

**13**<sup>TH</sup> PLENUM

**Revolutionary China  
Today**

Speeches by  
**WAN MING and KANG SIN**

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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# Revolution, War and Intervention in China and the Tasks of the Communist Party

By WAN MING

## I. China—An Arena of Revolution, War and Intervention

**T**HE delegation of the Chinese Communist Party fully endorses the estimate given in our general theses and in the report of Comrade Kuusinen that "at the present moment the world situation has already come to the very brink of a new cycle of revolutions and wars" and that "the mainstays of capitalism are already being destroyed owing to its profound, insoluble contradictions. The world economic crisis is most closely interwoven with the general crisis of capitalism, and sharpens all the cardinal contradictions of the capitalist world to such an extent that a turn may take place at any moment, a turn which will signify the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis." The position in China is the best practical proof and confirmation of this estimate of the international situation.

Already at the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., in connection with its estimate of the world situation as the end of capitalist stabilization and the transition to a second round of revolutions and wars, the delegation of the C.P. of China pointed out that "in China revolution and war are already on the march," that "China has already become one of the chief links in the chain of revolutions and wars."

Somewhat more than a year has passed since the Twelfth Plenum. Today the world has reached the very brink of a new round of revolutions and wars. What new things have happened in China during this period?



## A. THE REVOLUTION MARCHES ON

### a. *The Victories of the Soviet Revolution and the Growth of the Chinese Soviet Republic*

Wherein is the further development of the revolutionary movement in China expressed? Above all in the victories of the Soviet Revolution and the growth of the Chinese Soviet Republic and its *de facto* recognition by the whole world. Everybody knows that at the time of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. the imperialists and Kuomintang people were organizing the grandiose fifth expedition against the Chinese Soviet Republic and its Red Army, an expedition unparalleled in extent in the history of China. For this fifth expedition the Kuomintang mobilized more than eighty-six divisions and organized numerous landlord and kulak armed detachments. All in all about a million effectives, including both regular and irregular troops, took direct part in the military operations of this expedition.

The imperialists and Chiang Kai-shek said at the time that this expedition would put an end once for all to the Soviet movement in China. The Right opportunists and the remnants of the counter-revolutionary followers of Lo Chang-lun, who had temporarily concealed themselves within the party, were shouting that the Chinese Communist Party and the Red Army were not in a position to repulse this grandiose military expedition. Their panicky sentiments drove the opportunists to go over openly to the side of the Kuomintang. Likewise many friends of the Chinese revolution and some Communists were seized with pessimism. They considered that this time victory was hardly possible for the Red Army and the C.P. of China. However, in spite of all these dire prophesies the delegation of the C.P. of China has every right at the present Plenum of the E.C.C.I. proudly to declare before the whole world that the fifth anti-Soviet expedition, which began in the autumn of 1932 and ended in the late spring and early summer of 1933, ended in a great defeat of the Kuomintang troops and a mighty victory for the Red Army under the leadership of the C.P. and the Central government of Soviet China.

What were the results which this victory brought?



1. *The Further Strengthening, Expansion and Unification of the Territory of the Chinese Soviet Republic*

The Red Army occupied seventy-nine new counties in various provinces of South, Central and Northwest China, including three district seats of government (Shao-Wu-fu in Fukien, Sze-Ting-fu and Lan-Chun-fu in Szechwan). In the course of the military operations several of the seized county towns frequently changed hands; still over forty newly occupied county towns have remained in the possession of the Red Army. The Fourth Red Army, in the progress of the war against the fifth expedition, set up immense and strong Soviet regions in the province of Szechwan. In this province conditions are favorable for Red Army movements, for it is a rich province, as the foreign and Chinese press rightly point out, is difficult of access for the imperialists and the Red Army can easily defend it. The prospects of the new Soviet region in Szechwan are splendid, and so are those of the Central Soviet District.

The Northeastern Kiangsi district and the Western Fukien district united with the Central Kiangsi district, as a result of which a number of Soviet areas in the Central District have become so strong that the enemy was unable during the last year and a half to penetrate even once this principal base of the Chinese Soviet Republic.

Besides, in the beginning of the sixth expedition the Red Army again occupied about fifteen new counties and two district seats which are quite important centers of trade and industry, namely, Yen-Ping in the province of Fukien and Wang-Hsian in the province of Szechwan.

As a result the territory of the Chinese Soviet Republic has become so extensive that it is now vaster than any of the big capitalist countries of Western Europe.

At the time of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the Chinese Soviet Republics constituted one-sixth of China proper. This territory included both the stable Soviet districts and the districts in which Red partisan detachments were operating. Today the territory of the Chinese Soviet Republic, that is, its total area including both the stable districts and districts of Red partisan activity,



already occupies one-fourth of the vast territory of China proper and one-sixth of interior China can already be counted as stable Soviet territory.

The total area of the Chinese Soviet Republic is 1,348,180 square kilometers, while the area of the stable districts takes in 681,255 square kilometers.

If we compare only the stable territory of the Chinese Soviet Republic with the territories of the big capitalist countries of Europe and the East we get the following picture:

Compared with the territory of the stable districts of Soviet China, the territory of France constitutes 80.9 per cent, of Germany 68.7 per cent, of Great Britain (without colonies) 35.5 per cent and of Japan (without colonies) 55.9 per cent.

The Central Soviet district of China alone is twice as great territorially as Holland and Belgium taken together.

## *2. The Further Strengthening and Expansion of the Red Army*

In repelling the fifth expedition, the Red Army defeated forty Kuomintang divisions, routing eighteen of these. Eighty thousand prisoners were taken, including many divisional, brigade and regimental commanders. (For instance in the Central Soviet District alone three divisional, eleven brigade and eighteen regimental commanders were taken prisoner in 1932. Between January and April, 1933, two divisional commanders, two brigade commanders and one regimental commander were taken prisoner.) In addition 140,000 rifles were captured; likewise 1,390 heavy and light machine guns, 20 radio apparatuses, hundreds of pieces of light and heavy artillery and six aeroplanes; about 30,000 soldiers of the Kuomintang army came over to the side of the Red Army.

In connection with these great victories the Red Army has grown considerably in size and strength. When the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. was held, the regular troops of the Red Army numbered from 200,000 to 250,000 effectives, while the irregular, that is, the partisans, the Red Guard and the Young Guard armed with rifles of the old and new type numbered over 400,000 persons.



Today, however, the Red Army regulars count about 350,000 while the irregular troops count over 600,000 warriors.

During this period six corps were newly created and equipped: the 25th and 28th corps on the former territory of the 4th Army, after its main troops were moved to Szechwan; then the 11th, 15th and the 19th corps in the Central Soviet District and one new corps in Szechwan. Five new divisions were created. Three of these are model divisions in the Central Soviet District, two being specially composed of workers and agricultural laborers and of these two, one division is composed of Young Communists, called the Y.C.L. division. Most of the Red Army men in these divisions are either members of the Party or of the Y.C.L. These model divisions are the shock detachments, the mailed fist, of the Red Army of China. Two new divisions have been organized in Szechwan, one in the north and another in the west of Szechwan.

*Qualitatively* the Red Army has made much progress during the past period. Above all its Communist and proletarian framework has gained considerably in strength. In many basic units of the Red Army of the Central Soviet District, 50 to 58 per cent of the troops consist of Party members, while the proletarian elements, that is, the factory workers, the handicraft workers and the agricultural laborers, constitute 25 to 30 per cent on the average and in some instances, they constitute 30 to 50 per cent. In the model divisions almost 100 per cent of the personnel consists of industrial and handicraft workers, farm laborers and clerks.

### 3. *Tremendous Progress in the Field of Soviet Construction*

The period after the formation of the Central Soviet government of the First All-China Congress of Soviets in 1931 and before the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. may be characterized as the period of political and organizational formation of the Chinese Soviet Republic, while the past year may be defined as the period of the further development and growth of the Chinese Soviet Republic and its *de facto* recognition by the whole world.

The central and local Soviet governments under the leadership



of our Party have done a great deal during the past year to concretize, make more specific and carry out in practice the basic laws and decrees adopted at the First All-China Congress of Soviets. For instance:

*In the field of the Soviet political and administrative system* there were published and carried out special decrees concerning the division of territories into districts and the structure of the local agencies of the Soviet government, from the provincial to the village governmental bodies, concerning the organization of their work; also concerning the procedure in all elections for all the Soviets; from the highest to the lowest, and so forth.

*In the field of economic policy* the central Soviet government during this period issued a special decree on co-operation (for instance in the Kiangsi Central Soviet District during this period more than five hundred producers', consumers' and credit co-operative organizations were created). Another decree laid down the rules for granting state and individual credits, and the rules for the investment of capital in industry and trade in the Soviet regions. Then there were decrees concerning the utilization of military and other specialists, concerning workers' control of production and the right to buy land under the control of the Soviets; also a decree prohibiting the ceaseless redivisions of the land which took place in a number of Soviet regions, for instance, in the former region of the Second Red Army. These incessant redivisions of the land are one of the most serious obstacles to an improvement in peasant agriculture.

The central and local Soviet authorities, once they have put their hands to the business of improving agriculture, industry and trade in the Soviet regions, conducted and are conducting agricultural campaigns such as sowings, and so forth. They organized aid for peasants having neither cattle nor land. They organized widespread revolutionary competition and shock brigading in agriculture. They organized and conducted mass work for the repair of old dams and the construction of new ones. They helped the peasants convert their fallow land into tilled land. They greatly improved the Soviet



workers' and peasants' banks, systematized taxation and conducted an extensive campaign for maximum economy of Soviet funds assigned to ensure the supply of the Red Army.

*In the field of improving and lowering the cost of the Soviet state apparatus* it may be stated that during this period the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection and the light cavalry as well as other mass organizations which systematically check the work of the Soviet apparatus were instituted. In numerous places self-criticism has assumed great proportions on the part of the worker and peasant masses who freely criticize the work of the Soviet apparatus with very satisfactory results. The central and local Soviet authorities have begun to introduce a budget system and publish once every one, two or three months reports to the masses concerning their revenues and expenditures, comparing our budgets with those of the Kuomintang bodies, thus showing the masses in practice that the Soviet government is the cheap government that the people of China have always been dreaming of.

*In the field of public education* much work has been done during the past year in all the chief Soviet districts, despite great difficulties because of the lack of means and cadres. For instance, in the county of Nantu in the Central Soviet District, 350 county schools, 580 evening schools and numerous circles to eliminate illiteracy have been established; likewise 13 clubs have been organized. The school children of that county in the elementary schools alone number 7,560. These schools are not only free but even supply those attending them with books and paper and feed them besides. Only the children of kulaks pay for tuition and food. Such a system of public education, such a wide network of county schools, has never yet been witnessed in the history of China.

According to data received by us in the beginning of this year, the first Communist University has been founded. It is named after Marx and is situated in the city of Shuikin, the Red capital of the Chinese Soviet government. In the district of the Fourth Army there already are various Soviet middle schools.

*In the field of the emancipation of women* the central Soviet government not only insists that the decree concerning free marriage



and divorce, concerning equal status of men and women, concerning the equal right to land allotments be strictly enforced but demands that at least one or two-fifths of the leaders of each Soviet institution or commission consist of working women. A commission to safeguard motherhood and babyhood is now attached to each Soviet.

*In the field of mass organizations* the past year showed a whirlwind growth of all kinds of revolutionary mass organizations. The Red trade unions, this most reliable support of our Party, the Soviet government and the Red Army, took the lead. Although up to now we do not have any exact statistics concerning the membership of the Red trade unions for the whole territory of the Chinese Soviet Republic, the isolated figures at hand show with sufficient clearness that the Red trade unions have become extensive mass organizations. For instance, the Central Soviet District alone, even at the beginning of this year, counted from 180,000 to 220,000 Red trade union members. There are nine provincial Trade Union Councils. In each Soviet district this year trade union congresses, conferences and delegates' meetings have been called.

The Red trade unions play a tremendous and leading role in Soviet China. One need only mention the fact that during three months, from June to August, two model divisions of the Red Army were formed exclusively from industrial workers, handicraft workers, office workers, store clerks and agricultural laborers. All this was done upon the initiative and at the call of the Central Bureau of the All-China Federation of Labor in Kiangsi. In all Soviet districts from 10 to 15 per cent of the Red trade union members have voluntarily entered the Red Army. The arsenal workers in all districts have doubled, and here and there have trebled the daily output of shells and other supplies for the Red Army.

The groups of the poor are also a mass support of the Party and of the Soviet government in the struggle against the kulaks and the remnants of the landlords. They have already become a widespread mass organization. Thus in eight counties of the Central Soviet Districts the members of the groups of the poor number 149,000.

As for the Workers' International Relief we can report that



when its first session in the Central Soviet District took place on August 1 in Shuikin, this district alone had about 600,000 members. At the W.I.R. Congress not only were the work and the tasks of the W.I.R. in China discussed, greetings sent to the Executive Committee of the W.I.R. and to Comrade Stassova as well as to the heroic fighters in fascist Germany and in barbarous monarchical Japan, but a collection was taken up to aid our brothers in Germany and Japan.

This is only one of many facts which evidence the strong solidarity and sympathy felt by the toilers of China, who fight under the leadership of the C.P., with the heroic struggle of the German proletariat headed by the Communist Party under the leadership of Comrade Thaelmann. This great sympathy with the German proletariat and its Communist Party is a result of the systematic work which the C.C. of the C.P. of China was and is conducting to fight fascism, in defence of the German Communist Party, in defence of its correct Bolshevik political and organizational line before, during and after Hitler came to power, in defence of the resolution of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. on the German question, thereby unmasking all opportunist slander against the leadership of the German C.P. uttered by Remmele, Neumann & Co.

The broad sympathy with and support of the heroic Japanese proletariat in its struggle against the bourgeois-monarchist regime, this sympathy and support constantly expressed by the toiling masses of China, is also not accidental but the result of the systematic work of the C.C. of the C.P. of China in mobilizing the masses for the defence of the revolutionary struggle of Japan.

At the same time by its struggle to make proletarian internationalism an actual fact, by its real struggle against the imperialist attack of its bourgeoisie upon the Chinese people, the C.P. of Japan has greatly strengthened the cause of revolutionary solidarity between the working class of Japan and the toilers of China who have shown an honest desire to form a united front between the revolutionary masses of both countries to struggle under the leadership of the renowned and heroic Communist Parties of China and of Japan against the common enemy—Japanese imperialism.



As for the *Anti-Imperialist League*: the Central Soviet District alone has over 500,000 members in its ranks.

The membership of the *Friends of the Soviet Union* in the Central Soviet District is on a par with that of the W.I.R., that is, numbers about 600,000 members.

*In the sphere of struggling against counter-revolution* within the Soviet districts during this period the work of our State Political Department (G.P.U.) improved and strengthened so much that last year there were no longer any serious counter-revolutionary uprisings in any Soviet districts, as had been the case before, despite the fact that the Kuomintang had increased its efforts in every way to organize such uprisings in our rear. Our G.P.U. was able to uncover and smash numerous counter-revolutionary intrigues and plots hatched by the Kuomintang and the imperialists in our Soviet China.

#### 4. *Growth of the Soviet Government and the Red Army as the Only Mainstay in the Struggle for the National Liberation of China*

Formerly the Soviet government set itself the task at the present stage of the revolution of finally destroying the rule of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism in China but, due to the comparatively great distance from the urban centers of the country, it at first played, in the eyes of the toiling masses, primarily the role of standard bearer of *agrarian* revolution in China. Last year the Soviet government, due to the skillful and flexible maneuvering tactics of the C.P. of China in establishing a broad national-revolutionary united front for timely anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang actions, made gigantic strides as the only anti-imperialist peoples' government. It alone can really develop and will develop the national-revolutionary war of the armed people against the Japanese and all other imperialisms for the independence, integrity and unification of China.

The central Soviet government of the Chinese Soviet Republic, under the leadership of the C.C. of the C.P.C., was able during the last year to show that although so far it had not succeeded in



effecting the territorial unity of all Soviet districts so as to form one compact Soviet republic, yet throughout the entire territory of the Chinese Soviet Republic a single administrative system, a single economic policy, a single organizational structure of the Soviets, a single taxation and financial policy and a single military and political leadership are carried out headed by the Central Executive Committee, the Council of People's Commissars and the Revolutionary War Council.

In this the Chinese Soviet government shows that it is different from the Nanking and other Kuomintang militarist-bureaucratic governments of China. It shows this especially by proving in practice that it, a workers' and peasants' government, has been the only government capable of effecting a really revolutionary unification of the whole of China, though it had not yet united all the Soviet districts territorially. At the same time, while the Nanking government of the Kuomintang calls itself the central government in Kuomintang China, the actual situation is such that in its territory every militarist, every government official and even every member of the gentry and the *Tukhao*\* does about as he pleases: each one of them has the right to raise and levy taxes and imposts, each one has his own peculiar laws and rules.

With all this as our point of departure it is clear that *in the Chinese Soviet Republic all conditions and elements of a modern state, worthy of being called a civilized people's republic, already exist.*

For this very reason the foreign powers and various Chinese militarist governments have already been compelled openly to recognize the Chinese Republic *de facto*, though not a single capitalist country of Europe, America or the East has as yet officially recognized it *de jure*. This may clearly be seen from the bourgeois press. One publication is compelled to admit the invincibility of the Chinese Soviet Republic; a second one admits that the Soviet government is the best and most highly organized government in China; a third one readily acknowledges the fact that the population of Soviet China fares better than that of Kuomintang China; a fourth speaks of the Soviet government as the only hope of uniting the country, etc.



Here are some examples: in the *Lytton Report* to the League of Nations we read the following:

“Communism in China not only means, as in most countries other than the U.S.S.R., either a political doctrine held by certain members of existing parties, or the organization of a special party to compete for power with other political parties. It has become an actual rival of the National government. It possesses its own law, army and government, and its own territorial sphere of action.”  
(*Lytton Report*, pp. 22-23.)

In *Times* of November 13-14 of this year, the official organ of English imperialism, there appeared an article entitled *Communism in China*, the author of which had personally been a recent visitor to the Soviet districts in Kiangsi and Hunan. In this article he writes:

“A Chinese Soviet Republic had proclaimed itself and controlled—as it controls today—an area of which Central and Southern Kiangsi and Western Fukien are the permanent nucleus, but which has at one time or another been expanded to include parts of Hunan, Kwantung and Hupeh. . . .

“There are many people who maintain that Communism in this instance is merely a courtesy title for the familiar phenomena of banditry, discontent and unemployment. They are widely mistaken. The following observations—based on a journey round the ‘front’ of the anti-communist forces in Kiangsi and thence South through Hunan—may provide the material for a truer and less reassuring interpretation.

“The curse of China is ineffectiveness; the Chinese Communists are not ineffective. The Red areas are controlled and rigidly controlled, by a Central government with headquarters at the ‘capital’, Shuikin.”

The *New Republic*, an American liberal monthly, in its issue of September 27 printed an article entitled “Red China.” There we read:

“. . . the Soviet regions were measurably more prosperous than

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\* Big peasantry.—Ed.



adjoining regions ruled by respectable war lords. The harvests were bigger, the taxes lower, the dykes along the river banks much higher. . . . Here the Communists had maintained a stable government, a state bank of issue, an arms factory and a school system that had made immense progress towards its goal of providing universal free education. . . . During six years of continual warfare they have proved themselves to be the only truly native government in China. The war lords of the North are pawns of the Japanese, from whom they expect subsidies. The Cantonese in the Southeast are under British influence. Chiang Kai-shek and his Nanking government are willing to listen to any foreign power that offers them loans and munitions of war. They are subservient to the Japanese, but their closest sympathies are with American capitalism. The Soviets receive no foreign help, no subsidies or loans, no weapons except those they capture from their enemies. Time and again they have shown that if Western and Japanese support were withdrawn from the puppet governments of the seacoast, all China would be Communist within a few months or years."

A newspaper appearing in Japan had to admit that:

"A movement is on foot which is destined to play a greater role in the national liberation of China than any other event since the uprising against the Manchu dynasty. It is quite clear that the successes in Szechwan were possible only because of the diversional activities of the Reds in Kiangsi. If this contact and co-ordination disquiet Nanking, they naturally also disquiet the powers. Herein lies the hope for a genuine unification of China, but this is quite unprofitable to several powers and not at all in their interest." (*Japan Chronicle*, March 11, 1933.)

The Japanese newspaper *Osaka Mainichi* in its issue of October 14, 1933 published an article from its special correspondent in Kiu Kiang in which he writes about the condition of the Chinese Red Army. He states that "the population of the Soviet districts of China is today better off than before the Reds arrived there."

The *Ishibao*, organ of the once Chinese bourgeoisie, which appears in Tientsin stated more than once in its editorial columns that "as for the question of the internal conflict in China, we have always expressed our opinion in the following well-known ancient adage: 'What the Chinese have lost the Chinese themselves will get.'"



"Kerensky overthrew the Russian Czar," the editorial continues, "but Russia as a power has remained intact. Lenin overthrew the government of Kerensky and set up a Soviet government; all the same Russia has remained an independent power. Even if some sort of political revolution does occur within our country, this question is of secondary importance. But in no way can it be tolerated that the people be converted into the bondsmen of foreigners and that the nation be enslaved."

And now the last point on this subject. Of particular importance is the fact that of late it has transpired that individual groupings of militarists, after repeated defeats suffered at the hands of the Red Army, and acting under the strong pressure of the revolutionary sentiments of their soldiers and even of a definite section of the middle and lower officers, have begun openly and squarely to put the question: either they continue to wage war against the Red Army and thus doubtlessly court complete defeat; or they turn their guns on Japanese imperialism and its henchman, Chiang Kai-shek, in order to find a way out of the impasse.

The main thing now is the growth of Soviet China as a genuine independent people's republic in the eyes of the whole of China and of the whole world.

b. *The Further Growth of the Revolutionary Movement  
in Non-Soviet China*

This growth is expressed in the further development of the anti-imperialist armed struggle, especially the anti-Japanese struggle, of the broad masses of China, above all in Manchuria, in Jehol, in North China and in Fukien; in the further revolutionization and extension of the struggle of the workers and the gigantic development of a peasant movement; in the strengthening of the leadership and influence of the proletariat, of its Communist Party and of the Soviet government, in the demoralization and revolutionization of the soldier masses in the militarist armies; in the leftward movement of the petty bourgeoisie, which tends to free great sections of it from the influence of the Kuomintang and other reactionary parties. All this Comrade Kang Sin will discuss in his speech.

From all that has been said it is clear that at the present time



China is the only country in the whole capitalist world in which a victorious Soviet revolution headed by the Communist Party is in progress.

The Chinese Soviet Republic and the Chinese Communist Party have already become not only the basic factor of the entire political life of present-day China but also one of the decisive factors of world policy.

This is one of the most important and one of the newest factors of world policy during the past year.

#### B. EXTENSION AND INTENSIFICATION OF WAR AND INTERVENTION

But revolution is not the only thing going on in China. Alongside of it war and intervention are in progress. Last year war and intervention likewise spread in China. Wars have been going on in China for a long time now, but hitherto these questions were not plain to all the workers and toilers of America and Europe. What sort of wars are going on in China? *Revolutionary war and counter-revolutionary war.*

The revolutionary war in China takes on various forms. Its highest form is that of war waged by the nation in arms led by its iron cohorts, the workers' and peasants' Red Army which stands under the leadership of the C.P. and the Soviet government. This war at the same time bears the character of an anti-imperialist, national-liberational and anti-Kuomintang revolutionary civil war. All these features of war are blended. Its initial forms and stages we find, for instance, in the present anti-Japanese partisan war in Manchuria, Jehol and elsewhere—a war waged by the broad masses of the population, a war expressing the militant will of the people to drive out by force of arms the robber occupants and the national traitors—Chiang Kai-shek, Hwan Fu and Pu-Yi; and then there is the anti-Kuomintang and anti-militarist people's war which sometimes takes on the form of armed demonstrations of the toilers against Kuomintang taxes and imposts, sometimes the form of local peasant uprisings, against landlords, government officials and the



police regime which in the long run inevitably develop into armed struggles against imperialism.

The counter-revolutionary war in China is an imperialist war for the complete division and redivision of China and an interventionist war of the imperialists against the Chinese people's revolution. At bottom the one is closely intertwined with the other.

During the past year both the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary war and the intervention in China constantly grew in extent and depth.

I shall first dwell upon the war of intervention against the Chinese Soviet Republic and its heroic Red Army. I have already stated that the fifth anti-Soviet campaign of the imperialists and the Kuomintang was a grandiose military expedition without precedent in the history of China. After the Red Army had defeated this fifth expedition, Chiang Kai-shek, Liu Hsian and other Kuomintang militarists, with the lavish help of the international imperialists in the form of money and arms, began to organize and are now already waging a sixth anti-Soviet campaign on a larger scale than ever.

For the purpose of successfully organizing and carrying out this campaign, American imperialism extended a loan of 50,000,000 American dollars to the Nanking government in the guise of a "wheat and cotton loan"; also a so-called aviation loan of 40,000,000 American dollars according to the terms of which 850 military planes were to be supplied by America to Nanking, of which 150 have already been shipped to China.

British imperialism granted Chiang Kai-shek 5,000,000 pounds sterling and gave 20,000,000 pounds sterling to Liu Hsian (a Szechwan militarist). The Japanese robbers concluded the so-called "Northern Armistice" with Chiang Kai-shek so that on the one hand the latter might be in a position to mobilize all his troops against the Red Army and, on the other, Japanese imperialism might take a considerable part of the cotton received by Nanking from America in exchange for arms and munitions of war given to Chiang Kai-shek. Japanese imperialism increases its efforts to demonstrate to Chiang Kai-shek Japan's military power and to emphasize its readiness in every respect to render him every possible assistance in his



struggle to destroy the "Red danger" in China. It aims to win Chiang Kai-shek completely away from the influence of American capitalism and convert him into the open and true agent of Japan.

The ports of the U.S.A., Great Britain, Germany, Japan, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Poland and other capitalist countries keep sending dozens of vessels loaded with machine guns, field pieces, tanks, aeroplanes, ammunition and chemicals, destined for the Chinese cities of Shanghai, Nanking, Kiu Kiang, Nanchan, Wuhan, Canton, etc. Thus it is only due to all the above factors that although they had been utterly defeated in all of the five preceding campaigns, the Kuomintang hangmen are now able once more to organize a new expedition against the Red Army. In this expedition Chiang Kai-shek and the other hangmen have succeeded in mobilizing 442,000 effectives at the borders of Kiangsi, Fukien, Chekiang, Kwantung and Hunan against the Central Soviet District. Thirteen to fifteen divisions are concentrated against Hupeh, Honan and the Anhwei Soviet District; eight divisions against the Hupeh-Hunan Soviet District and more than twenty divisions against the Szechwan Soviet District. But this is not the end of the matter.

The sixth counter-revolutionary expedition against Soviet China differs from all the preceding anti-Soviet Kuomintang campaigns in that it is carried on with the direct and open participation of the international imperialist counter-revolution. One hundred and fifty American and Canadian military pilots serve the Kiangsi-Fukien-Hunan front. Numerous American and German chemists and specialists in military technique are in Chiang Kai-shek's pay, including General von Seeckt, the former commander of the Reichswehr who is accompanied by two other generals, Wetzell and Kriebel and seventy officers of the German General Staff. They not only worked out a military plan for carrying on the sixth campaign but themselves directly participated in the military operations of the Kuomintang armies. These hirelings of international capitalism today wage air and chemical warfare with all its horrors against free Soviet China.

Grzesinski, the former Social-Democratic chief-of-police of Berlin, and Weiss, his Social-Democratic assistant, arrived in Nanking to reorganize the Kuomintang police so as to secure the rear



in the struggle against the Red Army. This fact is not a chance occurrence. It is a reflection of the true nature of the leaders of the German social-fascists and of the Second International. Parallel with this the American, Japanese, British, French and Italian navies have formed an iron ring around all the important ports of China. These imperialist navies have demonstrated their preparedness to fight and can at any moment start direct military action against the rebellious workers and peasants of China. In Wanghsian (one of the most important ports and trading centers in Szechwan on the Yangtze river), fierce fighting may be expected any day, any hour, between the British, Japanese and Italian navies on the one hand and the Fourth Red Army and the insurrectionary workers, the city poor and peasants, on the other.

It must be borne in mind that the direct participation of the imperialist powers in the united front of financial and military preparation of the sixth expedition of Chiang Kai-shek, in spite of the glaring contradictions between them, the direct and open participation of their military forces in the day-to-day prosecution of this campaign, was dictated not only by the fact that Soviet China and its Red Army have proved themselves invincible in the five preceding campaigns while the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang has proved itself powerless to crush the growing Soviet revolution in China; not only by the fact that the policy and successes of the Chinese Soviet Republic have already made the cause of the Soviets the actual cause of the broad masses of the entire Chinese nation which from this source draw the energy required for the revolutionary struggle to attain its national and social liberation; not only by the fact that Soviet China exerts great revolutionary influence on Indo-China, Japan, Indonesia, Cuba, Korea, Formosa—the entire East and entire colonial and semi-colonial world which learns from the example of the Soviet Chinese Republic how to fight against foreign and native oppressors and exploiters. At the present time, Soviet China, this second Soviet Republic—second in the world after the U.S.S.R.—is the sole bulwark of the entire Chinese nation in its revolutionary struggle for salvation from ultimate ruin and destitution. By its prolonged existence alone it has sounded a clarion call to struggle



heard by the proletarians and the toilers of all countries, and has firmly convinced them of their strength and final victory. At the same time it clearly evidenced the utter decay of international capitalism. It has prevented the new partition of China and the rest of the world. It has prevented its conversion into a place of arms for the preparation of a new war, prevented the economic domination by the imperialists of the vast markets of China which are so necessary now to international capital to relieve the mortal illness of capitalism caused by long years of economic crisis and the general crisis of the capitalist system. From the point of view of the development of world events, this participation by the imperialists in the sixth expedition is dictated by the fact that the destruction of this revolutionary place of arms on the Pacific Ocean is necessary to permit world capitalism to prepare and carry out this world imperialist war, primarily the counter-revolutionary interventionist war of the imperialists against the U.S.S.R., from the East. This war is directed against the world proletarian revolution and the struggle for a world-wide Soviet republic.

Second, I shall dwell on the imperialist war for the complete and final partition of China. During the past year the Japanese robbers have occupied Jehol and Chakhar by force of arms; following upon the occupation of Manchuria they have taken full control of North China through the medium of bribed Mongolian princes and lamas headed by Prince Tikhwan, on the pretext of "fighting for the independence of Inner Mongolia".

The English free-booters continue the imperialist war through their henchmen, the Tibetan feudal lords. Their troops, according to the information given out by the English press itself wear English uniforms, are armed with English cannon, machine-guns and rifles and are under the command of English colonels. They have already occupied the entire province of Chuanpien and are advancing further towards the borders of Szechwan and Yunnan.

The English and Japanese imperialists are now intensifying their efforts to organize "riots" and mutinies in the Province of Sinkiang so as to be able to divide this vast territory among themselves.



French imperialism, which does not desire to be overlooked in the division of the spoils in China, has dispatched its men-of-war who have occupied nine islands in the South Sea of China. It is also making hasty preparations for military expansion in the provinces of Yunnan and Gweichow.

Due to a number of circumstances the U.S.A. has so far not started any open military operations but each day it concentrates greater land, sea and air forces and energetically prepares for the struggle against other imperialist powers for the possession of China.

The partial evacuation of the Japanese troops from Northern China which began during the last few months and the withdrawal from the zone of the Great Wall does not mean in any way that military action has come to an end, or that the war danger has decreased in China and in the Far East, as the Japanese plunderers and their servitors, the Japanese social-fascists and Chiang Kai-shek, shamelessly assert.

On the contrary these troop movements clearly bear witness to the increasing readiness of the Japanese militarists to begin their great adventurist war against the Soviet Union in the very near future.

Third—I shall dwell on the question of the militarists' war. The dread which the militarists have of the growing people's revolution for a time held back the outbreak of the great militarist war which would involve all the principal provinces of the country. All the same the militarist war during the past period kept raging in five provinces (Shantung, Fukien, Yunnan, Gweichow and Szechwan). The war between the Szechwan war lord Liu Hsian and Lu Wenwei was especially destructive. It lasted seven or eight months and hundreds of thousands of soldiers and millions of peaceful inhabitants became its victims. According to all available information the near future is likely to witness a big militarist war between the principal forces of Chiang Kai-shek and his adversaries. All these facts not only attest the decaying militarist system in China but also the unusually rapid accentuation of the contradictions between the masters of these war lords—the American, the Japanese and the British imperialists. These facts confirm beyond dispute that the analysis



in our general theses was correct when it stated that the "conflagration of a new world war is about to sweep the basin of the Pacific ocean".

If the above is borne in mind it becomes clear that in China we have at one and the same time a revolutionary, a counter-revolutionary and an interventionist war. From the point of view of the present international as well as internal situation of China, the anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang war by the armed nation of China is especially *progressive, revolutionary, just and holy*, inasmuch as it is not only a war for the national and social liberation of hundreds of millions of the Chinese people but also a war for the liquidation of the imperialist war for the Pacific and the war of the Japanese and other imperialists against the U.S.S.R. In connection with this it is clear that the plundering and interventionist war of the international imperialists, aimed at the final enslavement of the Chinese people, is in the present conditions extremely reactionary, aggressive and hateful as it is a war intended to establish the conditions that will make it possible to carry out an imperialist world war on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, and also an anti-Soviet war in the Far East.

### **C. THE FURTHER ATTACK OF THE IMPERIALISTS AGAINST CHINA ALONG THE ENTIRE FRONT AND THE FURTHER COLLAPSE OF THE KUOMINTANG**

The third basic and new feature in the events in China during the past year consists in the fact that, in connection with the profound world economic crisis of capitalism, the unusual intensification of the contradictions between states and classes throughout the whole world, the aspiration of the imperialists to shift the heavy burdens of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working class in their respective countries and to the toilers in the colonies and semi-colonies, and especially in connection with the revolutionary and military situation in China, the international imperialists increase their attacks on China on every front. The armed division and occupation of Chinese territory, the armed intervention against the Chinese revolution, the new seizure of political and economic privileges in China through the



grant of new war loans and credits to the militarists, the dumping of cheap merchandise (above all Japanese silks, textiles, American and Canadian wheat, American cotton, Indian and Indo-Chinese rice), the unheard-of fall in the prices of Chinese raw materials and the pegging of the Chinese silver dollar—these are the chief links in the chain of the further imperialist attack on China and the Chinese people.

In the face of this strengthening offensive of imperialism the essence of the policy of the Kuomintang government is more clearly revealed than ever before. It is now seen to be a policy of national betrayal and national disgrace. The so-called Gweichow agreement will serve as a striking illustration of this barefaced treasonable policy practised by the Kuomintang. The agreement was signed between Japan and Chiang Kai-shek and was given the pompous title of "Principles of the Sino-Japanese Compromise". The following are the basic principles of this compromise:

1. China recognizes Manchukuo as an independent state; the four provinces of Liaoling (Mukden), Kirin, Heilungkiang and Jehol, which formerly belonged to the Chinese Republic, must now become part of the territory of Manchukuo.

2. In order to guarantee the peace of Asia—China, Japan and Manchukuo agree that if necessary Japan shall have the right to send warships anywhere along the coast of the Chinese Sea. The Japanese and Manchurian troops shall have the right to pass through the territory of Chakhar and Si-han provinces of China, and to defend these two provinces so as to remove any threatened attack against these provinces on the part of a common enemy of China, Japan or Manchukuo.

3. To the end that economic peace may be established in Asia—China, Japan and Manchukuo must enter into an amicable economic arrangement and must render mutual aid to suppress "disorder" within each country. China must pay particular attention to stop the boycotting in its own country of commodities coming from Japan or Manchukuo.

4. Officially the agreement between China, Japan and Manchukuo ought to be concluded at such a moment as China may con-



sider possible or convenient. The border lines will be ascertained and jointly laid down between China and Manchukuo after the official agreement between China, Japan and Manchukuo shall have been concluded. After this the preliminary principles which have been agreed to shall be null and void.

5. The armistice negotiations and the fixation of the boundaries of the demilitarized zone shall be commenced between the military command of China and Japan on the day after the signing of the present preliminary statement of principles agreed to. (See special issue of the *China Forum* of September 18, 1932.)

The results of this further attack of imperialism and the further venal policy of the Kuomintang during the past year find expression in the first place in the further worsening of the already catastrophic conditions of the toiling masses of China and the further impoverishment of their already great destitution.

The 1933 floods covered all China, from Kwangtung to Manchuria. The toll was over 100,000 human beings. More than half the industrial manufacturing and handicraft workers are experiencing acute unemployment and almost all workers still having jobs work only 3-5 days a week. The further bankruptcy and denaturalization of native industry and transport, and the complete prostration of agriculture are in progress. These facts sufficiently bear out the statement that the economic catastrophe in Kuomintang China is becoming deeper and wider.

One billion, six hundred million Chinese dollars in internal loans have been issued by the so-called Central Nanking government during the 6-7 years of its existence, while during the 15 years of rule by the Peiping militarists only 500-600,000,000 Chinese dollars have been borrowed on internal loans. From 5-40,000,000 Chinese dollars are outstanding as internal provincial loans in each province while in the course of 1933 from 20-30,000,000 Chinese dollars have been expended on the war against Soviet China. In the field of tax collection and the levying of imports, the Nanking government has recourse to the open sale of opium, to tax increases on rice and salt, against which the masses of China have fought tooth and



nail for several decades. All these facts proclaim quite clearly the financial catastrophe of the Kuomintang government.

The catastrophic economic condition of Kuomintang China has lately become intensified by the circumstance that Chiang Kai-shek and other hangmen carried out and still carry out a strict economic blockade of one-fifth of China proper, that is, the stable territory of the Chinese Soviet Republic. This brings more suffering to the masses of non-Soviet China than to the population of Soviet China. *In Soviet China the people's government of Soviets and the C.P. are taking numerous measures to revive and develop trade, agriculture and industry. This relieves and improves the position of the toilers there, while no such measures are or can be taken in Kuomintang China.* This is clearly shown by the fact that some militarists are compelled today themselves to remove the economic blockade against the Soviet districts.

It is precisely in connection with such an economic and political situation in China that the decay of the Kuomintang has gone further and deeper during the last year. This appears not only from the victories of the Soviet revolution, but also from the reappearance on the political arena of all the militarist cliques which had been temporarily smashed by the people's revolution of 1926-27 and which aim to compete with the Kuomintang in their servility to the imperialists and in sucking the lifeblood of the people. This further appears from the splits and the friction within the Kuomintang party. The Kuomintang never was a single party; but now it has officially split into three separate parties, the party of Chiang Kai-shek (the "League of Blue Shirts"), the party of Hu Han-min (the "New Kuomintang") and the group of the so-called "Peasants' Labor Party". Even within each of these parties and groups there are serious splits and frictions. Armed clashes between these separate parties and groups within each party are inevitable in the near future.

In this connection I may add that last year was a year of decay for the auxiliary organizations of the Kuomintang and the parties and groups in sham opposition to it. The so-called "third party", that is, the Social-Democratic Party, after the shooting of Teng



Yen-ta by the hangman Chiang Kai-shek, finally disbanded. The Trotskyist group of Chen Tu-hsiu, after the arrest of the latter and of Peng Shu-chi, etc., fell apart altogether as a group, having itself unmasked its counter-revolutionary face at the trial. The collapse of the so-called Young Chinese Nationalist Party is undoubtedly another important factor here. (In Peiping, for instance, more than a thousand members of this party withdrew in a body issuing a joint statement explaining their withdrawal.) The counter-revolutionary Lo Chang-lun group already openly works for the secret police in Nanking, Shanghai and the North.

Here one new factor which has arisen in the counter-revolutionary camp must be noted—the beginning of a special *fascist movement* in China. Here, of course, the gist of the matter does not lie in the application of fascist methods by the Kuomintang against the C.P. and the revolutionary movement, or in the spread of national and social demagoguery by the Kuomintang. This is nothing new and has been widely practised by the Kuomintang ever since it left the revolutionary front. The new feature consists in the fact that during the current year fascism was widely discussed not only in five or six newspapers and magazines which are the organs of Chiang Kai-shek's "Blue Shirt League" and which have set themselves the goal of spreading fascist ideas, but was discussed by almost the entire press, both friendly and hostile to fascism. Further, Chiang Kai-shek has formed a new terrorist organization (the "Blue Shirts") which openly calls itself the Party of the National-Socialists. Other reactionary parties and groups like that of Hu Han-min are fighting Chiang Kai-shek under the guise of struggling "against fascism and in defence of democracy." Moreover, Chiang Kai-shek and others have lately made great efforts to keep the old military cadres under their influence and to set up a new, reliable military nucleus; likewise to spread their influence among the troops, workers, peasants and intellectuals, waving now not so much the flag of Sun Yat-senism as of Hitlerism.

The main sources of this peculiar fascist movement in China are clear to everyone. They are:



1. The influence of *international*, especially German fascism;
2. The *attempt* of the imperialists of various countries *to create*, through their agency in China, some sort of *social base* among parts of the petty bourgeoisie so that they may be the more successful in preparing and carrying on imperialist war. Hence the various Kuomintang and non-Kuomintang groupings accuse each other of fascism while at the same time each one of them applies fascist methods and slogans more and more and each of them comes more and more clearly to the defence of its imperialist master;

3. *The growth of the forces of revolution and the decay of the forces of counter-revolution.* Therefore the aims of the peculiar fascist movement in China become clear to everyone. They want to win over the declassed and petty-bourgeois elements, the vast majority of whom in the Chinese cities are seized with despair when they see the constant encroachment of Japanese and other imperialists against their native land, when they think of their own lives of poverty and starvation. Their hatred of the Kuomintang is to be converted into discontent with the Communist Party, and their indignation against imperialism into hatred for the U.S.S.R. Imperialism and the Kuomintang want to make use of these elements primarily as a weapon in the struggle against the Soviet revolution, against every progressive movement and to set one against the other within the counter-revolutionary camp. Thus, for instance, the list of persons condemned to death by the Blue Shirt League, Chiang Kai-shek's terrorist organization, includes the names of famous bourgeois writers and editors alongside of the leaders of our Party and of militarists and politicians hostile to Chiang Kai-shek.

Just as it is clear to us beyond any doubt that neither German nor Italian nor any other fascism, nor the social-fascist maneuvers in Germany, Poland or any other country for "struggling against fascism and defending democracy" are able to prevent the doom of dying German, Italian or world capitalism, so there cannot be a shadow of doubt in the mind of anyone that neither Sun Yat-senism, nor the peculiar Neo-Hitlerism of Chiang Kai-shek, nor the sham anti-fascist maneuvers of Hu Han-min and the so-called Peasants' Labor Party can save from destruction the rule of imperialism, of



the landlords and the bourgeoisie in China, already condemned to death by the whole history of the development of China and the rest of the world.

However, this should not lead anyone to conclude that the peculiar fascist movement in China is without importance for the Communist Party, as some Communists assert. Its danger for the C.P. and the revolution consists not only in the fact that it might lead to pogrom actions against revolutionaries in a still more organized manner, but also in the fact that under present Chinese conditions national demagoguery may gain control over part of the petty bourgeoisie. This danger is especially real in consideration of the circumstance that the work of our Party among the city petty bourgeoisie was decidedly weaker during the last few years.

All of Chiang Kai-shek's fascist maneuvers and methods of work must be promptly exposed by every means—this is one of the tasks which our Party cannot postpone.

It clearly follows from all that has been said that in China, revolution, war and intervention are on the march at the same time. It is perfectly possible that the further development of events in China may prove to be the completion of the transition to the second round of revolutions and wars. Whether a decisive victory of the Soviet Revolution in China will prevent imperialist war in the Pacific and war of the imperialists against the U.S.S.R. from the East, or whether imperialist war—in the first place, the counter-revolutionary war of the Japanese and other imperialists against the U.S.S.R.—will break out before the Soviet revolution has gained a decisive victory in China, the next goal, the great and basic task of the C.P.C., is the struggle to overcome the war danger in the Far East by means of a decisive victory of the Soviet revolution in China. The development of the international and Chinese events has raised the importance and the role of the Chinese Revolution to first place in the struggle of the workers of the world for the triumph of world communism! The Chinese Revolution has become the second most decisive factor of the world revolution, yielding first place only to the Soviet Union.



## II. The Communist Party of China, the Only Leader of the Chinese Revolution

What direction will the further development of events in China take? This depends in the first place on the policy, the tactics, the work and the struggle of the Communist Party, this only leader of the Chinese Revolution.

We have every right to say that last year was a year of the further bolshevization of the C.P.C. All achievements and successes which the revolutionary movement of Soviet and non-Soviet China could record during this period proved possible mainly because of the correct political line, the effective tactics, the tireless work and the most self-sacrificing struggle of our Party. It was the result of the firmness with which our C.C. carried out the general line of the Leninist Comintern.

### A. WHEREIN CONCRETELY WAS THIS FURTHER BOLSHEVIZATION OF THE C.P.C. EXPRESSED DURING THE BRIEF PERIOD THAT HAS PASSED?

#### a. *"The Unquestionable Loyalty to the Leninist General Line of the Communist International"*

This further bolshevization finds expression, first, in the fact that the C.P.C. headed by its C.C. *firmly and undeviatingly carried out its general line, which had been worked out and defined by the Fourth Plenum of the C.C. held on January 7, 1931 under the leadership of the E.C.C.I., and that it does not fear any difficulties or complications that may arise in its path.* What is the content of our general political line at the present stage of development of the Chinese Revolution? The struggle for every possible timely combination of the revolutionary mass movement in Soviet and non-Soviet China under the uniform leadership of the proletariat to overthrow the rule of the imperialists and their lackeys, the Kuomintang, and establish the power of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry in the form of Soviets throughout all China.



Parallel with this the Party headed by the C.C. did not confine itself to working out this correct general political line. Using it as a basis, it worked out and moved to the fore those political and tactical tasks which correspond best to the conditions of the revolutionary movement in China at any particular moment of the present stage. This general line was concretized from the time of the Fourth Plenum until the Manchurian events, September 18, 1931, and the foundation of the central Soviet government on November 7, 1931, in the following twofold task: the creation and consolidation of the Red Army, the creation of a provisional central Soviet government and the consolidation of the territorial base, on the one hand; and the wide development of the revolutionary mass struggle, especially the strike struggle, of the workers in Kuomintang China, on the other. After the Manchurian events, in September, 1931, and the creation of the central Soviet government, our general line was concretized to form the following three-fold slogan:

1. National revolutionary war of the armed nation against Japanese and other imperialisms to defend the integrity, independence and unity of China;

2. Overthrow of the Kuomintang as the government of national betrayal and national disgrace as a condition of the successful carrying out of the national-revolutionary war;

3. Only the Soviet government and the Red Army of China can consistently carry out and lead the national-revolutionary war against Japanese and other imperialisms and achieve full national liberation.

Proceeding from the angle given by these principal slogans, the Party has set itself the task of further strengthening the Red Army, of developing the Soviet districts and of unfolding widespread anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang revolutionary mass work. The six tasks which the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. placed before the C.P.C. are in fact the concretization and performance of the above tasks.

On the road to fulfilling our general political line and the concrete tasks that flow from it at any particular moment, the Party



met and still meets difficulties and complications. This was especially true during the last two years. The grandiose fifth anti-Soviet expedition and the still more important sixth expedition of the Kuo-mintang that has been launched since then as well as the more open armed intervention of the imperialists against the Chinese Soviet Republic speak with sufficient clearness of our difficulties and complicated problems.

But the Party headed by its C.C. is not afraid of these difficulties and complications. It firmly and staunchly holds to and carries out its general political line, the line of the Leninist Comintern. This circumstance is not only the principal reason of our successes but conditions the further bolshevization of the Party and its leaders.

This is especially important for a party like ours, in whose history up to the Fourth Plenum of the C.C. (January, 1931), it was not a rare event to find part of the leadership distorting, revising and deviating from the general line of the Comintern instead of carrying it out, because of which it itself fell into the opportunist mire of the Right or "Left" variety, as did the Chen Tu-hsiu-ists during the Wuhan period of 1927; into the putschism of Tsu Tsin-po at the end of 1927 and early 1928 and the Li Li-hsian line in the summer and autumn of 1930, which did considerable harm to the Party and the revolution.

Today, the practical conduct of the present leadership convinces each member of the Party, each worker and toiler, more and more that "complete and unconditional devotion and loyalty to the general line of the Leninist Comintern," the slogan issued by the Fourth Plenum of the C.C. of the Party, is the only path, the only guarantee, of the further bolshevization of the Party and of the victory of the Soviet revolution.

*b. Strengthening the Tactical Fighting Capacity and  
Maneuvering Ability*

Second, this further bolshevization of the C.P.C. is expressed by the fact that our Party does not confine itself to working out and bringing to the fore these basic tactical problems and slogans but



also knows how to use them as a basis for applying and carrying out those concrete, flexible, tactical measures that can be maneuvered to facilitate and assure the fulfilment of the principal tactical tasks set by the general line.

Here follow some of the best illustrations of these tactical measures which we took during the past year:

1. *In the field of the successful repulse administered by the Soviet government to the grandiose anti-Soviet campaigns, the further consolidation and extension of the Red Army and the development and unification of the Soviet districts.* At the outset I spoke of our new great victory in Soviet China. You all know that each step in this victory was achieved only because of correct leadership by the Party. Now one must ask: Which of all the tactical measures taken by the C.C. of our Party last year to win further victories in Soviet China are most important, most indicative and most instructive? In our opinion, the following three:

*The formation, consolidation and development of Soviet statehood: The economic policy* is the most important and at the same time the most difficult point here. The economic policy of the Chinese Soviet Republic at the present stage of development of the Chinese revolution must be an economic policy of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry in the form of Soviets, that is, an economic policy of the transition period from the completion of the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist path of development of China. Because its territories are scattered and the present Soviet districts are economically backward, likewise because the state of war has been so continuous and lengthy, the Chinese Soviet government, in carrying out its economic policy, must necessarily encounter difficulties and complications.

Therefore, although the First All-China Congress of Soviets adopted the main laws and basic principles of economic policy, this matter was nevertheless not clear to all Party members and Soviet workers. This gave rise in the Soviet districts now to Right, now to "Left" errors in economic matters committed by many Party, Soviet and trade union workers. This is the very reason why the C.C. of the Party took the economic policy seriously in hand both theoretic-



cally and practically. The C.C. placed before the Party a clear and precise theoretical line. It stated that the starting point of the economic policy of the Chinese Soviet Republic at the present moment ought to be determined by the following considerations:

a. The character of the revolution at the given stage, that is, the fact that it is a bourgeois-democratic revolution;

b. The present state of the Soviet Republic, that is, a state of prolonged and continuous civil war, of economic backwardness and scattered disposition of the present territories, and

c. The prospects of the revolution, that is, the struggle for the non-capitalist path of further development.

This statement of theoretical principles was supplemented by many practical specifications issued by the C.C. These referred to the manner in which the economic policy was to be carried out in the sense of a revival, a restoration and a development of agriculture, industry and trade; also in the sense of making every possible use of local resources. To this alone we owe the favorable progress achieved in the economy of Soviet China. Only the correct economic policy in Soviet China guaranteed the supply of the Red Army, the considerable improvement in the material position of the workers and peasants and thereby aided the wonderful heroism, enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of the Red Army fighters and the millions of toilers in the struggle for victory over the Kuomintang armies and the consolidation of the Soviet government.

Only the correct economic policy guaranteed the firm fighting alliance between the working class and the peasantry under the hegemony of the proletariat, an alliance upon which our victory depends. Only the correct economic policy makes everyone see the difference in principle between Soviet China and the non-Soviet regions, which of itself calls forth the sympathy and support of the toiling masses, especially the workers in the large cities—Shanghai, Wuhan, Hongkong, Canton, Amoy, Fuchow, Harbin, etc.—sympathy with and support for the Communist Party, the Soviet government and the Red Army. It mobilizes their willingness to fight in the struggle to defend Soviet China against the intervention of the Kuomintang



and the imperialists and for the victory of the Soviet Revolution throughout the entire country.

*The further consolidation and spread of the Red Army and the strengthening of its fighting capacity:* To attain this goal, the Party headed by its C.C. has carried out the following measures during the past period: It has firmly carried out the decree of the Soviet government granting privileges to the fighters in the Red Army (especially social assistance by working their lands and aid given their families, free postal and transport service, etc.), improved the methods of mobilizing the toilers to replenish and increase the ranks of the Red Army, of strengthening the workers' and agricultural laborers' backbone and the Communist leadership of the Red Army. Then there is the creation of model shock divisions and corps consisting of the best Communists and Y.C.L. members, factory workers, agricultural laborers and poor peasants; the reorganization of the Red Army to meet the new conditions of big battles; the improvement and extension of the work of various military schools. (For instance, in one central military school there were two graduations during the year, each graduating class consisting of fifteen hundred persons.) Finally there is the better contact between the regular Red Army units and all the other armed organizations (partisan detachments, Red Guard, Young Guard, Militia, etc.) and the unarmed militant mass organizations (contact squads, transport, reconnoitering, medical aid, hygiene, divisional detachments and other organizations) which take a direct part in the military work at the front and in the rear of the Red Army.

Under the leadership of our Party, every toiler in Soviet China stands firmly at his fighting post; this includes women and children. The role of woman in the struggle of the Red Army against the Kuomintang expedition is tremendous. It is not limited to medical or sanitary aid, nor to sewing or other services for the Red Army men; they take a direct part in the fighting. I will give one striking instance:

A letter from Szechwan dated August 3, 1933 printed in the September issue of *China Forum* and in our Party press reads as follows:



"The political commissar of the 4th Corps, Fourth Red Army, Chiang Ching-chu (a woman) during a temporary retreat of the Fourth Army from southern Tungkiang and northern Pachung took personal command of a detachment of Red Guards consisting of five hundred peasant women to guard some three hundred wounded Red Army men in the village of Kushuba. One of the regiments of the militarist Tien Sun-hsieh made a surprise attack upon them through a mountain pass. The peasant women, led by Chiang Ching-chu, prepared to engage in battle. The commander of the regiment, on seeing the Red flag flying on the nearby mountain and the peasant women with their red kerchiefs encamped there, commanded: 'The enemy is in sight 800 meters off—shoot!' But not one shot was fired by the soldiers. The mountains rang with shouts of greeting: 'Welcome to our brothers, the revolutionary soldiers! Come over to the side of the Red Army!' 'The Red Army is the vanguard in the war against Japan,' etc. The officers of this militarist regiment again ordered: 'Shoot at once, shoot, shoot!' But again the soldiers failed to fire.

"Thereupon the commander of the regiment accompanied by his bodyguard who had machine guns in their hands stepped up to the front line and exclaimed: 'Any one who refuses to fight will be shot down at once.' A medley of shouts greeted this challenge. One of the soldiers harangued the commanding officer in a bold voice: 'We are veterans and have been soldiering for going on ten years. It is constantly drummed into our heads that we, the army, are the armed guard of the state and of the people, but as a matter of fact we are constantly compelled to kill our own folks instead of fighting the Japanese imperialists. And now you even want us to fight women. What a disgrace! What do you think this is, anyhow?'

"The commander shot the orator dead. At once confusion reigned supreme. Loud shouts of 'Get the reactionary officers!' are heard. 'Let's go over to the Red Army!' A few minutes pass and the commander of the regiment and all other officers are arrested by the soldiers. The peasant women advance and the whole enemy regiment is disarmed. Today everybody in Szechwan province knows that five hundred peasant women disarmed a whole regiment of the white army."

Another striking example will serve to describe the role of youth and the Y.C.L. Comrade Chan-hao, a Y.C.L. member and political commissar of the Fourth Army, in the winter of 1932, when there were clashes with the troops of Chiang Kai-shek, found out during the inspection of the prisoners that the general and the other higher



officers had made their escape. On further examination he learned that the officers and sixty of the guard placed over them had all fled the night before. Comrade Chen Chan-hao ordered that a cavalry troop of about a hundred men immediately take to horse and go with him in pursuit of these White officers and guards. After twenty-four hours' hard riding Comrade Chen succeeded in capturing this fugitive general, Chao Kwan-yin, one of the most faithful followers of Chiang Kai-shek and famous as a military leader throughout China. He also took captive all the rest of the officers and their guard and lodged them all in our jail. Now the members of the Fourth Red Army have added the following lines to one of their songs:

*Chen Chan-hao is a hero,  
He took alive Chao Kwan-yin.*

Even Chiang Kai-shek is compelled openly to admit the fine organization by our Party of mass aid and assistance to the Red Army and the deadly hatred felt by the masses for the Kuomintang. In his talk with the correspondent of the Japanese monthly *Chun-Yan Gun Lien* (June, 1933) he stated:

"It is very difficult to find out who in the local population is a good and who a bad element. Besides the regular units of the Red Army there are also partisan detachments, that is, so-called peasant partisans. These partisan detachments are forcibly (!!) organized by the Communist army from among the local peasants whenever it has taken a new locality. These partisans together with the masses wage partisan warfare as objective conditions may require, aiming to throw the rear of the expeditionary forces into confusion or to make surprise attacks on units which attend to the supply of the expeditionary forces.

"They also do reconnoitering, stir up discontent among our troops and camouflage the places where the regular Red Army troops are situated. In short, they do everything in their power to frustrate our plans and each one has suitable functions assigned to him. When they are not fighting they work in the fields, but whenever they are needed they all arm themselves and come to the aid of the Communist army. That is why the government army must exercise the greatest prudence in any dealings it has with the local population. The



defeat of several divisions of government troops lately and the death of two divisional commanders at the front were precisely the result of this joint action between the partisan detachments and the Communist army.

"Precisely because it is impossible to draw any line between a good citizen and a Red partisan, our troops cannot but feel that 'the enemy is lurking everywhere.' Even in districts where the population has not yet been contaminated by Communist activities, the troops also feel that there will be no rest until the whole population has been wiped out. If all those killed were really partisans, nothing further need be said. But it is very difficult to distinguish a partisan from a non-partisan. This difficulty gives rise to the hardships encountered by the expeditionary forces which I will summarize as follows:

"1. It has proved absolutely impossible to get food supplies or any personal services performed for the troops;

"2. The population of the districts bordering on or only near the bandit districts turn Red more and more frequently for fear of being massacred without exception by the expeditionary forces."

This forced admission of Chiang Kai-shek's is very valuable. It completely exposed and shattered the slanderous statement which Chiang Kai-shek himself spread, and which was seconded by his adherents—the Trotskyists, in the struggle against the Red Army and the Communist Party. For they had stated that the Red Army and the Communists were "Red bandits" and the "murderers of the people". Now Chiang Kai-shek himself is compelled to admit before the whole world that it is he himself, Chiang Kai-shek and his troops that kill the peaceful inhabitants of the Soviet districts and of those districts adjoining the Soviet districts.

*The prompt and systematic utilization of the experience of the C.P.S.U. and of the victories of socialist construction in the Soviet Union help the development of the Soviet Revolution in China.*

One of the principal reasons which go to explain the successes of our Red Army and of the Soviet government in the struggle against the fifth Kuomintang expedition was the victorious completion in four years of the first Five-Year Plan in the U.S.S.R. and the recital of its results in the report of Comrade Stalin. Our Party has popularized far and wide Comrade Stalin's report delivered at the



January Plenum of the C.C. and the C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U., especially the part which directly deals with China. For instance the place where Comrade Stalin, in speaking of the harm caused by relegating the tasks of industrialization to the rear, directly declared:

“Our position would then have been more or less analogous to the present position of China, which has no heavy industry, has no war industry of its own and is pecked at by everybody who cares to do so.” (*Joint Plenum*, and J. Stalin, *The Results of the First Five-Year Plan*, p. 25.)

Our Party, availing itself of these words of Comrade Stalin and of the triumph of the first Five-Year Plan, declares resolutely and firmly before all China, before the whole world, that only the Chinese Bolsheviks and the Chinese Soviet Republic which they head can change China from a country without heavy industry, without a war industry, incapable of defending itself, an object of military operations by foreign enemies, into a country having its own heavy and war industries, capable of defending itself and powerful enough to repulse all attacks from without. Only the Chinese Bolsheviks and the Chinese Soviet Republic they head can change China from a country economically backward, politically dependent and colonial into a country economically developed and politically independent. Only the Chinese Bolsheviks and the Chinese Soviet Republic they head can change China from a country where chronically and without stop, year by year, floods and starvation, unemployment, the purchase and sale of opium, the murder and extirpation of millions grow apace—into a country where national economy develops with whirlwind speed, where there is neither starvation nor unemployment, where opium, the national poison, finally disappears from the scene, where the well-being of the people reigns everywhere supreme, where classless society will be built as is now being done in the U.S.S.R. under the leadership of the Party of the Bolsheviks.

This agitation and propaganda raised the authority of the C.P.C., of the Soviet government and of the Red Army in China to heights of principle hitherto unattained. At the same time we won over broad masses who expressed their solidarity and sympathy for our



cause and promised us their support. This fact once more gave practical proof of the correctness of the statement of Comrade Stalin, the leader of the world proletariat:

"The international revolutionary significance of the Five-Year Plan is really immeasurable." (*Ibid.*, page 13.)

I shall not even go into the fact that the widespread organization of revolutionary competition, shock brigade work, etc., lent great impetus and yielded important positive results in our Party and mass work in both Soviet and non-Soviet China. Nor will I go into the fact that immediately after the First Congress of Collective Farm Shock Workers was called in the Soviet Union, our Party called the first Congress of Shock Workers of the Committees of the Poor from eight counties of Kiangsi. Due to this we were very successful in widening the struggle against the remnants of the landlords and kulaks, and in mobilizing the peasants for joining the Red Army. (The Congress decided that eighty thousand persons be recruited for the Red Army in the course of three months.)

What our Party, headed by its C.C., has accomplished in Soviet China, especially during the last few years, has already acquired tremendous, world historic importance. Our Party has shown in practice the absolute correctness of the thought expressed by Lenin and the Comintern that the Soviet power is a world system. It has proven in practice that Soviet power fits not only revolutions in capitalist countries but also in colonial and semi-colonial countries. It has proved in practice that the Soviets are not only the sole form of the dictatorship of the proletariat but the best form of the democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry under the hegemony of the former, ensuring that this dictatorship will grow over into the dictatorship of the proletariat. Parallel with this our Party has by its practice enriched the theoretical principles of Lenin concerning the gigantic role and significance of the provisional revolutionary government, of the revolutionary army, and of the creation of the territorial base of the revolution, though at first it be on a small scale. The experience which our Party has gained in the development of the Soviet revolution has not only become a very



valuable acquisition of the C.P.C., not only an instructive example for the liberation struggle of the peoples of Indo-China, India, Korea, Formosa, Cuba and the rest of the colonial world, but also a fruitful lesson for the Communists in all capitalist countries, principally for our comrades in Japan, Spain, etc.

2. *In the field of exposing the Kuomintang as the party of national betrayal, and of upholding the Soviet government as the government of heroic national defence.* From the day Japan occupied Manchuria, in September, 1931, the question of the armed national defence against the division of China by the imperialists became the axis around which all political questions of present-day China turn. Whoever comes out victorious in this question will be the master of the situation in China. This is known not only to us, but also to our enemies, to Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang. That is the reason why the Kuomintang, despite its endless disgraceful acts of treason and capitulation to the Japanese and other imperialists, has always and everywhere resorted to various maneuvers and demagogic gestures to engage in a desperate contest with our Party about this question. Has our Party, headed by its C.C., been able to unmask the maneuvers and the demagoguery of the Kuomintang and to convince the masses of the correctness of our slogans? Yes, in the main it has.

If we were to try to sum up our struggle in this field during the last two years, the following three periods may be distinguished:

*The First Period*—from the Manchurian events in September of 1931 until the eve of the Shanghai defence early in 1932. In this period the Kuomintang issued the following demagogic slogans: “The Nanking government is ready to declare war on Japan” on the one hand, and on the other: “Wait calmly for just aid from the League of Nations and America”.

How did our Party and its C.C. expose this demagoguery on the part of the Kuomintang? To expose these Kuomintang maneuvers our Party did not confine itself to posting up and propagandizing our basic tactical slogan concerning the national war of the armed people against Japanese and other imperialisms; or that “the people must arm itself to drive the Japanese occupants out of Manchuria and the



rest of China." The Party organized big anti-Japanese mass movements in practice in the form of strikes, meetings, demonstrations of the widespread organization of anti-Japanese volunteer detachments. It presented to the Kuomintang the demands of the masses that arms be immediately handed out and the troops moved to the anti-Japanese front. As a result of all this Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang unmasked themselves by their own actions (by the shooting of workers, students, and the city poor in Shanghai, Nanking and Canton, at the time of the anti-Japanese demonstration, and by openly forbidding every anti-Japanese mass movement and even talk about war with Japan).

*The Second Period*—from the defense of Shanghai to Japan's occupation of Shangkaiwan early in 1933. During this period the basic demagogic slogans of the Kuomintang were: "The failure of the Shanghai defense was caused by the destructive activity of the Red Army," from which it follows that "you must fight the Communists the same time you fight the Japanese"; or "to be successful in fighting the foreign foe you must first get through with the domestic foe," that is, the Communists.

How did our Party expose this demagoguery of the Kuomintang? Our Party did a great deal here. It rendered material and moral aid to the heroic Shanghai workers and soldiers of the Nineteenth Army and to the Shanghai defense. It also took an active part in the political and military actions during the period of the famous Shanghai national defense. The Soviet government of the Chinese Soviet Republic declared war on Japanese imperialism as early as the beginning of 1932 and in connection with this carried out a military mobilization of the Red Army and the masses to seriously prepare themselves for this war.

The Party and the Soviet government openly came out against the Shanghai agreement to an armistice, and organized demonstrations against it as well as against the Lytton report. The Party worked out the tactics of a national revolutionary united front (with various anti-Japanese partisan detachments) and applied them in practice in Manchuria and Jehol to develop the anti-Japanese partisan warfare as much as possible. Of special significance was the pub-



lication of the manifesto issued by the Soviet government and its Revolutionary War Council of the Chinese Soviet Republic addressed to the people and all armies and military units. In this manifesto there was expressed the sincere desire and heartfelt readiness to conclude a concrete fighting agreement with any army or military unit on the basis of elementary conditions:

(1) The offensive against the Soviet districts must cease; (2) the people must be granted freedom of speech, of the press, the right to organize, to strike, etc.; (3) the people must be granted the right freely to organize anti-Japanese volunteers and to arm them for the joint conduct of the armed struggle against Japanese imperialism in connection with the further Japanese attack upon Shangkaiwan.

As a result of all this Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang were compelled publicly to take off their masks by issuing a special order to their armies and to the people in which they say that "now one ought to fight only against Communists and Red bandits. Whoever still speaks of resisting Japan ought to be severely punished." Thus the Kuomintang together with Chiang Kai-shek once more exposed themselves before the masses of the people.

*The Third Period*—from the publication of Chiang Kai-shek's order forbidding all talk of resisting Japan (the end of April and beginning of May) until this day. During this time Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang openly appealed for a cessation of hostilities against Japan on the pretext that it was impossible to continue the fight because of the poverty and weakness of China and the Chinese people. How did our Party expose this demagoguery of Chiang Kai-shek? Our Party and its C.C. in order to set up its revolutionary policy in direct opposition to this open policy of betrayal took the following steps:

The Soviet government and the Revolutionary War Council on the day after the above order was published issued an order and a manifesto to the Red Army and to the people concerning an increase of the regular Red army units to a total of one million persons to fight Japanese imperialism. The manifesto appealed to all military units and to the masses of the population that they come out jointly with the Red Army on their own initiative, despite Chiang



Kai-shek, in favor of conducting a national defense war against the Japanese and other imperialists.

The Party strongly and energetically stressed and supported the programmatic demands set up by the anti-Japanese revolutionary mass organizations which represent the program for the organization of the anti-Japanese national war, which represent the most simple, but at the same time the most necessary demands understood by and acceptable to the broadest popular masses. For instance, the following demand: general mobilization of the people for participation in the anti-Japanese war at the fronts and in the rear; general mobilization of the military land, sea and air forces at the anti-Japanese fronts; general arming of the people with weapons taken from all the arsenals and military storehouses and even bought abroad; concrete methods of collecting funds and supplies to organize and carry on warfare, such as: confiscating all banks, rail and water transport, the mines, factories and mills, likewise commodities in the hands of Japanese imperialists in China; stopping payment on all loans and interest due Japan from China; confiscating the property of all national traitors, etc., and creating leading organizations of the people in this war, etc.

Alongside of this our Party is successfully popularizing the theories of Marxism-Leninism concerning the revolutionary and progressive character, the reality and possibility of victory of the national-revolutionary war, popularizing the experience of the victorious struggle of the Russian Bolsheviks against the intervention of fourteen capitalist powers. It further popularizes the experience of the heroic defense of Shanghai, of the anti-Japanese partisan warfare in Manchuria and of the military operations of the Red Army against the expeditions of the Kuomintang and the imperialists. This for the purpose of demonstrating in every way not only the possibility of organizing and carrying on an anti-Japanese national war by the armed people themselves under present-day conditions in China and throughout the rest of the world, but also the *possibility and likelihood of its victory*.

Precisely by means of such prolonged systematic and flexible theoretical and practical struggle our Party, led by its C.C., suc-



ceeded in gradually exposing all the maneuvers and demagoguery of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang, and in convincing the masses by their own political experience of the correctness of the slogans of our Party. Thereby our Party is succeeding step by step in converting its slogans that "the overthrow of the Kuomintang regime is a condition of the successful prosecution of the national-revolutionary war against Japanese and other imperialisms" and that "the Soviet government and the Red Army of China are the only consistent fighters of the national-revolutionary war" from Party slogans into slogans of the masses. It is precisely due to our tireless struggle for the organization of the revolutionary-national war against the Japanese and other imperialisms that the masses in Manchuria, Jehol, Fukien and all the rest of China rally more and more closely around our Party, the Soviet government and the Red Army, and come to regard them as the only party, government and army capable of heading their sacred wars against imperialism and for the liberation of the nation.

Besides, it must be noted that parallel with these principal tactical achievements our Party during this period attained a number of other tactical successes in its mass work, especially in the organization, preparation and carrying out of the strikes of the workers and in the struggle for the creation of the united front of all workers at the enterprises and among the yellow trade unions. Comrade Kang Sin will speak more at length about this topic. This is precisely the circumstance which conditioned the *beginning of the decided change* in the work of the Party in the Red trade unions and among the workers in the yellow trade unions.

### *c) Organizational Consolidation and Development*

3. The further bolshevization of the C.P. of China finds expression in its further organizational consolidation and growth. The Party membership has increased during the year from 300,000 to 410,600 persons. This growth took place not only in Soviet China but also in non-Soviet territory. Last year we had 30,000 members in non-Soviet China, 15,000 of whom were not in con-



stant contact with the Party because of the raging white terror. This year however, we have already 60,000 members and more than 30,000 of them regularly pay their membership dues and do steady Party work. Qualitatively the Party likewise has improved its composition. The percentage of workers rose on the average from 15-20 per cent last year to 25-30 per cent in the present year. The methods of leadership and work with respect to concreteness and definiteness, the strengthening of the work of the nuclei and the attention given to the nuclei in the enterprises have considerably improved. Independence and initiative have grown in a number of Party and mass organizations. The role of the Party press has risen, its quality has improved, its circulation increased both in Soviet and non-Soviet China. New cadres have come to the fore especially among the workers. The political and theoretical level of the Party cadres as well as their activity show progress. The merciless struggle on two fronts and the widespread self-criticism from top to bottom increased not only in theory but also in practice.

These are the basic facts which speak of the further growth and strengthening of our Party. Finally there remains the following important fact: despite the demagoguery, slander and intrigues of the imperialists of the Kuomintang and all its agents, the individual opportunist elements within our Party, against the C.P.C. and its leadership, especially against the secretariat and the Politburo of the C.C., despite their wails about a split and about the decay of the Communist Party of China, the delegation of the C.P.C. at the present plenum of the E.C.C.I. can proudly state with every reason to support it that today our Party is united, monolithic and rallies in serried ranks around its Bolshevik Central Committee as never before in the history of its thirteen years of existence. This is the basis for the successes of our Party and of the revolution in the past period. The C.P.C. is today the second party in the world, after the C.P.S.U., which victoriously heads a Soviet state and leads a Red Army.

Of course this does not by any means signify that during the past year there were no cases of individual Party workers committing some Right or "Left" opportunist mistakes. It would be



a miracle if in a mass party of thousands, working under such complicated and difficult conditions as we do, there were absolutely no mistakes on the part of anybody. We all remember that the Communist Party under the leadership of the C.C. always did and does wage a sharp struggle against the main danger in the present period, against the Right deviation which did and does express itself in pessimistic sentiments and views held by individual organizations of the Party in connection with the Kuomintang expedition and the impending open armed imperialist intervention against the Soviet Republic.

At the same time the Communist Party under the leadership of the C.C. waged and still does wage a struggle against Leftist sentiments entertained by individual leading comrades who considered the Kuomintang to be nothing but a "dead corpse" even at the time of the fifth expedition.

The Central Committee aided the Central Bureau of the C.C. in the Soviet districts in waging a struggle against individual Party, trade union and other workers on the *labor question*. The C.C. was against a position "Left" in words and Menshevik in deeds with relation to the interests of the working class. This position found expression in placing the craft economic interest of individual strata of the workers in opposition to the general basic political interests of the working class.

Concretely this tendency found expression in the fact that individual trade union workers failed to take into account the military and economic situation in the Soviet districts and therefore put up demands which were not only absolutely impossible of fulfilment but were sometimes even harmful. (For instance, the demand that workers be paid in silver and not in Soviet paper currency.) This was done by the use of such "Left" phrasemongering as the following: "In the Soviet districts the forms of class struggle ought not to differ in any way from its forms in Kuomintang China." At the same time a struggle was waged also against another improper approach, which expressed itself in the absolute denial of the task of improving the material condition of the workers and of performing the protective functions of the Red trade unions in the



Soviet districts. This it was attempted to justify on the basis of the military and difficult economic position.

In the *land question*: The Party fought against the open Right deviation in individual new and old Soviet districts. This found expression in the fact that some sections of the Party and Soviet workers disagreed with and delayed the application of the equal division of the land, in spite of the desires and demands of the peasant masses. The Party also fought another extremely harmful tendency, which claimed to be "Left" and found expression in the incessant redistribution of the land three or four times a year after it had already been divided up among the basic masses of the peasantry.

In the *military question*: The Party fought against the Right panic-mongering and pessimistic sentiments caused by the Kuomintang expeditions. These sentiments found expression in the constant proposals to apply a tactic of retreat and even of cutting down the size of the regular Red Army units and of converting this army into separate small partisan detachments. It further found expression in the denial of the possibility and necessity of strengthening the territorial base. The Party also fought against the "Left" adventurist tendency which found expression in the absolute denial of the possibility or necessity of any partial or temporary retreat for military or tactical considerations. For instance, the "Lefts" denied the necessity of retreating even to avoid a clash with superior forces of the enemy, or to escape unfavorable fighting conditions, or to gain time for the selection of a favorable moment for attack. The "Lefts" further underestimated or failed to understand the prime importance and significance of conserving the man-power of the Red Army and had a mechanical understanding of the tasks of consolidating the territorial base even at the cost of great loss of life to the Red Army.

The C.C. also headed the two-front struggle of the Party organizations in the non-Soviet districts. This struggle was waged in various sectors of the Party and mass work. For instance in *trade union* work the Party waged and still wages a struggle against the Right tendency of individual Party and trade union members, who consider it impossible for our Party and the Red trade unions to



organize and lead the strike struggle independently, and who also consider it impossible to link up and combine the economic struggle of the workers with their political, especially their anti-Japanese and anti-imperialist, struggle. These trade union members considered a further development of the Red trade unions and their conversion into mass organizations to be unlikely.

At the same time a struggle was and is being waged also against "Left" sectarianism. This finds expression in the failure to understand the necessity of creating and consolidating the united front of all workers in the struggle against the capitalists and imperialists; failure to understand the necessity of strengthening the work within the yellow trade unions and creating groups of revolutionary trade union opposition. They further found expression in the mechanical setting up of basic political programmatic demands of the Party and of intermixing them with the day-to-day demands of the workers in their partial economic struggle.

In its *anti-imperialist* national-revolutionary struggle the C.C. waged and is still waging a struggle throughout the whole country, especially in Manchuria and North China, against the views which express distrust in the ability of the broad armed masses of the people to carry to a victorious conclusion the national-revolutionary war against Japanese and other imperialists. On the other hand the Party fought against the unwillingness and the failure to understand, and the inability to create and strengthen, the united anti-imperialist front of all forces fighting under the banner, under the leadership of the proletariat in accordance with the concrete conditions of any given place.

In its revolutionary work among the *peasant* and *soldier* masses the C.C. waged and still wages a struggle against the Right platform which speaks of the impossibility of armed action and of victory in the northern and northwestern provinces. It further waged and still wages a struggle against the putschist sentiments of individual local Party organizations which look upon these actions as a game and carry them out without adequate preliminary preparations.

The C.C. has spurred on and still spurs on the entire Party in the Soviet and non-Soviet districts to a merciless struggle against



every tendency to violate our iron discipline and the rules of secrecy and fights every grouping whomever it may consist of.

The Communist Party of China has grown and strengthened during this period on the basis of irreconcilable struggle within the Party on two fronts, in theory as well as in practice.

#### B. WHEREIN ARE OUR MISTAKES AND WEAK POINTS EXPRESSED?

Now, however, I raise this question: Have there been any weak points or mistakes in the work of the Party during the past year, alongside of all these successes? Have we overcome the relative lagging of the subjective forces behind the objective situation?

Weak points and mistakes in our Party and mass work in non-Soviet China there have been many and some of them not minor ones, either. In the main they find expression in the following: Inability so far to create an organized proletarian framework in the widely developing anti-imperialist movement. This is due to poor work and poor organization of the Party and Red trade unions in a number of important cities and centers (Wuhan, Canton, Kiu Kiang, etc.). Another fault is the still inadequate work in the yellow and Kuomintang trade unions in non-Soviet China. A further cause is the impermissibly poor and unsystematic work of a number of Party organizations among the armed forces of the enemy, under the strained conditions of revolution and war. Then there is the very small amount of work done among the masses of the peasants and starving, the neglectful attitude toward the mass struggle of the city poor and intelligentsia, the failure to appreciate the importance of working among the toiling women and youth, and finally shortcomings and weak spots in the struggle for the elementary rules of secrecy and against acts of provocation.

Weak spots and mistakes crop up in our Party, Soviet and mass work also in *Soviet* China. The following are the most important of these: Insufficient attention paid by a number of Party and Soviet



organizations to work among the middle peasants and at times an incorrect (almost "Leftist") attitude towards them: insufficiently accurate and correct mutual relations between Party and Soviet organizations on the one hand and between Party, Soviet and other mass organizations on the other (confusing one with the other, divorcing one from the other, the substitution of one for the other, and so forth); the tendency of individual Communists to weaken in the struggle in their vigilance against counter-revolutionary organizations, in their activities and so forth.

Despite the tremendous successes achieved by the Party and the revolutionary movement, still if one compares the strength of the subjective factor with the demands and possibilities of the objective situation, the relative lagging of the first behind the second becomes *clearly apparent*. The objective situation, in present-day China is such that if the Party intensified its work we would have every possibility of winning over all that may be called honest "national defencists" who are unwilling to be the slaves of the Japanese or other imperialists and who are ready to sacrifice their lives to save their native land and their people. We might also win over all the starving unemployed and homeless toilers (of which Kuomintang China and Manchuria hold not only millions but tens of millions), and convert them into active fighters for national liberation, for rice, for bread, for land, for work, for a roof over their heads and thus for the overthrow of the imperialists and their henchmen, the Kuomintang people and other militarists and bureaucrats, for all of whom they feel a mortal hatred—convert all these into active fighters for the decisive victory of the Soviet revolution in all of China. In this sense the lagging of our achievements behind the possibilities and the objective situation is still very great. The struggle to overcome this lag is the urgent task of the C.P. of China.



### III. The Immediate Perspectives and Difficulties of the Soviet Revolution in China, and the Tasks of the C.P.C. and the Fraternal Parties

#### A. THE IMMEDIATE PERSPECTIVES AND DIFFICULTIES OF THE SOVIET REVOLUTION IN CHINA

The present-day international and internal situation of China is doubtless still more favorable than before for the further development and the victory of the Soviet revolution in China. We have shown above that in the near future two perspectives are possible: either the decisive victory of the Soviet revolution in China will prevent the outbreak of a world imperialist war for the Pacific and a war of the imperialists against the U.S.S.R.; or an imperialist war, primarily *a war of the Japanese and other imperialists against the Soviet Union will precede the decisive victory of the Soviet revolution in China.* The endless and open acts of provocation, intrigues and even military feelers of the Japanese militarists in Manchuria on the Chinese Eastern Railway, at the borders of the Mongolian People's Republic and at the Soviet Far Eastern borders speak with sufficient eloquence of the nearness of the anti-Soviet war and of the possibility of its outbreak at any moment. In either event we, the C.P.C., consider the following to be our basic task: *A struggle for the decisive victory of the Soviet revolution in all China,* or in other words, in the words of Comrade Molotov "the complete defeat of the enemy and the victory of the Red Army". In our opinion these words suit not only the tasks of the C.P.S.U. in case of an attack by the Japanese or other imperialists upon the U.S.S.R. but they also fit the basic tasks of the C.P.C. in the very near future.

However, despite the favorable conditions of the general situation we must take serious account of the fact that the further development of the Soviet revolution in China toward a decisive victory will encounter *difficulties and complications* of an international and internal character, and these will be not less but more numerous than heretofore; but all these difficulties and complications are in the main difficulties and complications attending the *growth* of our movement. Not one of them is insurmountable.



All the principal imperialist powers without exception are the principal enemies of the Chinese revolution. *Here* lies our *chief* difficulty. Although China is situated far from the imperialist centers of America and Europe, yet on land and by sea it borders for long stretches on so belligerent a neighbor as the feudal-bourgeois-monarchist predatory imperialist Japan of Araki which by armed force has already hacked the three northeastern provinces of China (that is, Manchuria) and two northern provinces (Jehol and Chakhar) from its living body—Japan which threatens further interventions, which in the shortest space of time can dispatch from its homeland and colonies immense land, sea and air forces. The economic key positions in China have long been in the possession of the international imperialists and as a matter of fact all big cities and ports are occupied by the naval forces of these imperialist robbers. Each day open armed intervention by the imperialists against the Chinese revolution comes nearer.

The second important difficulty of our further struggle towards the decisive victory of the Soviet revolution in China consists in the economic and military-technical backwardness of the country. These principal factors give rise to the uneven development of the revolutionary movement though there has been a decided change for the better during the past year; this unevenness still remains one of the principal weak spots of the Soviet revolution. Parallel with this the economic backwardness, the absence of unification of the present-day Soviet territories and the military-technical shortcomings of the Red Army on the one hand; the weakness of our Party and mass work in non-Soviet China especially among the workers in the number of big cities, and of our work among the basic military forces of the enemy, including Manchuria on the other hand, constitute our supplemental difficulties.

To make use of all means, primarily the further mobilization and organization under the leadership of the C.P.C. of the tens and hundreds of millions of toilers in non-Soviet and Soviet China, to cause them to rally to the banner of the Soviet government and the Red Army for the revolutionary struggle for rice, for bread, for land, for national independence—this is the most reliable, the most



correct path of overcoming the difficulties and complications of every description and for winning the decisive victory of the Soviet revolution.

## **B. NEW TASKS—WORKING UNDER NEW CONDITIONS IN A NEW WAY**

The C.C. places before the Party the following immediate tasks as concrete measures for consolidating the achievements already won by the revolution and for creating the practical pre-conditions of a decisive victory of the Soviet revolution: The mobilization of all forces to repulse the sixth campaign of the Kuomintang and the imperialists against Soviet China; the further strengthening and expansion of the Red Army and the Soviet state; the strengthening of the struggle for the further consolidation and expansion of Soviet territory; maximum development and highest leadership in the anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang movement in Kuomintang China and the creation within this movement of a proletarian backbone to guarantee proletarian hegemony; the wide expansion of our work among the workers who are still in the yellow and Kuomintang trade unions and among the unorganized workers for the purpose of winning them over to our side; the conversion of the Red Trade unions into large mass organizations and the strengthening of the organization and leadership in the strike struggle of the Chinese proletariat; the all-around development of the anti-Japanese mass partisan movement (especially in Manchuria and North China) and the control of the leadership of this movement; a decisive strengthening of the work of winning the masses of the soldiers, the enhancement of the role of the Party in the struggle of the peasant and petty-bourgeois masses in Kuomintang China; and finally the further consolidation and development of the Party itself, especially in the sense of increasing the percentage of workers in the leading organizations and in the Party as a whole, of training and selecting numerous new cadres and creating strong Party organizations capable of working in those big cities where there are none or almost none, or where they are too weak—organizations capable of working in the military and transport enterprises.



Then there is the question of strengthening the merciless struggle against acts of provocation, for secrecy and iron discipline and the further development of the irreconcilable struggle on two fronts for a monolithic theory, for organizational unity and cohesion and against all opportunist tendencies and deviations from the general line of the Party and the Comintern, primarily against the Right deviation as the main danger at the present stage.

It may seem to many at first glance that these tasks present nothing new. This is absolutely untrue. This would be a formal approach to the tasks facing the Parties. Here are some instances:

Let us take, *first*, the task of forming, strengthening and developing Soviet statehood in Soviet China. This task used to confront us in the past and still confronts us. But while formerly, let us say *before* the First All-China Congress of Soviets, we understood and solved this task by way of creating a provisional central government, by working out and publishing basic laws and decrees of the Chinese Soviet Republic, so *after* the creation of the central government and the formation of the Chinese Soviet Republic as a new type of state in China, this same task denoted the **concretization** and specification of all basic laws and decrees of the First Soviet Congress, denoted the working out and amending of these laws to correspond to the new situation and the ability to carry them out in the initial stage. Can we *now* understand and discharge this duty in the same way? Everybody will say—no.

Today we understand and discharge this duty on a higher level and in more detailed form, for instance in the form of further developing the economic and cultural construction, of further developing and making more specific the tax and budget systems, the strict compliance with the laws guaranteeing the right to elect and recall members of the Soviets, improving the work of the Control Commission and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, the better observance and the strengthening of revolutionary law and so forth.

Or let us take, *second*, the task of developing the anti-imperialist movement. We always spoke about it. But is it possible to understand and carry out this task in one and the same way, say, before and after the Manchurian events, especially today when on the one hand



Chiang Kai-shek and the whole Kuomintang have completely unmasked themselves in word and in deed as the open carriers of national betrayal and when on the other hand the further advance of the Japanese and other imperialists continues without a halt for the purpose of partitioning China? Everybody will say—no.

Formerly the question was not put so sharply: either armed struggle of the people to drive the Japanese and other imperialists out of China and win national independence, or the transformation of the whole Chinese nation into slaves of Japanese and other imperialists; and the exposure of the Kuomintang as the government of national disgrace and national betrayal was not so open or complete. Therefore today the task of developing the anti-Japanese movement must be understood by us as the organization and carrying out of the national-revolutionary war of the armed nation against Japanese and other imperialisms.

Today we have every possibility legally and semi-legally whenever the opportunity presents itself to bring up and discuss this question of the way out of the national crisis, discuss it among all strata of the nation and all mass organizations, to prove to the masses the correctness of our revolutionary slogans and to lead them to decisive action. Could this question formerly, let us say, before the Manchurian events, have been put and decided the same as now? Of course not.

Or let us take, *third*, the task of working among the armed forces of the enemy. We always used to talk about this. Is there anything new in the concrete discharge of this duty of our Party under the present political conditions? We answer—yes. Wherein does this new feature consist? It consists in the following:

1. With reference to the armies of the enemy we now raise the question not so much of demoralizing them as winning them over to the side of the revolution, inasmuch as the practical experience in Manchuria, Jehol, Shanghai, Kiangsi, Fukien, Szechwan and other places has already shown us that under present conditions of growth of the forces and influence of the revolution and of unprecedented national anti-imperialist upsurge, whenever we worked properly, though at times not fully satisfactorily, we found opportunities of transforming these armies from a reserve of the imperialists and



armed support of the Chinese counter-revolution into a militant force against Japanese and other imperialisms and national traitors.

2. Our military work now as before is in the main directed toward winning the soldier masses, but today we must also pay attention to work among the lower and even the middle commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the enemy troops, for instance among the sergeants and young students in various military academies. Their number includes many really honest so-called national defencists who sincerely desire to fight Japanese and other imperialisms for the national liberation of their people and who enter military academies or army units to acquire military knowledge and to get weapons. They thus for the time being fell under the influence of the national Kuomintang demagogues, but now become more and more aware of the hopelessness of the Kuomintang and try to find a new way out in revolution and under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Let us take, *four*, the task of working among the starving and unemployed. We spoke of this long before. But is there anything new in our understanding, our discharge of this duty under present conditions? We answer—yes, there is. Wherein does this new feature consist? It consists in the fact that now we must set ourselves the task of working among them primarily from the point of view of utilizing these mighty human reserves to replenish the ranks of the Red Army and Red partisans in the armed struggle against the imperialists and the Kuomintang, on the one hand; and to prevent the possibility of these reserve being used by the Kuomintang and the imperialists against the revolution (thus Chiang Kai-shek has now issued an order to recruit 600,000 new soldiers within three months counting primarily on the starving to fill the bill).

Or let us take *finally* the task of winning over the petty bourgeois intellectuals to the side of the revolution. About this too we have constantly spoken. Isn't there something happening in this stratum? Is there anything new in our work along this line? Yes—there is. In connection with the unheard-of national crisis, the unheard-of impoverishment and legally unprotected position of the masses under the modern regime of imperialism and the Kuomintang in China on the one hand, and the great world historic victory of socialist construction



in the U.S.S.R. and the mighty victories of the Soviet revolution in China on the other, a clear turn, a distinct move to the Left with reference to the revolution and the Communist Party has become noticeable among the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. It now sees in the revolution a way out of national enslavement, sees in the C.P.C. the only leader of the anti-imperialist revolution. Our task at the present moment consists in strengthening our work among this stratum of the population for the purpose primarily of converting ever so many of these petty-bourgeois intellectuals into active fighters of the anti-imperialist movement, for the purpose of using them as agitational and propagandist forces and of drawing all specialists among them into the work of helping Soviet construction on the territory of the Chinese Soviet Republic.

In connection with this we must seriously underscore the fact that a dogmatic, schematic, mechanical, hard-and-fast understanding and fulfilment of the concrete, tactical and practical tasks placed before the Party, the failure to take into account the concrete subjective and objective conditions, the inability to work in a new way under the new conditions—defects which many comrades in our Party and mass organizations display—are among the main reasons why our practical work lags behind the objective situation. The whole Party must make a decided turn for the better in this domain.

#### **C. THE VICTORY OF THE RED ARMY OVER THE SIXTH ANTI-SOVIET EXPEDITION AND THE TASKS OF THE FRATERNAL PARTIES WITH REFERENCE TO THE CHINESE REVOLUTION**

You will all no doubt well remember that in the very recent past (on September 6, 1933) a manifesto signed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, President of the C.E.C. and of the Council of People's Commissars, Comrades Hsian Yin and Chen Ko-pao, Vice Presidents, and Comrade Chu Teh, President of the Revolutionary War Council and Commander-in-Chief of the workers' and peasants' Red Army, was issued in the name of the C.E.C. of the Chinese Soviet Republic, addressed to the workers, peasants and intellectuals of the U.S.A., Great Britain, France, Japan and Germany, and to all



toilers, all enemies of imperialism and all friends of the Chinese people. The manifesto appealed for aid in the struggle against the sixth anti-Soviet campaign of Chiang Kai-shek and the imperialists.

It reads in part:

"Brothers, sisters, comrades, friends!

"The young Chinese Soviet Republic, despite the numerical and technical superiority of the forces of the enemy, has already repelled five expeditions of the counter-revolution in heroic battle in which men and women, old and young, have sacrificed their lives. This Soviet Republic is now in *serious danger!*

". . . At this critical juncture," the manifesto continues, "we appeal to you to help us in our struggle against those who want to hurl us back to inhuman conditions of life, who want to deprive us of all life worth living."

The proletarians and toilers of the whole world responded *en masse* to this appeal to the C.E.C. of the Chinese Soviet Republic.

All friends and enemies of the Chinese revolution daily eagerly await news concerning this grandiose war between the Red Army and the Kuomintang troops directly led by the former commander of the German Reichswehr, General Seeckt, now a hireling in the pay of Chiang Kai-shek, the paid tool of international capitalism.

Now, early in December, only three months after the beginning of the campaign, the delegation of the C.P.C. at the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. can state before the whole world:

*The sixth Anti-Soviet expedition of the Kuomintang and the imperialists is in the main already going to pieces.*

Only at the Northern Kiangsi front the battle is still raging between the Red Army and the main troops of Chiang Kai-shek and only there the Red Army has not yet won a decisive victory. On all other important fronts—in Fukien, in Kwantung, in Szechwan the heroic workers' and peasants' Red Army has already gained a complete decisive victory over the forces of the sixth expedition.

Although exhaustive information concerning our military triumphs has not yet come to hand, the isolated data received from various fronts are sufficiently indicative. Thus, for instance, at the



Fukien front the Nineteenth Army was defeated as early as the beginning of October.

The following are the tokens of victory on that front:

Four divisions (the 31st, 32nd, 60th and 78th) out of the six divisions of the Nineteenth Army, one division under General Lo Sin-pang and one division of the militarist Liu Ho-ting suffered serious defeat; three regiments of the Nineteenth Army came over to the Red Army, 3,300 soldiers, one brigade commander, three regimental commanders and four battalion commanders were taken prisoner by the Red Army. On this Fukien front the Red Army captured twelve big ships with full cargoes of munitions of war, food supplies, salt and money (over 10,000 workers were required to unload eight of the ships); 4,600 rifles, 50 heavy machine guns, 30 light machine guns, 500 mausers, 2,000 helmets, 400,000 cartridges, 5,000 grenades and 3 radio apparatuses. Almost all the counties of Western and Northern Fukien have been Sovietized.

On the Szechwan front our victory was likewise very noteworthy. The army of the militarist Tien Sun-yao which consisted of 46 regiments was almost completely smashed by the Fourth Red Army. As a result of this we captured 6,000 rifles, 100 machine guns, 8 high and middle commanders, while about 10,000 soldiers, were either taken prisoner, wounded or killed in battle. The defeated army units of the militarists Li Hsian and Yan Suan and the eighth brigade of the militarist Li Sin-hwei in the counties of Ma-pien, Ou-pien and Ou-mei mutinied and were reorganized together with peasant Red partisans to form the first independent division of the Szechwan Red Army. This division created new Soviet hearths in Western Szechwan.

The Canton troops on the Southern Kiangsi front had encountered complications in the rear and occupied defensive positions long ago. They suffered one set-back after another and have been compelled for the time being to cease all military actions against us. At the Northern Kiangsi front the Red Army defeated the 96th, the 5th, 6th, 79th, 23rd and some other divisions of Chiang Kai-shek. As a result of our victory over the 5th and 6th divisions we captured 7,800 rifles and 2 radio apparatuses.



The Red Army repeatedly dealt crushing blows to the military plans of Seeckt and Chiang Kai-shek and has now compelled the latter in many places and on many an occasion to change from offensive to defensive tactics. In connection with the latest events in Fukien the rear of Chiang Kai-shek's troops which is already unreliable is now completely shattered and panic-stricken.

We must especially emphasize the fact that the present victory of the Red Army and of the Soviet government directly headed by the C.P.C. is a victory *unprecedented in magnitude*. From a military point of view this consists in the following facts:

First, we attained this victory in so unexpectedly short a period.

Second, in the progress of this victory the Red Army not only seized but still holds in its possession such great cities and ports as Yan-ping in Fukien (one of the biggest cities and ports in this province on a par with Amoy and Fuchow) and Wang-Hsian in Szechwan (one of the three principal cities of this province ranking with Chun-chin and Chen-Tu and one of the biggest ports of the upper valley of the Yangtze containing an English concession. In 1925, in connection with the anti-imperialist upsurge of the masses, the English imperialists had bombarded this city, a fact known to everyone).

Third, during the military activities the Red Army proved itself so powerful that many of its enemies were compelled to strike up a different tune and ceased military operations.

Fourth, the Eighth and Fourth Red Armies on the borders of Szechwan and Hupeh succeeded in uniting, which they had long been trying to do.

From a political point of view this victory consists in the following:

1. It raised still higher the authority of the Red Army as an invincible force, and the authority of the Soviet government as a government which is establishing itself *de facto* before the whole world.

2. As a result of this victory there is going on a rapid process of revolutionization among the masses and the soldiers of the militarist armies, especially in the Kuomintang districts bordering on the Soviet districts.



The latest events in Fukien bear witness to this fact. The creation of a new government, "independent" of Nanking and of Chiang Kai-shek, the proclamation by the Fukien government of radical slogans, speaking of a struggle against Japanese imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek, of granting the people on its territory freedom of speech, of religion and of the press, the right of assembly and the right to form unions, the right to strike and demonstrate and so forth; speaking of the calling of a congress of delegates of the producing population, of the creation of a democratic republic and even of refusing to recognize any unjust treaties; speaking of the complete independence of China, of the partition of the land according to the number of members in the family and of the nationalization of all forests, bodies of water and mineral wealth and so forth—all this not only a maneuver and Left phrasemongering on the part of the high command of the Nineteenth Army, *i.e.*, the army which together with the Communist Party and the Shanghai workers wrote one of the most glorious pages in the history of the emancipation struggle of the Chinese people at the time of the heroic defense of Shanghai at the beginning of 1932. These are not only demagogic promises of other imperialists and politicians intended to assure their success but are likewise the result of the tremendous pressure of the masses of the people and soldiers and even of considerable parts of the lower and middle officers of the militarist army units who are all becoming radicalized.

One can state with conviction that the Fukien events will not remain isolated and that in the near future other such events will follow. Objectively they ought to call forth in all China a new and still more powerful upsurge of mass activity in the anti-Japanese and anti-Chiang Kai-shek movement.

3. Whereas heretofore each victory of ours had been accompanied by a further consolidation and unification of all counter-revolutionary militarist cliques in the struggle against the Red Army, this time it called forth in the counter-revolutionary camp, which had itself experienced the invincibility of the Red Army, an increased split, more friction and open quarrels among themselves, which cannot fail to be of advantage to the development of the Soviet revolu-



tion. In connection with the growth of the Red Army forces and the revolutionary movement in all China on the one hand, and the intensified struggle between Chiang Kai-shek and other militarists, by reason of the intensifying contradictions between the Japanese, American and British imperialisms during the recent past, on the other, we can say that in the near future the Red Army will achieve a complete victory over the sixth Kuomintang expedition.

This tense situation in the relations between the plunderers was called forth by the action of the Japanese and by the open and unconditional desertion of Chiang Kai-shek to the side of Japanese imperialism.

In connection with this the struggle between the imperialists is assuming keener forms. This is especially so between America, Japan and Great Britain. After taking Manchuria, Jehol and Chakhar, Japan now has actually seized five rich northern provinces and made them completely subject to itself. But Japan does not content itself with this. With the assistance of Chiang Kai-shek it threatens to seize all of China.

The U.S.A. bends every effort to restore its positions with the Nanking government. At the same time it adopts a more active policy in the south and north of China, especially in Fukien and Kwantung, by trying with the aid of the higher officers of the Nineteenth Army to strengthen its influence in these provinces and crowd out the Japanese and English competitors there.

*Great Britain* has concluded an agreement with France concerning the division of southwestern China and the provinces of Yunnan and Szechwan. In general it supports the struggle of Japan against the U.S.A. while at the same time it fights strenuously against Japan's control of North China and against the strengthening of Japan's influence in the Yangtse valley, and makes use of its position in south China to carry on a boycott of Japanese merchandise.

As a result of all this the struggle within the Kuomintang is constantly gaining in force.

If we were to ask what the situation will be in the near future after the victory of the Red Army over the sixth expedition in China, the following two possibilities must be borne in mind:



a. Either the fear felt by the militarists and imperialists for the growing might of the Soviet revolution will compel them temporarily to soften and smooth over the contradictions between them, to put off the open international tussle and organize a new anti-Soviet expedition, which would not exclude the possibility of immediate, open, direct war, of armed intervention by the imperialists, primarily the British and Japanese, in Szechwan, Fukien, Kiangsi and other localities, against the Chinese revolution;

b. Or the imperialists will temporarily be forced to give up open military intervention which costs them too much, and the struggle of the Kuomintang robbers among themselves will become extremely tense so that they will require time to muster their forces which had been defeated in the six preceding campaigns and equip them for a new expedition. Then the Red Army will receive some sort of war respite at many sectors of the front, for whatever short period of time it may be, in the sense that there would be a temporary cessation of hostilities on the part of the enemy. This possibility is also not excluded. Doubtlessly the tendency and organization of the new armed intervention of the imperialists against Soviet China in concealed or open form is the predominant tendency.

But it must be seriously understood that in either event, after the complete victory over the sixth expedition, the struggle of the C.P.S. for a decisive victory of the Soviet revolution, for the victorious resistance to the armed intervention of the imperialists in its open and concealed forms cannot by any means be weakened, but on the contrary must be made a grave, imperative and militant task.

In the same way our fraternal Communist Parties, especially our Parties in Japan, Great Britain, America, France and Germany, must raise and decide the questions of effective defence of and aid to the Chinese revolution and its Soviets.

However, it must be frankly stated with all Bolshevik directness and by way of self-criticism that although a certain change for the better during the struggle against the sixth anti-Soviet expedition by the Kuomintang and the imperialists has already been noted, in the sense of the popularization of the Chinese Soviet revolution in the Party and mass press, and in the sense of the defence of the Chinese



Soviet Republic by mass propaganda and agitation conducted by the fraternal parties in a number of Western European countries and in the U.S.A., that although our fraternal Party in Japan heroically comes out everywhere against the barbarous imperialism of the Mikado and Araki in a Bolshevik fashion in every possible way and by every possible means, and defends the Chinese people and the Chinese revolution; although our fraternal Party in Germany, regardless of the frenzied fascist terror, tellingly exposes the participation of Seeckt and the other German generals and members of the general staff in the counter-revolutionary war of the Koumintang against the Chinese Soviet Republic, exposes the fact that the German Social-Democrat Grzesinski and his assistants have entered the services of Chiang Kai-shek to take charge of the Nanking secret police—until now the international struggle, the mass revolutionary actions of our fraternal Parties in the imperialist countries to defend the Chinese revolution against imperialist war in the East are in practice far, far behind the active steps taken by the imperialists of the corresponding countries to organize intervention against the Chinese Soviet revolution and against the U.S.S.R. and an imperialist war for the complete partition of China and a new division of the world.

What explains this prolonged lagging behind of our fraternal Parties in this extremely serious work?

Perhaps the fact that many of our comrades still do not adequately estimate the international importance and role of the Chinese revolution? They are still of the opinion that the Chinese revolution, as a colonial revolution, represents some sort of unimportant auxiliary force of the world revolution and therefore is not worth while giving serious thought to. If this is so it is a grave error. Such an opinion concerning revolutions in colonial and semi-colonial countries is incorrect, is non-Leninist in general and in particular with reference to the Chinese Soviet revolution.

The present Chinese revolution is not a spontaneous movement in some small colony directed against imperialism and therefore objectively acquiring revolutionary significance. It is a workers' and peasants' Soviet revolution headed by the Communist Party. It



already represents one of the basic links in the chain of the world proletarian revolution and every success of the present revolution in China means the practical creation of the conditions that will make possible the further transition to the victorious socialist construction in China.

Or perhaps it is the fact that many of our comrades still adhere to the incorrect and erroneous view of the imperialist intervention in China which Comrade Stalin condemned as early as 1926? Perhaps they reason that once no great military mobilization is taking place in the imperialist countries, especially in the given country, it is not a real intervention? Let us see what Comrade Stalin says about that:

“They are inclined to understand by intervention a state of affairs when foreign troops are brought into Chinese territory, and when this is not the case there is no intervention. This is a most profound error, comrades. The bringing in of troops does not at all cover intervention, nor does it at all constitute the main characteristic feature of intervention. Under the modern conditions of the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries, when the direct bringing in of foreign troops might evoke a number of protests and conflicts, intervention has a more pliable character and a more concealed form. Under modern conditions imperialism prefers to intervene by means of organizing civil war within a dependent country, by means of financing counter-revolutionary forces against revolution, by means of moral and financial support of their Chinese agents against the revolution. The imperialists were prone to depict the struggle of Denikin and Kolchak, of Yudenich and Wrangel, against the revolution in Russia as an exclusively internal struggle. But we all knew, and not only we but the whole world knew, that behind the backs of these counter-revolutionary Russian generals stood the imperialists of Great Britain and America, of France and Japan, without whose support a serious civil war in Russia would have been absolutely impossible. The same thing must be said of China. The struggle of Wu Pei-fu and Sung Chuan-fan, Chang Tso-lin and Chang Tsun-chang against the revolution in China would simply be impossible if these counter-revolutionary generals were not inspired by the imperialists of the whole world, if they were not supplied by them with funds, arms, instructors, ‘advisors’, etc.” (Stalin, *On the Opposition*—Speech delivered at the session of the Chinese Commission of the E.C.C.I. held on November 30, 1926.)



This precept of Comrade Stalin was absolutely correct with reference to the struggle between the revolution and counter-revolution in China in 1926. It is confirmed with still greater emphasis by the present struggle of Chiang Kai-shek and Liu Hsian, Chen Ti-tang and Ho Tieng against the Chinese Soviet Republic and its Red Army. We are convinced and many of our enemies openly declare that without the aid—in matters of finance, arms, instructors and “advisors”—of the imperialists of Japan, Great Britain, America, France and Germany, Chiang Kai-shek and the whole Kuomintang would long ago have been wiped off the face of China by the powerful popular Soviet revolution. Together with this it is a grievous error to hold the above view on intervention, especially at the present time, as the Japanese imperialists have long been practising open intervention in China and other imperialists each day increase their armies and navies on the territory of China.

Parallel with this one must take into account also the very essential fact that China is a semi-colony of all imperialists, a land where even in “peace” time quite large military forces of theirs were to be found. Therefore, at the beginning of open intervention and until the imperialists begin to feel their lack of strength and suffer some setbacks, there will be no need for them to bring new armies into China.

And finally may it be that frequently our comrades do not yet sufficiently understand the mutual interlinking and the mutual interrelation between the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for power in its own country and the international revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war of its own bourgeois government against a foreign people and the defence of the revolutionary movement among the peoples oppressed by their own bourgeoisie? They therefore draw a line between the one and the other. If that is so it is necessary seriously to study the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks headed by Comrade Lenin and Comrade Stalin in the victory of the October Revolution. Isn't it a well-known fact that the correct combination of the genuine international revolutionary struggle against imperialist war and for peace and the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants for land and bread with the national



liberation struggle of the peoples oppressed by tsarism and the Russian bourgeoisie made possible the world historic victory of the Bolsheviks in October, 1917? Therefore it is quite clear that one must realize that the question of defending the Chinese Soviets is the question of defending the world proletarian revolution and is an inseparable part of the struggle for the victory of the Soviet government in one's own country.

The Comintern and the C.P.C. are fully entitled to demand from our fraternal parties that they comply with one of the basic conditions of admission to the Comintern, which was adopted on the personal motion of Lenin himself and reads as follows:

"Every Party that desires to belong to the Communist International must give every possible support to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist Parties should carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport munitions of war intended for enemies of the Soviet Republics, carry on legal or illegal propaganda among the troops, which are sent to crush the workers' republics, etc." (*The Twenty-One Points of Admission to the Communist International*, Point 14, p. 31.)

The Communist Party of China has every right to demand of our fraternal Parties that they fulfil this elementary task.

To oppose the alliance of the capitalist robbers of the whole world, the workers must set up their own alliance—the fraternal solidarity and alliance of the toilers of the world who have responded to the call of the Chinese Soviets to defend the Chinese Soviet Republic from the oppressors and exploiters of the Chinese people, and to defend themselves against the oppressors and exploiters of their own native lands, so that in the near future they may in actual deed fulfil those tasks which the C.E.C. of the Chinese Soviet Republic placed before all our fraternal Parties in its manifesto of September 6. Here we read:

"The supreme organ of the Chinese Soviet Republic, the Central Executive Committee, appeals to you to wage jointly with us an energetic mass struggle against the intervention of the imperialists in Soviet China, against the division of China and the preparation



by the imperialists of a new world war at the expense of the Chinese people;

“Against American, British, Japanese, French and German interventionists who are guilty of aerial bombardment and chemical warfare in Soviet China;

“Against the shipment of arms and ammunition to China, for the immediate recall of the land, sea and air forces, likewise for the recall from China of the American pilots and military-technical specialists and German generals and members of the general staff.”

This task we should discharge at once.

At the time of the imperialist intervention against the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, when Communist Parties had barely begun their existence in the capitalist countries and were still very weak, they brought forth from among their ranks a hero like our Comrade Andre Marty, and even at that time were able to accomplish miracles of heroism in the struggle against their own bourgeoisie and for the defense of the first Soviet Republic in the world. And we are convinced that under present conditions, when thousands upon thousands of Andre Martys may be found among the soldiers and sailors of the imperialist powers of Japan, France, Great Britain, America, Germany and Italy and not only among them either; when the world revolutionary crisis ripens with especial rapidity, when a Communist army exists and fights in every capitalist country, the C.P.C., jointly with our fraternal Parties, primarily the Japanese, British and American Parties, under the leadership of the Comintern, headed by our beloved leader, Comrade Stalin, and relying upon the experience of the C.P.S.U., will be able to achieve a victorious solution of its historical tasks.

Long live the Chinese Soviet Republic and its heroic workers' and peasants' Red Army!

Long live the C.P.C.—the leader and organizer of the victorious Soviet revolution in China!

Long live the Leninist Comintern, its shock detachment, the C.P.S.U., and our leader, Comrade Stalin!

Long live the international revolutionary solidarity of the workers of the world and of the oppressed peoples of every land!



# **The Development of the Revolutionary Movement in Non-Soviet China and the Work of the Communist Party**

**By KANG SIN**

**COMRADES:** The theses submitted to the present Plenum are absolutely correct in recording the fact that the present world situation has come to the very brink of a new round of revolutions and wars, and that war, intervention and revolution are in progress in China.

Comrade Kuusinen in his report and Comrade Wan Ming in his speech have dwelt at sufficient length upon the question of the war of the imperialists for the partition and repartition of China, on the dastardly betrayal and capitulation of the Kuomintang before imperialism, on the disintegration and perplexity within the camp of counter-revolution and on the victories of the Chinese Soviet movement and of the Red Army. Therefore I want to dwell merely on the question of the revolutionary movement in non-Soviet China and on the role of the Communist Party in this movement.

The development of the revolutionary movement in non-Soviet China of this year was characterized by the following three basic factors:

1. The further upsurge of the mass struggle against Japanese and other imperialists;
2. The further growth in width and depth of the struggle of the workers in the cities;
3. The growth of the peasant and soldier uprisings.



## I. The Anti-Imperialist Struggle

The struggle of the imperialists for the partition and repartition of China and the evident betrayal of the Kuomintang called forth indignation and a further immense growth of the revolutionary spirit among the broad masses not only of the workers, peasants and the toiling population in general but also of the petty bourgeoisie which is becoming more and more revolutionized and is being drawn more and more into the anti-Japanese mass struggle. All over China meetings and demonstrations are on the increase; the boycott, strike and partisan movements and every other form of anti-imperialist struggle are developing. Here it is important to note the following facts:

1. *The extension of the anti-Japanese partisan struggle in Manchuria and in other districts occupied by Japanese imperialism.* Despite the capitulation of Generals Ma Chang-shan, Su Ping-wen and others before Japanese imperialism, despite the partial defeats of the anti-Japanese troops, the mass struggle against the Japanese occupants does not only not cease but on the contrary grows and develops and is attaining a new high level.

If formerly the principal anti-Japanese military forces in Manchuria consisted mainly of old Girin forces headed by Ma Chang-shan, Su Ping-wen and other generals, today they consist of broad masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, students and toilers in general, who do not want to submit to the occupational regime of Japanese imperialism. Despite the curtailment of official anti-Japanese military units, the armed detachments of workers, peasants and the toiling masses in general in Manchuria and other occupied districts are growing and strengthening rapidly. These detachments at the present time count no less than 250,000 persons. Many of them are connected with the Chinese Communist Party, are under its influence and leadership.

Our Party penetrates the armed detachments of the anti-Japanese volunteers. Recently there was a mutiny of the soldiers in the armies of Manchukuo as a result of which six hundred of them came over with their arms to the side of the anti-Japanese partisan detachments.



The work of the Party among the working masses in the occupied districts has been intensified. In the course of the last year and a half in one big city we organized three political strikes against Japanese imperialism and Manchukuo. These strikes ended in a partial victory of the workers. Peasant committees have been organized in many villages. Demonstrations have been held and a boycott of taxes carried out in Manchukuo as a result of which anti-Japanese partisan detachments directly led by us have been created. These detachments at the present time have scored great progress. They have grown from 4-5,000 to over 10,000 persons. In one county alone our detachments grew from 100 to 3,000 persons.

In the districts of partisan activity where the population is overthrowing the Japanese and Manchukuo authorities, the masses are setting up an elective popular government in its rudimentary form. Despite the fact that this movement is still scattered and not free from a whole number of shortcomings and mistakes, that the government is not as yet consolidated, our Party in these districts already leads the partisan war directly and organizes the elective popular government in its rudimentary form.

It is necessary to note especially the great work which the Communist Party of China has performed in connection with the events in Jehol.

The Party first of all mobilized its members and the anti-imperialist revolutionary masses for the struggle at the front, carrying out the tactic of a national-revolutionary united front from below and developing the anti-Japanese struggle. Among the reactionary troops, among the volunteers, among the railroad workers and the toiling masses in general, mass anti-Japanese organizations, including "*the mass Anti-Japanese League of Chinese and Mongolians*" have been created.

When the Japanese troops occupied Jehol, the Anti-Imperialist League under the slogans of our Party led an armed struggle against the Japanese occupants. The Hopeh provincial committee of our Party in its report points out that our comrades led most of the big, fierce battles in the anti-Japanese struggle. More than a hundred and twenty of our comrades and several thousand members of the



Anti-Japanese *League* took part in the battles between Japanese troops and the brigade of Ting Hsi-chung.

At the time when the Kuomintang actively supported the devastating and sanguinary war of the Japanese troops against the heroic popular masses and as a result betrayed Jehol and North China, our Party led a broad movement of protest, called upon the soldiers to rise against the treasonable and reactionary generals who had refused to offer any resistance to the Japanese offensive. At Kalgan we organized two big anti-Japanese mass meetings at each of which more than 30,000 persons participated. Revolutionary workers arrested the Kuomintang traitors, demolished the premises of the Kuomintang, broke up the yellow trade unions of the railroad workers and the electric power station workers, arrested the strike breakers, set up a court to try the leaders of the yellow and Kuomintang trade unions and established their own trade unions.

Finally our Party in organizing the anti-Japanese movement waged an active struggle among the railroad workers, the workers of the electric power stations and the anti-imperialist masses in general in favor of arming the people. The Party organized anti-Japanese volunteer detachments and waged a stubborn fight to win to its side the soldier masses of the reactionary troops, as a result of which armed detachments, numbering about five thousand persons in which industrial workers likewise took part, were created.

These facts demonstrate that the influence of our Party among the toiling masses of Manchuria, Jehol and other districts of China occupied by Japanese imperialism is growing rapidly, that the growth in the influence of our Party in these districts has led to the creation and expansion of mass partisan detachments, to the growth of the partisan movement against the Japanese occupants; that in this mass partisan movement our Party is gaining leadership and is strengthening this leadership more and more by means of creating a proletarian skeleton. All this signifies the creation of points of support, and of reliable foundations for the further development of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in North China.

## 2. *The Anti-War, Anti-Fascist and Anti-Imperialist Congress*



*at Shanghai.* The preparation of the Congress called forth a new wave of anti-war, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist movements among the workers, peasants and toiling masses in the various districts and cities of China.

Despite the horrible conditions of police terror the Chinese proletariat and toiling masses have performed marvels of heroism, have applied flexible methods of struggle and have been able to overcome all difficulties. At very many factories and mills, in educational institutions and soldiers' barracks, in the villages and elsewhere the masses elected delegates to participate in the Congress. The Anti-Imperialist League was likewise able to mobilize tens of thousands of persons to do the preparatory work for this Congress. Numerous anti-imperialist organizations were created, especially at the big industrial enterprises. Owing to the tactic of the united front more than forty mass organizations were mobilized to prepare this Congress. When Lord Marley and the other delegates of the anti-war Congress arrived at Shanghai, the anti-Japanese and anti-imperialist organizations arranged a mass meeting and held an anti-Japanese demonstration. During the demonstration there were clashes with the Kuomintang troops and with the American, British, French and Japanese police. The Shanghai workers rescued the arrested fighters from the clutches of the imperialists and the Kuomintang followers. Despite the attacks of the armed police, the demonstrators did not surrender their Red banners.

Under the leadership of our Party and the Red trade unions, the workers of many enterprises organized mass anti-war meetings and demonstrations, adopted anti-war resolutions, delivered a Red banner as a gift to the anti-war Congress and elected a delegation to participate in the Congress.

More than two thousand delegates were elected from the various districts of China including Kuomintang China, to participate in the Congress. The workers of one hundred and fifty enterprises at Shanghai sent a letter to Lord Marley and the other delegates of the anti-war Congress. In this letter they expressed their readiness to fight together with the international proletariat against imperialist, counter-revolutionary war and fascism.



Despite the repression and the prohibition of this anti-war and anti-fascist Congress by the imperialists and the Kuomintang authorities, the Congress was convened illegally: seventy authorized representatives from two thousand delegates, elected by various mass organizations of Shanghai, Tientsin, Peiping and other cities were present; likewise the representatives of the delegates of the Anti-Japanese League sections in the various provinces of the country.

At the Congress the representatives of the voluntary detachments of Manchuria, of the soldiers of the Nineteenth Army, the representatives of Soviet China and of the Red Army were likewise present. The Congress adopted a resolution against the partition of China by the imperialists, against the offensive against the Chinese Soviets and the Red Army, against the imperialist and counter-revolutionary war and for the defence of the U.S.S.R. A Far Eastern department of the International Anti-War Committee was created at the Congress. All these facts clearly testify to the wide and turbulent rise of the anti-imperialist struggle of the toilers of China.

In connection with this anti-imperialist mass movement the influence of our Party has strengthened and contact has been established between the Party and those mass organizations with which we did not have any. The memorandum accepted by the delegation of the International Anti-War Congress headed by Lord Marley is the best refutation of the report of the League of Nations headed by Lytton. The Congress undoubtedly lent impetus to the further growth of the anti-imperialist struggle at the enterprises, in the countryside, in the army barracks, schools and so forth.

3. *The process of revolutionizing the worker, peasant and toiling masses and the soldiers of the Nineteenth Army in Fukien is proceeding rapidly.* An upsurge in the anti-imperialist, anti-Kuomintang struggle may also be observed. Under the pressure of the revolutionary masses the generals and statesmen of the Province of Fukien were compelled to announce their withdrawal from the Kuomintang and declare war against Chiang Kai-shek as the open agent of Japanese imperialism and traitor to the national interests of China.

The events in Fukien are not chance occurrences. The Nineteenth Army at the time of the Shanghai defence (January, 1932),



was able in the street battles to inflict a series of defeats upon Japanese imperialism solely because of the support it received from the proletariat and the toilers of the population of Shanghai. The soldiers and many of the commanders of the Nineteenth Army remember this quite well. Some of the officers of this army after the defeat which they suffered in the struggle against the Red Army have come to realize that if they continued their offensive against the Reds, heavy defeats are inevitable; but that if they wage war against Chiang Kai-shek and Japanese imperialism instead of against the Red Army, after having granted the population elementary democratic liberties, the army may accomplish the liberation of China. Irrespective of whether the American and other imperialists desire to make use of the events in Fukien for their own anti-Japanese ends, irrespective of whether the Fukien generals will consistently fulfil their promises as a result of the anti-Japanese movement, a way has been mapped out for the joint struggle of the toiling masses of Fukien and the soldiers of the Nineteenth Army for the realization of the demands which were advanced by the Chinese Soviet government and the Red Army in their appeal of January 10, 1933 concerning a united front in the armed struggle against Japanese imperialism.

The events in Fukien will inevitably lend powerful impetus to the further development of the anti-imperialist movement and will raise it to a still higher level.

But the successful development of the anti-imperialist movement in China may be explained largely by the correct leadership of the Communist Party and the firm execution by our Party of a correct line, by the flexible application of the tactic of the national-revolutionary united front and the timely exposure of the demagoguery and maneuvers of the Kuomintang, Social-Democrats, Trotskyists, Chen Tu-hsiu-ists and other counter-revolutionary organizations. The success of this movement is likewise a result of the stubborn fight of our Party to overcome all difficulties, to properly combine legal and illegal work.

I shall quote a few examples. After the events in Jehol our Party successfully exposed the Kuomintang capitulatory and treason-



able argument that armed resistance to Japan was impossible because of the extreme weakness and poverty of China and the Chinese people—an argument which was particularly widespread after the conclusion of the “Northern Armistice” between the Kuomintang and Japan. The mass anti-Japanese organizations were able at once to put forward a program which outlined the measures to be taken in organizing and prosecuting the national-revolutionary war against Japanese and other imperialisms.

The following are the main points of this program:

1. General mobilization of the nation; the organization of broad popular anti-Japanese volunteer and partisan detachments, the organization of collections in support of the anti-Japanese, volunteer and partisan detachments in Manchuria, Jehol and other occupied regions; the organization of anti-Japanese reconnoitering and divisional detachments, of liaison detachments, transport and sanitation detachments, agitational brigades, pickets to control the carrying out of the boycott of Japanese merchandise; the mobilization of the entire population for the anti-imperialist armed struggle at the fronts and in the rear.

2. General mobilization of the land, sea and air forces for the anti-Japanese front; refusal to supply a single soldier, a single shell, a single aeroplane for the murder of one's own people or for internal internecine militarist war; immediate cessation of the offensive against the Soviet districts so as on the one hand to enable the Red Army to wage war against Japanese imperialism and on the other to direct all non-Soviet military units to the struggle against Japanese imperialism.

3. Universal arming of the nation; all arms and ammunition in the arsenals and military storehouses; likewise the aeroplanes, equipment, war vessels and so forth purchased abroad must be devoted to the arming of the nation; military instruction for the whole population.

4. Immediate execution of the following concrete measures for the collection of funds for the national-revolutionary war:

- a. Confiscation of property (trading enterprises, banks, mills and factories, railroads, mines, ships and so forth), and of com-



modities belonging to Japanese imperialism. These already constitute a large sum, as the capitalist investment of Japan in China amounts to over two billion yen;

b. Stopping the payment of principal and interest on debts due to Japanese imperialism;

c. Confiscation of the property of all traitors to the national interests of China;

d. Introduction of a single progressive income tax;

e. The collection of funds abroad among Chinese emigrants and all toilers in sympathy with the national liberation movement of China.

At the same time the various anti-imperialist mass organizations have jointly created a popular anti-Japanese "Society for the Salvation of the Fatherland" which is to struggle for the realization of the demands enumerated above and for the conduct of the national war of liberation.

All these demands are simple, clear and acceptable to the entire Chinese nation which does not want to be the slave of Japanese or other imperialists. This program is a program in defence of the interests of the broad strata of the Chinese population. This program has served as an impetus to revolutionize the toiling population of the provinces of Fukien and the soldiers of the Nineteenth Army.

Another example bears witness to the concrete Bolshevik leadership of the C.C. of the Communist Party of China; in 1932 our Central Committee in its letter to the provincial committee and to all comrades in Manchuria not only mapped out concrete measures for carrying out the tactics of the national-revolutionary united front in Manchuria and other occupied regions, but pointed out the concrete and differentiated approach to the various types of partisan detachments.

The first type of partisan detachments consists of the detachments composed entirely of military units of the old Girin Army. These troops are under the command of the old generals of Chang Hsueh-liang, *viz.*, Ma Chang-shan, Li Tu, Ting Tsao, Su Ping-wen, Chu Chi-tsin and others, who are subject to the orders of the



Kuomintang leaders and rely upon the landlords, the bourgeoisie and the merchants for support.

In carrying out the armed struggle against the Japanese occupants under the influence of another imperialist power (America) and under the pressure of the anti-imperialist upsurge of the broad masses of the people and the growth of the anti-Japanese sentiments among the soldiers and a considerable part of the commanders in their own units; and in defending their own exploiters' interests, these generals are quite inimically disposed toward any revolutionary mass movement of the workers and peasants. They are a force capable under suitable conditions and at a proper moment of retarding the development of the real mass movement of revolutionary partisans in Manchukuo. With reference to these detachments our Party has mapped out the carrying into effect of the united front from below with the soldiers under certain conditions, and the conclusion of military agreements with the higher officers of the individual detachments for the execution of concrete fighting operations.

The second type of partisan detachments includes for instance the detachment of Wang Tei-lin, the personnel of which includes a small unit of old Girin troops but the greater part of which consists of peasants, petty bourgeois and also workers of the anti-Japanese volunteer detachments. Here the influence of the Kuomintang is comparatively weaker. Wang Tei-lin at the time granted a certain degree of liberty to the anti-imperialist revolutionary agitation of the Communist Party of China on the territory occupied by him. The leadership of these units endeavors to find support in the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry by applying the methods of national and social demagogy. With reference to this type of partisan movement our Party organizations ought, besides the united front from below, to apply to a certain extent, in a certain measure and in the proper form, also the tactic of a united front from above, again by means of concluding fighting agreements for concrete operations.

The third type of partisan detachments consists of various detachments of peasant partisans ("Big Knives," "Red Spades," "Self Defense" detachments and so forth). Their personnel includes also workers, petty bourgeois and intellectuals but the majority of them



are peasants. Thanks to their political immaturity and military-technical weakness, some of them in their agitation have recourse to religious arguments for the purpose of organizing a successful armed struggle against Japanese imperialism and its agents. A great many of these detachments are under the leadership or influence of the landlords, the kulaks and old Girin officers who cannot direct this movement into a really revolutionary channel and very often use it for their reactionary purposes. Finally, a third portion of these detachments is under the influence and leadership of the revolutionary elements. These elements have adopted a fine attitude towards their class brothers but have not as yet found the correct consistently revolutionary path and methods of struggle. With reference to this third type of partisan movement, the degree of success of our struggle against reactionary leadership and the degree of our political influence in these partisan detachments determine the forms and the extent of the concrete execution of the tactic of the united front, not excluding certain forms of *anti-imperialist blocs* with them. Jointly with this the C.C. has pointed out that *in every instance the united front from below must constitute the basis of our work*. For any form of the united front from above is possible and useful for us only in case we have been successful in establishing a strong united front from below and in keeping the upper strata under the pressure of the revolutionary lower strata.

On the basis of taking into account the concrete situation, our Party on the one hand mapped out the tactic of the national-revolutionary united front in order to utilize all forces, even the unstable anti-Japanese forces, and on the other hand the Party waged a struggle to gain influence over the worker, peasant and petty bourgeois masses and to create a strong proletarian skeleton in the anti-Japanese movement. That is the very reason why after the capitulation and defeat of the anti-Japanese detachments headed by Generals Ma Chang-shan, Su Ping-wen and others we were able to strengthen the anti-Japanese partisan detachments which were under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Comrade Kuusinen has said in his report that the national-revolutionary war in China consists of three elements:

1. The Red Army which represents the main force in the national-revolutionary war;



2. The partisan detachments in Manchuria and other occupied districts;

3. The armed anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang struggle on territory controlled by the Kuomintang.

The national-revolutionary war which is organized by the Communist Party of China against the Japanese and other imperialists is not only a struggle for the national liberation of China but has already *in actual fact become a factor delaying the offensive of the Japanese imperialists against the U.S.S.R. and the outbreak of a world imperialist war on the shores of the Pacific Ocean.*

Trotsky, the counter-revolutionary, in his article in the magazine *Class Struggle* of February 1933, came out against the Communist Party of China which had issued the slogan of national-revolutionary war against imperialism and accused it of speculation, claiming that this slogan can be issued only in case of a war by Japanese imperialism against the U.S.S.R. Individual Chinese Communists also considered that this slogan contradicted the task of defending the U.S.S.R. The facts have proven precisely the opposite, thus splendidly refuting Trotsky's slander. The arguments of Trotsky, the counter-revolutionary, and of the opportunist elements within our Party were in substance directed against the slogan of a national-revolutionary war. As a matter of fact they betrayed the genuinely revolutionary struggle of the Chinese popular masses against the offensive of Japanese imperialism against the U.S.S.R., thereby rendering priceless service to Japanese imperialism in its realization of the intervention against the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party of China is certain that in the event of a military attack by Japanese imperialism upon the Soviet Union the Chinese toiling masses and the Chinese Red Army under the leadership of the Communist Party and in alliance with the Soviet and Japanese proletariat will be able decisively to repulse the Japanese and other imperialist plunderers, will be able to defeat Japanese imperialism and help to convert military-fascist, monarchist-police Japan, the Japan of the Mikado and of Araki, into a free, Soviet, workers' and peasants' Japan.



## II. The Revolutionary Struggle of the Workers in Non-Soviet China

The second special feature of the development of the revolutionary movement during the past period in non-Soviet China is the new upsurge in the strike movement of the working class. At the end of 1932 and in the beginning of 1933 we had a certain temporary drop in the strike struggle of the workers. This temporary drop in the struggle of the Chinese proletariat from May to August of this year gave way however to a whirlwind growth in the strike movement which both in the number of those participating as well as in the character of the action taken is not only not inferior to the former battles but even excels them. If during the four months of May, June, July and August 1932, 116,000 workers went on strike, the number of strikers during the corresponding months in 1933 was 290,370.

Here the quantitative growth in the number of those participating in the strikes is not the only important point. Here the rich experience gained in the struggle and the new phenomena in the Chinese labor movement which strikingly attest the fact that the Chinese proletariat is the hegemon of the anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang revolutionary movement, are of exceptional importance.

The strike struggle during the past period was distinguished above all for its stubborn character. This found expression particularly in the repeated strikes of workers at the same enterprises. Thus, for instance, in Shanghai the workers of twenty-five silk mills organized three general strikes in the course of two months.

Second, the wave of general strikes has swept not only Shanghai but also other big trading and industrial centers of China. Lately there have been general strikes of the seamen of the Tai-Gu Shipping Company in Shanghai, Kwantung, Fukien, Swatow, Hongkong. Two general strikes of the workers of the electric company in Shanghai have taken place. These workers have not gone out on such a strike since the eventful days of May 30, 1925.



Third, there have been observed (a) a considerable recession in such forms of the movement as the presentation of petitions, and (b) the transition of the struggle to a higher, more determined form in reply to the frantic terror of the Kuomintang and to the offensive of capital. In most cases when there is a strike the workers do not leave the factories at once—they remain within the enterprises, seize the management of the factory, take captive the directors, seize the commodities in the warehouses and offer stubborn resistance to the troops, police and trade union bureaucrats of the yellow trade unions. *The economic strikes frequently pass into political strikes.*

Fourth, the Red trade unions broaden their influence, prepare the strike struggle and gain control over it more and more. For instance, a great strike of the workers of a certain electric power station took place under our leadership. Under our influence the railway workers went out on strike on New Year's day and gained a partial victory. During the strike of eight thousand workers employed in flour mills the strikers seized the enterprises, arrested the directors, twice repulsed the attack of the police and gained an increase in their wages. The strikes of the printers, textile workers and other workers were likewise conducted under the leadership of the Red trade unions. In North China our Party led the strike of thirty thousand miners and others and Red trade unions were organized there. The strike of the workers of one railroad, the strike of trolley car workers and so forth were all organized by us.

The membership in the Red trade unions has lately more than doubled. We organized a textile workers' union, tobacco workers' union and so forth. In one city a delegates' conference of textile workers was held at which, after the speeches of the Communists, eighty unanimously voted to join the Communist Party. Such a phenomenon has never yet occurred in all the history of the labor movement of China.

The upsurge in the labor movement lowers the influence of the Kuomintang and yellow trade unions among the workers. This however does not mean that they have already been sufficiently ex-



posed before the broad masses of workers or that the Communists no longer need to wage a stubborn fight against them. The Communist Party and the Red trade unions have really begun to organize a united front with the worker masses in the yellow trade unions.

After the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. an extended discussion took place in the Communist Party of China on the question of the united front, of work in the Red trade unions, in the factory nuclei and so forth. At the same time special proletarian cadres were being prepared for this work. We primarily worked within a few big central yellow trade unions. At the time Japanese imperialism took the offensive in Jehol and in North China, the owners of the silk mills and tobacco factories cut wages and lengthened the working day. The Red trade unions of the railroad workers and seamen, the Federation of Shanghai Trade Unions, the textile workers' union and others issued appeals to the members of the yellow trade unions, to the organized and unorganized workers, calling for a joint struggle of the Chinese proletariat against wage cuts and longer hours, against Japanese imperialism, against war, strengthening at the same time their influence among the masses of workers.

The influence of the revolutionary trade union opposition has grown tremendously in the yellow trade unions of the various categories of workers.

We believe one may already speak of the beginning of a decided change in our work in the yellow trade unions. Parallel with this the anti-war Congress likewise aided in the improvement of our work in the yellow trade unions.

Through our Red trade unions we were able to penetrate the ranks of the workers in a number of big enterprises under the influence of the yellow trade unions, to free these workers from the influence of the yellow and Kuomintang leaders who had come out against strikes and to draw them into the strike struggle.

On one railway in North China the Red trade unions won the workers entirely to their side, disintegrated the yellow trade unions, drove off the yellow leaders and organized a public mass trial of these leaders and of the Kuomintang national traitors. In this dis-



trict a new Red trade union was organized and nine hundred workers joined at once.

On another railway in North China the revolutionary trade union opposition was able to win to its side a delegates' conference of railway workers which formerly was under the influence of the yellow trade union. This delegates' conference fully accepted our revolutionary platform of struggles. Due to this the organization of the Red trade union opposition strengthened considerably.

Despite the fact that our Party attained great successes in the trade union movement during the past period, we have not yet fully fulfilled the task set us in this field. In the labor movement our Party still lags behind the growth of the struggle of the workers. A number of strikes occur without reference to the Red trade unions or our Party. The independent leadership of the day-to-day struggle of the workers, the work of organizing strikes on the basis of day-to-day demands and so forth are still far from adequate. At individual places our comrades frequently disparage the struggle for the day-to-day demands of the workers. The struggle of the workers is not sufficiently linked up with the anti-imperialist movement. Our trade union organizations are in general still weak. Our work at the enterprises is still inadequate and not consolidated. In a number of big cities, especially cities bordering on Soviet territories, our work has not been sufficiently restored and organized. The work of winning the workers of the yellow and Kuomintang trade unions and the work of organizing the unemployed has only been started. The tendency in the membership of our Party to disparage work in the yellow trade unions has not yet been completely overcome. The tactic of the united front from below is not yet employed to a sufficient extent. The C.C. of our Party on the basis of Bolshevik criticism has pointed out these weak spots and shortcomings and has taken decisive measures to overcome them.



### III. Uprisings of Peasants and Soldiers

The offensive of imperialism, the spoliation of the Kuomintang, the exploitation of the feudal barons and landlords, the profound economic crisis and unprecedented floods doom the peasant masses in non-Soviet China to death by starvation. In these circumstances the struggle of the peasantry is becoming increasingly acute. In Manchuria hundreds of thousands of peasants have risen in armed struggle against Japanese imperialism. During six months of the past year twenty-two peasant uprisings have been recorded which occurred under the leadership of the Communist Party. The peasant movement in the north of China—a movement which is spontaneous, unorganized and not led by the proletariat—has grown into an agrarian revolution, into a struggle for Soviets under the leadership of the proletariat and of the Chinese Communist Party.

On the basis of the peasant uprisings, the Communist Party in Shantung, Tsao-hsian and elsewhere organized soviets, confiscated and divided up the land of the landlords. In Shensi a Soviet government has been organized throughout a whole district and the 26th Red Army corps has been created. The Soviet movement has thus spread in North China. At the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C. C.I. we have the right to state that the Communist Party of China has been able not only to create a Soviet Republic in the south of China but also to raise and firmly establish the Red flag of the Soviets in North and Northwestern China. At the same time the Party in the west, in Szechwan, under the slogan of fighting the taxes, created an anti-tax army consisting of peasants of nineteen rural districts. This army has played a great role in combating the offensive of the Szechwan generals against the Soviet districts.

It goes without saying that in the peasant movement in non-Soviet China, especially in North China, by reason of the weakness and lack of experience of our Party cadres, "Left" excesses are a frequent occurrence. They express themselves in the fact that in a number of cases our organizations are divorced from the masses, mechanically transplant the experience of the Soviet districts of South China to North China at a time when in the north the class



struggle has not yet been developed to the degree attained in the Soviet districts. Right opportunist errors have also been committed. This in substance explains the circumstance that some of our local organizations were unable to attain satisfactory results in the armed struggle.

The exceptionally low living conditions of the soldiers, the systematic delay in their pay, their absolutely disfranchised condition and their discontent with the capitulatory policy of the Kuomintang towards imperialism on the one hand, and the victory of the Chinese Red Army on the other have called forth a mighty wave of soldiers' mass mutinies in the Kuomintang troops. This wave has considerably weakened the domination of the Kuomintang. The work of the Communist Party of China in North China and in Manchuria directed to the winning over of the soldier masses, to disintegrating the Manchurian and Kuomintang troops, has been crowned with definite success.

As a result of the work of the Szechwan Provincial Committee of our Party on Kuomintang territory, a mutiny of a whole brigade of soldiers broke out in Nan Kiang-hsian. This mutiny aided the victory of the Red Army in Szechwan, helped it to capture new towns and promoted the growth of the Red Army forces. Parallel with this in the regions of Ma-wen, Ou-wen and Ou-mei one brigade mutinied, a Soviet government was established and a separate division of the Red Army was organized. As a result of our indefatigable work in the Nineteenth Army, the latter has ceased to be an active force in the struggle against the Red Army. At the same time we must not fail to admit that in the work of winning the soldier masses and disintegrating the armies of the adversary there are still serious shortcomings. This work does not yet bear a systematic planned character. In the conditions of a war of intervention and a revolution, this work of course possesses first class importance.

The Communist Party of China must fully realize that it will not be in a position to organize a victorious national-revolutionary war against imperialism and the Kuomintang without resolute systematic Bolshevik mass work among the soldiers of the enemy.



Finally, I must dwell for a while on the question of the further development, consolidation and bolshevization of our Party. During the past period, our Party while leading the struggle of the Red Army defeated the fifth, in the main repulsed the sixth counter-revolutionary expedition and enlarged the Soviet territory. In many localities of Manchuria and other districts occupied by Japanese imperialism, the Communist Party heads the anti-Japanese partisan struggle. It heads the strike movement of the city workers and the movement of the soldier and peasant masses who wage a decided struggle against Japanese and other imperialists and the Kuomintang, thereby hampering the preparation of war against the Soviet Union by Japanese imperialism. Thereby our Party has proven itself a powerful Bolshevik Party, a party really carrying out the Leninist, Stalinist line of the Communist International. During the past year our Party has increased its membership by 110,000 persons. But it would be incorrect to think that our Party grows only in the Soviet districts. It has also grown immensely both quantitatively and qualitatively in Kuomintang China.

According to information which we have but which is far from complete covering the past year, our Party in non-Soviet China has taken on 30-60,000 members, though almost half of these new members cannot steadily discharge a Party task and maintain contact with the Party organization in conditions of profound illegality. In Shanghai, Kiangsi, Hopeh, Manchuria and Szechwan alone the Party membership has increased by 11,200 persons. On September 18, 1932, at the time of the campaign in commemoration of the anniversary of the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, the Shanghai Party organization had increased by one-third in the course of the past twenty days. Workers constituted 80 per cent of this increase. Ninety-four new Party nuclei were created, seventy-two of which were factory nuclei. During the campaign launched on the occasion of the anniversary of the Japanese attack upon Shanghai on January 28, 1933, our Party organization added a third in the course of one month. In Peiping the Party organization doubled between February 7 and March 18 of this year, and so on.

Our Party press has likewise grown. Thus for instance in



Shanghai alone seven district Party newspapers and thirty-six factory wall newspapers were established in connection with the carrying out of the campaign launched on the occasion of the anniversary of the Japanese attack upon Shanghai. Here one must specially emphasize the circumstance that in non-Soviet China we work under the conditions of such severe white terror that workers are beheaded not only for belonging to the Communist Party but even for belonging to Red trade unions, to the W.I.R. or some other revolutionary mass organization. And if our Party organizations have been so widely developed, the principal reason lies in the fact that our Party has taken further steps in the matter of its bolshevization, that the C.C. of our Party leads the struggle not abstractly, not formally but efficiently and concretely.

To impart concrete leadership, the C.C. of our Party has mobilized its members to organize local instruction for the purpose of rendering aid and controlling the work of the lower Party nuclei. The Party has been able to develop and raise the activity and the initiative of the nuclei which were able independently of the above Party organizations greatly to improve the work of drawing advanced workers into the Party. The slogan that "each comrade ought to bring not less than one new member into the Party" was not only fulfilled but overfulfilled by a considerable margin. It was an actual fact that in most cases each comrade brought four, five, ten and sometimes even twenty to thirty members into the Party.

The campaign for recruiting new members was ably linked up by the Party with its work of organizing the mass struggle. For instance, on September 18, 1932, at the time of the recruiting campaign, twenty-one militant mass demonstrations and strikes were organized. In this recruiting campaign the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks was widely used, *viz.*, the method of revolutionary competition and shock brigading. Backward nuclei were aided by shock brigades. The campaign closed successfully, having raised the percentage of workers in our Party organizations from 60 to 90. This campaign gave full proof of the fact that our Party is making great progress in its further bolshevization, that the broad masses of the workers trust and support our Party, that the frightful white terror



and dastardly acts of provocation committed by the Kuomintang and the imperialists were and are unable to prevent the growth of our Bolshevik Party in China.

We may draw the following lessons from the growth of our Party in non-Soviet China:

If the Communist Party is not afraid of any difficulties and develops its organizational work, does real and practical work in the factory nuclei, it will be able to achieve great results despite the difficult conditions under which it works. If the leading Party organs will be able to really establish factory nuclei, to raise their activity, to teach them how to work in order to strengthen and develop the Party organization, if they will be able to carry out the various measures needed to consolidate the factory nuclei, to make the task of consolidating their ranks their steady and principal task, then our Party work will develop to such proportions as to surpass all our expectations.

It may be thought that this is one of the customary phrases and nothing more. But precisely for the reason that many frequently raise this question on paper only, like so many words without translating their deliberations into real work, our Party organization will not move ahead one step, no matter how good a resolution we may adopt concerning the carrying out of the directives of the E.C.C.I., no matter how many lessons we may have been given and how many conclusions we may have reached.

As a result of the correct application by us of the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks we have considerably improved the work of the nuclei in the sense of raising the activity and initiative of the membership. We have intensified the mass work of the nuclei and their contact with the non-Party masses. The increased activity and initiative in the work of the local Party organizations is a big achievement for our Party not only in the Soviet but also in the non-Soviet districts. Thus, for instance, in Manchuria in the county of Suining, a Party organization which last year was one of the weakest was able, even before it received the letter of the C.C. with its instructions, to work out a correct tactical line for the creation of the anti-imperialist united front and the advancement of concrete de-



mands on the basis of this line.

The Party organization of the said district proposed the following concrete demands with reference to the Wang Lo-ping detachments:

1. The organization among the soldiers and the population of anti-Japanese agitational and propaganda groups and the creation of political departments in the army units.

2. The organization of armed detachments to wipe out Japanese agents and spies.

3. The granting to the people of the right of assembly, freedom of the press, the right to organize, to strike and so forth.

4. The refusal to pay rent to landlords and so forth.

In doing so this Party organization at the time achieved great success in the struggle against Japanese imperialism. Or let us take another example: The Party organization in one of the biggest cities in the course of five months (from November 1932 to February 1933) fought against the national-demagogic agitation of the Kuo-mintang, Social-Democrats, Trotskyists and others. In this struggle to win influence and gain the leadership in the anti-Japanese movement, our Party displayed great independence, ability to work and to maneuver. It was able to spread its influence to most of the periodical publications both legal and semi-legal which appeared there and to convert numerous meetings and demonstrations which had been arranged by reactionary organizations into rostrums for popularizing the slogans of our Party.

In his speech, Comrade Piatnitsky stated that the distribution and training of new cadres and the struggle against acts of provocation are among the fundamental tasks of all sections of the Comintern at the present time. He also noted the injurious effect of excessive centralism. I must point out that excessive centralism occurs not only in the work of the Party apparatus of the C.P. of Germany but has also occurred in the Communist Party of China. In the course of last year we carried out a series of measures intended to overcome this great shortcoming in our work and to raise the initiative of the lower local Party organizations. The Party distributes its cadres, applies the system of sending representatives of the C.C. to the various localities as well as the method of imparting live leadership



through instructors from the C.C. The Party achieved especially great successes during the past year in promoting and training new cadres from among the workers and peasant activists. The members and secretaries of the district committees of the Shanghai organization for instance consist in their vast majority of workers. It is precisely due to drawing a great number of active workers into Party work that the contact between the Party and the masses has grown stronger and that the leadership of the day-to-day work has improved. The utilization of new cadres, as yet unknown to the police, for work at the enterprises and the support given them by the working masses establishes a certain screen for these cadres and makes it more difficult for the enemy to break up our organizations.

Our Party attained these successes primarily because it carried on a tireless struggle on two fronts for the line of the Party and the Comintern, because the Li Hi-hsian-ists have been liquidated and the counter-revolutionary Lo Chang-lun group has been completely smashed. At the same time there are still quite a number of organizational weaknesses and shortcomings in the Party. The chief of these are as follows:

1. The uneven growth and development of the Party organizations. Many organizations in big cities, especially in the cities bordering on Soviet districts, have not yet been completely restored.

2. Due to the lack of energetic work no organizational base has as yet been established at many enterprises in a number of cities. Though the proletarian stratum in the Party membership has grown to some extent, this growth is still far from adequate.

3. Party life in the nuclei at the enterprises is not yet sufficiently consolidated. The flux in the Party membership has not yet been stopped. The contact with the masses at the enterprises is not yet close enough.

4. The local Party organizations still display insufficient initiative in their work. The local Party organizations do not yet apply the forms and methods of live, concrete leadership on any broad scale. With reference to developing self-criticism, they often go to extremes without being able to raise the activity of the bulk of the membership to a new high level. The work of training new cadres



is far from satisfactory and does not meet the needs of the objective situation.

5. The struggle against acts of provocation and for greater secrecy remains unsatisfactory and is not conducted with sufficient energy in all Party organizations, despite numerous appeals by the C.C. to all Party members to intensify their work in this field and despite certain successes achieved here of late by the Party.

The C.C. of our Party is bending every effort to overcome these shortcomings. Comrade Piatnitsky has pointed out that under the present conditions with a new round of revolutions and wars approaching, the organizational strengthening of the Communist Party is a paramount task. At the present Plenum we have heard very little from the representatives of our fraternal Parties concerning the organizational growth of other sections of the Comintern; concerning the reason why the Communist Parties of several capitalist countries have not grown or have grown very slowly. It is necessary for us resolutely to disclose our shortcomings in this field by developing Bolshevik self-criticism. The delegation of the Communist Party of China offers to conclude a socialist competition agreement with other fraternal Communist Parties for the fulfillment of the task pointed out to us by Comrade Piatnitsky including a check on the performance of this agreement to be made at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

Despite the further bolshevization of our Party, despite its tremendous ideological and organizational work in organizing the anti-imperialist movement and in fighting to win over the worker, peasant, and soldier masses, our Party still has many weak points and shortcomings, which is precisely the reason why the successes of our Party and of the revolutionary movement are still inadequate in comparison with the demands and possibilities of the objective situation.

Comrade Wan Ming has already spoken of the significance of the relative lagging of the subjective factors behind the objective situation in China. At the present time the objective situation in China affords us every possibility of winning the revolutionary masses of the entire country to our side. The revolutionary masses of the workers, peasants, and toilers in general openly do not want to be



despoiled by the Japanese and other imperialists. They are ready to make great sacrifices in the struggle against Japanese and other imperialists, for the integrity and independence of their country. There is every possibility of winning over to our side the masses of the starving, unemployed and homeless toilers and of converting them into active fighters for national and social liberation, for rice, for bread, for land, for work, for a roof over their heads, and thus for the overthrow of the rule of the imperialists and their agents, the Kuomintang and other Chinese generals.

We do have these opportunities. But we have not yet taken advantage of them. This explains the great disparity in our work, the lagging of the subjective factors behind the possibilities of the objective situation. Therefore the most important, most militant task of the Communist Party of China at the present time, parallel with the tasks indicated by Comrade Wan Ming in his address, consists in overcoming this tremendous shortcoming, in surmounting this lag so as to assure full victory to the Soviet revolution in all China.

Comrades, we Bolsheviks are far from resting content upon the laurels we have already won in the heroic struggle during this year. We lay bare our mistakes and shortcomings precisely for the reason that we are confronted with still more serious, still more complicated and more important tasks, precisely for the reason that the question of the further development and the victory of the Soviet revolution in China, which today is already one of the decisive factors of world policy, as Comrade Manuisky has pointed out, is fraught with tremendous significance for the victory of the World October. We are certain that our fraternal Communist Parties by developing Bolshevik self-criticism will overcome their shortcomings in the work of defending Soviet China, that they will make this one of the most important tasks of each Communist Party, as Comrade Knorin has enjoined us, and that they will systematically verify the execution of this task. The Communist Party of China is quite certain that the fraternal Communist Parties will discharge the tasks which the present Plenum of the E.C.C.I. places before them and will render support to the Chinese Communist Party in its struggle for the victory of the Soviets in all China.



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