionary Army marched victoriously to the North. In the course of a few months it captured the provinces of Hunan, Kiangsi, Hupeh, Fukien and parts of other provinces. The rule of the Canton government was thus spread over a much larger territory with a population of 150,000,000. The Canton army also grew very rapidly and from 60,000 in July, 1926, its strength increased to 170,000 in the beginning of 1927. It is true that its new strength was made up largely of deserters from the militarists' armies; and in view of the fact that political educational work was not adequately organized in the Canton army this could not but have a deleterious effect upon the fighting and political level of the army.

Nevertheless, with the active and heroic participation of the Communists and the Left wing of the Kuomintang, the Canton army utterly defeated the forces of General Wu Pei-fu and also the forces of another prominent militarist, Sun Chuan-fang. By inflicting heavy defeat upon these reactionary militarists the Canton army struck heavy blows against the international imperialists who relied upon them. The victories of the Canton army were accompanied by the formation of Kuomintang units in North China. Feng Yu-hsiang's army, after recruiting new forces, took the offensive and drove Wu Pei-fu's allies from the province of Shensi.

On January 1, 1927, the capital of the Canton government was transferred to Wuhan. Next to Shanghai, Wuhan is the

largest industrial and political center in China. It is an amalgamation of the towns of Hankow, Wuchan and Hanyan. The transfer of the Kuomintang government to Wuhan served to raise the revolutionary spirit and activity of the masses of the toilers to a still higher pitch.

The victory of the Northern Campaign would have been impossible without the assistance which the masses of the workers and peasants gave to the Canton forces. Workers' strikes and peasant uprisings in the rear of the enemy facilitated the advance of the Canton army. The masses of the toilers, in their turn, took advantage of the advance of the Canton army, the extension of the territory of the revolution and the democratic conditions that prevailed in that territory, to develop the struggle for the satisfaction of their own demands and create their own organizations.

Growth of the Mass Movement and Break-Up of the United Front

A wave of workers' strikes swept over the whole territory under the rule of the Kuomintang government. By means of strikes the workers employed in the foreign-owned factories in Hankow secured a rise in wages, a reduction of the working day and recognition of their trade unions. Important victories were also won by the workers in other towns occupied by the National Revolutionary Army. The struggle for liberation spread to other parts of China where the strike movement also grew. Nearly all the urban workers joined trade unions. For example, in 1923 the number of organized workers in China was 230,000, in 1926 it was 1,264,000 and in May, 1927, the number was 2,800,000.

The peasant movement also assumed wider and wider dimensions. At first, by joining the struggle, the peasants secured a reduction in rent and the abolition of the numerous and burdensome taxes. In the course of its development the movement spread to wider masses of the peasantry and assumed a more revolutionary character. In a number of districts the peasants seized the land of the landlords and divided it among themselves; they drove the landlords and hated usurers from their villages and established their own rural government. In the territory occupied by the Canton army, peasant unions sprang up everywhere. In

the province of Honan, in March, 1927, over 1,000,000 peasants were organized in peasant unions. In the province of Kwansi, Kwantung, Hupeh and particularly in Hunan the peasant unions had a membership running into millions. The total number of peasants who belonged to peasant unions in the territory of the Kuomintang government was about 10,000,000.

Enormous successes were achieved by the Communist Party. The number of its local organizations increased enormously and the circulation of its publications increased manyfold. For example, the circulation of *Hsiandao*, the central organ of the Party, reached 50,000. The provincial and regional committees of the Party also published their own newspapers, magazines and mass agitation literature. The Party had grown into a mass party holding strong leading positions in the liberation movement of the Chinese workers and peasants. In the beginning of January, 1927, the revolutionary masses seized the British concessions in Hankow and Kuikiang. In March, after two unsuccessful attempts, the workers in Shanghai made a third and successful armed uprising and thus rendered direct assistance to the Canton army in occupying Shanghai.

The international imperialists waged an active struggle against the successfully developing Chinese revolution. In September, 1926, a British gunboat bombarded Wanhsien, in the province of Szechuan, as a result of which 227 Chinese were killed and several hundred were wounded. All the time the imperialists blockaded Canton and rendered effective assistance to the reactionary Northern militarists. In fact, this was a concealed form of imperialist intervention. The further successes of the revolutionary movement and the advance of the National Revolutionary Army to the region of Shanghai stimulated the international imperialists to still further activity. At the end of March, 1927, they presented an ultimatum to the National Army and bombarded Nanking from their warships. The powerful sweep of the revolution and the pressure of the imperialists frightened the national bourgeoisie into the camp of the counter-revolution. Chiang Kai-shek brought about a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat. On April 11 and 12, 1927, his troops surrounded the headquarters of the Shanghai workers' union and of the Workers' Guard, disarmed

the latter and shot down all workers who resisted with machine guns. In Canton his example was followed by General Li Tsi-shen. On April 18, Chiang Kai-shek formed a "national" government of his own in Nanking in opposition to the Wuhan government. In the territory of the Nanking government the workers', peasants', students', and educational organizations were brutally suppressed. The Communist Party was driven underground.

Chiang Kai-shek's treachery marked the end of the first, Canton stage of the Chinese revolution. The characteristic feature of the revolution at that stage was that it was a revolution of a national united front. The national bourgeoisie supported the revolutionary movement and it was directed mainly against the yoke of the foreign imperialists. As Comrade Stalin has said:

"This was a revolution of the united *national front*. This does not mean that there were no antagonisms between the revolution and the national bourgeoisie. It merely means that the national bourgeoisie, in supporting the revolution, tried to utilize it for its own purposes and, by guiding it mainly along the line of outside territorial conquest, to restrict its scope."

The desertion of the national bourgeoisie to the camp of the counter-revolution was not unexpected. The successful struggle of the Chinese proletariat waged for hegemony in the national revolutionary movement roused the fears of the Chinese bourgeoisie and at last pushed it onto the path of counter-revolution. Although this regrouping of class forces caused a certain amount of disorganization in the revolutionary ranks, in the final analysis, it ushered in the period of a still greater upsurge of the revolutionary struggle.

The C.I. Line in the First Stage of the Revolution

What was the position of the Communist International in the first stage of the revolution? What tactical line did it recommend to the Communist Party of China? In working out this line the Communist International took into account the national features of the Chinese revolution. In defining the character and tasks of the revolution it took as its starting point the semi-colonial

position of China. It took into account the feudal survivals in the country as the predominating form of oppression and the connection between these feudal survivals and the rule of imperialism. It foresaw the various stages through which the Chinese anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution had to proceed.

The Communist International was of the opinion that in the first stage of the revolution in which the national bourgeoisie fought against imperialism and did not hinder the training and organization of the masses of workers and peasants in the spirit of revolution, a bloc with the national bourgeoisie would facilitate the growth of the forces of the working class and the peasantry. These tactics logically followed from the necessity of making use of even a temporary and unstable ally in the struggle against the powerful enemy, international imperialism. But these tactics presupposed the utilization of the national bourgeoisie in the interests of the revolution and not the subordination of the proletariat to the interests of the national bourgeoisie. That is why the Communist International always urged the necessity of preserving the independence of the proletarian movement, the necessity of developing the mass movement to the utmost and the necessity of waging a relentless struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat in the Chinese revolution.

The Communist International foresaw that the first stage of the revolution, in which the movement was directed mainly against imperialism and was supported by the national bourgeoisie, would inevitably be superseded by a second stage in which the bourgeoisie would desert the revolution and the main content of the revolution would become the agrarian revolution. The C.I. warned the Communist Party of China in good time of this inevitable regrouping of class forces in the course of the revolution.

The Communist International attached decisive importance to the powerful development of the agrarian movement. It was of the opinion that the anti-imperialist struggle could be victorious only if the agrarian peasant revolution served as its base. In November, 1926, Comrade Stalin sharply criticized the Chinese revolutionaries who considered that it was impossible to unleash the revolution in the rural districts of China and were afraid to do so. Comrade Stalin said:

"The anti-imperialist front in China will be stronger and mightier the sooner and more thoroughly the Chinese peasants are drawn into the revolution."

This idea was emphasized in the resolution adopted by the Seventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in December, 1926, which stated:

"The development of the national revolutionary movement in China now depends upon the agrarian revolution."

The Comintern's Fight on Two Fronts

The Communist International championed its correct line which was entirely based upon the tenets of Lenin, in a fight on two fronts. At that time opportunist trends represented by Chen Du-hsu, Peng Shu-chi and others were strong in the leadership of the Communist Party of China. The Party leadership of that time did not understand that the alliance with the national bourgeoisie was only temporary and conditional and, notwithstanding the advice of the Communist International, it failed to warn the masses of the inevitable treachery of the bourgeoisie. The Party leaders interpreted the tactics of the united front to mean subordinating the struggle of the proletariat and peasants to the interests of the national bourgeoisie. For example, the Communist Party did not put up adequate resistance to Chiang Kai-shek during the events of March 20, 1926. When the Northern Campaign started the Communist Party agreed to the restriction of the right to strike and of the organization of worker pickets. The Communist International, relying on the Bolshevik elements in the Communist Party of China, waged an irreconcilable struggle against these opportunist mistakes.

On the other hand, the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition drew up its own line on the question of the Chinese revolution against that of the Communist International. The opposition denied the overwhelming importance of the feudal militarist yoke and failed to realize the decisive importance of the agrarian revolutionary movement in China. They attributed the anti-imperialist character of the Chinese revolution entirely to the interests of the Chinese capitalists who demanded Chinese control of the customs

thereby defending the point of view and interests of the bourgeois-landlord and militarist elements.

The Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition rendered the same service to the bourgeois-landlord elements by demanding the break-up of the bloc with the national bourgeoisie and the withdrawal of the Communists from the Kuomintang even at the first stage of the Chinese revolution. Such a policy could only have resulted in the weakening of the forces of the revolution.

Had the Communists left the Kuomintang during the Northern Campaign, when the prestige of the Kuomintang among the masses was higher than ever before, the masses would have been flung into confusion. Such a policy would have played into the hands of the reactionary elements who indeed wanted to expel the Communists from the Kuomintang. It would have deprived the Communists of a means of approach to the broad masses and would have made their struggle to organize the workers and peasants and to lead them in the struggle more difficult.

The attitude of the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition on the question of the Chinese revolution reflected the characteristic features of Trotskyism, *viz.*, utter contempt for the national features of the Chinese revolution, ignoring of the semi-colonial position of China, underestimation of the agrarian revolution, failure to understand the bourgeois-democratic features of the revolution, repudiation of the premises for a powerful agrarian peasant movement, underestimation of the role of the peasantry and disbelief in the strength and ability of the proletariat to lead the peasantry.

It was the correct tactics of the Communist International that ensured for the Communist Party of China achievements of exceptional importance. As Comrade Stalin has said:

“The Communist Party entered into a bloc with the national bourgeoisie in Canton at the first stage of the revolution in order to widen the territory of the revolution, to become crystallized as a mass party, to create for itself the opportunity openly to organize the proletariat and to lay a path for itself to the peasantry. . . . The national bourgeoisie has deserted to the camp of the counter-revolution and has lost contact with the broad masses of the people. . . . Is it not clear that only a correct policy could have led to such results? Is it not clear that only such a policy could have increased the fighting fitness of the proletariat?”

CHAPTER IV

The Communist Party in the Second Stage of the Revolution

CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S COUP D'ETAT signified the desertion of the national bourgeoisie to the camp of imperialism and of bourgeois-landlord counter-revolution. As Comrade Stalin has said:

“Chiang Kai-shek's coup d'etat signifies that the revolution has entered the second stage of its development, that the *turn* has started from a revolution of the *national* united front to a revolution of millions of *workers* and *peasants*, to an *agrarian* revolution, which will strengthen and extend the struggle against imperialism, against the gentry and feudal landlords, against the militarists and the counter-revolutionary group of Chiang Kai-shek.”

The Wuhan Revolutionary Center

As a result of Chiang Kai-shek's treachery two governments, two centers, were formed in South China: the center of revolution in Wuhan, and the center of counter-revolution in Nanking. The fact that the policies of these two centers were the very opposite of each other is characteristic. The Nanking government immediately proceeded to come to terms with the imperialists and began ruthlessly to suppress the mass anti-imperialist movement in its own territory. In the territory of the Wuhan government the revolutionary struggle of the masses against imperialism rose to unprecedented heights. Nanking immediately pursued a course towards a rupture with the U.S.S.R. The policy of Wuhan was to establish still closer ties with the land of the proletarian dictatorship.

In the territory of the Nanking government the workers' and

peasants' organizations were broken up and Communists who led the mass movement were shot down in whole groups. In Wuhan, however, the activity of the Communist Party freely developed on a wide scale. The posts of Minister of Agriculture, Minister for Home Affairs and Minister for Labor were occupied by Communists. Measures were drawn up for establishing closer control over the organs of government by the masses of the toilers. Energetic preparations were made for convening provincial delegate meetings which were to establish democratic and elected organs of government. In Hunan such a meeting was called for May 20, 1927.

The authority of the Wuhan government extended to the province of Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi and part of the province of Honan. Its troops conducted a successful offensive against the reactionary northern militarists and strove to establish contact with the forces of Feng Yu-hsiang who had repeatedly declared his loyalty to the Wuhan government.

The second stage of the revolution was marked by an unprecedented upsurge of the mass movement in the territory of the Wuhan government. A successful strike struggle was waged by the Chinese workers, nearly all of whom were organized. The organization of armed pickets helped the workers to obtain the satisfaction of their demands from the employers more easily. The rapid growth of the peasant unions continued. In the province of Hupeh, for example, the membership of the peasant unions rose from 800,000 in March, 1927, to 2,000,000 on May 15 of the same year. Nearly everywhere the peasant unions began to assume the functions of government in their rural districts. Displaying revolutionary initiative, the peasants began to abolish landlordism. In many places the peasant unions arrested the most hated of the landlords and gentry, tried them, confiscated their property and organized their armed units. The agrarian revolution grew rapidly.

The Fifth Congress of the Communist Party

It was in this situation that the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of China was opened on April 27, 1927. The Congress lasted for nearly two weeks. By that time the Party had achieved enormous successes. It had become a mass party and a powerful

factor in the political life of the country. The membership of the Party had grown from 994 at the time of the Fourth Congress to 57,967, of whom 53.8 per cent were workers. The membership of the Young Communist League had grown to 35,000, of whom 41 per cent were young workers and 14 per cent were young peasants. The Young Pioneers had a membership of 120,000. The circulation of the weekly organ of the Party rose from 7,000 to 50,000. The Party exercised its influence on and led trade unions and peasant unions having membership running into millions.

The Fifth Congress was held quite openly. Leaders of the Wuhan Kuomintang such as Wang Ching-wei, Tang Yen-kai and Hsu Chien attended the Congress and greeted it in the name of their party, thus demonstrating, as it were, lasting cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communists.

Having met in the very heat of revolutionary battles, it was the function of the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of China to sum up the preceding activity of the Party, to outline the prospects of the further development of the revolution and to indicate the immediate tasks of the Chinese Communists. The first item to be discussed was the political and organizational report of the Central Committee which was submitted to the Congress by the secretary of the Party, Chen Du-hsu. The Congress pointed to a number of mistakes committed by the Party leadership during the period under review owing to its wrong interpretation of the tasks of the united national front. The Party leadership overestimated the strength and revolutionary capabilities of the national bourgeoisie. The Party did not adequately ensure the protection of the interests of the masses of the toilers. During the Northern Campaign the Party, as the resolution of the Congress stated, "did not pay adequate attention to the necessity of deepening the social foundation of the revolution simultaneously with its territorial expansion". Failing to advance demands for radical agrarian changes, the Party failed to strengthen the bond between the proletariat and the peasantry and failed to ensure the leading role of the proletariat in this alliance. Rejecting a number of opportunist theories advanced by Chen Du-hsu, the Congress, on the report of the Central Committee, adopted the

resolution which very largely coincided with the line of the Communist International.

The second item was the theses of the Seventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the Chinese question. These were adopted unanimously without amendment.

The third item was the agrarian question, but on this very important question the Congress did not take up a distinct, clear and consistent position.

Some time later, on the advice of the Communist International, the Party re-examined this question and took up a more consistent position in regard to the confiscation of all landlord land for the benefit of the peasantry.

A mistake was made in allowing Chen Du-hsu to remain in the position of General Secretary of the Party. This mistake may be attributed to the fact that he was one of the founders of the Party, and that at the Congress he voted for the resolution which condemned his opportunist mistakes. But with the further development of events, the actual concentration of the leadership in his hand led to very severe consequences for the Party.

The Treachery of the Wuhan Kuomintang Leaders

After the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party the situation in Wuhan began sharply to change for the worse. It is true that the troops of the Wuhan government fought successfully against the reactionary northern militarists. In fierce battles on the Honan front particular fame was won by the Communist, Colonel Chang Hsian-yung, who died on the field of battle. Notwithstanding the victories which the Wuhan forces won over the troops of the reactionary northern militarists, the political situation in Wuhan became more complicated every day. The economic blockade carried on by the international imperialists and the sabotage of the bourgeoisie disorganized the whole of economic life in the territory of the Wuhan government. This led to the struggle between the workers and the capitalists becoming more acute. The exploiting classes began to exert more and more pressure upon the leaders of the Wuhan Kuomintang. Of still greater importance was the agrarian movement of the peasantry, which had grown to enormous dimensions. The petty-bourgeois leaders

of the Kuomintang were scared by the growing agrarian revolution and, eventually, this drove them into the camp of the counter-revolution.

A counter-revolutionary rebellion in the rear hastened the swing to the Right of the Wuhan Kuomintang. Internal disintegration began with the betrayal of the national government by the army division commanded by Hsia Tow-yin. This division protected Wuhan from the invasion of the Szechuan militarists. In the middle of May, 1927, the division turned against the Wuhan government. On the orders of Chiang Kai-shek it allowed the Szechuan troops to cross its lines and thus enabled them to capture the western part of the province of Hupeh and thus menace the capital of the Wuhan government.

Hsia Tow-yin's division was beaten back from Wuhan by the troops commanded by the Communist Yeh Ting, who had proved himself to be a talented commander during the Northern Campaign. But just at that time the troops under the command of Hsueh Keh-hsiang, in Changsha, the principal city in the province of Hunan, rose in rebellion against the Wuhan government. On May 21, 1927, Hsueh Keh-hsiang dispersed the Left Kuomintang provincial government, suppressed the trade unions and peasant unions, disarmed the workers' pickets, shot over 100 leaders of the mass organizations and set up his own reactionary government in the province of Hunan.

After that the province of Kiangsi practically deserted Wuhan. Here the reactionary section of the military commanders who were connected with the landlords and the gentry and who were scared by the growth of the peasant movement acted as the organizers of a counter-revolutionary coup d'état. In Nanchang, the capital of the province of Kiangsi, a coup d'état was led by General Chu Pei-teh who expelled the Communists from the army, dispersed the peasant unions, outlawed the Communist Party and began to suppress the workers' and peasants' movement by armed force.

This series of betrayals was crowned by that of Feng Yu-hsiang. On April 18, 1927, Feng Yu-hsiang was promoted to the post of Commander-in-Chief of all the Wuhan forces. In the beginning of June, 1927, he was appointed Chairman of the

Honan Provincial Government and Chairman of the Political Bureau of the Kuomintang in the provinces of Honan, Shensi and Kansu. At the end of June, however, he entered into an agreement with Chiang Kai-shek and sent an ultimatum to the leaders of the Wuhan Kuomintang demanding a rupture with the Communists.

Owing to the economic crisis and the intensification of class antagonisms resulting from it, and owing to the increase in mutiny and rebellion among the reactionary officers, vacillation increased more and more in the ranks of the Wuhan Kuomintang. Day by day the Wuhan Kuomintang began to reveal itself more and more clearly as a force which did not counteract but which supported the attack on the workers' and peasants' organizations. The Wuhan government put up no resistance to the attacks of Hsueh Keh-hsiang and Chu Pei-teh. It began to capitulate to the reactionary generals.

At the end of May, 1927, the Wuhan government began to issue a series of decrees restricting the activities of the workers' and peasants' organizations and protecting the exploiting classes. A special order was issued restricting the activities of the political administration in the army. At the end of May the Wuhan government dissolved two of the largest peasant unions in the province of Hupeh. These measures did not check the offensive of the reactionary elements; on the contrary they accelerated it.

This evolution to the Right continued until the middle of July, 1927, when the leaders of the Wuhan Kuomintang declared a rupture with the Communists. From that moment reaction reigned supreme in Wuhan. All the revolutionary mass organizations of the workers, peasants and students were smashed up. Communists were executed wholesale. In this way the leaders of the Wuhan Kuomintang paved the way for unity with the Nanking center of the bourgeois-landlord counter-revolution.

Right Opportunist and "Left" Deviations in the Wuhan Period

In the second stage of the Chinese revolution the task of the Communists was to take advantage of the enormous influence they exercised upon the masses, and of their membership of the

Wuhan government to do everything to develop the agrarian revolution and to quicken the revolutionary struggle of the broad masses to the utmost. The Communists should have fought to transform the Wuhan government into the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the working class and peasantry. It was precisely on these lines that the Communist International advised the Party to act. The resolution of the Eighth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. of May, 1927, stated:

"The main thing at the present time is the 'plebeian' revolutionary solution of the agrarian problem by tens and hundreds of millions of peasants themselves from below. . . . It is necessary rapidly, boldly and determinedly to pursue a policy towards the mass arming of the workers and peasants."

The leadership of the Communist Party of China in the persons of Chen Du-hsu, Peng Shu-chi and Tang Ping-shan ignored the advice of the Communist International and pursued an obviously opportunist policy. Instead of quickening the mass movement they, under the pressure of the Kuomintang and the reactionary officers, restrained the masses. Infected with opportunism, the leaders of the Communist Party not only failed to counteract but actually supported the measures adopted by the Wuhan government to restrict the activities of the workers' and peasants' organizations. They did not take advantage of the positions the Communists occupied in the government to organize the masses for the struggle under the slogans of the agrarian revolution and to establish closer contacts between the masses of the people and the organs of government. The Communists in the government merely used their positions for the purpose of political wire-pulling and scheming. They served as a screen for the anti-labor and anti-peasant policy of the Wuhan government, which was already swinging to the Right.

The opportunist leaders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party not only failed to take measures to arm the workers and peasants, but as soon as the leaders of the Kuomintang began to waver they adopted a resolution calling upon the Wuhan workers' pickets voluntarily to disarm and dissolve their units. They should, as Comrade Stalin advised, "have created from among the revolutionary peasants who had passed through

the school of the agrarian revolution, and from among the revolutionary workers, reliable army corps . . . and make them the bulwark of the revolutionary government in Wuhan". But instead of doing that the leaders of the Communist Party pursued a policy of capitulation and this weakened the position of the Communists in the National Army. Nor did the leaders of the Party take any measures to organize resistance to the counter-revolutionary rebellions in Changsha, Nanchang and other places. In order not to "display disloyalty" to the Wuhan government, Chen Du-hsu and Tang Ping-shan prohibited the armed peasant units from taking action against the reactionary officers.

The crude, Right opportunist political mistakes committed by the leaders of the Communist Party at that time were the main causes of the defeat of the Chinese revolution. No less dangerous in that period of the revolution were the views and slogans strenuously advocated by the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition. At the very beginning of the Wuhan period this opposition again demanded that the Communists leave the Kuomintang and advance the slogan for the immediate formation of Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies. This slogan implied the overthrow of the Wuhan government when it was still a revolutionary government and when it enjoyed the support of the broad masses. At that time it was the duty of the Communists to take advantage of the revolutionary situation and the existence of the Wuhan revolutionary government to develop the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution still further. As Comrade Stalin said in May, 1927:

"To create Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies *now*, for example, in the region of activity of the Wuhan government, means creating dual power; its means issuing the slogan for a fight to overthrow the Left Kuomintang and for the formation of a new, Soviet government in China."

The demand for the immediate formation of Soviets was an adventurist leap forward. It meant fighting the existing revolutionary government of the Wuhan Kuomintang, which meant serving the interests of Chiang Kai-shek; for the latter was striving to overthrow the Wuhan government and to put a stop to the cooperation between the Left Kuomintang and the Communists.

Stalin and the Chinese Revolution

An extremely important part in solving the problems of the Chinese revolution and in the struggle the Communist International waged against Right opportunist and "Left" mistakes in the Chinese revolution was played by Comrade Stalin. Taking China as his example, Comrade Stalin theoretically developed and supplemented Lenin's teachings on the national and colonial question as a constituent part of the general problem of the world proletarian revolution.

Comrade Stalin made an exceptionally precise and correct analysis of the specific features of capitalist development in China. In particular, he revealed what is very important in order to understand the character of the Chinese revolution, *viz.*, the combination of the development of merchant capital with the predominance of feudal survivals. He revealed the connection and inter-dependence between the tasks of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution.

With the utmost clarity, and taking into account all the specific features, Comrade Stalin defined the character, the driving forces, the two streams and the stages of developments of the Chinese revolution. He said:

"He who has not understood that every revolution passes through certain stages of development, he who has not understood that there are three stages in the development of the Chinese revolution, has understood nothing about Marxism or about the Chinese question."

Fighting on two fronts for the purity of the only correct Leninist line, Comrade Stalin utterly refuted the Right opportunist, liquidationist and counter-revolutionary Trotskyist conception of the problems of the Chinese revolution.

Comrade Stalin's theoretical utterances on the united anti-imperialist front, and on other tactical questions, on the role of the military factor, on the revolutionary army, on the definite paths of the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat, on the building of a Communist Party and on soviets, on the prospects of the Chinese revolution and the non-capitalist development of China—all these utterances are of exceptional importance for the vast masses of the toilers in colonial and semi-colonial countries

in their struggle against international imperialism and for national and social liberation, for socialism.

Comrade Stalin's writings and speeches on the problems of the Chinese revolution are a rich contribution to the store of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary doctrine. It is impossible to study the Chinese revolution without seriously studying all the writings and speeches of Comrade Stalin on the problems of the Chinese revolution.

The Communist Party Conference, August, 1927

The experience of the international Communist movement was of enormous service to the young and not yet sufficiently mature Communist Party of China in overcoming Right opportunist and "Left" deviations in its ranks. At the special conference of the Communist Party which opened on August 7, 1927, an important step was taken towards the Bolshevization of the Party. This conference was convened on the demand of the Communist International, and in spite of the opposition of Chen Du-hsu and the other opportunist leaders of the Party. The August Conference emphatically condemned the opportunist policy of the previous leadership of the Party and qualified its policy as being an openly liquidationist one.

The resolution adopted by the conference stated:

"We welcome the energetic intervention of the Comintern which enabled us to expose the mistakes of the previous Party leadership and thus save the Party. We emphatically condemn the opportunist, non-revolutionary policy pursued by our Central Committee and consider it necessary, on the basis of the lessons of the past, radically to change the course of Party policy."

The conference declared that the previous Central Committee of the Party in the person of Chen Du-hsu, Peng Shu-chi and others "not only pursued a profoundly wrong policy directed towards the defeat of the revolution, towards voluntary liquidation and capitulation, but stubbornly refused to admit their mistakes and to submit to the counsels of the leading international body. Moreover, deliberately violating international obligations and discipline, it did not even think it necessary to inform the Party of

the decisions and recommendations of the Comintern and thus give it an opportunity to understand the problems and to express its decisive opinion." By electing a new leadership and advancing the slogan of the agrarian revolution as the core of the struggle of the masses of the toilers, the August conference marked a historical turning point in the development of the Communist Party of China.

The Nanchang Rebellion

The August Conference was held when White terror was at its height, and when, as a result of the victory of reaction in Wuhan, the Party had been driven deeply underground. The treachery of the Wuhan Kuomintang meant the desertion of the middle class and a considerable section of the urban petty bourgeoisie to the camp of the bourgeois-landlord counter-revolution. But the workers and peasants did not retreat without a fight; they did not lose hope of defending and preserving the gains of the revolution. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, attempts were made to defend and to continue the cause of the revolution by armed force. Among these bold attempts was the Nanchang rebellion.

This rebellion was raised by two corps of the National Army under the command of the Communists Yeh Ting and Ho Lung. On the night of August 1, 1927, these forces, 20,000 strong, captured Nanchang, disarmed the local forces, confiscated the property of the banks and, exacting tribute from the Nanchang bourgeoisie, marched southward for the purpose of capturing the province of Kwantung.

On September 24, 1927, Yeh Ting's troops occupied Swatow, a big port in the province of Kwantung, but on October 2 he was compelled to retreat from that town and was defeated by the Kwantung militarists. This defeat was due to the superiority of forces of the reactionary militarists; but another important reason for it was the wrong tactics pursued by the leaders of the rebellion.

This movement lacked a clear and correct political program. Instead of supporting the peasants and carrying out the agrarian revolution, the leaders of the Nanchang rebellion advanced extremely curtailed agrarian slogans, such as the confiscation of the

land only from the big landlords, and, what was worse, they did not carry out these slogans.

No contact was established between the rebel troops and the peasant movement, nor was any attempt made to rouse and arm the masses of the peasants for the struggle. In its advance the Nanchang army failed to destroy the old apparatus of government and establish organs of government of the toilers in their place. As a result of these mistakes, for which Tang Ping-shan was expelled from the Party, Yeh Ting's campaign bore the character of purely military operations and ended in complete failure.

Only a very few regiments of Yeh Ting's army managed to extricate themselves from the ring of militarist forces which surrounded them. These regiments, led by Chu Teh, established contacts with the peasant partisan movement at the junction of the provinces of Kwantung, Fukien and Kiangsi, and served as part of the nucleus out of which the Chinese Red Army eventually grew.

The Canton Commune

In the autumn of 1927 a wave of peasant uprisings swept the South of China, but only in rare cases did these isolated uprisings result in lasting success. For example, the peasant struggle achieved important, though temporary, successes in the district of Jenhua, in the province of Kwantung. A Soviet government was established in the district and the land of the landlords was transferred to the peasants. In the district of Hailufeng, in northeast Kwantung, soviets were established which existed from November, 1927, to March, 1928. The soviets abolished the landlords' estates, removed the landmarks from the fields and divided the land and other property of the landlords among the peasants.

But the events in these districts were not characteristic of the whole situation in the country. Everywhere the united forces of the counter-revolution waged an offensive against the revolutionary workers' and peasants' camp. These were the circumstances in which the workers of Canton rose in armed rebellion. The Canton rebellion was the most powerful and heroic attempt to defend the gains of the revolution. On the night of December 11, 1927, the armed workers' units in Canton, in conjunction with

the officers' training regiment, which had gone over to the side of the revolution, under the command of the fearless chairman of the Revolutionary Committee, Comrade Chang Tai-lei, brought about a revolution in the city. After capturing the city the rebels proclaimed the establishment of a Soviet government. For the first time in this huge semi-colonial country, the soviets became a slogan of practical action.

The Canton commune did not last long. It fell after three days of heroic fighting. But it succeeded in demonstrating to the whole world the genuine revolutionary program of the Soviet government. It issued a number of decrees directed towards the radical improvement of the conditions of the workers and peasants such as the eight-hour day, increased wages, confiscation of the landlords' land without compensation for the benefit of the peasants and the annulment of all extortionate debt and lease agreements.

Immediately after the Soviet government was established in Canton over 3,000 political prisoners were released. The Soviet government immediately began to organize a Red Army, to confiscate the houses and other property of the militarists for the benefit of the poor people in the city, and to organize state aid for the unemployed.

As the Sixth Congress of the Comintern stated, the world historical significance of the Canton Commune lay in the fact that it became "the sign of a new soviet phase of the revolution". But the Canton rebellion did not stimulate a new upsurge of the Chinese revolution. On the contrary, it took place amidst the general retreat of the revolutionary forces and the ebb of the revolutionary tide. As was quite correctly stated in the decisions of the Communist Party of China, the defeated Canton rebellion was a rearguard action of the retreating revolution.

In spite of the heroic struggle of the workers and soldiers, the Chinese militarists, thanks to their numerical superiority and the support of the imperialists, succeeded in crushing the Canton Commune. The defeat was also largely due to the defects in the leadership and, in particular, to inadequate preliminary political mobilization of the masses of the toilers, and the absence of an elected council to direct the rebellion.

In spite of its short-lived character, the Canton Commune was an important gain for the Chinese revolution. For the first time, the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution and the establishment of soviets as the form of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry were put into practice in China.

After the defeat of the Canton Commune a period of fierce reaction set in. The defeat of the heroic Canton proletarians still further encouraged the reaction, consolidated its forces and strengthened its position. The Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., which took place in February, 1928, analyzed the situation in China and noted the subsiding of the first wave of the broad revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants. In its resolution the Plenum stated:

"In a number of industrial centers the *working class* movement, bled white and held in the grip of unprecedented White terror, is passing through a stage of some depression."

That is why the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in its resolution on the Chinese question emphasized that the Communist Party of China must prepare for an inevitable fresh upsurge of the revolutionary wave, and that under the prevailing conditions the Party must concentrate its work on winning over the vast masses of the workers and peasants, politically educating them, and organizing them around the Party and its slogans.

The resolution stated:

"The very serious danger that exists in the present situation is that, as a result of an incorrect appraisal of the present situation and of an underestimation of the forces of the enemy, the vanguard of the workers' and peasants' movement may become isolated from the masses, may run too far ahead, split up its forces and allow itself to be defeated piecemeal."

CHAPTER V

The Communist Party on the Eve of a Fresh Revolutionary Upsurge

THE APPRAISAL AND RECOMMENDATIONS of the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. entirely fitted the political situation which arose in China after the defeat of the Canton Commune. The most important gains of the revolution were lost. The mass movement was suppressed. The position of imperialism and of the Chinese governing classes had become considerably stronger. In a number of places the Communist organizations were almost completely broken up. The Communist Party's contacts with the masses were correspondingly weakened.

The Sixth Congress of the Communist Party

It was in this situation that the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of China was convened in the summer of 1928. The Congress summed up and generalized the experience of the first round of the Chinese revolution. It closely analyzed the causes of the defeat of the revolution of 1925-27. It very thoroughly exposed the opportunist mistakes of the Party leadership of that time and condemned the view held by several leading comrades that the Chinese revolution would develop uninterruptedly in an ascending line. In appraising the situation that then existed the Congress in its resolution stated that

“. . . the first wave of the workers' and peasants' movement, which to a large extent proceeded under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, ended in the severe defeat of the workers and peasants, in the weakening of their revolutionary organizations (the trade unions, peasant

unions and the Party) and in the physical extermination of a considerable section of the workers' and peasants' vanguard. In the main the present situation is characterized by the absence of revolutionary enthusiasm among any considerable section of the Chinese people."

At the same time the Sixth Congress pointed out that a fresh upsurge of the Chinese revolution, certain symptoms of which were already visible at that time, was inevitable. Taking this analysis of the situation as its starting point the Sixth Congress stated that "the general line of the Party in this new period in which the first wave of the revolution has ended in a number of severe defeats and the new wave has not yet risen . . . is to fight for the masses". This line was formulated more definitely in a number of special resolutions on trade union work, work in the rural districts, work in the army, among the youth, among women, etc.

Noting the deviations within the Party the Sixth Congress emphasized the danger of putschist tendencies. These tendencies turned some of the Party organizations to the path of premature and unprepared armed actions which were doomed to failure. At the same time the Congress called for greater vigilance in the Party and urged the necessity of fighting determinedly against the Right opportunist deviation, the danger of which had not yet been entirely overcome in the ranks of the Party.

The Sixth Congress adopted an agrarian program. This program contained the demand for the confiscation of all landlord estates without compensation for the benefit of the peasantry and the nationalization of the land when a workers' and peasants' government is established all over China, or in the decisive regions of the country, if such a measure is supported by the bulk of the peasantry. On the peasant question the Congress laid down the following main tactical line: "The main bulwark of the proletariat in the rural districts is the poor peasants. The middle peasants are strong allies."

On the questions of the rich peasants, however, the Sixth Congress adopted an indistinct formula which subsequently certain leading members of the Party interpreted as meaning the establishment of an alliance with them. This mistaken line was corrected in a special letter on the peasant question addressed to

the Communist Party of China by the Communist International in June, 1929.

In summing up the work of the Sixth Congress it must be said that it correctly appraised the situation, it outlined the prospects of the revolutionary struggle for liberation, distinctly laid down the important tasks of the Party and adopted a comprehensive program of work for the Party. The main line adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of China was afterwards endorsed by the Sixth Congress of the Communist International. In developing its activities on the basis of these decisions the Communist Party of China soon achieved important successes.

The Policy of the Nanking Kuomintang

International imperialism took advantage of the defeat of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 for the purpose of restoring and solidifying its position in China, which had been considerably shaken by that revolution. In this matter it was directly assisted by the Nanking government which pursued the policy of capitulation to imperialism. British capital easily secured the restitution of the concessions in Hankow and Kiukiang which it had lost during the revolution. The Japanese capitalists seized the Han Yeh Ping Iron Works. In May, 1928, the Japanese imperialists sent their troops into the province of Shantung and began to restore their occupational regime in a part of this province.

Urged on by the imperialists, the Nanking government, on December 15, 1927, broke off diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. At the end of 1927 the Soviet diplomats left the territory of South and Central China. Some time before that the Kuomintang militarists, after suppressing the Canton rebellion, brutally tortured and afterwards shot a number of employees of the Soviet Consulate in Canton, headed by the Vice-Consul, Comrade Hassis.

Immediately after the revolution was defeated, the international imperialists, using the Kuomintang militarists as their tools, launched a savage attack on the standard of living of the Chinese proletariat. The working class was robbed of all the gains it had achieved. All the collective agreements which had been concluded were annulled. A long working day was reintroduced and

wages were cut. Rest days and holidays for the workers were abolished and all improvements in conditions of labor, including the better treatment of the workers by factory management staffs, were annulled.

The foreign capitalists began more and more to grab hold of Chinese industry. In coal mining the share of foreign capital increased from 54 per cent in 1923 to 72 per cent in 1928. In the iron and steel industry the share of foreign capital increased in the same period from 70 per cent to 90 per cent. In the textile industry, in which before the revolution of 1925-27 Chinese owned 50 per cent of the capital, the share of foreign capital in 1930 had risen to 80 per cent.

The Nanking government proved totally incapable of protecting the young Chinese industry from foreign competition. It is true that on February 1, 1928, new tariffs were introduced, but the new tariff agreement did not provide for increased tariffs on imported cotton goods, yarn, cement, coal, paper, matches, etc. Tariffs were increased on goods of secondary importance and on articles of luxury. Consequently, the new tariff agreement did not in the least help to develop Chinese industry.

All this created very severe conditions for Chinese industry. In 1928 and 1929 output in a number of branches of industry was curtailed. Many factories closed down entirely. Thus, in 1929, all the silk-winding factories in Shanghai closed down. Nearly the whole of the flour milling industry came to a standstill. The crisis most severely affected the tobacco, match, textile and leather industries.

The growing agricultural crisis in China had particularly disastrous effects upon the economy of the country. The policy pursued by the Nanking bourgeois-landlord counter-revolutionary bloc did not alleviate, but actually intensified the chronic crisis of agriculture. The burden of taxation, the imposts of the militarists and bondage to the landlords increased. Larger and larger masses of the Chinese peasants were pauperized. The number of famine-stricken people in China grew catastrophically. In 1927, 9,000,000 people were afflicted with famine; in 1928, 27,000,000, and in 1929 the number was 57,000,000.

It is true that the Nanking government made a pretense of

fighting for the national independence of China. It also resorted to a number of maneuvers to create the impression that it desired to create order in the country and alleviate the conditions of the masses. Among these maneuvers were clamant declarations about revising the unequal treaties; but the imperialist powers deliberately ignored these declarations and continued to strengthen their rule in China. Another of these maneuvers was the passing of the agrarian law and labor law which, however, were never carried out. Failure dogged the footsteps of the Nanking government in everything it undertook.

Nor was the Nanking government able to cope with the task of uniting the country. It is true that in June, 1928, the Nanking forces marched into Peking. Formally, the Nanking government became the government of the whole of China; but actually it failed to bring about the unification of the country. Real power remained in the hands of the war lords, who differed in no way from the former Tuchuns and who would not tolerate the interference of the central government in the affairs of the regions which they controlled.

The internecine wars of the militarists continued to sap the economic and political life of the country. The war between Nanking and Mukden came to an end only in the middle of 1928. In March, 1929, war broke out between Kwangsi and Nanking. In September, 1929, Chang Fa-kui declared war on Nanking and in October, 1929, Feng Yu-hsiang started military operations against Chiang Kai-shek. In December the troops of Shi Yu-san and Tang Shen-ji revolted against Nanking. In the spring of 1930 war was resumed between Nanking and Feng Yu-hsiang, who was joined by the Shansi militarist, Yen Si-shan. All these were symptoms of a growing crisis in the camp of the Chinese counter-revolution.

The Conflict Over the Chinese Eastern Railway

An important factor hastening the disintegration of the Chinese reactionaries was the unsuccessful adventurist attempt of the Chinese militarists to seize the Chinese Eastern Railway. This railway belonged to the U.S.S.R. and was transformed by the Soviet government into a purely business enterprise. By the agree-

ment of 1924 the Soviet government voluntarily agreed to the railway being under the joint management of the U.S.S.R. and China. Urged on by the international imperialists the Kuomintang militarists on July 10, 1929, violently seized the Chinese Eastern Railway. The Soviet members of the managerial staff were dismissed. The mass arrest and persecution of Soviet railway employees were started.

Confronted with this provocative and arrogant seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway by the Chinese militarists in gross violation of the only treaty China had concluded on the basis of complete equality and the utmost consideration for the interests of the Chinese people, the Soviet government did all it possibly could to secure a peaceful settlement of the conflict. In spite of this the Kuomintang militarists continued their acts of provocation against the U.S.S.R. Then the Special Far Eastern Army struck a crushing blow at the arrogant Chinese militarists. The latter were compelled to restore the Chinese Eastern Railway to its former position. The Kuomintang militarists who had become tools of the international imperialists lost further prestige among the broad masses by their raid on the C.E.R. This conflict stimulated increased activity among the Chinese workers and peasants. A fresh wave of strikes and demonstrations of Chinese toilers swept the country, particularly the huge demonstrations in Shanghai on July 26 and August 1, which expressed sympathy for the U.S.S.R.

CHAPTER VI

A Fresh Upsurge of the Revolution and the Struggle for Soviets

THE CHINESE COUNTER-REVOLUTION suffered utter bankruptcy in its foreign and home policy. The bourgeois-landlord bloc failed to remove, or even to alleviate, a single one of the contradictions which gave rise to the Chinese revolution. International imperialism did not surrender but clung still more tightly to its privileges and strengthened its rule in China. The country remained disunited. The power of Chinese militarism was not undermined in the least. Not a single step had been taken to solve the agrarian problem. The masses of the people remained in their former state of subjection.

Revival of the Workers' and Peasants' Movement

The Nanking counter-revolution strengthened the imperialist regime of colonial exploitation and the predatory landlord-militarist plunder of the masses of the toilers. Consequently, the state of utter economic ruin, the monstrous impoverishment of the masses of the people and the sharp intensification of class antagonism could not but lead to a fresh upsurge of the revolution in China.

The working class movement rapidly emerged from the state of depression into which it had fallen after the defeat of the revolution of 1925-27. The strike wave began to rise most markedly in the second half of 1928. In that year about 400,000 workers were involved in strikes; in 1929, however, the number of workers involved in strikes rose to 750,000. The strike move-

ment bore mainly an economic character, but as time went on the actions of the Chinese workers began to acquire a political color. More and more frequently demands were put forward for the release of imprisoned labor leaders, for the dissolution of Kuomintang unions, and for freedom to organize proper trade unions. More and more frequently slogans were advanced against the Kuomintang and international imperialism. About 50,000 Shanghai workers took part in the First of May demonstration in 1929; and over 100,000 workers in different parts of China responded to the appeal of the Communist Party to demonstrate on International Anti-War Day on August 1. In 1930 the strike movement continued to grow and assumed a more persistent and organized character.

Simultaneously with the growth of the working class movement in the towns the peasant movement began to revive in the countryside. Driven to extremes by poverty and anger the Chinese peasants were drawn in larger and larger masses into an armed struggle against the bourgeois-landlord regime. The peasant partisan movement grew. The first units of the Chinese workers' and peasants' Red Army were created and successfully developed. More or less firm bases for the insurgent movement were created, and whole Soviet districts sprang up. Already at the end of 1927, in Haifeng and Lufeng, two districts in the province of Kwantung, the revolutionary forces led by Communists overthrew the landlords, defeated and disarmed the landlords' self-defense troops and the first Soviet district was established which lasted several months. The leader of the Hailufeng Republic was one of the most prominent leaders of the Communist movement in China and a beloved leader of the peasantry, Comrade Peng Pai, who subsequently, in 1929, was shot in Shanghai.

While the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists, who had united with the followers of the renegade Chen Du-hsu to fight against the Party, shouted about the doom of the Chinese revolution and prophesied the prolonged stabilization of the bourgeois-landlord regime in China, the heroic Chinese Communists did not lay down their arms but amidst the severe conditions of underground work educated and prepared the masses for fresh battles. Particularly great service in the creation of the Chinese Red Army

was rendered by Comrades Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, Peng Teh-hua, Peng Pai, Fang Chi-min, Huang Kung-lueh and Ho Lung. These were heroic fighters and staunch Bolsheviks who, in spite of suffering and privation, did not for a single day cease fighting for the cause of the Communist Party and for the vital interests of the Chinese people.

At the head of the whole Party Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, Fang Chi-min and scores of other present leaders of the Chinese Red Army passed through the furnace of the revolutionary events with which the past ten years of Chinese history are filled. They mobilized and led the masses into battle when the revolution was advancing, at the rise of the revolutionary tide; and they, too, led the masses in retreat, in the stern days of the temporary defeat of the revolution in 1925-27. They passed through the stern school of the class struggle together with, and at the head of, the masses. They are true knights knowing no fear or doubt. They devoted all their seething energy to the task of preparing the masses for a new revolutionary upsurge. And it is not surprising that Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, Fang Chi-min and the other most devoted Bolsheviks were the first organizers and banner bearers of the victorious Soviet movement in China.

They rallied the broad masses of the toilers for the armed struggle against imperialism and the Chinese counter-revolution. They formed the first units of the workers' and peasants' Red Army. They saw in this army the true and indomitable bulwark of the national revolution and did all they could to multiply its forces and strengthen its contacts with the masses of the people. Under their tried leadership the Chinese Red Army invariably emerged victorious from innumerable battles and covered itself with undying glory. Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, Fang Chi-min and the other leaders of the Red Army deservedly became universally recognized national heroes whose exploits have been interwoven in popular legend, and which even their bitterest enemies dare not deny.

The main core of the Chinese Red Army was the Fourth Army Corps which in 1928, under the command of Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh, operated in the almost inaccessible mountains of Tsinganshan in the province of Kiangsi and soon after

made the heroic march into West Fukien. In the beginning of 1929 the Fourth Army Corps was joined by a regiment commanded by Peng Teh-hua, which had rebelled against the Kuo-mintang. Peng Teh-hua was appointed commander of the newly formed Third Army Corps and in subsequent battles he distinguished himself as one of the most talented leaders of the Chinese Red Army. The Red Army grew rapidly and became hardened and produced its talented commanders. In 1928 it was 10,000 strong, but in 1929 its numbers had grown to 22,000.

In the beginning of 1930 there were already 19 Soviet districts each of which covered from one to four counties. In the Soviet districts the slogans of the agrarian revolution were put into practice and the workers and peasants were given arms. The Soviet movement achieved the greatest success in the South and central provinces of China in which favorable soil had been prepared by the revolution of 1925-27. In May, 1930, the Red Army consisted of 13 army corps of a total strength of 62,000, more than half of which were furnished with rifles.

The Anti-Comintern Line of Li Li-hsian

The revival of the workers' and peasants' movement confronted the Communist Party of China with very complicated tasks. At that time the Party had greatly strengthened its ranks as well as its contacts with the masses. In January, 1930, it had a membership of 65,528. The Party also grew stronger ideologically. While combatting the putschist tendencies which threatened to break the Party's ties with the workers and peasants, the Party at the same time waged a determined struggle against pessimistic moods in its own ranks, against its faint-hearted members who after the defeat of the revolution became pessimistic, lost their revolutionary perspective and slipped into liquidationism. During the C.E.R. conflict the Party conducted a wide campaign in defense of the U.S.S.R. in the course of which it proved its internationalism in deeds and showed that it thoroughly understood the revolutionary tasks of the working class.

Pursuing what was in the main a correct line, up to the summer of 1930 the Communist Party achieved very important successes in all spheres of its activity. In the summer of 1930, how-

ever, when the revolutionary struggle was beginning to flare up again, the policy advocated by Li Li-hsian, which ran counter to the line of the Communist International, began to predominate in the leadership of the Party. Li Li-hsian's policy was based on the assumption that the Chinese and world revolution would soon break out. Exaggerating the maturity of the revolutionary situation throughout China, he led the Party to organize insurrection everywhere, including the principal centers of the country, which turned out to be mere putschist actions.

Counting on the immediate victory of the revolution all over China, Li Li-hsian completely ignored the everyday struggle of the workers and peasants. He dissolved the Red trade unions on the ground that they were superfluous during an insurrection. He strove to liquidate the partisan movement on the ground that guerilla warfare had become obsolete. He instructed the leaders in the Soviet districts to organize state farms and collective farms, and to prohibit free trade and the buying and selling of land. All these measures served to complicate the economic and political situation in the Soviet regions.

Li Li-hsian's policy caused enormous damage to the Party; it weakened its contacts with the masses and caused considerable loss to the revolutionary trade union movement. While pursuing this policy Li Li-hsian concealed from the members of the Party the line of the Comintern. Such a situation could not last for long. A fight against Li Li-hsian's semi-Trotskyist policy was started in the Shanghai section of the Party under the leadership of Chen Shao-yui. This fight for a correct line was quite successful. Gathering the best forces of the Party around himself, Comrade Chen Shao-yui (Wang Ming), one of the most prominent and gifted leaders of the Communist movement in China, together with other leading members of the Party such as Comrades Chen Pan-hsian, Wang Tsia-hsian, Ho Wei-shu, Shen Tse-ming and Chen Yuan-tao, fighting on two fronts, succeeded in securing the recognition of the correct Leninist-Stalinist line on questions concerning the Chinese revolution. Owing to its conciliatory position, however, the Third Plenum of the Central Committee held in September, 1930, did not yet bring the Party on to a correct road. It was only at the Fourth Enlarged Plenum of the Central

Committee, held in January, 1931, that the political line of the Party leadership was straightened out. The Fourth Plenum elected a new Party leadership, exposed the anti-Leninist character of Li Li-hsian's policy and repelled the attempt of the Right opportunists to impose a defeatist program of retreat upon the Party. In doing this the Fourth Plenum played an extremely important part in the further Bolshevization of the Party.

The Growth of the Red Army

The effect of the strengthening of the Communist Party was seen in the enormous new successes achieved by the Soviet movement. The Red Army defeated the first campaign of the Kuomintang generals waged against the Soviet districts. This campaign was started in December, 1930. A Kuomintang army numbering 200,000 was hurled against the Soviet districts. But already in January, 1931, the Red Army, after defeating more than five Nanking divisions, compelled the Kuomintang forces to retreat in panic from the Soviet districts. The same fate awaited the second campaign against the Soviet districts which was started in April, 1931. Thanks to the heroic support of the working population the Red Army defeated the second campaign, notwithstanding the numerical and, to a large extent, technical superiority of the Kuomintang forces.

The Red Army conducted its military operations against the hordes of the Kuomintang while simultaneously waging a fierce struggle against the counter-revolution in its rear. The exploiting classes formed counter-revolutionary organizations in the Soviet districts such as the Anti-Bolshevik League and others, the members of which penetrated the Soviet, trade union and Party organizations for the purpose of disrupting them from within. During 1931 a number of these counter-revolutionary organizations were discovered. The Chinese Soviets, under the guidance of the Communist Party, dealt drastically with this internal counter-revolution, and as a consequence, the strength and stability of the Chinese Soviets greatly increased. The services of Teng Fa, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party and Director of the State Political Administration, are particularly noteworthy in this connection.

The victories of the Red Army led to a considerable expansion of the territory of the Soviet government. The Red Army itself grew into a mighty force. In 1931 the regular forces of the Red Army already numbered 100,000. The strength of the Red Guard was about the same. Several hundred thousand young workers and peasants belonged to the semi-military youth organization known as the Young Guard.

Such was the situation in China when the Japanese imperialists invaded Manchuria and thus opened a new page in the history of the colonial enslavement and partition of China.

Japanese Occupation of Manchuria

On September 18, 1931, the Japanese imperialists started their piratical war against China. In the course of several days their troops occupied all the most important centers of Manchuria. As a result of these operations Japanese imperialism usurped territory two and a half times the area of Japan itself. It reduced the 30,000,000 Chinese toilers inhabiting Manchuria to the position of colonial slaves. It was not difficult for the Japanese imperialists to find a pretext for their invasion. They provoked anti-Chinese riots in Korea and Korean-Chinese conflicts in Manchuria. Then they seized upon the alleged murder on the frontiers of Mongolia of a Japanese general staff officer named Nakamura. Finally, they seized upon the alleged destruction of the permanent way of the Japanese-owned South Manchurian Railway by Chinese soldiers as the immediate pretext for starting their predatory war. Posing as the champions of justice and order the Japanese imperialists poured into Manchuria.

The real purpose of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria is to carry out the broad and far-reaching imperialist plans of the Japanese capitalists and landlords. By seizing Manchuria the Japanese imperialists hope to entrench themselves on the Asiatic mainland, to use Manchuria as a *place d'armes* for a further attack on the rest of China, and to strengthen the position of imperialist Japan in the Pacific and in the whole world.

Not meeting with any serious resistance on the part of the Chinese generals, the Japanese imperialists occupied the three provinces of Manchuria without any particular difficulty or ex-

pense. But the Japanese militarists were not content with this. They tried to lay their hands on the northern part of China and on the Shanghai district. On January 21, 1932, the Japanese presented an ultimatum to the Chinese government demanding the dissolution of anti-Japanese organizations and the cessation of the boycott of Japanese goods. On January 28 the Japanese imperialists started military operations against the Chinese section of Shanghai.

The usurpatory actions of the Japanese militarists gave a powerful impetus to the anti-imperialist struggle. The general strike in Mukden and Anshan, the strike in all the Japanese mills in Shanghai, as well as a number of strikes and anti-Japanese workers' and students' demonstrations in a number of other towns testified to the determination of the Chinese proletariat and of the whole of the Chinese people to fight for the integrity and independence of their country.

A broad partisan movement began to spread over Manchuria. This guerilla warfare, which assumed a more and more persistent and mass character, created increasing difficulty for the Japanese invaders. The heroic struggle which the workers, students and soldiers of the 19th Army waged for two months prevented the Japanese troops from capturing the Shanghai district. It was the treachery of the Nanking Kuomintang militarists that enabled the Japanese to achieve their aims. Nevertheless, in spite of the measures taken by the Nanking government to suppress the anti-Japanese movement, the later continued to grow. The urban petty bourgeoisie was once again drawn into the anti-imperialist struggle. The students of Peking, Shanghai, Nanking, Tsinanfu and other cities organized huge anti-Japanese and anti-Kuomintang demonstrations. These demonstrations were particularly violent in Nanking where the demonstrators wrecked a number of government buildings and the editorial offices of the Kuomintang newspaper.

The First Congress of Chinese Soviets

In this situation the successes achieved by the Soviet movement in China stand out with particular prominence. On November 7, 1931, on the anniversary of the great October

Revolution in Russia, the First Congress of Chinese Soviets was opened in Juikin, in the province of Kiangsi. Prior to that the Red Army had defeated the third Kuomintang campaign against the Soviet districts. This campaign was started by Chiang Kai-shek on July 2, 1931. He marched against the Chinese Soviets at the head of an army of 300,000. At general headquarters as well as at divisional headquarters he had German military advisers. Nevertheless, on this occasion also the Red Army was victorious. The Nanking forces were utterly defeated. The Red Army routed 17 Kuomintang divisions and captured 25,000 rifles. By this time the Red Army had grown to 150,000.

At the time of the First Congress of Soviets the Soviet movement had spread to 300 counties having a population of several tens of millions. Six hundred and ten delegates attended the Congress, representing all the Soviet districts. The Congress, at which great enthusiasm prevailed, passed a number of laws which indicated the main trend of policy of the Chinese Soviets, such as a draft of the Constitution, a land law, a labor law, a law on economic policy, resolutions on the Red Army, on the Soviet state, on the national question, etc. A provisional central Soviet government was elected with Comrade Mao Tse-tung as president and Comrades Hsian Yin and Chang Ko-tao as vice-presidents.

The draft Constitution that was adopted defined the aims of the Chinese Soviets as follows:

"The Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic guarantees the political rule of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in the Soviet districts of China. Our task is its complete establishment over the whole of China. The aim of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry is to abolish all feudal survivals, to abolish the rule of the imperialists in China, to bring about the revolutionary unification of the whole country, systematically to restrict the development of capitalism, to stimulate the economic development of the country, to develop the class consciousness of the proletariat and to unite the broad masses of the poor peasants and the proletariat for the purpose of passing on to the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The Agrarian Policy of the Soviets

The Congress of Soviets defined more precisely and in the

laws which it passed officially formulated the policy of the Chinese Soviets in the various spheres of their activity. Of special importance is the land law which was passed. How does the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in China achieve the revolutionary solution of the agrarian problem? In the Soviet districts the land of the landlords and other big private landowners was confiscated without compensation. The confiscated land was divided among the peasants. All verbal as well as written feudal and extortionate agreements were annulled. All the debts of peasants and poor city dwellers to usurers were wiped off. Attempts to revive enslavement for debt, or any other of the old relations between usurer and debtor, are punished with all the severity of revolutionary law. Freedom of action is granted to the revolutionary agricultural laborers' unions and groups of poor peasants which serve as the bulwark of the Soviets in the rural districts in bringing about the revolutionary agrarian changes. The former numerous and burdensome taxes have been superseded by a single graduated tax, the whole burden of which falls upon the wealthy and exploiting classes.

At the same time the Soviets are taking measures to improve the technique of agriculture, to extend the area of cultivation, to improve the cultivation of the soil, and to increase the yield of crops. Soviet bodies are collecting selected seed and are supplying them to the peasant farms. They are increasing the output of lime and other fertilizers for the peasant fields. They organize the repair and manufacture of agricultural implements, repair the old and build new irrigation systems, and mobilize the broad masses for the purpose of carrying out the sowing and harvesting campaigns. As a result of all these measures the conditions of the masses of the peasantry in the Soviet districts have greatly improved.

It is true that before the First Congress of Soviets serious mistakes had been committed in a number of districts in carrying out the agrarian policy. For example, in some places landlords succeeded on various pretexts in retaining possession of their land. In other places agricultural laborers were not given land so as "not to destroy the proletarian base in the rural districts". There

were cases where local authorities would not grant land to Red Army men on the ground that "if they receive land they will no longer want to fight". In some districts the local authorities insisted upon dividing the land equally among all peasants without taking into consideration the desires and temper of the masses of the peasants. In other districts attempts were made to form collective farms and state farms before the conditions were ripe for this, etc. After the First Congress of Soviets mistakes and distortions of Soviet policy of this kind became more and more rare.

The Labor Law and Cultural Work

The workers in the Soviet districts also obtained considerable improvements. The eight-hour day has been introduced in all districts. For agricultural laborers the working day is fixed by agreement. The working day for young people is shorter than for adults. The principle of equal pay for equal work for men and women is applied. Conditions of labor have improved a great deal compared with what they were in the past, and this applies also to the behavior of employers toward their employees. The workers have secured considerable increases in wages. The overwhelming majority of the workers in the Soviet districts are organized in trade unions.

The practical measures carried out by the Soviets in the interests of the workers and peasants help to awaken the broad masses of the toilers to active political life and stimulate the growth of their organization and political consciousness. All sorts of public organizations seethe with activity. The revolutionary initiative of the common people is developing. This is facilitated by the emancipation of women and the complete equality of the toilers of the various nationalities. A very important part in the life of the Soviet districts is played by the trade unions, at the head of which is the member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, Comrade Liu Shao-chi.

The workers and peasants are displaying a strong desire for education. A wide network of educational institutions has been established. For example, in the county of Ningtu, where formerly there were only a few schools, there are now 350 elementary

schools, 580 evening schools, 13 clubs and numerous circles for the liquidation of illiteracy.

The successes of the Soviet movement and the historic victories of the Red Army have placed China in the front rank of the national revolutionary movement in the colonial world.

The Second Congress of Soviets

All these gains of the Chinese workers and peasants were consolidated at the Second Congress of Soviets where, also, measures for the further improvement of the conditions of the toilers were put forward.

The Second Congress of Soviets was opened on January 22, 1934, in the town of Juikin. There were present 821 delegates and about 1,500 visitors. The social composition of the delegates is interesting. According to the report of the Credentials Committee, among the delegates there were eight industrial workers, 244 artisans, 53 coolies, two shop assistants, 122 agricultural laborers, 303 poor peasants, 25 middle peasants and 64 small shopkeepers, students, professional people and others.

In the period between the First and Second Congresses of the Soviets the Chinese Red Army defeated the fourth and fifth campaigns of the Kuomintang generals against the Soviet districts. It is well known that instead of fighting the Japanese imperialists the Nanking Kuomintang concentrated all its forces on the suppression of the Soviet movement. In February, 1932, the Kuomintang started its fourth campaign and in the summer of 1933 it organized its fifth campaign against the Soviet districts. In both it was defeated, and the strength and prestige of the Chinese Red Army and of the Chinese Soviets were greatly increased.

The most outstanding item on the agenda of the Second Congress of Soviets was the report of the President of the Soviet government, Comrade Mao Tse-tung. In the course of his report Mao Tse-tung strikingly summed up the results of the past years of struggle and indicated definite measures for mobilizing the masses to repel the sixth Kuomintang campaign which was anticipated. He quoted interesting facts indicating the gains which the workers had achieved in the Soviet districts. Conditions of

labor had improved and wages had risen. As a result of the agrarian reforms the conditions of the masses of the peasantry had markedly improved. In the course of one year, the yield of the peasant fields had increased 20 per cent.

“Compared with the Kuomintang period the lives of the peasants had improved at least twofold,” he said. “In the past the majority of the peasants starved the best part of the year and hard times compelled them to eat the bark of trees, grass, etc. At the present time, not only has starvation been abolished, but the lives of the peasants are improving from year to year. In the past the majority of the peasants rarely ate meat, now they eat meat. Formerly the majority of the peasants were badly clothed, now they are better clothed; in some places they are clothed twice and three times as well as they were clothed in the past. What kind of life and what kind of government do peasants want? Let the peasants in the Kuomintang districts answer.”

The Second Congress elected to the various government bodies, among others, veterans of the Chinese revolution and prominent political leaders of China such as Lin Tsu-han, Wu Yui-chang, Hsueh Si-lin, Ho Shu-hong, and one of the prominent organizers of the Communist Party, Comrade Chao Jung.

The enormous improvement in the conditions of the people achieved by the Chinese Soviet government under the leadership of the Communists in spite of the tremendous difficulties arising out of the economic backwardness of the Soviet districts, the unceasing civil war and economic blockade, ensured the heroic support which the vast masses of the Chinese people gave the Red Army. In his report at the Congress Mao Tse-tung said:

“The broad masses of the workers and peasants regard it as their sacred duty to take up arms in defense of the Soviet districts and to extend them, and therefore they go to the front in a broad unending stream. For example, in the village of Chankan, Kiangsi province, there were 407 males from the age of 16 to 45; of these 320 joined the Red Army and 87 remained, that is to say, 80 per cent of the men joined the army and only 20 per cent remained at home. In the village of Upper Tsaisi, in the province of Fukien, there was 552 men of whom 485 joined the Red Army and 67 remained, that is to say, 88 per cent joined the army and only 12 per cent remained at home.”

It is this mass support which the Red Army enjoys that

primarily explains the victories it has achieved. The strength of the Red Army lies in the inseparable ties it has with the masses of the working people. The strength of the Red Army lies in the fact that it is a revolutionary army bound by iron and conscious discipline; it lies in the fact that every soldier knows that he is fighting in the interests of the people, fighting in his own cause, in the cause of the national and social liberation of the whole of the Chinese people. The strength of the Red Army lies in its Communist leadership; in the enormous political educational work which the Communists carry on in its ranks and in the ranks of the people. That is why the Red Army inflicts defeat upon every militarist army, in spite of the fact that the latter is numerically stronger and immeasurably better equipped than itself.

The Fukien Events

The strengthening of the Soviet districts and the growth of the prestige of the Red Army accelerated the process of disintegration in the ranks of the Kuomintang forces. On the other hand, the defeatist policy of the Nanking leaders who had surrendered position after position to the Japanese usurpers roused discontent and anger among the soldiers as well as the patriotically-minded officers in the Kuomintang army. This feeling was particularly strong in the 19th Army, famous for its defense of Shanghai in the beginning of 1933. At the end of 1933, the 19th Army, then stationed at Fukien, was ordered to march against the Soviet districts. It refused to do so and rose in rebellion against the Nanking government and concluded an agreement with the leaders of the Red Army.

According to this agreement the 19th Army undertook to fight against Chiang Kai-shek and the Japanese imperialists, to release all political prisoners, to allow freedom of action to the mass organizations and establish friendly relations with the Soviet districts. The 19th Army set up in Fukien its own "National Revolutionary Government" which declared its readiness radically to solve the agrarian problem.

Fearing that the example of the 19th Army would be followed by other military units, Chiang Kai-shek decided to crush the rebel army by a swift blow. He accomplished his purpose

by sending his troops to Fukien and by bribing several generals. The 19th Army did not put up any serious resistance to Chiang Kai-shek and was dissolved in the beginning of 1934.

The Chinese Communists failed to take advantage of the situation created by the Fukien events. There was still a certain misunderstanding of the tasks of the united national anti-imperialist front in the ranks of the Communists and this caused a certain amount of wavering on the question of the attitude to be taken towards the 19th Army. The Communists put too narrow an interpretation on the agreement concluded with the 19th Army with the result that a serious mistake was committed in that the Red Army failed to render the necessary active support to the 19th Army. This support should have been given in the interests of the struggle against the common enemy, Chiang Kai-shek, in order to cause greater disintegration in the militarists' armies and win them over for the struggle against the Japanese imperialists and their Chinese lackeys.

Sixth Campaign Against the Soviet Districts

After crushing the rebellion of the 19th Army, Chiang Kai-shek was able once again to concentrate his forces for the fight against the Chinese Red Army and to continue his sixth campaign against the Soviet districts. This campaign assumed particularly wide dimensions. Enjoying the all-sided support of the international imperialists the Kuomintang equipped an enormous army of 700,000 men for his attack upon the Soviets. This campaign lasted for over a year and as a result of it the main forces of the Red Army were compelled to retire from the province of Kiangsi. Passing through the provinces of Kwantung and Kwangsi they marched to Kweichow and Szechuan where they developed successful operations. Notwithstanding his enormous losses in men and equipment Chiang Kai-shek's plan to surround and smash the Chinese Red Army utterly failed.

The transference of the main forces of the Red Army to Szechuan where they joined with the Fourth Red Army, commanded by Chang Ko-tao, Hsu Hsiang-chien and Chen Chang-hao, lasted eight and a half months. Their heroic march of 3,000 miles was accomplished under incredibly difficult conditions.

Commanded by Comrades Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, Chow Yen-lai, Wang Chia-hsian, Lin Piao, Tung Chang-tang and others, they fought their way through almost impassable country, crossing rivers without the necessary equipment and mountain ranges by almost inaccessible paths. During this historic march the men and commanders of the Chinese Red Army set an exceptional example of mass heroism and self-sacrifice, and proved their boundless loyalty to the interests of the working people.

The numerical strength of the Red Army did not diminish; on the contrary, in the process of stubborn and fierce fighting its forces increased and became stronger. The latest movements of the Chinese Red Army have created the possibilities of organizing more stable and secure Soviet bases, for more active and mobile operations of the Red Armies, for the wider development of the Soviet movement and for its extension to new districts of China.

Simultaneously with the growth of the Chinese revolution the disintegration in the camp of the Kuomintang militarists steadily increased. The economic situation in Kuomintang China became steadily worse. Japan continued to develop her military offensive in North China. Chiang Kai-shek transferred to Chinese soil the fascist forms and methods of fighting the growing revolution. The conditions of the working people in the Kuomintang territories became catastrophically worse. Discontent against the militarist regime increased. All this stimulated, as Comrade Stalin has said, "the growth of the Soviet districts in China which the combined counter-revolution of the Chinese and foreign bourgeoisie was unable to stop".

CHAPTER VII

The Communist Party in the Fight for the United People's Anti-Imperialist Front

THE UNBRIDLED AGGRESSION of the Japanese imperialists, on the one hand, and the growth of the Soviet movement, on the other, created a new political situation in China. The predatory expansion of Japanese imperialism in China threatened the very national existence of the Chinese people. This expansion continued uninterrupted. After Manchuria the Japanese imperialists seized the province of Jehol, after Jehol they seized Shanhaikuan. Then they seized the strategical points along the Great Wall known as the Nantung demilitarized zone. Then, step by step, they marched into China proper. Under cover of the Hopei-Chahar Political Council and the Autonomous Committee for Combatting Communism in East Hopei, which they created, they practically began to occupy the five provinces of North China.

The Japanese imperialists transformed the occupied districts into a *place d'armes* for the further development of their predatory operations. They made the lives of the people inhabiting the occupied regions absolutely unbearable. They seized all the railways, the water transport system, the banks and factories. They monopolized the whole trade of the region. They drove the Chinese peasants from the fields they tilled and declared themselves to be the owners. They reduced the Chinese population in these districts to the position of colonial slaves. They put to fire and sword the property of the peasants who refused to submit to the alien imperialist usurpers. The predatory colonial policy pursued

by the Japanese imperialists in the territory of Manchukuo and other occupied districts cuts rights across the vital interests of the Chinese people.

But this fate threatens the other districts of China. Japanese aggression has created the danger of the whole of China being flung into the position of colonial slavery. As a result, the Chinese people are today experiencing a national crisis unexampled in its age-long history.

Economic Decay of China

The unprecedented disasters which befell the Chinese people as a result of Japanese aggression were supplemented by the severe consequences of the steady economic decay of China. As a result of the world economic crisis the agricultural and industrial crisis in China assumed exceptionally sharp forms. It is sufficient to point to the drop in prices between 1929 and 1932 as a direct result of the world economic crisis. Thus, in this period the price of soy beans dropped from \$2.30 per picul (133 1/3 lbs.) to \$.83; the price of silk dropped from \$625 to \$156; tea dropped from \$43.50 to \$12; eggs from \$18.50 to \$7.60; raw cotton from \$19.60 to \$10.40; peanuts from \$5.31 to \$2. Tens of millions of Chinese peasants have been ruined and driven into the ranks of the gigantic army of starving paupers. In 1929 it was calculated that there were 54,000,000 starving people in China and in 1931 the number reached the catastrophic figure of 70,000,000.

In 1935 the yield of the harvest was 20 per cent below that of 1934. According to figures published by the Bankers' Cooperative Credit Service, during the first six months of 1935, 250 industrial enterprises were closed down in Shanghai. The silk mills in China are closing down because they cannot stand the competition of Japanese artificial silk. In Shanghai, for example, out of 113 silk mills only 23 were in operation in 1935. The majority of the silk mills were also closed down in the province of Chekiang. China's foreign trade has been diminishing from year to year. The deficit in the state budget is growing. It is easy to get an idea of what this budget is like if we bear in mind that 82.3 per cent of the total budget goes for war expenditure

and in the payment of loans (war expenditure 49.7 per cent and loans 32.6 per cent).

Japanese aggression is accelerating the economic collapse of China. The Japanese imperialists have cut off enormous regions from China and by this alone disturb the national economy of the country. But this is not all. They resort to dumping and flood the Chinese markets with their goods at extremely low prices and buy up for next to nothing bankrupt Chinese enterprises. They help still further to dislocate the trade and industry of China by their currency and foreign trade policy. The mass unemployment and hopeless poverty which have affected the masses of the Chinese people lately to a monstrous degree are the results of the imperialist enslavement of China, particularly by Japan, and of the feudal-military system prevailing in the country.

This is becoming more and more clear to the broad masses of the Chinese people. They cannot become and refuse to become reconciled to the lot of colonial slaves: They do not want the great Chinese nation with a history of 5,000 years to cease its existence to please the imperialist usurpers. The pent-up anger of the people against the imperialist conquerors and their Chinese lackeys is beginning to come to the surface. Larger and larger masses are joining the struggle to save the country, the struggle for the political and economic independence of China and for the national and social liberation of the Chinese people. Resistance or death, determined struggle or further incalculable and unbearable disasters—such is the dilemma that confronts the toilers of China; and this is what the broad masses of the Chinese people are beginning to understand.

Powerful Upsurge of the Liberation Struggle

Japanese aggression and the economic ruin connected with it are causing a powerful upsurge of the national struggle against the Japanese imperialists and their Chinese lackeys. In Manchuria guerilla warfare continues to be successfully waged.

Characteristic of this growing struggle was the revolt of nearly 30,000 peasants against Japanese aggression in the demilitarized zone in the province of Hopei, and the formation in the county of Taiming of an army of "defenders of peasants"

lands" numbering 5,000. These symptomatic facts testify to the growth of peasant unrest in the occupied districts. Simultaneously, the strike movement of the Chinese proletariat continues to grow.

Most of the conflicts break out over economic questions, but many of them grow into political struggles, while some bear a strongly marked political character right from the beginning. Among these may be mentioned the strike of 13,000 textile workers in the Old and New Ihe Mills, the strike of 40,000 rickshaw men in the French concession in Shanghai, the anti-Japanese strike of 2,300 miners at the Fushun coal mines and the strike at the Japanese textile mills in Shanghai in the beginning of 1936. The Shanghai seamen organized a turbulent anti-Japanese demonstration which led to the declaration of martial law in Shanghai and the arrest of over 60 demonstrators. At the end of 1935 the workers of Wuhan took part in anti-Japanese street demonstrations.

Notwithstanding severe repression the student movement assumed wide dimensions in 1935 and in the first months of 1936. It spread to all the towns in China. Under its influence the urban petty bourgeoisie, the progressive bourgeois intellectuals and the patriotic section of the Chinese national bourgeoisie are being roused to activity and swept into the national liberation struggle.

Anti-Japanese organizations of all kinds are springing up like mushrooms. Students' unions, all sorts of educational organizations, unions of lawyers and journalists, trade unions, associations for the national salvation of China—all these raise their voices in protest against Japanese aggression and against the defeatist policy of the Nanking government. In the Kuomintang itself a crisis is maturing. The rank and file of the Kuomintang, disappointed with the policy of their leaders, are becoming convinced of the necessity of organizing determined resistance to the Japanese usurpers and of uniting the whole of the Chinese people in the fight to save the country.

This powerful upsurge of the anti-imperialist struggle is having a revolutionizing effect upon the army. Not only among the rank and file, but even among the officers sentiment is growing in favor of waging a determined struggle against the Japanese imperialists. Evidence of this is to be found in the effort to defend

Shanghai in 1932, in the events in Fukien in 1933-34, the refusal of many units of the army to fight against the Red Army, the passing of the whole of the 26th Kuomintang Army with its commander, Tung Chen-tang, to the side of the Red Army, the armed rebellion against the Japanese of the military forces commanded by Chi Hung-chan (who joined the Communist Party in 1933 and who died heroically under the axe of the Kuomintang executioner in 1935), by Fang Chen-wu, Feng Yu-hsiang, Sun Tien-yin and others in Chahar, the growth of anti-Japanese feeling among the soldiers and officers of the 25th Division, the division commanded by Wang Yi-che and the 29th Army in North China. The anti-Japanese leaflets distributed in the barracks of the Nanking forces are being received with increasing sympathy. Patriotic pronouncements by representatives of military-political groups in China are becoming more and more frequent. All these movements reveal the strong striving of the masses to unite all the forces of the Chinese people for the struggle for the independence and integrity of their country. This creates exceptionally favorable soil for the organization of a united people's anti-Japanese front in China.

The United People's Anti-Imperialist Front

In his historic report at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in the summer of 1935, Comrade Dimitroff said:

"In connection with the changed international and internal situation exceptional importance attaches in all colonial countries and semi-colonial countries to the question of the *anti-imperialist united front*."

This statement acquires particular importance for China, whose fate has now been flung into the scales by the Japanese usurpers. Japanese imperialism is the principal immediate and mortal enemy of the whole of the Chinese people. Only by mobilizing and rallying all its forces can the Chinese people frustrate the predatory plans of the Japanese imperialists and beat off their attack. That is why the formation of a united people's anti-imperialist front is the most important condition for saving China

from the imminent danger of complete colonial enslavement that now hovers over her.

It must be borne in mind that an extremely peculiar situation is being created in China as a consequence of Japanese aggression. History knows of cases where altogether different forces, altogether different class interests and completely opposite political and social strivings have combined to fight the common enemy. We will recall the situation in Russia in February, 1917. As Lenin said: "The peculiar combination of circumstances has made it possible in 1917 to unite the attack of the most diverse social forces against tsarism." The revolution obtained unforeseen allies.

"As a result the revolution has turned out to be different from what any one expected. We have found allies not only in the Russian bourgeoisie, but also in the Anglo-French capitalists."

As a result of Japanese aggression a considerable section of the Chinese national bourgeoisie are changing their attitude and are more and more strenuously seeking a way to resist Japanese imperialism. On the other hand the further progress of the Japanese imperialists into the heart of China is intensifying the antagonisms between them and Anglo-American capital which regards Japanese aggression as a direct menace to their interests. All these circumstances taken together confront the Chinese Communists with the task of drawing into the national anti-Japanese struggle all the patriotic elements, of utilizing all the direct and indirect reserves and of starting a victorious sacred war of the whole of the Chinese people to save their country. The unification of the Chinese people for the *anti-Japanese struggle* is facilitated by the battle-hardened Chinese Red Army on whose shoulders now falls the duty of serving as the most loyal armed bulwark of the united people's anti-Japanese front.

Referring to this task Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International said:

"In China where the people's movement has already led to the formations of Soviet districts over a considerable territory of the country and to the organization of a powerful Red Army, the predatory attack of Japanese imperialism and the treason of the Nanking government have brought into jeopardy the national existence of the great Chinese people.

Only the Chinese Soviets can act as a unifying center in the struggle against the enslavement and partition of China by the imperialists, as a unifying center which will rally all anti-imperialist forces for the national defense of the Chinese people.

"We therefore approve the initiative taken by our courageous brother Party of China in the creation of a most extensive anti-imperialist united front against Japanese imperialism and its Chinese agents, jointly with all those organized forces existing on the territory of China which are ready to wage a real struggle for the salvation of their country and their people."

The Chinese Soviets Under the New Conditions

Comrade Dimitroff's statement presented to the Chinese Soviets a task of historical importance. The Chinese Soviets grew out of the agrarian revolution, and the main content of their policy was the radical agrarian change, the abolition of landlordism for the benefit of the peasantry. That is why up till now the Soviet districts were mainly the territorial base of the agrarian revolution. In the new situation, however, the Communist Party is pursuing a course to make the Chinese Soviets play more than ever before the part of the most reliable base for the anti-imperialist struggle, to play the part of the leading force of the people's anti-imperialist front.

In accordance with the requirements of the new situation, the commanders of the Chinese Red Army are striving to increase its forces, to recruit wider masses of the toilers who are taking part in the struggle for liberation into its ranks. The Communist Party is taking measures to strengthen the military-political leadership of the Red Army. The commanders of the Chinese Red Army as well as the leaders of the Chinese Soviets are displaying considerable initiative in concluding agreements and amalgamating with other military units and political groups for the purpose of waging a joint struggle against the Japanese usurpers and their Chinese lackeys.

The latest movements of the Chinese Red Army were dictated by these considerations. A heroic march from Hunan to Sikang and Szechuan was accomplished by the 2nd and 6th Army Corps of the Red Army commanded by Ho Lung and Hsiao Ke, who are famous for their leadership in battle. In Szechuan these

units amalgamated with the main forces of the Chinese Red Army commanded by that hero of Chinese popular legend, Chu Teh. Parts of the provinces of Sikang and Szechuan have been transformed into strong Soviet bases which can ensure the successful operations of the Chinese Red Army against the districts occupied by the Japanese imperialists.

At the same time a column of the Red Army commanded by Mao Tse-tung advanced from Szechuan to the northern part of the province of Shensi. Here it amalgamated with three army corps, thus greatly strengthening the Soviet district in Shensi. A little later Mao Tse-tung, at the head of a number of Red Army regiments, marched into the province of Shansi almost adjacent to the districts usurped by the Japanese imperialists. These operations best of all demonstrate the Red Army's readiness to fight in spite of all difficulties for the expulsion of the Japanese usurpers from the territory of China. The success of these operations and the growth of the popularity of the Chinese Red Army may be judged from the fact that within a comparatively short time Mao Tse-tung managed to form five new Red Army divisions in the provinces of Shensi and Shansi.

In their policy and in all the measures they adopt the Chinese Communists are guided by the resolution adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International on Comrade Dimitroff's report which defined the tasks of the Communist Party of China as follows:

"In China the extension of the Soviet movement and the strengthening of the fighting power of the Red Army must be combined with the development of the people's anti-imperialist movement all over the country. This movement must be carried on under the slogan of the national revolutionary struggle of the armed people against the imperialist enslavers, in the first place against Japanese imperialism and its Chinese servitors. The Soviets must become the rallying center for the entire Chinese people in its struggle for emancipation."

The New Tactics of the Communist Party

From the very outset of the usurpatory activities of the Japanese imperialists the Communist Party of China issued the slogan for the organization of a national revolutionary war of

the armed people against Japanese imperialism in defense of the national independence, the territorial integrity and national unity of China. The Party carried on considerable activity in extending and leading the anti-imperialist struggle. It strove to direct the growing anger of the masses in the direction of an armed struggle against the Japanese imperialists and their Chinese servitors. As is well known the activities of the Party in this sphere were not fruitless; and the part the Communists played in the heroic defense of Shanghai in the beginning of 1932 is also noteworthy. Some time after, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Military Council of the Red Army issued a manifesto addressed to all the units of the militarists' armies in which they declared their readiness to conclude agreements with any of these units to wage a joint struggle against the Japanese invaders and their Chinese agents on the condition that military operations against the Red Army were stopped and that the people living in the territory of the given military unit were given arms and granted democratic liberties.

Nevertheless, the Communist Party failed at first to take into account all the changes that had occurred in the political situation and in the relation of class forces. Hence, it did not make the necessary change in its tactics. We saw an example of this in its attitude toward the Fukien events. For that reason the successes in developing the defensive, national revolutionary war, in mobilizing the broad masses of the people and in creating a united anti-Japanese front were inadequate.

An enormous part in changing the tactics of the Communist Party of China was played by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. At that Congress the Chinese delegation, led by Comrade Wang Ming, worked out the principles of the new policy and tactics of the Communist Party of China directed towards the creation of a united anti-Japanese People's Front and the rallying of the broad masses of the people of the whole of China around the Red Army and the Soviets as the most consistent and most powerful anti-imperialist force.

On August 1, 1935, the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued an "Appeal to the Whole

People of China on Resisting Japan and Saving the Country". This is one of the most important documents of the national revolutionary movement of China. It called for the formation of a united all-China people's government of national defense and for the organization of a united all-China anti-Japanese army. This document stated that:

"The Soviet government is prepared to take the initiative in forming an all-China government of national defense; it is prepared to enter into immediate negotiations for the organization of a government of national defense and for taking part in it with all political parties and groups in China, with all prominent political and public workers, with all mass organizations and with all local military and political authorities who desire to take part in the fight to resist Japan and to save the country."

The manifesto went on to say that the Soviet government and the Communist Party of China would do everything to assist the formation of such a united government and would support all the decisions of this government which were directed towards the defense of integrity of China and the vital interests of the Chinese people. It then went on to enumerate the demands that were to serve as a basis of activity of the united government as follows:

"The fundamental task of such a people's government would be to organize resistance to Japanese imperialism and to save the country. For that reason the main points of its program should be as follows:

"1. Armed resistance to Japanese expansion and the restitution of all occupied territory.

"2. Relief for the famine-stricken, thorough repair of river courses and dams in order to prevent floods and drought.

"3. Confiscation of all the property of Japanese imperialists in China to be used to cover the expense connected with the fight against Japan.

"4. Confiscation of all the land, stocks of rice and wheat, and all other property belonging to traitors and Japanese agents; this land, stocks and property to be used for the benefit of the unemployed, the poor, and those who took part in the anti-Japanese struggle.

"5. The abolition of all extortionate taxes and imposts; finances, the money system and the whole of national economy to be put in order.

"6. Increase in wages and salaries, and improvement in the material conditions of the workers, peasants, military and intellectuals.

"7. Democratic liberties and the release of all political prisoners.

"8. Universal free education, work to be provided for all young people on leaving school.

"9. Equality for all nationalities inhabiting China and protection of the liberty of the individual, the property, right of residence and activities of Chinese living abroad.

"10. The establishment of contacts with all peoples who are hostile to Japanese imperialism (the Japanese working people, the Korean, Formosan, etc.) people for joint struggle against the common enemy. The establishment of an alliance with all nations and states which assist and sympathize with the national liberation struggle of the Chinese people, and of friendly relations with all states and nations which maintain friendly neutrality in the military operations between Japanese imperialism and the Chinese people."

The Communist Party of China has only just begun to apply these new tactics and so it is difficult to say what results they will achieve. It is clear, however, that only the consistent application of the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, the bold and fearless application of the new tactics of the Communist Party of China, can lead to the formation of a strong people's anti-imperialist front, and, with the aid of this united People's Front, to great victories for the national revolution in China.

Changes in the Economic Policy of the Soviets

In conformity with the new situation and the new policy of the Party the Chinese Communists are introducing certain changes in the economic policy of the Chinese Soviets. In agrarian policy the line of abolishing feudal survivals is to be pursued in such a way as not to come into conflict with the desire to form as wide a national anti-Japanese front as possible. Judging from information received, the Communist Party proposes in this connection the following:

1. Not to confiscate land belonging to handicraftsmen, artisans, teachers, small shopkeepers and workers who do not cultivate it themselves, but who acquired it in the past out of their savings. These people are to be allowed to lease their land as hitherto, but in the event of this land being redistributed in

accordance with the demands of the peasant masses the state is to pay compensation for it.

2. Not to confiscate the land and so-called surplus implements from the rich peasants. In the event of the land being equally distributed in accordance with the demands of the bulk of the peasantry the plots of the rich peasants are to go into the common pool and the rich peasants are to receive plots of land on an equal footing with the rest.

3. Not to confiscate the land belonging to military men who are taking an active part in the armed struggle against Japanese imperialism and to save the country.

4. In regard to shopkeepers who are at the same time big landowners, it is proposed not to confiscate their stores but only to confiscate their land.

The Communist Party has also had to revise its policy in regard to trade, industry and labor in the Soviet territory. The changes in policy are intended to encourage the development of private trade and industry simultaneously with the development of cooperative and state trade and industry. The restrictions on free trade and private industry are being removed. It is intended to facilitate the development of commerce between the Soviet and non-Soviet districts. Private traders and manufacturers are also to receive relief in taxation. At the same time the workers and agricultural laborers are advised to refrain from putting forward demands which in the present situation in the Soviet districts are impracticable or may lead to dislocation of industry and to unemployment. They are also advised to refrain from establishing so-called workers' control of industry, the conditions for which are not yet ripe in the present territory of Soviet China.

The Communist Party of China has pledged itself consistently to carry out in the Soviet territory the program proposed for the united government of national defense and promised that in this respect it will set an example to all those who regard themselves adherents of the united People's Front. This does not mean, however, that the Party will confine itself to this program in the Soviet districts. In accordance with the sentiments and demands of the masses it is carrying out measures that go beyond this program; but in doing it, it bears in mind the interests of the nationwide liberation struggle.

Commissar of Education of the Soviet Republic, and Comrade Li-Tai-chao, the prominent leader of the Chinese Communists, died at the hands of the enemy. In the counter-revolutionary dungeons those most talented leaders of the toiling masses, Chen Yen-nian and Chen Tsao-yang, were tortured to death; so also was Comrade Lo Yi-nun whose broad outlook and iron will were the admiration of all. Comrades Chang Tai-lei and Yung Tai-yin, the founders of the Chinese Young Communist League and leaders of the Canton Commune, died at their post. The members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Comrades Tsai Hosen and Lo Teng-hsian, were tortured to death. Comrade Peng Pai, who owing to his popularity among the peasants was called the "king of the peasants", was shot, as also were that loyal and passionate fighter for his country, Comrade Fang Chi-ming and his comrade-in-arms, the commander of the Seventh Army Corps, Comrade Sung Huai-chow. The last two were shot when the national crisis was acutest, when the Chinese people more than ever stood in need of the unification of all forces to resist the imperialist pirates.

One of the founders of the Chinese Red Army, Comrade Huang Kung-lueh, died on the field of battle. One of the best representatives of the long-suffering Chinese women and oldest member of the Communist Party, Comrade Hsiang Ching-yui, was tortured to death. The best representatives of the Wampu Military College, gifted military commanders and staunch sons of the Communist Party, Comrades Sun Sung, Sun Ping-wen, Li Tse-lun, Chiang Hsian-yung and others died the death of heroes. The leaders of the workers' units, Comrades Sun Hsioa-po and Fu Wei-yu, fell heroically during the defense of Shanghai. Comrade Mah Chung, formerly a Mohammedan and one of the first active Communists and leader of the Chinese students, and Comrade Wei Pa-tsung, one of the best representatives of the doubly oppressed Miao people and fearless leader of the Red partisans, lost their heads on the executioner's block.

During the past few years not less than 30,000 Communists, the best sons of the Chinese people, were tortured to death without trial or investigation by the counter-revolutionary executioners. Thousands of Chinese Communists fought like national heroes

and laid down their lives on the battlefields of Manchuria in the fight against the Japanese usurpers. Not less than 100,000 Chinese Communists laid down their lives in the ranks of the gallant Red Army fighting for the national and social liberation of the Chinese people.

In the midst of these serious trials and incalculable difficulties the Communist Party of China stands unshaken like a rock. In the midst of the stubborn struggle it restored its organizations that were broken up by the enemy and strengthened its contacts with the masses. It learned to combine the everyday persevering struggle for the common needs of the masses of the toilers with the solution of problems of great historical and political importance. It trained whole cadres of men and women steeled in battle. It has members who devote all their strength, all their knowledge and the whole of their lives to the building up and strengthening of the Party, realizing that without such a Party the Chinese people cannot achieve its independence or change its social and economic system. The whole of the activity of the Chinese Communists is imbued with the consciousness that the existence of a militant Communist Party connected with the masses is the fundamental and decisive condition for the victory of the Chinese people in their struggle for independence and prosperity. The Communist Party of China has within its ranks courageous fighters whose principal qualities are "clearness of aim, persistence in striving for this aim and firmness of character which breaks down all obstacles." (Stalin.)

The Chinese Communists are inspired by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. These teachings imbue them with unshakable certainty in their ultimate victory. Guided by these teachings, standing firmly on this granite ideological base, the Chinese Communists are enabled properly to solve all the burning problems of the revolutionary liberation struggle in their country. They train the masses they lead in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, loyalty to the Leninist-Stalinist Communist International and of vital interest in the victory of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations of the whole world.

A prominent Chinese statesman who only recently was an opponent of Communism was compelled in one of his last articles

to admit that the Chinese Communists are the flower of the youth of China. It is true that there are not a few members of the Communist Party whose hair is frosted with age, but they, like all the Communists, belong to a party which stands for the future, to a party which is waging the struggle to save the Chinese people, to change all social relationships and is marching towards its goal in spite of everything.

The powerful Communist Party of China is the best pledge of victory for the Chinese people in their struggle for national and social liberation. The banner of the Communist Party is the banner of victory. Holding aloft this banner of struggle against imperialism and its Chinese servitors, consistently striving to create a united people's anti-imperialist front, the Chinese Communists are more and more winning the ardent love and the increasing support of the masses of the Chinese people.

All who are honest and progressive among the Chinese people will rally around the battle flag of the Communist Party of China and under the leadership of the brave cohort of Chinese Bolsheviks will achieve complete victory in the forthcoming decisive battles.

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