

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The V. Congress of the Communist Party of China.

By M. N. Roy.

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The last Congress of the Chinese Communist Party took place two years and four months ago. The Party was then illegal and had only 950 members. The V. Congress represented a membership of over 50,000. This phenomenal numerical growth of the party does not adequately represent the growth of its political influence. The Communist Party, based upon mass proletarian and peasant organisations of the entire country, is the foremost factor in the present political situation.

The growth of the Chinese Party is unparalleled in the history of the Communist International. The Party has grown in the thick of a gigantic revolutionary struggle. It embodies the organised expression of the struggle of the toiling masses against imperialist domination and its native allies. It is the party of the proletariat steeled in actual fight, including a number of armed insurrections. It is the leader of the peasant masses in their revolt against feudal bondage and patriarchal reaction.

Two months before the V. Congress the Communist Party was asked by the Kuomintang to accept office in the national government. This was a recognition of the predominating position of the Communist Party — of the hegemony of the proletariat. Hitherto the proletariat fought and sacrificed for the revolution. Now the time has come for it to participate in the organs of power and responsibility. Acting upon the resolution of the Communist International, the Communist Party accepted the ministries of Labour and of Agriculture and Internal affairs. In this stage of the revolution the importance of these two ministries is supreme. The Communist Party has become not only a legal mass party wielding decisive influence upon the political situation; it has come in possession of state apparatus which can be the instruments for further development of the revolution.

Class differentiation inside the Kuomintang has rendered its relation with the Communist Party closer than ever. The defection of the big bourgeoisie reduced the contradiction inside the Kuomintang ranks and has transformed it into a revolutionary bloc of the town petty bourgeoisie, peasantry and proletariat with certain strata of the national bourgeoisie marching with it. The proletariat being the backbone and driving force of this bloc, the relation between the Communist Party and Kuomintang has greatly improved. This improvement assumed organisational expression in the creation of joint committees.

The V. Congress of the Communist Party of China had a number of fundamental problems to solve. The solution of these was not very easy. When the Congress assembled, nationalist China was menaced with imperialist intervention, a cordon of counter-revolution was formed under imperialist inspiration and with imperialist aid, to choke the revolution; and consequently the nationalist ranks, even to some extent the urban masses, were somewhat panic-stricken. The entire revolution stood badly in need of a clear outlook and a determined leadership. The revolution had to be guarded against pessimism and defeatism. It needed a perspective to be able to

meet courageously and surmount successfully immediate difficulties, however, grave. The historic role of the V. Congress of the C.P. was to put this clear perspective before the revolution and to contribute to the crystallisation of a determined, courageous leadership indispensable in the period of revolution. The Congress has discharged this role, and by doing it has demonstrated that the proletariat is the backbone of the revolution. Owing to the fact that it is still based upon a coalition of classes, the revolution cannot be exclusively under proletarian leadership; but the proletariat is the only force that can and will guarantee the leadership against the danger of vacillation and deviation. The proletariat is not leading the revolution. It exercises hegemony in the revolutionary struggle.

The main task of the V. Congress of the Communist Party of China was to make a **correct estimation of the situation**. Upon this depended the possibility of giving the revolution a **clear perspective and a courageous leadership**. This task the V. Congress has accomplished by dispelling all doubt as regards the potentiality of the basic forces of the revolution. In analysing the political events, past and present, from the point of view of the proletariat, the Congress rejected the theory that the betrayal of the big bourgeoisie and threat of imperialist intervention constitute a check to the development of the revolution. On the contrary, these facts indicate that the revolution has entered the stage in which it bases itself upon the **exploited classes** whose interests, political and economic, do not admit any compromise with imperialism and native reaction. The proletariat and peasantry must determinedly fight imperialism and its native allies. In the course of this fight the entire energy of the toiling masses will be mobilised, thus deepening the social base of the revolution, promoting further development and guaranteeing its victory.

The Congress has pointed out how to resist imperialist aggression and to defend the revolution against the counter-revolutionary block reinforced by the big bourgeoisie. To lead the revolution along the line indicated by the Congress, firm determination and unflinching faith in the power of the masses are necessary. Since all the reactionary classes have turned against the revolution, the task of the revolution, in this stage of development, is to strike resolutely at the root of reaction wherever possible, particularly in the territories of the nationalist government. Therefore the V. Congress of the Communist Party of China has declared that **essentially the national revolution must become an agrarian revolution**. Imperialist domination in China is supported by militarism and the allied forces of reaction. The social base of militarism and reaction is the **feudal character of Chinese national economy and political power**. The Congress has resolved to lead the peasantry in a decisive struggle against feudalism. The slogan is: **Land to the peasant**; the peasant should have the political and military power to take possession of the land belonging to the big landowners. In taking this revolutionary decision the Congress has proved that the proletariat alone is able to lead the peasantry to make an agrarian revolution which is not only the basic condition for a successful fight against imperialism, but for free economic development of the country.

Peasant revolt is the most characteristic feature of the revolution in its present stage. In the provinces occupied by the nationalist army there exists a tremendous peasant movement. In several provinces peasant unions have become the predominating organised power. Peasants are arming themselves and disarming the forces of reaction. They are confiscating landlords' lands. This situation was reflected in the Congress of the Communist Party. The peasant masses are up in revolt. The proletariat must assume the leadership of this revolt. This was the consideration that governed the deliberation of the Congress.

The third important decision of the Congress was as regards the **character of the state** created by the revolution. The Congress found that, developing under the hegemony of the proletariat, the revolution is bound to establish a **democratic dictatorship of the proletariat, peasantry and petty bourgeoisie**. The present nationalist revolutionary government contains in it the germs of this democratic dictatorship. The participation of the communists in this government — in all its organs — will contribute to its development as the organ of democratic dictatorship. The Congress did not overlook the existence of timid and vacillating elements among the petty bourgeoisie, and proved the necessity of combating these elements as essential

conditions for the consolidation of the revolutionary bloc of the proletariat, peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie.

Leading members of the Kuomintang participated in the opening session of the Congress and declared their determination to strengthen the bloc with the Communist Party. Comrade **Wang Ching-Wei** was present when the representative of the Communist International reported on the perspective and character of the Chinese revolution. He expressed his complete accord with the report and declared that the petty bourgeoisie must march with the proletariat towards Socialism.

The historic significance of the V. Congress of the Communist Party of China lies in the fact that it has pointed out to the proletariat and its allies how to develop the revolution further as a mighty agency for the destruction of capitalism. The development of the Chinese revolution under the leadership of the **bourgeoisie** would create conditions in China favourable to capitalist stabilisation of the entire world. This, in its turn, would spell defeat for the Chinese revolution.

The V. Congress of the Communist Party of China has proved that the Chinese revolution will and can be led further only under the hegemony of the proletariat, precluding capitalist development of China under the supremacy of imperialist finance. Thus the Congress is not only of national, but international significance — a landmark in the history of the fight for Socialism.

The Results of the National Conference of the C. P. of France.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The National Conference of the Communist Party of France, which took place at the end of June, was held **under the shadow of the campaign of suppression on the part of the French government**. A number of those attending the Conference, among others the reporter on the international question, Comrade **Bernard**, had long been sought for by the police; others, as Comrade **Semard**, are again to be placed behind prison bars.

Wide circles of the French working class, even including certain elements in our own Party, do not yet know how to estimate correctly the offensive of the **Poincaré government**. Even if the proceedings of the French government of "National Unity" against the revolutionary portion of the working class and its organisations are intended to prepare the ground for the elections next year, it must nevertheless be recognised that the offensive against the working masses has a far wider objective; i. e., to deprive their class organisations of their leaders and to weaken the resistance and fighting power of the workers. By this means the bourgeoisie hope to achieve three things: 1. the carrying out of industrial rationalisation, 2. to enforce the new military laws, 3. to prepare for war on the Soviet Union.

The National Conference of the C. P. of France was **thoroughly alive to the war danger**. Both the opening speech of **Cachin** and the report of Comrades **Semard** and **Monmousseau**, as well as the report of Comrade **Bernard** and the speech by **Rénaud Jeane**, in which he clearly and concretely analysed the coming military laws, which are being rendered even worse, if possible, by the counter-proposals of the socialists, clearly illuminated the present situation and characterised all optimism as dangerous.

The National Conference was therefore perfectly unanimous that an **energetic campaign must be conducted against the danger of war**. It was in this spirit that it adopted its decisions: mobilising of the working and peasant masses for defence of the Chinese revolution; approval of the line of the Comintern with regard to the policy towards the Kuomintang; emphatic condemnation of the Opposition in the C. P. S. U., as its fractional activity can only damage the unity of the Bolshevik Party, which unity, however, is the precondition for the fight of the Soviets against encirclement and against the attacks of the capitalist powers; organising of the working class defence against the capitalist attack on wages; fight against the new customs tariffs and against the further growth of militarism. In all these resolutions the main attention was directed to extending to the Russian Revolution the necessary help.