

RED CHINA

Being the Report on the progress and
achievements of the Chinese
Soviet Republic, delivered
by the President,
MAO TSE-TUNG
at the Second Chinese National Soviet
Congress, at Juikin, Kiangsi,
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INTRODUCTION

It is now several years since reports first began to appear in the Press regarding the setting up of Soviets in certain districts of China. Since then the terms "Communist" and "bandit" have been used as synonymous in the vocabulary of Press correspondents. This method of treatment takes no account of the fact that during these years the forces of the Soviets, the Chinese Red Army, have been growing in strength and organisation, and have successfully repulsed six expeditions by Chiang Kai-shek, head of the Kuomintang Government in Nanking. As this pamphlet is being published reports are appearing of the advance of the Red Army and the establishment of new Soviet districts in the important seaboard province of Fukien.

These facts alone must convince any reasonable person that the power of the Soviets and the direction of the Red Army cannot rest in the hands of bandits. The Soviet districts cover an area more than four times the size of Great Britain. They form—as the League of Nations Mission in 1932 was already discerning enough to admit—a power which challenges the Kuomintang regime, centred at Nanking and controlled by imperialist Powers, for the control of all China.

Hitherto, however, little detailed information as to life under the Soviets has been available. The document which forms this pamphlet is the first official report on the achievements and progress of the Chinese Soviet Republic to be published in the English language. Mao Tse-tung, President of the Soviet Government, here gives a picture of struggle and achievement which will become one of the historic documents of world proletarian revolution.



A map of China, showing the territory of the Chinese soviet Republic

MAO TSE TUNG'S REPORT

The Second National Chinese Soviet Congress was held at Juikin, the capital of the Soviet districts, on January 22nd, 1934. An exhaustive report was given by Mao Tse-tung on behalf of the Soviet Republic of China, of the Central Executive Committee and of the People's Council. The main subjects of Mao's report were: —

The development of the Revolution in both China and the world in general during the past two years.

The outcome and experiences of the Soviet movement in China since the inauguration of the Soviet Central Government.

The growth and consolidation of the Red Army, and the extension of Chinese Soviet territory.

The intensification of the Agrarian Revolution.

The improvement in the living conditions of the working masses.

The emancipation of women.

The raising of the cultural level.

Mao Tse-tung said: Two years have elapsed since the first Chinese Soviet National Congress. During these two years the imperialist Kuomintang has further declined towards its final downfall, while the Soviet movement has developed vigorously towards its ultimate victory in China. The opposition of the socialist world to the capitalist world has become much sharper. The sweeping successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, coupled with the peace policy of the Soviet Government have conducted to the consolidation of the position of the Soviet Union and provide a sharp contrast to the capitalist world where the ever-increasing economic crisis has led the imperialist Powers to seek a solution of their problems in attack on the Soviet Union and on China. Preparations for war against the Soviet Union have never ceased for a single minute, while the imperialist partition of China and the war of intervention against the Chinese Revolution are in full swing.

The Chinese Revolution is growing as a part of the world revolution out of the sharpening of the national crisis and the collapse of national economy. The dominating factors in the present situation in China are: widespread civil war; a life and death struggle between revolution and counter-revolution; and a sharp contrast between the Soviet power of the workers and peasants and the power of the landlords and bourgeoisie expressed in the Kuomintang Government. The Soviet power is summoning, organising and leading the masses throughout the country to fight in a national revolutionary war for the overthrow of the rule of the landlords and bourgeoisie throughout the country; to oust imperialism from China; and to build up a Soviet China of complete freedom, independence and territorial integrity.

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST MOVEMENT

The outstanding events in the two years which have passed since the inauguration of the provisional Soviet Central Government are the offensives waged upon the revolution by the counter-revolutionary forces of the Kuomintang supported by the imperialist Powers. The occupation of Manchuria, Mongolia and North China by the Japanese and

the intensified activity of British, French and American imperialists in Tibet, Sinkiang, Yunnan and the Yangtze Valley are all directed towards the wrecking of the Chinese Soviet power and the complete enslavement of the Chinese nation as a preliminary towards war against the U.S.S.R. At the present moment two opposite policies are placed before the masses of China: the Kuomintang, whose policy is complete surrender to imperialism and active suppression of anti-imperialist activity, and the Soviet, which is anti-imperialistic and aims at extending and leading the anti-imperialist struggle.

In the past two years the provisional Soviet Central Government has repeatedly circulated statements denouncing the predatory wars waged by the Japanese imperialists and the treacherous capitulation of the Kuomintang. On April 14th, 1932, the provisional Soviet Central Government formally declared war on Japan and issued mobilisation orders. The Soviet Government and the Revolutionary Military Council have more than once announced their readiness to conclude an agreement with any armed unit of the Kuomintang for joint anti-Japanese and anti-imperialist military operations under the following conditions: —

1. Immediate cessation of the offensive against the Soviet districts.
2. Guarantee of the civil rights for the masses.
3. Arming of the masses and the creation of anti-Japanese volunteers.

The Tangku Agreement concluded between the Kuomintang and Japan on May 30th, 1933, and the direct negotiations since then carried on with Japan are against the national interests of China and have been repeatedly repudiated by the provisional Soviet Central Government. Further, the Soviet Government has given direct support to the anti-Japanese struggle in any and every part of the country. To mention only one example, when the textile workers in Shanghai in 1932 came out in an anti-Japanese strike the Chinese Soviets aided them to the extent of 16,000 dollars.

In the Soviet territories, imperialist privileges have been abolished and imperialist influence wiped out. Imperialist priests and monks have been driven out by the masses. The estates which were seized by imperialist missionaries have been returned to the people. Missionary schools have been turned into Soviet schools. In short, the Soviet districts in China are alone liberated from the imperialist yoke. These facts point to one conclusion: the Soviet Government is the only anti-imperialist government. The aim of the Soviets is to carry on the anti-imperialist war to the complete liberation of China. But, first of all, the lackey of imperialism, the Kuomintang, must be destroyed because it is the greatest obstacle in the way of anti-imperialist struggle.

THE REPULSE OF THE IMPERIALIST-KUOMINTANG ATTACKS

The Kuomintang, with the direct help of the imperialist Powers, has launched four offensives and is now conducting its fifth against the Soviet and Red Armies in an attempt to put down the Chinese Revolution and clear the ground for imperialism. But every one of these offensives has ended in glaring failure. The fourth offensive began immediately after the surrender of Manchuria to the Japanese by the Kuomintang and the conclusion of the Shanghai Truce of March 5th, 1932. Not one single soldier was mobilised by the Kuomintang to fight against Japanese aggression. But, on the other hand, despite the Soviet offers of a united anti-Japanese front, the Kuomintang, led by Chiang Kai-shek, the arch-traitor, concentrated hundreds of thousands of troops for an attack on the western

Soviet districts of Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei and Hunan-Hupeh, and to force the Red armies back from the lines they had drawn about the Wuhan district.

Owing to some tactical errors, combined with reluctance to enter into direct conflict with an enemy force overwhelmingly stronger than our own, the fourth Red Army Corps was obliged to withdraw from the Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei Soviet district. But it began the famous expedition to Szechwan, where a new and big Soviet base was created, embracing Tungkiang, Bachun, Nankiang, Hsunhan and Suiting. During this expedition the Fourth Red Army Corps sowed the seeds of the Soviet Movement in the comparatively backward north-western zone, where great mass revolutionary struggles have now developed. In not more than one year the Fourth Red Army Corps has Sovietised more than ten Hsien¹, and has roused the masses of Szechwan, including the soldiers of the counter-revolutionary army, to support the Soviet Revolution.

Meantime, the Second Red Army Corps, which evacuated the Hung Lake zone, has not only suffered no serious loss but has gained new successes in the Szechwan-Hupeh-Hunan frontier regions during operations co-ordinated with those of the Fourth Red Army Corps. Even in the Hung Lake zone, although evacuated by the army, Red irregular forces are still active. In the Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei Soviet district we have not lost much of our basis but, on the contrary, are now successfully carrying on the fight to consolidate our position there and to develop irregular warfare in the surrounding neighbourhood.

As to the central Soviet district (Kiangsi), this is the seat of the Central Soviet Government, the headquarters of the Soviet Movement and the chief target of the enemy offensives. Around this district, and the neighbouring Soviet areas, the enemy has concentrated most of his forces. But during one year's hard struggle in this district we have gained splendid successes. The biggest of our victories was in the spring of 1933, when the Red Annies of the central Soviet district alone destroyed twenty-two regiments, six battalions and two companies of the enemy, broke up three divisions, twelve regiments, five battalions and two companies, and captured twenty thousand rifles and eight thousand machine-guns and machine-rifles. In the battles of Tungpi and Huangpi (in Honan) we annihilated a complete column of the enemy's crack troops. These battles marked the end of the fourth offensive of the Kuomintang—an end which meant complete failure for the enemy.

The failure of this fourth offensive brought about an immense improvement, both qualitative and quantitative, in the Red Army. The commanders and the members of the Red Army have developed political determination and greater skill in military technique. Further, the Soviet territory has been extended. Besides the new Soviet district in Szechwan we have now the Fukien-Kiangsi Province, which increases the population of

¹ Hsien : District under a Provincial Government. Under the Kuomintang law Hsiens are divided into three classes according to size of areas and multiplicity of the functions of the Hsien Cheng Fu, or District Government. Each District Government has departments of Public Safety, Financial Affairs, Reconstruction and Education. The District Magistrate (Hsien Chang) is the head, under the Provincial Governor. A District Council (one-third elected every year) deliberates on questions of District government.

Each Hsien is divided into Sections (Ch'u), Villages (Ts'un) a Li. One hundred houses in a rural area constitute a Ts'un, and a corresponding number in a town or city forms a Li. Twenty Ts un, and/or, Li, constitute a Ch'u (section).

Soviet China by almost one million. Our old Soviet districts have also been further consolidated. This is indicated by the improvement in the work of the Soviets, by the rising militancy of the workers and peasants in support of the Soviets, and by the suppression of the remnants of the counter-revolutionary forces.

These successes have also had their influence in the districts under Kuomintang rule. Here the spirit of struggle among the oppressed masses has been stimulated. The allegiance of the soldiers and officers of the counter-revolutionary armies to the Kuomintang has been weakened to such an extent that Chiang Kai-shek was obliged to make the desperate proclamation that death would be the punishment to all who refused to fight the "bandits," but demanded a war against Japan. Since the failure of the fourth offensive the Kuomintang has received new loans and consignments of military supplies from the imperialist Powers. Its forces are directly led by imperialist officers and foreign advisers, who train its new recruits and provide it with air forces. Thus the Kuomintang has been enabled to launch its fifth offensive against the Soviets².

The issue of this offensive is the question whether China shall go down under complete colonization and dismemberment by the imperialists or shall become a Soviet China with complete independence and freedom. By our victory over the fourth offensive we have secured all the fundamental conditions necessary to win this struggle. Our enemy has far more difficulties than we. The wavering of the soldiery, the hatred of the workers and peasants towards the Kuomintang rulers, the disagreement between the militarists of China, the conflicts between the imperialist supporters of the Kuomintang, and the financial and economic bankruptcy of the Kuomintang Government—all these are objective conditions providing the possibility of victory for the revolution.

THE FUNDAMENTAL POLICY OF THE SOVIETS

The Soviets have grown up out of irregular warfare and by the consolidation of many isolated and small districts. Outside our boundaries is the world of the enemy seeking our destruction. Yet the Soviets have been able to defeat the enemy and have grown up through repeated victories. This is the environment in which the Soviets are developing their fundamental . policy. The Soviets have been organized into a State, the Soviet Republic of China, which now has its central and local organizations. The central organ, the provisional Central Government, is the nucleus of power which depends upon the masses and their armed force, the Red Army. This Government is the power of the workers and peasants themselves. It is the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants, ever enlarging its influence throughout the country by virtue of the confidence which it inspires among the masses.

Clearly the Soviets have no longer the same environment as in the stage of irregular warfare, but they still have to face warfare which is becoming wider and more violent. The reason is that as the power of the Soviet grows, its opposition to the Kuomintang of the landlords and bourgeoisie grows daily more acute, and the time has come for a decisive struggle between the two contending forces. It is this environment which

²Since Mao made this report the fifth offensive has been repulsed, and a sixth, launched by the Kuomintang under the control of German generals, has suffered heavy defeats. See concluding chapter.

determines the task of the Soviets. They must do everything to mobilize, organize, and arm the masses, to concentrate all their strength on the development of the revolutionary war to drive out the imperialists and the landlord dictatorship. The aim of driving out imperialism, and destroying the Kuomintang, -is to unify China, to bring the bourgeois democratic revolution to fruition, and to make it possible this revolution into a higher stage of Socialist revolution. This is the task of the Soviet. From this we may understand what the various Soviet policies are. They are: —

1. To consolidate the workers' and peasants' dictatorship.
2. To extend this dictatorship to the whole country.
3. To mobilize, organize and arm the Soviets and the masses to fight in the revolutionary war.

THE ARMED MASSES AND THE RED ARMY

The first task is to organize a strong Red Army with local forces and irregular troops, with the necessary supplies and transport. In this the Soviet Government has been successful during the past two years, and particularly between the fourth and fifth offensives. The formation of the Central Revolutionary Military Council has unified the leadership of the National Red Army, and enabled the Red forces in every Soviet district and on any front to fight and operate under co-ordinated and unified tactics. This is an important development from the former scattered activities of irregular troops. The Red Army is now several times bigger than it was two years ago. This is due to the increasing militancy of the masses expressed in their readiness to join the Red Army, to the improvement of mobilization methods, and to the carrying out of the special measures for improving the conditions of the Red Army.

During May, 1933, in the central Soviet districts alone, the Red Army was increased by 20,000 men. This destroyed the opportunist view-point which had been expressed that the masses are not willing to join the Red Army and that its enlargement cannot be carried out in the new Soviet districts. There are many examples of how in fact the army has been recruited in the new districts. For instance, in Changkanhsian, Kiangsi, 80 per cent. of the men between 16 and 45 are now serving in the Red Army, and in Shangwanshihsian, Fukien, 88 per cent. are serving. In these villages, where the overwhelming majority of the adults are taking part in the revolutionary war, the daily work of agriculture is not only not affected but is actually improved and extended. How can this be so? This has been achieved by the reorganization of the village labour forces, and the problems which the families of the members of the Red Army have to face are solved for them through the efforts of the labour co-operatives and the agriculture volunteers' organizations.

Along with the enlargement of the Red Army has proceeded its strengthening. Its forces are developing the quality of "Ironsides." This is achieved by: —

1. The increase in the proportion of workers and peasants in its composition.
2. The development of cadres of workers and of the political commissioner system.
3. The development of political training, which strengthens the determination of the members of the Red Army to fight for the final victory of the Soviets, raises their class-conscious discipline and stabilizes the relations between the Red Army and the

mass of the people.

4. The general improvement of military technique and better organization.

These factors have all increased the fighting strength of the Red Army and made it the formidable force which it is. The Red Defence Organization and the Young Vanguards act as reservists for the Red Army on the fighting front, and provide the defence forces for the Soviet districts as well as forming a bridge which will lead from the present voluntary system to that of conscription, which will be necessary to carry the revolutionary war through to its final conclusion.

The irregular units are the creators of new Soviet districts, and are inseparable additions to the main force. During the past two years more of these have been developed in the various Soviet districts and their political and military training considerably improved. In the past offensives by the enemy they have shown great success in the defence of the Soviet districts and in surprise operations and the creation of diversions in the enemy's rear. Many of their feats were regarded by the enemy as sheer miracles. Their activity creates the greatest difficulty for the enemy in his attempts to invade the Soviet districts. This has been particularly notable in the central and Kiangsi-Chekiang Soviet districts.

To supply the Red Army with provisions and materials to organize transport between the front and the rear, to provide sanitary organization and hospitals, are all matters of vital importance. Owing to the fact that we have not yet captured many large cities, and owing to the rigorous economic blockade against us, numerous difficulties confront us in our work in this sphere. However, during the past two years the activity of the mass of the people in the Soviet districts has maintained supplies and transport and has largely overcome these difficulties. While carrying on the revolutionary war, the Soviet has also to suppress the activities of counter-revolution within its own jurisdiction, to support and promote the class struggle of the workers and the agrarian revolution of the peasants, and to develop the alliance of the workers and peasants.

Further, it has to administer its financial and economic policy so as to guarantee the supply of the material needs of the revolutionary war, and to carry on the cultural revolution so as to arm the masses by brain as well as by hand.

SOVIET DEMOCRACY

The Soviet of the workers and peasants is the government of the masses themselves, directly depending upon them, maintaining the closest relation with them, and thus deriving its strength. Its power is not to be compared to that of any other form of State in history. To cope with the class enemy its power must be strong. But to the workers and peasants it rules with no iron hand but with wide democracy. The democracy of the Soviet is first of all manifested in its election. The Soviet gives the franchise to all the oppressed and exploited masses regardless of sex. The extension of this right to the masses of workers and peasants is without precedent in history, and the experience of the past two years tells us that this action has been a success.

The method of electing a Chinese Soviet is as follows: The names of the electors are written on a large sheet of red paper. A meeting of these electors, from whom all members of the exploiting classes are excluded, is held. The social composition of the

meeting is made up as follows: One from every fifteen workers and their families, and one from every fifty peasants. This is the basis of all the town and village Soviets. By this means a leading position in the Soviets is assured to the workers. During the two elections in 1932, and that in the autumn of 1933, more than 80 per cent. of the electorate took part in many places. In many town or village Soviets women constitute more than 25 per cent. of the membership. In the Soviets of Shangtsaishihhsian and Shiatsaishihhsian, at Shanghang, in Fukien, the percentages of women are 60 per cent. and 66 per cent. respectively. Thus an extraordinarily large proportion of women are now taking part in the administration of the Soviet State. Before the election of a new Soviet takes place the electors have the opportunity to attend a preliminary meeting and hear a report on the past work of the Soviet. They are encouraged to criticise this work, and this was widely done during the autumn election of last year. In all these ways the masses have been made familiar with the method of Soviet elections, the primary steps of State administration, and the consolidation of the Soviet power has been thereby guaranteed.

Next, the Soviet democracy is manifested in the city and Hsien councils which form the foundation of the Soviet organisation. Two years of progress has enabled us greatly to improve the organization of these councils. Their main features are as follows: The delegates are distributed among the population so that they may have the closest relations with the people. Usually one delegate lives among and leads a group of people numbering from thirty to seventy. Thus the Council is not separated from the masses. The delegates are organized in groups, numbering from three to seven members living in the same neighbourhood, each group having a leader who acts as the immediate contact between the group and the Presidium of the Council. The group has the regular task of summoning meetings of the people when so instructed by the Presidium to deal with problems of minor importance. All groups in one village have a general head, who is responsible for the whole village. This makes the connection between the Presidium and the delegates very close and provides the guarantee of a strong, well-conducted leadership over the work in each village.

Various permanent or temporary committees are set up under the city or county councils—cultural, irrigation, sanitary, etc. which provide spheres of activity for large numbers of the population. Thus the work of the Soviets takes the form of a network spread over the whole population and embracing the whole of the masses. The election of city and county councils takes place every six months, and that of provincial councils once a year. Thus it is easy for the opinions of the masses to be represented through the Soviets. There is also the provision that any delegate who commits serious errors of policy, or is judged otherwise unsatisfactory, may be removed from his position either through the initiative of ten or more electors, supported by a majority of the electorate, or by a resolution of the Council meeting.

The city and county councils provide the foundation for the Soviet Government organs. These are all constituted by the congresses of Soviets and by the executive bodies of the congresses. Government employees are also appointed by election. If any is found to be incompetent he can be recalled on the expression of public opinion to this effect. The solution of all problems is based on public opinion, and thus the Soviet is really the government of the masses. Soviet democracy is also expressed in the fact that the

revolutionary masses under its rule have the right of free speech, free association, free assembly, a free press and the right to strike. The Soviet provides all facilities, such as meeting places, paper, printing shops, and other material necessities. Further, the Soviets welcome the supervision and criticism of the masses as a means of consolidating the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants.

The right of exposing the errors or shortcomings of any Soviet functionary belongs to every revolutionary citizen. Finally, Soviet democracy is also expressed in the division of the administrative districts. All the districts, from the province to the hsien, are now smaller than under the old regime. This enables the various Soviets to be fully acquainted with the conditions and needs of the masses and enables the mass opinion to find a rapid reflection in Soviet action.

THE SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE LANDLORDS AND BOURGEOISIE

Towards the exploiting classes, that is the landlords and the bourgeoisie who have been overthrown by the revolutionary masses, the Soviet relation is not democratic. Although overthrown and deprived of their power, they still have deep foundations, and the remnants of their class have not yet been wiped out. They have superior education and knowledge or technique. They continually dream of the restoration of their power. While civil war is being waged, their aim is always to support the enemies of the Soviet through counter-revolutionary activities within our territory. Hence the Soviets have to curb and repress them in every way. First, these exploiting elements are deprived of political powers. Under the Soviet constitution they have no franchise and no right to military service. A ceaseless struggle is carried on to eliminate the representatives of this class from the various Soviet organs, and past experience has taught us that this is a very important matter. Secondly, all the landlords and members of the bourgeoisie are deprived of freedom of speech, of publication, of assembly and association.

The suppression of counter-revolutionary activities is carried on by the revolutionary forces and the revolutionary courts. The Soviet courts, in the carrying out of their tasks, directly depend upon the armed forces, upon the activities of the State political defence bureau, and the class struggle as carried on by the masses. The Soviets have proclaimed prohibition of corporal punishment. With the exception of prisoners who are sentenced to death, all others in the Soviet prisons are put under reformatory education, that is to say they are trained in the Communist spirit and taught labour discipline. This method provides a sharp contrast to the old practices which are still in full swing in the Kuomintang courts and prisons. The aim of the Soviet court in putting down counter-revolutionary intrigue is to maintain revolutionary order within the Soviet territory and to abolish all those feudal and barbarous methods expressed in mediaeval tortures which characterise the old regime. The improvements which have been carried out by the Soviets in this matter are of great historical significance.

To sum-up, the Soviet provides the widest revolutionary democracy for the masses, and from that arises its enormous power, a power built upon the confidence of the millions of workers and peasants. Having this power, the Soviet takes the form of a dictatorship exercised by the workers and peasants and carries on the revolutionary war and the administration of revolutionary justice against the class enemy who makes violent attacks upon our system.

THE SOVIET LABOUR POLICY

The interests of the workers are completely protected under the Labour policy of the Soviets. As compared with the system which existed in the past, and which still obtains under Kuomintang rule, the contrast can be likened only to the difference between heaven and hell. In those districts which are now Soviet, but were formerly under Kuomintang rule, the workers were the slaves of the employers. The long working hours, the meagre wages, brutal treatment and absence of any legal means of protection, remain vividly in the memory of every worker, and these conditions not only remain in the Kuomintang districts but are taking an aggravated form. Recently the real wages of workers in these districts have been cut by more than 50 per cent. Reduced production, mass dismissals and lock-outs are the common methods of attack upon the workers. It naturally follows that mass unemployment has developed. Among industrial workers alone in the Kuomintang districts, unemployment now exceeds 60 per cent. In these districts a strike is a criminal act in the eyes of the Government. In March, 1933, the Kuomintang authorities at Hankow proclaimed capital punishment as the penalty for striking. Whenever a conflict between labour and capital develops the Kuomintang Government unflinchingly comes in on the side of the capitalists to suppress the workers.

In the Soviet districts conditions have been entirely reversed. Under the Soviet power the workers themselves are the masters, and are leading the masses of peasants in the enormous task of consolidating and developing their power. Hence the basic principle of the Soviet labour policy is to protect the interests of the workers. The Labour Law of December, 1931, was based on this principle. In March, 1933, it was revised and reenacted with improvements in its applications to towns and villages, large and small undertakings.

The eight-hour system is now universal throughout the Soviet districts. A wide system of collective agreements has been built up. In many rural and urban districts labour inspection offices have been set up, and send out inspectors to check the observance of the Soviet Labour Law by the employer. Cases in which the employer is charged with violating the law are brought before a Labour Court. The Soviet has actual control of employment, and all employers requiring workers must go there to obtain them. Unemployed relief measures have been extended and, generally speaking, material assistance is now available to all unemployed workers. Village workers have been provided with their own allotments. A social insurance system is administered through bureaux set up in the Soviet towns. None of these services exist at all for the workers in the Kuomintang districts, but are considered by the Soviets to be elementary necessities.

Living conditions for the workers in the Soviet districts have been greatly improved through the determined application of the Soviet labour policy. First let us take wages. Compared with the pre-revolutionary period, the real wages of workers in the Soviet districts have been generally increased.

The following table shows the difference between the wages of workers in the town of Tingchow (Fukien) before and after the revolution:—

	Maximum			Minimum			Average
	Before	After	Difference	Before	After	Difference	After
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Fruit workers	10	32	22	2	22	20	30
Paper workers	10	35	25	3	31	28	33
Oil workers	6	18	12	3	12	9	15
Medicine workers	6	18	12	2	26	24	28
Tobacco workers	7	36	29	3.5	30	26.5	28
Printers	15	36	21	5	28	23	34
Metal workers	6	18	12	14	—	—	16
Dyeing workers	5.5	20	14.5	2	18	16	19
Oil-paper workers	5	21	16	2	17	15	19
Vine workers	6	20	14	3	18	15	—
Weaving workers	10	35	25	2	31	29	32
Carpenters	0.6	0.8	0.2	—	—	—	—
Boatmen	14*	46	3.2	—	—	—	—

*Each journey from Tingchow to Shanghang.

The wages given are monthly, with the exception of carpenters, who are paid daily.

In other districts, where it is the custom for employers to supply food to the workers, the wage level is slightly lower. For instance, the wages of carpenters and masons in Juikin are now 45 cents a day as compared with 25 cents before the revolution. Wages in the Villages have also been increased.

The following table shows the advance in daily wages paid in cents at different periods in the Tenchen district of Kanhsien:—

	Handi- craftsmen cents	Paper workers cents	Farming hands cents	Coolies cents
Maximum —				
Pre-revolution	30	40	28	45
Before 1st May, 1931	30	40	30	67.5
Now	35	45	32	96
Difference	5	5	4	51
Average: —				
Pre-revolution	22	22	10	26
Before 1st May, 1931	25	24	15	39
Now	30	30	20	50
Difference	8	8	10	24
Minimum: —				
Pre-revolution	10	14	3	10
Before 1st May, 1931	15	21	6	—
Now	20	25	10	20
Difference	10	11	7	10

Similar results have been achieved in other villages. As to wages paid in Soviet State enterprises, there has been a general increase of from 20 to 40 per cent. in the past two years. Generally speaking, wages are now paid punctually. Owing to the supervision of the Soviets, very few employers venture to delay payment. Some stubborn capitalists did try to do so, but were brought under control by the Labour Court. Concerning the eight-hour day, this has been introduced into all Soviet cities and towns in the past two years, and in the villages there are only rare cases of workers doing more than an eight-hour day. Young workers between the ages of sixteen and eighteen have shorter working hours than the adults.

PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Equal work for equal pay, rest periods before and after childbirth, prohibition of child labour below fourteen years, are in general practice. As regards apprenticeship, the period has been shortened, treatment improved, and feudalistic methods of oppression abolished. The living conditions of apprentices have been considerably improved and their wages increased. For instance, in Kiangsi, apprentices now receive allowances to the extent of between fifteen and thirty-six dollars a year. Sanitary conditions and food supplies for the workers in general, and for the employees of the State undertakings in particular, have been greatly improved. In the cities the workers' food allowance is estimated at at least six dollars a month. In the villages the farm workers eat the same food as that served to their employers.

The Soviet workers are organized in a strong trade union This is a foundation stone of the Soviet power. Not only a protection for the workers, but a school in which they learn Communism. Under the protection of the Soviets the membership of the trade unions is steadily increasing. According to the statistics of the old China Trade Union Federation, the trade union membership in the central Soviet district and its neighbouring Soviet zones amounts to 229,000. The distribution is as follows: Central Soviet district, 110,000; Hsiang-kan (Hunan-Kiangsi), 23,000; Hsiang-o-kan (Hunan-Hupeh-Kiangsi), 40,000; Min-che-kan (Fukien-Chekiang-Kiangsi), 25,000; Min-kan (Fukien-Kiangsi), 6,000; North Fukien, 5,000. According to statistics compiled by the central Soviet districts, there are only 3,676 non-trade union workers in this district, which means not more than 5 per cent of the whole working population. In other words, 95 per cent. of the workers in the central Soviet districts are already enrolled. In the district of Hsinkingo this percentage reaches as high as 98. Could such a state of affairs be dreamed of in the districts ruled by the Kuomintang, or, indeed, in any of the imperialist countries of the world?

Briefly, it may be said that in the course of only two years the Soviet Labour Law has been put into general operation in all towns and villages in our territory. The capitalists and the rich peasants of course attempt to resist the law, but the vigorous struggle of the working masses, backed by the close supervision of the Soviets, has frustrated their resistance. In dealing with small producers and middle-class peasants, who would have violated the Labour Law in their relations with agricultural workers or other employees, the method has generally been to convince them by frank explanations of the law and its purpose!

According to reports from twelve hsiens (districts, see foot note 1), namely, Kun-lu,

Wantai, Lun-kan, Hsin-kuo, Shien-li, Si-kiang, Yu-tu, Chinwu, Shanghan, Nin-hua, Changting and Hsinchien, out of 70,580 trade union members, 19,960, or 28 per cent., are now serving either in the Red Army or in the local irregular units. Further, 6,752, or 10 per cent., are serving on the various Soviet organizations. The trade unionists of this district recently bought 19,803 dollars worth of the Reconstruction Bonds issued by the Soviet Government to raise funds for the work of the Soviets. This works out at an average of 2.5 dollars per member. Further, 12,435, or 8 per cent. of these trade unionists are members of the Communist Party or Young Communist League. Such statistics as these show the enthusiasm of the masses for the revolutionary war and the policy of the Soviets.

THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION

The Chinese Soviets and their Red Army have grown out of the development of the agrarian revolution, which liberates the masses of the peasants from oppression and exploitation by the landlords and the Kuomintang militarists. The principle of Soviet land policy is completely to wipe out feudalistic oppression and exploitation. In all villages under Kuomintang rule there are appalling rents for land, extortionate usury and oppressive taxation. Throughout the country more than 1,700 different kinds of taxation are in operation. Consequently the ownership of the land is concentrated in the hands of landlords and rich peasants. The overwhelming majority of the peasants have lost their land, and are forced to live in extreme misery. Relentless exploitation has exhausted all their reserves by which they might fight natural catastrophes. The whole country is therefore exposed to the danger of flood or drought without adequate means of protection. The great flood catastrophe of 1931 affected a population of more than 44 millions. Exploitation has also exhausted the productive power of the peasantry. Much land has been allowed to remain unfertilized or has been put out of cultivation, and in face of this reduced power of production the peasantry have to face the dumping of agricultural products from the imperialist countries. These factors have placed the Chinese rural economy in a state of complete bankruptcy from which arises the agrarian revolution.

In the Soviet districts this revolution has wiped out all the remnants of feudalism. The millions of peasants, awaking from their long slumber in the Dark Ages, confiscated all the land from the landlords and the rich peasants, abolished usury and heavy taxation, swept aside all who opposed the revolution, and built up their own Government. This is the fundamental difference between the life of the rural districts under Soviet rule and of those under the Kuomintang. The Land Law, which was proclaimed by the first National Soviet Congress, has served as the guide for the correct solution of land problems. Owing to the acute class struggle there have been numerous arguments about the analysis of classes in the villages. On the basis of its experience in the agrarian revolution, the People's Council has passed a resolution on the various problems of the struggle for land. As to the methods of partition of land in relation to the questions of distance from the dwelling, fertility, or otherwise, timber, water supply, etc., it is now urgently necessary to work out a definite resolution based on experience in all districts, to provide a guide for the partition of land in the new Soviet districts as they are created.

An inspection movement has been organized by the Central Government with the

object of thoroughly eliminating all the remnants of feudalism and making sure that the benefits of the revolution have gone to the land-workers and the poor and middle-class peasants. According to reports for July, August and September, 1933, on the work of this inspection movement in the central Soviet district, 6,988 landlord families and 6,631 rich peasant families owning a huge excess of land were discovered and their land seized, and money taken from them to the total of 606,916 dollars. These results in only three months' inspection of the application of the Land Law show that the Soviets have to pay still closer attention to the class struggle in the villages. But they also show that the Land Inspection Movement is an effective means of developing the class struggle in the villages and of uprooting the remnants of feudalism.

The line of class struggle followed in the agrarian revolution depends upon the land-workers and poor peasants, on the alliance with the middle peasants, the exploitation of the rich peasants and the annihilation of the landlords. The correct following out of this line is the key to the successful development of the agrarian revolution and the foundation for the development of all other Soviet policies in the villages. Consequently, the Soviets must deal firmly with any tendencies to attack the middle-class peasants or to annihilate the rich peasants. At the same time there must be no error in the nature of a compromise with the landlords and the rich peasants. In the past two years we have gained much experience in our mass work among the peasants. The lessons of this experience may be summed up as follows: —

1. A complete mobilization of land-workers, poor and middle-class peasants for struggle against the landlords and the rich peasants, is necessary for the partition of the land and the carrying out of the Inspection Movement. The partition of land and the inspection must be done with the consent and co-operation of the masses of the peasants. The decision as to the class to which any peasant belongs must be made by a mass meeting. To attempt to carry out any of these activities solely through a few Soviet functionaries would involve the danger of reducing the spirit of struggle among the masses themselves.

2. When property other than land and the surplus draft cattle and farm instruments are confiscated, the greater part of them must be shared by the poor peasants. It is a mistake to allow them to be shared only by a few, since this will reduce the spirit of struggle among the masses on the one hand, and encourage the opposition of the exploiters on the other.

3. The partition of the land should be completed in the shortest possible time. Unless it is demanded by a considerable mass of the peasants, re-partition is not a good policy, for it may hinder the promotion of agricultural production and may be used by the exploiting classes to hinder the development of the struggle.

4. The aim of the Inspection Movement is to expose exploiters but not to disturb the exploited. Hence the inspection should not be made from house to house or from one piece of land to another. It should be done by means of a broad mobilisation of the masses.

5. Those counter-revolutionary elements who try to hinder the partition of land and the inspection movements should be seriously dealt with. They should be

punished by the judgment of the masses and made, with the concurrence of the masses, to undergo imprisonment or even to face the penalty of death. This is necessary, for otherwise the development of the agrarian revolution will be handicapped.

6. The class struggle should be promoted, but clashes between families and localities should be avoided. The landlords and the rich peasants are always seeking to put family strife and local struggles in the place of class struggle.

7. The development of the agrarian revolution depends upon the class-consciousness and organized strength of the masses in the villages. The Soviet functionaries must therefore carry on fundamental propaganda and work for the strengthening of the organization of land-workers and poor peasants.

The aim of the agrarian revolution is not only to solve the land problem for the peasants, but also to stimulate them to increase the productivity of their land. Under the leadership of the Soviets and by the initiative of the peasant masses themselves, agricultural production has been restored in most places and in some it has even increased. On this basis the living condition of the peasantry have much improved. In the past it was customary for the peasants to live for months out of the year on the bark of trees or the husks of grain. This situation & longer exists and there is no more starvation in the Soviet districts. The life of the peasantry grows better year by year. They no longer go in rags. They eat meat more frequently and in former times this was to them a luxury. Which kind of government and which kind of life do the peasants prefer? We will leave this question for the peasants in the districts ruled by the Kuomintang to answer.

THE FINANCIAL POLICY OF THE SOVIET

The Soviets have made fairly satisfactory progress in the development of their financial system, considering that they operate in a relatively small territory, the chief characteristic of which is economic backwardness, while the aim of their taxation policy is to benefit the masses. In this the Soviets provide a sharp contrast to the Kuomintang which, although controlling a vast territory, and increasing the pressure of its exploitation day by day, is now facing financial bankruptcy. The Soviets raise their revenue from the following sources: (1) Confiscation or requisition from all the feudal exploiting elements; (2) Taxation; (3) Development of the national economy. Item (1) provides the largest contribution towards the revenue of the Soviet Government. The landlords and rich peasants are called upon to raise funds for the Soviets. This is the direct opposite of the Kuomintang policy, which places the heaviest financial burdens on the shoulders of the masses.

Soviet taxation is progressive, and is divided into two categories, namely, commercial taxes and agricultural taxes. Both of these are imposed on the exploiting classes. The commercial tax is again divided into two sections, namely, customs duty and the business tax. The former is designed to control imports with a tariff ranging from complete exemption to 100 per cent. duty. These customs are, of course, levied quite free from intervention by any foreign Power, demonstrating the fact that it is only the Soviets which can realize customs autonomy in China. After paying customs duty, all goods can flow freely within Soviet territory without further taxation. This again provides a contrast

with the practice in Kuomintang territory, where goods, after entry, are still subject to various taxes, such as likin (duties levied by provincial governors on goods passing through their territory). The business tax is also progressive. It takes more from larger enterprises with high profits than from smaller enterprises with lower profits. Undertakings with less than 100 dollars capital, co-operatives, and farmers who sell their own surplus products are all exempted.

Similarly, the agricultural tax is on a progressive basis. It weighs more heavily on the larger families who have more land and more lightly on those who have little land. The poor and middle-class peasants pay less in relation to the rich peasants. Land-workers and the families of the Red Army men are all exempted. There is a provision that, in the case of a natural disaster, this tax may be reduced or completely suspended. Here again we have a sharp contrast with the practice of the Kuomintang, which places the principal burden on the peasantry and small landowners. It collects surtax at a much heavier rate. According to "Ta Kung Pao," the Tientsin newspaper of March 21, 1933, the Kuomintang collects as many as 1,736 different taxes. The militarists of Szechwan have collected the land tax in advance up to 1987. In Shensi taxation has been increased up to twenty-five times by the Kuomintang.

An important pan of the Soviet financial economy is the development of national economy. This has already begun to make progress under the Soviets in Mien-che-kang and Kiangsi, but our financial and economic organs have to do much more in this direction. The State banks must issue notes primarily to meet the needs of the development of national economy, considering financial needs as only secondary. The use of money must be governed by the principles of economy. Corruption and waste are the greatest crimes against the Soviet State. Great achievements have already been registered in the fight against these crimes. "Save every penny for the revolutionary war" is the slogan under which the Soviet accounting system is conducted.

THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE SOVIET

The Kuomintang efforts towards the destruction of the Soviets consist not only of military attack but a ruthless economic blockade. With the Red Army, supported by the masses, the Soviets have been able to break the successive waves of the Kuomintang military attacks. And to a certain extent they have also succeeded in carrying out economic reconstruction within their own territory, a fact which has contributed towards breaking the force of the economic blockade. The main tasks involved in economic reconstruction are the development of agricultural production, of industrial production, of foreign trade and of co-operatives. Agriculture in the Soviet districts is forging ahead at a great pace. Production in 1933 has increased on the average 15 per cent. as against 1932. The rise in Mien-che-kang is 20 per cent. In the two years following the Soviet revolution, agricultural production showed a downward trend, but thanks to the confidence produced by the partition of land, the development of the Soviets and the growth of enthusiasm among the masses, production has lately been moving steadily upwards. In some cases it has recovered its original level, in others it has already exceeded that level. Fallow land has been recultivated and new land brought under cultivation. In many places co-operative organizations for ploughing and handwork have been organized.

Large numbers of women have taken part in "shock work" in agricultural production. Such things as these have never been known under the rule of the Kuomintang. The peasants, satisfied with the land allotted to them by the Soviets, and encouraged by Soviet support, have shown great enthusiasm in tilling their soil.

Under the present conditions agricultural production is the primary task in the economic reconstruction of the Soviet districts. Not only does it solve the food problem, but it provides raw materials for articles of everyday consumption. Included in its scope are afforestation and the increase in the amount of livestock. Taking the small farms as a basis, we must work out plans for the production of certain industrial crops such as cotton. In this case each province must be charged with the production of a given quota of the crop. About 25 per cent. of the peasantry lack oxen for ploughing. Hence the necessity of organizing co-operatives for the use of oxen. The greatest attention to irrigation is also necessary on the part of the Soviets. It is not at present necessary to set up collective farms and Soviet farms, but we have to set up experimental stations in each district, and to establish agricultural research institutes and exhibitions of agricultural products in order to teach the peasantry how to improve the quality of their crops.

As a result of the enemy blockade, difficulties have been placed in the way of exports from our districts, and many of our handicraft industries have consequently declined. Tobacco and paper have suffered most heavily, but these difficulties are by no means insuperable. Owing to the large consumptive power of the people within Soviet territory our goods can find a large market at home. During the first half of 1933 the efforts of the Soviets and the development of co-operatives resulted in the revival of many industries, such as tobacco, paper, camphor, tungsten, fertilizers and agricultural implements. We have to direct our attention to the production of cloth, drugs and sugar. New industries of this sort have already sprung up in the province of Mien-che-kang. It is also the task of the Soviets to organize foreign trade and directly control the flow of goods. Under this head come the importation of salt and clothes and the export of foodstuffs and tungsten, a very valuable mineral, the mining of which we have resumed in our territory.

The Soviets have also to see that food is equally distributed within their districts. This work began in Mien-che-kang at an early date and was followed by Kiangsi in the spring of 1933. The initial successes in this direction follow the inauguration of the Soviet Foreign Trade Bureau. In the Soviet territory national economy falls into three sections, namely, State, cooperative and private enterprises. The State undertakings are at present very limited in scope, but there are good prospects for the future. Within the pale of Soviet law, private economy is far from restricted but rather encouraged. Not only at the present time, but for a long time to come, private economy will be predominant in the form of small capitalist undertakings. Co-operative enterprises are making a rapid advance. According to the statistics of September, 1933, there are 1,423 cooperatives with a capital of 305,551 dollars. At present the consuming and food co-operatives are of major importance, overshadowing the producing co-operatives. As to co-operative credit societies, they are only in the initial stage. The development of the co-operatives constitutes an important instrument in the building up of Soviet economy. In combination with the State enterprises, the co-operatives will become a mighty force which will, after a prolonged struggle, gain supremacy over private economy and create

the conditions for the transition of Soviet economy into Socialist economy. The Soviet State has issued Economic Reconstruction Bonds to the amount of 3 million dollars in order to enlist the support of the masses for economic reconstruction. Thus it is the Soviets alone which, in face of the problems of millions of starving people, and an impoverished country, embark on economic reconstruction according to a definite plan, with the certainty that this will achieve the object of saving the millions now in distress from final disaster.

SOVIET CULTURE

In order to ensure the victory of the revolution, to consolidate the Soviets, and harness the gigantic forces of the revolutionary class struggle, far-reaching cultural reforms are necessary in order to shake off the spiritual yoke of the reactionary ruling class and to create a new Soviet culture. As everyone knows, the cultural institutions of the Kuomintang are exclusively in the hands of the landlord and bourgeoisie, and are employed to check the development of revolutionary thought among the oppressed classes. The workers and peasants are excluded, *and* thus illiteracy is maintained. Financial appropriations for education have been diverted to attacks on the revolution, scores of colleges and universities have been closed down and thousands of students turned out.

Under the Kuomintang 80 per cent. of the population is still illiterate. Any thought of a "Left" tendency has been ruthlessly suppressed and "Left" writers arrested. In the Soviet territory, on the other hand, all cultural and educational institutions are under the direct control of the workers and peasants, whose children have the preferential right to education. Despite the backwardness of the region and the pressure of war from all sides, the work of cultural reconstruction has actually been accelerated. In 2,931 villages in Kiangsi, Fukien and Yehkang provinces, there are 3,052 Leninist primary schools, with 89,710 pupils; 6,462 evening schools, with an attendance of 94,517; 32,388 reading groups, with a membership of 155,371; 1,656 clubs, with 49,668 worker members. A majority of the school children have already attended Leninist primary schools. For instance, out of the 20,969 children in Sinkuo (Hupeh province), 12,806 have attended. The school children spend most of the time reading, and only a small part of the day is allowed for domestic work. They also join the Red Pioneers, where they are instructed in the principles and practice of Communism.

The women are showing great enthusiasm for education. In Sinkuo the evening schools embrace 15,740 students, of whom 4,988, or 31 per cent., are men, and 10,752, or 69 per cent., are women. Among the reading groups in Sinkuo we find that 40 per cent. of the membership only are men, while the remaining 60 per cent. are women. Some women have already attained high positions in the cultural institutions, acting as heads of the primary schools or evening schools or directors of reading groups. Almost everywhere throughout the Soviet districts councils of women workers' and peasants' delegates exist for the purpose of devoting attention to the interests of the working women, including the provision of education.

A vigorous campaign against illiteracy is in full swing. Evening schools for reading have been established, and various popular methods adopted for assisting the illiterate in

learning to read. For example, signboards, inscribed with a variety of characters, are set up close to the highways, so that those going to and from their work in the fields may become familiar with them. The cultural advance under the Soviets is illustrated by the increase in the circulation of the newspapers. In the Central Soviet District we have some 34 papers, large and small. The circulation of "Red China," the organ of the Soviet Government, has increased from 3,000 to 40,000; the "True Word," organ of the Youth, has reached 28,000; the "Struggle," organ of the Communist Party, 27,000; the "Red Star," organ of the Red Army, 17,300.

Revolutionary arts have already made a good beginning with the formation of workers' and peasants' dramatic clubs, and the beginnings of the "Blue Blouse" Movement in many villages. Red sports organizations are rapidly advancing, and already sports fields may occasionally be seen. Although the Soviets have not yet much to show in the development of technical education, they have nevertheless succeeded in establishing a Red Army University, Soviet University, Communist University, and a number of other high schools under the direct control of the Soviet Ministry of Education. The object of these is to train leaders for revolutionary leadership. The rapid development of colleges and high schools, to follow on the building up of the ordinary schools, is a definite part of our educational plan.

MARRIAGE UNDER THE SOVIETS

In order to free women from the barbarous marriage system handed down for thousands of years, the Soviets, as early as November, 1931, proclaimed a new set of regulations, establishing the equality of men and women in marriage, declaring complete liberty of marriage and divorce, abolishing the sale of women as wives, and prohibiting child marriage. These provisions have been enforced throughout the Soviet territory. As a rule, a man of twenty may marry a girl of eighteen by simple registration with the Soviet, provided he is free from dangerous disease. Lineal descendants from the same grandfather may not marry each other within five generations. Divorce may be granted by the Soviets if one of the parties to the marriage insists upon it.

This liberation of women from the fetters of the feudal marriage system has been made possible only by the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants. Men and women, and particularly the latter, must first have political liberty and also some measure of economic liberty as a guarantee for the free marriage system. Since they were more oppressed by the feudal marriage system than the men, women have been given more protection by the Soviets in the matter of marriage, and the burden arising from divorce has been imposed for the most part on the shoulders of men. The protection of children is laid down as a principle in Soviet law. which also recognizes illegitimate children and extends its protection to them.

THE NATIONAL POLICY OF THE SOVIETS

The Soviet national policy aims at winning the support of all the oppressed minorities in the Soviet districts, and around them, as a means of increasing the strength of the revolutionary fight against imperialism and the Kuomintang. Such national minorities as the Mongols, Tibetans, Koreans, Annamites, Miaos are oppressed by the Chinese rulers and militarists. To mention but two recent examples, there is the massacre of the

Mohammedans in Kansu by General Feng Yu-hsiang and the butchering of the Miaos in Kwangsi by General Pei Tsung-shi.

On the other hand, the Kuomintang makes allies among the ruling classes of the minorities, such as the Mongol princes, Tibetan Lamas, etc., in order to oppress and exploit the mass of the people. In the case of Tibet, Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia the ruling classes have directly surrendered to imperialism and accelerated the colonization of their countries. The Soviets, on the other hand, are against the exploitation of the minorities by imperialism and the Kuomintang. The constitution of the Soviets, as passed by the first Congress in November, 1931, is quite clear on this point. Article 14 says: "Soviet China recognizes the complete self-determination of the minorities, who may go so far as to secede and form independent free states. Soviet China will see to it that the minorities will be freed from the misrule of imperialism and the Kuomintang, and will secure complete emancipation from the misrule of their own princes and lamas. In this regard the Soviets will gladly aid the minorities in carrying out their task. The Soviets will permit the development of national culture and languages among these minorities." Article 15 of the Constitution provides: "Soviet China will give the right of asylum to revolutionaries either from the national minorities in China or from other countries who may have been persecuted by the reactionary government. It will help them in securing complete victory for the revolutionary movement sponsored by them."

The fact that many Korean, Annamite and Taiwan comrades attended the first and second Soviet congresses is proof that the Soviets mean what they say. The toilers of China are united with those of the oppressed minorities by their common revolutionary interests in a firm alliance. The free union of nationalities which will replace national oppression is possible only under the Soviets. To achieve complete emancipation the minority nationalities must on their part assist the Soviet revolution in securing victory on a national scale.

THE RED ARMY MARCHES ON

Mao Tse-tung concludes his report with a review of the measures necessary for the repulse of the fifth offensive launched by the Kuomintang against the Soviet Republic of China. This is omitted, since not only did the Red Army successfully defeat the fifth offensive, and extend and consolidate the Soviet districts, but it has dealt heavy blows at the sixth offensive, launched since Mao delivered his report.

The following facts are quoted from an article by Bela Kun in "International Press Correspondence" of July 6, 1934: —

The plans for the sixth campaign of Chiang Kai-shek's troops were drawn up by the German General von Seeckt, the former commander of the German Reichswehr. The leadership of the operations is in the hands of two German generals and about 70 to 80 German General Staff officers, mercenaries from Hitler Germany, who have found a place for themselves in China. Relying upon the most modern technical means of warfare, most of which come from the United States, England, France and Czechoslovakia, the German generals and the General Staff officers promised their Chinese colleague and employer, General Chiang Kai-shek, to annihilate by the month of June the Central Soviet District where the Chinese Central Soviet Government is located. The pupils of General

Ludendorf and the emissaries of Hindenburg and Hitler seriously miscalculated. The operations of the Chinese Red Army in the Central District were directed by General Chu-Deh, the greatest red Marshal of the Chinese revolutionary forces, who began his military training in Germany, continued it in the ranks of the Chinese revolutionaries and in the Communist Party of China, and who showed himself to be a master of the art of war as against the Fascist generals.

After several brilliantly-carried-out manoeuvres against Chiang Kai-shek's troops, Chu-Deh dealt Chiang Kai-shek's troops a severe blow which threatens to frustrate the plans of General von Seeckt for the Sixth Campaign. The European press publishes little information regarding the big battles which are being waged around the Central Soviet District, but the "New York Times" already reports the new big victory of the Chinese Soviet Army.

The Hankow correspondent of the "New York Times" writes the following: —

Hankow, China, June 2.—Losses in killed and wounded totalling 19,600 are reported to have been suffered by German-trained Nanking troops in a battle with Communists in Kiangsi Province.

"These troops, which were considered General Chiang Kai-shek's crack soldiers, had been held in the rear as reserves, but General Hans von Seeckt, former Commander of the German Reichswehr, is understood to have urged the advisability of a 'baptism by fire.'

"The soldiers fought well, but transportation along the single highway to the front became disorganised under a flank attack by the Communists and chaos followed. The divisions affected in the fighting were the fourth, ninth, tenth, fourteenth, forty-third, fifty-ninth, eighty-third and eighty-seventh."

The German Fascist adventurers in China, as a result of the Ludendorf-Prussian art of warfare, led the troops in such a way to the "baptism of fire" that they thereby helped the Chinese Red Army to achieve a considerable victory. The Fascist generals and the other officers have up till now all shown themselves to be great masters of war against unarmed workers and small peasants, but when they came up against armed troops, when they were confronted with the revolutionary art of war of the Marshals of the Chinese Red Army, they failed again. They showed that they really were hangmen but not fighters. The new great victory which the revolutionary troops of the Chinese workers and peasants have achieved over the German Fascist generals and over Chiang Kai-shek does not yet mean that the danger confronting the revolutionary-democratic Chinese Soviet Republic is over. The United States and the British imperialists send further transports of arms and munitions, of military plans and means of chemical warfare for Chiang Kai-shek, which are again to be used by the German mercenary officers. The Japanese are ready to give General Chiang Kai-shek the possibility of concentrating all his forces against the Chinese revolutionary-democratic people's revolution and Chiang Kai-shek is sacrificing everything in order to have a free hand against the revolutionary-democratic workers' and peasants' revolution. The Chinese workers and peasants who are fighting for their national liberation against foreign imperialism for their vital interests against the Chinese militarists, the feudal nobility and the big bourgeoisie, require speedy assistance from all

the international proletariat. The revolutionary army, which is so bravely beating the German Fascist generals, awaits the well-deserved, rapid assistance of the proletarians throughout the world in their struggle for liberation.