PERMANENT BUREAU
OF THE INTERNATIONAL ENTENTE
AGAINST THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL
22, Corraterie
Geneva

BOLSHEVISM IN CHINA

A first edition of this work appeared
in our "Monthly Documentation" of August 1932

GENEVA
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CONTENTS.

I. Introduction ........................................... 3
II. Old China ........................................... 4
III. Foreign influences .................................... 6
IV. The beginnings of the revolution ...................... 8
V. Bolshevik influence ..................................... 10
VI. Communist propaganda .................................. 15
VII. Summary of events in Manchuria ..................... 21
VIII. China and the League of Nations .................... 24

Annex: Map of the communist armies and of the sovietised regions of China.
Bolshevism in China

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I. — Introduction.

Events in China are little known and little understood by the great Western public, for several reasons:

1. We follow these events with difficulty owing to the strange names, which are confusing and difficult to remember. These names, moreover, are spelt in many different ways in the agency messages and on the maps.

2. We are ignorant of the mentality of the Chinese, which is based on their old buddhist religion, and we do not understand their exasperated nationalism, which the Bolsheviks know so well how to turn to account.

3. What is going on in the Far East seems to have little to do with us, occupied as we are with the crisis. This first impression is very mistaken; the troubles in Asia reduce the consumption of half the globe, and are thus one of the chief causes of the world crisis.

4. Finally, through ignorance or parti pris, certain journalists have described events in China in a tendencious manner, and circles in close touch with the League of Nations seem little better informed.

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For all these reasons it has seemed to us worth while to summarise the information, so far as it agrees, which we possess on this burning topic of the day. It comes from very diverse sources, well-acquainted with the country, and is confirmed by the directions given by the Comintern and by dozens of recent publications of which we need only quote the following:

Dr. jur. u. Dr. med. Gustav Ritter von Kreitner: Hinter China steht Moskau, 1932.

Dr. Legendre: La crise mondiale. L'Asie contre l'Europe, 1932.

We recommend in particular the first of these works, which we have largely drawn upon. The two last are by eyewitnesses: they give an idea of the mentality of the Chinese communists and of what is going on in the regions they dominate.

II. — Old China.

Long before the Christian era, when Europe was still barbarian, the immense country of China enjoyed a very advanced civilisation. Then a more or less communist revolution destroyed the old patriarchal customs and plunged the country into chaos for several centuries. Civil war and famine decimated the population.

Finally, five hundred years before Christ, the moral doctrine of Confucius, based on the ancient religious principles of Buddha, arrived to re-establish the order of things of the good old times, this time in a fashion as far as possible immutable. The present tragedy of the Chinese people arises from the fact that it succeeded too well.

* * *

As in other ancient civilisations, the family was the basic cell of the Chinese State; its head, the eldest male, had very extensive rights, but he had to govern solely in the general interest, rather by the example of his virtues than by force. He it was who had to educate the young, distribute and direct the work, and ensure the means of existence of all. The young had to honour their elders and obey them: all had to render real homage to their ancestors.

The emperor had the same patriarchal authority over his subjects: the worshipped Heaven, of which he was the Son. The doctrine of Confucius preached politeness, good manners, honesty, a happy medium in all things. It condemned the useless resort to force and all excess.
This fine doctrine succeeded in imposing itself on the Chinese people. It became the sole foundation of their collective life, the basis of education and instruction, just as the Mussulmans until recently confined themselves to teaching Arab script and commenting on the Koran.

The chief aim of this doctrine, which was finally to assure the established order and prevent the return of unfortunate political experiences, was marvellously achieved, and the Chinese became fundamentally conservative. Old customs regulated all the details of their existence, from birth to death.

* * *

This Chinese civilisation was very levelling. The land was divided into small family properties and agriculturists formed the great majority of the people. Families which became too numerous were divided up, without ceasing their relations of mutual support; some went to exploit neighbouring properties, others undertook small trades.

The artisans and traders also worked in families and grouped themselves into trade guilds, always directed according to the general interest. Family solidarity rendered charitable institutions superfluous.

The villages and small towns were administered almost without expense and without police, the head of each family being responsible for its members, as the mayor of the locality became for those under his charge.

The Emperor reigned through governors of provinces and disposed of a minimum of soldiers (about one per thousand of the population). About fifty Censors, highly honoured, inspected all the regions and saw that the officials, from top to bottom of the scale, worked for the good of all and that the people did not complain. They had the right to criticise even the Emperor.

An extremely simple code assured the rights of the State and of the families. The penalties provided were very severe so that each felt himself well protected.

It was mainly according to moral laws that the officials governed the people. These officials were chosen by competition; the examinations, excluding all fraud, were based on the ancient moral laws. Anyone might present himself, for there were schools everywhere and poor families subscribed to send the cleverest of their young people.

This administrative system was so practical that 20,000 officials sufficed for the whole Empire. The taxes represented only 1% of the revenue from the land, and served mainly for the upkeep of dykes and canals and for the distribution of food to the provinces affected by famine.
China was self-sufficing and took no notice of other nations. In short, the people lived modestly but happily.

* * *

From our point of view, this old and admirable civilisation had only one fault—it did not favour progress. It even excluded all desire for improvement; one could not hope to do better than one's ancestors.

Thus, for instance, the situation of women remained miserable, as it was everywhere in times of antiquity and as it still remains among primitive peoples. Chinese women must work, obey, and produce children; they had no rights.

The fathers did not desire daughters, for only sons could assure the worship of the ancestors. To marry his heirs, the Chinaman chose a woman and made the presents necessary to the father; the consent of the woman was never asked. In the towns especially, many Chinese women had their feet mutilated, which made it difficult for them to walk. In bad times, the sale of girls as slaves was by no means rare.

Nor have the Chinese made any progress from the point of view of hygiene. They have always drunk the polluted waters of their rivers. Epidemics are still frequent, contagious diseases very widespread, and infant mortality high.

Water transport, favoured by nature, has been developed, but in the interior of the country there are practically no roads; they have not progressed beyond tracks for bearers. In the towns hand-drawn rickshaws are used, and wheel-barrows for the transport of goods.

The land is carefully cultivated, but without any modern appliances. Human manure is generally employed.

III. — Foreign influences.

The first European navigators who landed in China were able to exchange their goods freely, but abuses occurred and in 1857 foreign trade was placed under control and concentrated in the port of Canton.

The English, little by little, got possession of the trade, and having acquired the monopoly of opium in India, introduced large quantities of the drug into China. It soon became so much in demand that the prices rose and Chinese exports—tea, cotton and porcelain—no longer sufficed for payment. Each year, large sums of money had to be added, which impoverished the country. The people began to complain.

* * *
From 1800 onwards, trade in opium was forbidden in China, but the sellers made such large profits that they continued to smuggle it in, bribing the Chinese officials. The people complained more loudly.

In 1839, an imperial commissary went and burned at Canton 20,000 cases of the stocks forbidden to the English traders. This was the cause of the "opium war" in which England, easily victorious, demanded possession of Hongkong, an indemnity, the opening to trade of five ports—Canton, Amoy, Fouchow, Ning-po, and Shanghai, as well as consular jurisdiction over her nationals. China declared herself no longer opposed to the entry of opium, but she prohibited the use of it (which did not prevent its consumption, as the bad habit had taken hold). Henceforward, England was able to import also her cotton goods at prices which killed the competition of the native artisans and ruined the peasant cotton growers.

The people, who had already had to pay the heavy costs of the war, revolted. This was the "great revolt of Tai-ping". Foreign trade suffered by this sanguinary 14 years revolution, to such an extent that England recommenced the war, with the aid of France, to preserve the commercial advantages obtained and finally to save the Dynasty, which was seriously threatened.

The Chinese Government had accumulated enormous debts. The payment of the interest necessitated the institution of maritime customs, directed by foreigners, and internal customs, from which they obtained exemption. All kinds of industrial merchandise began to flow in, ruining more and more the native artisans.

China had always despised the military profession. She found herself without means of defence. Despite her protests, she was further deprived of Annam, Tonkin, and certain concessions on her territory, where administration, justice and police were in the hands of foreigners.

Then these latter, in order to take advantage of cheap labour, wished to create industries in China itself.

The Emperor was opposed to this, but the Japanese made war on him and caused him to capitulate in 1895. They further demanded Formosa and 200 million gold taels. This defeat of a great Empire by a small yellow country greatly affected Chinese pride.

The other Powers, one after the other, then required "compensation". Russia obtained Port Arthur, Germany Kow-chow, England Wei-hai-wei. They succeeded also in obtaining concessions of railways. Finally, they declared among themselves that they would reserve "spheres of influence", Russia in Chinese Turkestan, Outer Mongolia and Northern Manchuria, Japan in Southern Manchuria and at Fukien, Germany at Shantung, etc.
IV. — The beginnings of the Revolution.

These constant capitulations, the debts and the heavy taxes had exasperated the Chinese against foreigners and against the Emperor. The general mentality was also being profoundly changed by contact with Europeans; there began to be a desire to modernise China.

In order to trade in the country and to create factories, the foreigners had had need of Chinese associates and employees. These latter had rapidly become rich and formed a new capitalist bourgeoisie, which adopted foreign mentality and manners; honesty decreased.

The big industries, installed in the important towns, had destroyed in these the good tradition of family labour and created a proletariat without any legal protection. Its shameful exploitation led to the formation of trade unions, which soon became Red.

Many of the family properties had been bought from the indebted cultivators. The farmers who worked them were in a worse situation than that of the former proprietors. There was therefore great discontent also in the country districts.

Young Chinese had gone in increasing numbers to study in Europe and in America, where they had discovered that their country was very much behind the times and had returned with the intention of bringing about a change. The number of students being educated in China itself had reached 1,600,000; their opinions were also revolutionary.

Finally, the missions, with the best intentions in the world, contributed to unsettle many of the Chinese by turning them away from the beliefs upon which their ancient civilisation was based.

A Reform Party, with very advanced ideas, was created in the Southern towns. It first acted through numerous secret societies, then openly and throughout the country. All the educated youths joined it.

Thinking to consolidate his tottering power, the Emperor attempted to apply the ideas of this « Young China ». In 1898, he suddenly decreed a modern constitution and a transformation of the State according to Western principles. Three months later, he was dethroned by his aunt, the Empress Tseu-Hi, who energetically re-established the old order of things.

These changes had thrown the country into a ferment. The “Boxer” revolt broke out, aimed chiefly at foreigners. The German Minister was assassinated at Pekin and the Court fled to the mountains. European troops came to crush the revolt, and China once more had imposed on her a heavy indemnity (450 million taels). As guarantee of payment, she had
to abandon all her customs and the tax on salt. The political
and financial situation became still more insoluble.

The Imperial Government tried once more to decree a new
constitution and to set up a modern army, but it was too late.
In 1911, the Republic was proclaimed at Shanghai and Nankin
with Sun-Yat-Sen as President.

As the Great Powers wanted no more civil war, the Dynasty
itself proclaimed the Republic under the dictatorship of Yuan-Shi
Kai. This latter restored unity in the country and then sought
to re-constitute the Empire in his own favour. He had just
succeeded nominally when, faced with the opposition of the
Centre and the South, he abdicated, handed over the power to
Sun-Yat-Sen and soon after died.

Henceforward, there was anarchy. In the provinces, the
generals seized the power on their own account, crushed the
population with taxes, levied fresh soldiers by force and made
war on one another to obtain possession of the rich regions.
The Central Government was no longer obeyed.

Cleverly distributing subsidies, Japan acquired great
influence in the Northern Provinces, where the generals, thanks
to her, were able to pay their troops and maintain relative order
during the world war. Japan also profited by the war to take
Tsingtau from the Germans and to obtain from the Government
of Pekin the acceptance of her famous "21 demands", which
were to give her the upper hand over the country. But an
unexpected wave of patriotism arose against the Japanese and
against the Government of Pekin. A scission occurred between
the North and the South, and the leaders of the seven Southern
provinces formed in 1918 at Canton a separate Confederation
under the direction of the Governor of Kwantung.

For several years, Sun-Yat-Sen, whose party had joined
the Southern Confederation, tried in vain to obtain the support
of the Great Powers against Japan, and then turned towards
Moscow.

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Before dealing with Soviet influence in China, we must
quote the "three principles" of Sun-Yat-Sen, which, from the
outset, served as the watch-word of the Republic.

1. The individuals of the five races (Chinese, Manchu,
Mongol, Mussulman and Thibetan) which compose the Chinese
democracy, form one single people and are all equal.


3. The people have the right to all the national resources.

This third point, which is not very clear, favoured later
the propaganda of Moscow. Sun-Yat-Sen himself commented
upon it as follows:
Communism is the ideal of the third principle... It is when the people have the idea of a community in everything that the aim of our third principle will be really attained.

The revolutionary party, which took in 1912 the name of "Kuomintang", still had in its political program:
The complete reform of the economic structure of China.
The maintenance of good relations with all the Powers.
The autonomy of the Provinces.
We have seen that this autonomy had the worst consequences: it led everywhere to the seizure of power by the generals, civil war and the shameful pillage of the people.

* * *

In principle, the Constitution gave the people (mainly illiterate) the most extended rights—the right of referendum and of initiative and even the original right of revoking the officials of the government.

In practice, the influence of the small "Kuomintang" Party, organised on the model of the Russian Communist Party, was all-powerful at the elections. The representatives of the peasants and of the artisans, who formed 90% of the population were excluded. Elected through interest, the deputies did not work in the general interest. Sun-Yat-Sen remarked this himself: "China has not yet learnt the best side of parliamentarism. Its deputies are the most corrupt and venal in the whole world."

Parliament was divided, like the "Kuomintang", into an extremist left wing and a right wing which desired, quite rightly, the establishment of a central government capable of repressing anarchy and laws improving the former state of affairs instead of overthrowing them. The majority of the extremists were men from the South.

V. — Bolshevik influence.

As soon as Lenin had assured his power over Russia, he did his best to bolshevise Europe. His repeated failures caused him to try a turning movement through Asia, in order to destroy there the markets of the great industrial countries and thus create in the countries themselves a state of poverty favourable to the communist revolution. He openly declared this.

His greatest efforts were directed to China, already in complete anarchy. He thought that if he could succeed in swallowing up this immense country in the Soviet Union, this latter would include nearly one-third of the population of the
globe, that the conquest of the rest of Asia would be thereby facilitated and that the inevitable battle against the West would then present itself under more favourable conditions.

He sought in the first place to win over the Chinese provinces in the North, but without success, because Japanese influence was favourable to the maintenance of order. In Southern China, on the other hand, his clever delegate Karakhan easily succeeded in 1923 in arriving at an understanding with Sun-Yat-Sen, whose three principles were very similar to those of the Communists.

To win over Chinese public opinion, the Soviets declared themselves willing to treat on a footing of absolute equality and began by renouncing all their concessions and their rights to extra-territoriality and to the Boxer indemnity. They undertook to reorganise the Kuomintang and its government on the Soviet model and promised money, arms and the aid of numerous civil and military experts.

Borodin was appointed adviser to the Cantonese Government and propaganda began on the nationalist basis. A crowd of Soviet agents arrived and set to work. It was necessary, in the first place, to train native propagandists; then, by means of demonstrations in the streets, speeches and posters, the people were won over by two well-chosen watchwords: "Down with militarism!" against the military leaders who were oppressing the country, and "Down with imperialism!" against the hated foreigners. Communist theory was temporarily set on one side so as not to alienate the rich traders, whose subsidies were necessary.

This clever propaganda was aimed mainly at the students and the industrial proletarians, who were more easy to reach and to organise than the peasants.

Many of the most capable of the Chinese intellectuals were sent to Russia, where special schools were created for them, such as the Sun-Yat-Sen University (which later became the Communist University). Generals were also sent for training to Moscow; Chang-Kai-Chek, among others, returned enchanted with what he had learned.

The influence of Borodin became very visible at the Congress of the "Kuomintang" at Canton in 1924. Sun-Yat-Sen there recommended the reorganisation of the party on a wider basis. It was necessary to admit the Communists, who had a great influence over the students and the proletariat; it was necessary that there should be strict discipline in the party and that a strong central government should be created as in

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1 Our "Montly Documentation" for May 1930 gave details of the organisation at Moscow of propaganda institutes for the Far East, to which we would refer our readers.
Russia. It was necessary to adopt a compulsory program: its three principles, which he commented upon in the communist sense:

The first point now recommended an aggressive "nationalism" against the foreigners and all their undertakings; the second, the "sovereignty of the people" organised as in Russia; the third, the equalisation of wealth.

Finally, it was necessary to create an army of the party and General Galen (alias Blucher) offered to undertake this, with the aid of numerous Soviet officers. The Congress approved everything.

Galen began by creating a school of officers, which passed rapidly from 500 to 3,000 pupils and of which General Chang-Kai-Chek took command on his return from Moscow. The new officers served as cadres of a Red Army, capable not only of fighting but of performing propaganda in the occupied regions.

The agitation of the working masses was thus sustained by every means and numerous strikes disorganised the industries.

Meanwhile, Sun-Yat-Sen was convoked to Pekin, where it was desired to reconstitute a central government for the whole of China. There he died in 1925, before an understanding could be arrived at. In the interest of communist propaganda, Borodin declared the author of the three principles the greatest man of China, greater even than Confucius, and sought to deify him as Lenin was deified in Russia. He was thenceforth officially worshipped and later a mausoleum was erected to him at great expense.

This death caused difficulties in the party, for Borodin took advantage of it to increase his orientation to the Left and exclude opponents. Breaking definitely with Pekin, he started riots in the foreign concessions, boycotts and general strikes, of which that at Hongkong lasted fifteen months and caused incalculable losses to England. A large number of the strikers were incorporated in the new Red army.

He also habituated the Chinese little by little to the class war, for in order to support the numerous strikers he taxed the well-to-do Chinese very heavily. His exactions went so far that the organised traders of Canton at length closed their shops and told the population to shake off the intolerable yoke of the communists. They were crushed by the common people, armed in haste.

In 1926 Borodin had become so powerful in the Kuomintang that the Chinese leaders feared that they would be completely set aside. Chang-kai-chek, commandant at Canton, took advantage of a trip by Borodin to Moscow to disarm the Reddest troops, dismiss the Soviet advisers, and deport the Chinese communists.
Unfortunately, the Chinese generals, adversaries of the Kuomintang, seized this opportunity to march against Canton. A general war recommenced. Chang-kai-chek was obliged to make peace with Borodin, who appointed him general-in-chief, and with the Soviets, who again sent a mass of officers, arms and munitions.

While seeking to conquer new provinces by force of arms, Canton resumed its popular watchwords: "Down with imperialism!" and "Down with militarism!" Political propaganda started to disorganise the rear-guard of the adversaries of the Kuomintang and enabled Chang-kai-chek to gain much ground. The Russian experts placed nuclei in the trades unions of the provinces as they were conquered and thus took possession of all the undertakings. "Reactionaries" were massacred and new Red armies were organised with the troops which surrendered. Wuhan\(^1\), in the centre of China on the Yang-tse-Kiang, was chosen as the new capital.

At Hangkow, the English concession was sacked, despite the troops on guard, and England declared that she definitely abandoned it. This glorious victory over the foreigner was largely exploited by the Kuomintang, which continued to confiscate the goods of foreigners as well as those of the rich Chinese.

Chang-kai-chek arrived at Shanghai while it was being sacked. He indignantly re-established order by force, chasing out the Soviet agents and executing the Chinese communists. He next acted in the same way at Nankin and created in that town a new executive committee completely anti-communist. 1927.

It was time; the patience of the foreign troops was completely exhausted and there was a danger that they might begin to protect their nationals by arms. The reasonable Chinese condemned quite as much the communist excesses; they rallied en masse to the new government of Nankin and encouraged it to continue the repression.

Borodin had to flee to Russia with most of his agents. Mrs Sun-yat-sen followed him, cursing the counter-revolution and announcing that communist propaganda would continue, despite everything, until final success.

Unfortunately, the Nankin government broke up into hostile fractions; the generals no longer obeyed, and Chang-kai-chek retired in disgust to Japan. The Northerners recommenced the war, but without success. As for the Red troops of the government of Wuhan, they were forced back to the

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\(^{1}\) Wuhan, which is not found on the maps, represents the agglomeration of three large neighbouring towns — Wuchang, Hanyang, and Hankow.
south bank of the Yang-tse-kiang, where they established a Soviet government over 50 million inhabitants which, thanks to the support of Moscow, still holds solidly to this day.

The disputes continued within the nationalist government. A second kuomintang was formed at Canton until the day when a communist putsch gave an opportunity for the Nankin troops to intervene.

Chang-kai-chek was then recalled to try to restore unity. He began by strengthening his personal position by marrying the sister of Mrs Sun-yat-sen, which made him related to the most influential politicians; then he set about preparing war against the generals of the North. As technical adviser he called in Colonel Bauer, former aide of Ludendorff.

The campaign, well-prepared politically and militarily, took place in 1928 and ended in the submission of Shantung and of Chih-li. A certain unity was re-established, but large districts remained independent of the government of Nankin.

The Kuomintang, which only numbered 400,000 members, reorganised its power by copying still more the Soviet system, which enables a small party to dominate an immense people by means of the army, the police and an entirely devoted bureaucracy. The principal military leaders distributed the important civil posts among their creatures, and Chang-kai-chek had from them onwards the upper hand over the government.

New laws were decreed. Among other things, it was forbidden on pain of death to try to change the revolutionary line of the party (the three principles of Sun-Yat-sen). Finally, Nankin succeeded in getting itself officially recognised as the capital and foreign Powers sent their representatives there.

In 1929, the Northern generals, Feng-Yu-Hsiang and Yen-Hsi-San, resumed hostilities against Nankin, at first beating the nationalist troops. The Communist armies of the centre of China took advantage of this to march on Canton. The situation appeared desperate and a new government was already installed in Pekin when Chang-kai-chek succeeded by his promises in obtaining the aid of Chang-hsui-liang, dictator of Manchuria, who took possession of Chih-li and advanced as far as Hoang-ho. The two Northern generals retired into the mountains of Shensi and Shansi, and the communist troops returned to their provinces.

At the end of 1930, Chang-kai-chek desired to extirpate communism from the Central Provinces, where he had reigned for three years. He sent a first army of 50,000 men, who were beaten and passed over to the service of the Reds. A second army, much stronger, suffered the same fate at the beginning of 1931.

Chang-kai-chek then took command in person of an army of half a million men and failed, partly owing to the Red defence
and partly owing to the immense inundation of the Yang-tse-Kiang, which stopped all movements of troops. The left wing of the Kuomintang took advantage of the opportunity to form a new independent government at Canton.

Finally, the Sino-Japanese conflict arose in Manchuria, of which we shall speak later.

VI. — Communist propaganda.

1. Hatred of foreigners.

It is the hatred of foreigners which has most favoured communist propaganda in China.

We have already described the abuses of the Powers in this country, and one can understand that it has resulted in animosity against their nationals, who were already regarded as barbarians for their lack of politeness and their disregard of Chinese customs.

The prestige of the whites in Asia had enormously suffered by the victory of little Japan over big Russia, and the World War, in which for more than four years the civilised nations tore one another to pieces and called the Asiatic peoples to their aid, was a still heavier blow to their prestige. The soldiers and coolies who saw Europe on that occasion represented it in a very bad light to their fellow-citizens. The Chinese, moreover were the witnesses in their own country of the terrible misery of the Russian refugees.

Finally, the spread of the cinema in Chinese towns completed the removal from the whites of their former aureole of entirely honorable people. Instead of instructing and educating the people, the films chosen contributed to demoralise them and to give them a very false idea of our civilisation.

The contempt which was shown by all the whites more or less in regard to the yellow peoples became insupportable, especially to those who had studied abroad, where they had been treated as equals. Now, it was these very Chinese who placed themselves at the head of the reform party. It was not to be surprised at if their nationalism turned to hatred of the foreigner. Everything had been done to exasperate them.

Moscow's propaganda had been able to turn this hatred on the part of the leaders and the people to extraordinary account.

Even after the rupture, the Kuomintang aggravated the anti-foreign agitation and organised a boycott, accompanied by violence against the Japanese. In the same spirit, it instituted "days of national humiliation" to recall continually the disagreeable incidents and conflicts with foreigners. It had the
school manuals written in such a way as to exalt the feeling of injustices suffered and to inflame patriotism by means of hatred.

One cannot help thinking that the Kuomintang is exploiting this hatred and that it tries to indicate foreign "scapegoats" to prevent the people from recognising those really responsible for their miseries, namely their own leaders.

2. THE RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTION.

To modernise the Chinese Empire it would have been necessary to introduce progressive reforms, carefully retaining what was good in the older institutions, such as the family spirit and the devotion of the authorities to the general interest. Wise advisers, chosen among the former European residents, would have been very necessary. The reformers, on the contrary, were young men, without experience, thinking they knew everything, who adopted at the outset the most revolutionary ideas, for which their country was in no way prepared.

We have seen that the Kuomintang assured itself the power by the Soviet system, under which a small minority directs the elections according to its own will and governs an immense empire thanks to methods which are anything but democratic. In order to succeed it needed to have a fiercely energetic leader, capable of repressing the personal interests of all his collaborators. The contrary was the case. From the fall of the Empire, the generals took possession of the power, each in his own region, put pressure on the people and never ceased to make war on one another. The Party was continually divided and the politicians, like the military, thought only of enriching themselves.

The Kuomintang thought it right to overthrow all the old traditions and customs. It forbade the teaching of the doctrine of Confucius, which the three principles of Sun-yat-sen were to replace although there was nothing religious about them. It forbade the criticism of these principles on pain of death. It changed the calendar, suppressed the fêtes which the people loved, cut off pigtails, etc. In short, its destruction of the ancient beliefs and habits was a preparatory work which enormously favoured the spread of bolshevism.

Although absolutely powerless, public opinion rose up against this new régime, which was crushing the country with taxes and neglecting its first duty, that of maintaining order and governing in the general interest.

Our men of the Left have always been full of indulgence for this nationalist-revolutionary government. For instance, we heard the late Albert Thomas, Director of the International
Labour Office, describe in glowing terms his visit to the Ministry of Public Works at Nankin, and observe with a smile that 95% of the employees were occupied solely in propaganda. A few months later came the terrible catastrophe of the Yang-tse-Kiang, which inundated 120,000 square leagues of the most fertile land, drowned a mass of victims and occasioned a terrible famine, solely because the State had not maintained the dykes.

We understood then the exasperation of the people who, after twenty years of this régime, are ready to welcome any kind of change. In their eyes, communism could not be worse than the present state of things.

3. THE USE OF THE STUDENTS.

During the last generation, the number of Chinese students has considerably increased, both in China and abroad. It is estimated that there are at present between six and seven million. This would be all to the good if the students were not the object of an intense extremist propaganda, which attracts them far more than their studies, and if they had not clung to the old idea that the State ought to use all of them as officials. Now, despite the enormous increase in the bureaucracy, the administrative places in the Republic can only occupy a small proportion of them and the rest feel aggrieved.

As the communists carry on intense propaganda among them and offer them employment they enter their party in crowds and by their youth give it remarkable vitality. Thanks to them, the proletarians were attracted into the trades unions, which became more and more violent. Thanks to them also, the Red troops were better officered than the others, and they disposed of numerous propagandists to Sovietise the regions conquered.

4. THE AGRARIAN POLICY OF THE COMMUNISTS.

At the beginning, communism had recruited mainly the industrial proletarians and students. As the Red troops progressed, and still more after the rupture, when they were pushed back into the scarcely accessible regions of the Centre and the South, it desired to gain the support of the agriculturists who form the immense majority of the Chinese.

These peasants, formerly nearly all proprietors, had suffered much from the interminable civil wars, from requisitions and from crushing taxes. Most of them were in debt and had had to sell their lands, of which they were still tenants. The new owners were citizens who had become rich by usury or by trade with foreigners; they were naturally detested.

The communists, as always, were well able to exploit these hatreds. As soon as a Red army occupied a region it terrorised
it by the massacre and pillage of the rich proprietors. Then
the propagandists instituted a Soviet in each locality, which
confiscated the large properties and the wealth of the churches
and convents and divided the lands among the poorest agricul-
turists. Deeds of property and leases were destroyed and
boundary marks removed from the fields. All who opposed were
executed. Thus, the communists appeared to the proletarians
of the country-side as redressers of wrongs and benefactors.

The neighbouring towns, terrorised, furnished the money
to avoid sacking and burning; the Red troops could thus
always be paid and stole less from the small peasants than the
nationalists. Thenceforward, they had many sympathisers in
the country districts ready to supply information and render
them services. Moreover, to prevent them from changing alle-
giance the communists tattooed their sign on their hands, which
made them liable to be shot if they fell into the hands of the
Nankin troops.

As everywhere, it was mainly the young whom the commu-
nists sought to win over. The young peasants, who formerly
had no say, were very proud to become more important in the
Soviets than their elders. They appreciated above all the power
to take wives without having first to economise in order to
buy them, often receiving as recompense the daughters of
executed "reactionaries".

In short, it was rare that a Sovietised region returned of
its own accord to the Nationalists after the departure of the
Reds. Those who profited by the new régime feared possible
vengeance, the victims were dead and those in flight dare not
return. Where the old beliefs had been destroyed the Soviets
could count upon jealousy, fear and libertinage to maintain
their power.

It may be remarked that in the North, where the better
disciplined armies had pillaged the country districts less, the
communists had little success among the agricultural popula-
tion.


The nucleus of these armies is formed of former Nationalist
soldiers who passed over with their commanders to the Reds
at the time of the rupture of the Kuomintang with Moscow
in 1927. At each attempt of Nankin to destroy these communist
forces, numerous deserters came to reinforce them. Ruined
peasants and bandits enrolled also, attracted by the bait of
regular pay and authorised pillage. Female troops, specially
told-off to "divert " the Red warriors, also served as a means of
attraction.

The cadres have nearly all received and continue to receive
their military instruction in the schools of the U.S.S.R.; one
finds among them non-Chinese elements (Coreans, Annamites, Mongols, Bouriates, etc.).

The armies are somewhat incongruous. They have relatively little artillery.

Concerning the total effectives of the communist armies estimates vary widely. We believe that the regular soldiers number more than 200,000. Detachments of "Young Communists" and of "Red Militia", moreover, come to reinforce them in times of expeditions. On the other hand, as soon as the Government troops arrive in force these auxiliaries hide their arms and take on the aspect of peaceable workers.

The communist bases of operations are generally the mountainous or wooded districts, lacking means of communication and easy to defend. From these regions set forth, sometimes from one side sometimes from another, marauding expeditions, which have also for object the extension of the Sovietised zones. It is a perpetual guerilla warfare against the troops of Nankin, with the more or less effective aid of the neighbouring populations. But the Red troops avoid pitched battles.

See, on page 29, the annexed map of the communist armies and of the Sovietised regions of China.

6. THE RESULTS.

According to a Chinese official report, the districts entirely Sovietised numbered in 1930:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kangsi</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houpeh</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hounan</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foukien</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwantung</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sze-chuan</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honan</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Surrounding these districts, vast zones within the radius of action of Red military expeditions are more or less bolshevised. In all these regions production has greatly decreased, trade is paralysed and the more distant provinces are cut off from the sea.

Even on the Yang-tse-Kiang, the greatest avenue of penetration into China, which is still in the hands of the Government, the constant attacks on boats have almost stopped traffic on the middle and upper reaches of the river. The trade of the world suffers almost as much as China.

As for the ravages effected by the Communists, the Government valued them on the 5th May 1931 before the "People's Convention" for the Province of Kiang-si alone at:
186,000 persons massacred,
2,100,000 persons forced to take flight,
100,000 houses burned, and
630,000,000 dollars loss of property.

One may judge from these figures what a disaster is represented for China as a whole by the maintenance of communist armies in eight provinces despite all the efforts the Government has made for six years to destroy them.

Unless the civilised countries soon bring effective aid to Nankin, there is a risk that bolshevism will gain the other provinces which are already more or less contaminated, for the U.S.S.R. is sparing no pains to propagate it.

7. The Work of Moscow.

We have several times published detailed information concerning the various commissariats of the U.S.S.R., and on the organisations of the Comintern which are working to bolshevise China like all the other countries. We will not revert to this.

What we must point out is the number of schools of propagandists for the Far East which were immediately created in Siberia, in Russia, and later in China itself. It would be tedious to enumerate them all. In Moscow alone, the official year book for 1931 records for the training of these special agents two universities, nine institutes and study groups, seven journals and reviews. There are, in addition, two propaganda organisations for China, one through the cinema the other through the radio, which utilises the powerful broadcasting stations of Khabarovsk and Vladivostok, which are heard as far as Oceania.

We have already described the decisive influence of Borodin, of Galen (Blücher) and of the numerous civil and military specialists who organised the Kuomintang and the Red army and so cleverly directed the propaganda. Since the rupture, the activity of Moscow has not diminished. Contact is maintained by radio, and specialists and arms continue to flow in. The munition factory of the Red troops at war against Nankin is directed by Russian communists.

On the 7th November 1931 (the anniversary of the Russian revolution) a congress of the communist regions was held at Jouit-chin. It voted the constitution of a Central Government of the Soviets of China, affiliated to the U.S.S.R., with Mai-Tset-Ton a pure communist and adversary of any alliance with any other Chinese party, as president.

Moscow is also taking great pains to multiply its lines of penetration into China. Its best line, the Trans-Siberian, is now supervised by the Japanese; but land lines exist across
Outer Mongolia, which has been Sovietised by force and annexed to the U.S.S.R., and across Chinese Turkestan, where Russian influence tends to supplant that of Nankin. These two regions have become important since the opening of the new strategic line from Turkestan to Siberia (the Turksib), which shortens the journey of the caravans.

On orders from Moscow, the new Central Government of the Chinese Soviets is doing its best to get possession of a seaport, in order to have a direct maritime link with the U.S.S.R. This Spring it nearly took Amoy.

Meanwhile, through its communist organisation of seamen and lightermen, Moscow is preparing to cut off the sea communications of the other countries by strike and by sabotage of the vessels. To the south of Amoy maritime piracy has been resumed.

VII. — Summary of events in Manchuria.

After the Sino-Japanese war of 1895, the European Powers obliged the Japanese to return the Liaotung peninsula to China. A few years later, the Russians installed themselves in their place, fortifying Port Arthur and linking up this fortress with their Trans-Siberian. In this way, without striking a blow, they obtained the upper hand in Manchuria; the Japanese were furious.

The Russians wished to extend their influence also over Corea, and the result was the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5, in which the Japanese lost about 100,000 men before they were finally victorious at Mukden. For the second time, the Powers obliged Japan to restore the conquered territory to China. She was only allowed to retain certain leased territories and the railway from Port-Arthur to Chang-chun, over which she was given the right to place a military guard (about 15,000 men).

During the world war, the Japanese, allies of the Entente, took Kow-chow by force from the Germans. Once again they were obliged to give up this conquest, but their rights in Manchuria were extended.

After having annexed Corea in 1910, the Japanese had become the immediate neighbours of Manchuria. They invested in this province some two milliard yens, creating factories, exploiting iron and coal mines and doing all in their power for the development of the country. 230,000 Japanese, as well as 800,000 Coreans settled there, as well as a mass of Chinese lovers of order, who took advantage of the security assured by the Japanese troops. In the last ten years, ten million Chinese thus went to settle in Southern Manchuria.

In 1912, the chaos of the Chinese revolution had rendered the provinces independent. In Manchuria, an independent
Chinese military leader, Chang-so-lin, seized the power and maintained relative order. He made warlike excursions several times in the neighbourhood of Pekin. His son, Chang-Hsue-Liang, succeeded him. Both of them had continual conflicts with Moscow, which sought to sovietise the country by means of its agents on the Northern railways.

In 1929, Chang-Hsue-Liang lost patience and expelled these agents. After several useless threats, the Red army of General Blücher (the former military adviser of the Kuomintang) invaded Northern Manchuria, committing atrocities on the peaceable Russian refugees and several times beating the Manchu troops. An irremediable defeat forced Chang-Hsue-Liang to sign a capitulation.

Neither the Government of Nankin nor the League of Nations protested.

Upon a diplomatic observation by the United States concerning the Kellogg Pact, outrageously violated by Moscow, the Red army retired. But it took 17,000 soldiers with it as prisoners, whom it only surrendered after several months when all the Soviet agents had resumed their revolutionary activity, which has never ceased since.

Shortly after, during the war between Nankin and the so-called Northern generals, Chang-Hsue-Liang allowed himself to be tempted by the promises of Chang-Kai-Chek and came with an army as far as Hoang-Ho to give the victory to the Nationalists. Nominated vice-Generalissimo, he resided thenceforward at Pekin reigning over the rich province of Chih-li, whilst one of his generals governed for him in Manchuria. Communist propaganda was intensified among the population, ruined in part as they were by the monetary inflation of Chang-Hsue-Liang; troops of bandits organised themselves, and security became precarious.

A night attack against a railway gave a pretext for the Japanese detachments to disperse the numerous Chinese troops which were occupying Manchuria and to take in hand themselves the re-establishment of order.

Some of the authorities had fled in the wake of the military whom they represented, and it was necessary to re-constitute them. A new government was created with the support of the Japanese, and it placed at its head the heir to the Manchu dynasty formerly reigning in China.

The troops of the new State, the Manchukuo, reorganised by Japanese officers, are now collaborating in the re-establishment of order, which will probably take some years yet.

As might have been expected, the Japanese intervention in Manchuria gave rise to protests from Nankin. It occasioned in China assaults against the Japanese and increased the boycott of their goods. To safeguard their interests, the Japanese
landed troops at Shanghai, where they fought bloody battles against the 19th communist army and a few troops of Nankin. The other Powers put an end to hostilities and the Japanese re-embarked.

* * *

To understand the impossible juridical situation which has reigned during recent years in Manchuria one would do well to read through the Lytton report, for certain journalists have given tendentious extracts.

This excellent report concludes with "suggestions", one of which seems to us very dangerous: that of suppressing the entire military force in Manchuria and being content with a simple gendarmerie to maintain order.

The idea of trusting to a pact of non-aggression with the U.S.S.R. as sole guarantee of external security seems to us too na"ive.

We know that three years ago the Kellogg Pact had scarcely been signed when the Red Army invaded Manchuria and destroyed three of Chang-Hsue-Liang's divisions for the mere purpose of forcing the latter to tolerate the propaganda of Moscow. When this propaganda has achieved its aim is it to be supposed that the U.S.S.R. will not profit by it?

The Soviet Government, the alter ego of the Third International, has openly undertaken the task of bolshevising the Far East and has already obtained encouraging success there. One may rest assured that in this strategic region of first importance, the best of its lines of penetration into China and Japan, it will no more respect a pact of non-aggression than it respected the Kellogg Pact.

Lenin declared moral "all that is useful to the Communist Party"; Soviet undertakings therefore ought no longer to deceive anyone. Georgia, if another example must be cited, trusted to the formal recognition of her independence by Moscow (7th May 1920) and a few months later the bolshevik army crushed it and brought it under the yoke.

Further, we may recall that in 1927 the U.S.S.R. publicly undertook "to support with all its strength the proletarians who endeavour to seize the power in their own countries." (Official program of the Third International). Now, the proclamation somewhere in Manchuria of a Soviet republic which would call for the aid of the Red Army is very easy to organise. Between its formal engagement in regard to the proleteriat and a "bourgeois" pact of non-aggression one may be sure that the U.S.S.R. would not hesitate.

In the case of revolution fomented and then militarily supported, which seems to us the most probable form of aggression, the Manchu gendarmerie would certainly be swamped.
In that case what neighbouring troops could the League of Nations call in? Only the Japanese troops would be ready to sacrifice themselves for the defence of that region, in which Japan has vital interests. Is it wise to try to drive them away? And how can they be forced to go after an occupation of 26 years?

We are persuaded that the absence of a good defensive army in Manchuria would offer the U.S.S.R. an irresistible temptation to sovietise that rich country as it has done the great neighbouring province of Outer Mongolia.

We may note that China did not protest in the latter instance, nor did the League of Nations, although it was not a question of a disguised protectorate but of an out and out annexation. This former Chinese province now figures on the maps of the U.S.S.R., the door is closed to international traffic and it is Moscow which has the monopoly of its foreign trade. We must insist on this precedent and on the lesson it conveys.

To sum up: If the Japanese were to leave now, it is not China which would reign in Manchuria but the U.S.S.R.

In our opinion, recent events ought to draw attention to the desperate situation of the Chinese people as a whole, who can no longer be saved from bolshevism except by powerful external aid, in which Japan could usefully collaborate.

VIII. — China and the League of Nations.

Not being diplomats, we will speak the truth plainly: The Chinese Government has been admitted at Geneva and even represented on the Council without fulfilling the conditions necessary to become a member of the League of Nations; all the present difficulties arise out of that.

When the question of the admission of Iraq was brought forward the Council stated, on September 4th 1931, that to enjoy the full sovereignty demanded of the members of the League a country must:

(a) have a settled government and an administration capable of maintaining the regular operation of essential government services;

(b) be capable of maintaining its territorial integrity and political independence;

(c) be able to maintain the public peace throughout the whole territory;

(d) have at its disposal adequate financial resources to provide regularly for normal government requirements;

(e) possess laws and a judicial organisation which will afford equal and regular justice to all.
Now, the Chinese Government does not fulfil any of these five conditions:

(a) The members of Parliament come from one single small party, one-thousandth of the population; the effective power has been seized by the military leaders; all of them exploit the country in a shameful manner.

There is no question of "maintaining the regular operation of essential government services".

(b) A great Chinese province, Outer Mongolia, has been annexed by the U.S.S.R. In the Central Provinces, to the South of the Yang-tse-Kiang, a Soviet power, actively supported by the U.S.S.R., has for several years been carrying on a victorious war against the Government of Nankin. Manchuria and Thibet have declared themselves independent. There is therefore no question of "territorial integrity".

(c) It is unnecessary to prove that there is no question "maintaining public peace".

(d) Despite the crushing arbitrary taxes, the financial leakage is such that there is no money left for the most indispensable public works or to pay the troops, who have to resort to brigandage in order to live. At Geneva itself, for many years, China was not able to pay _one penny_ of its subscription. It owes the League more in arrears than all the other countries put together; yet it is very lightly assessed (it has 110 times as many inhabitants as Switzerland and is not assessed even three times as highly).

(e) In the anarchy which reigns, there is no question either of "regular justice".

In short, it is manifest that this country does not fulfil any of the conditions judged indispensable in order to become a member of the League of Nations; when she was admitted the League either sinned in ignorance or else desired to cherish illusions.

* * *

It is not in any spirit of disparagement that we draw attention to these facts. We admire Chang-kai-chek for having energetically taken up position against communism, and we hope with all our heart that China will be liberated from this scourge and will become free and happy.

The Chinaman proves his great qualities by succeeding everywhere where he is able to work under law and order. That is why he settles down so well in all the Far Eastern colonies, in Manchuria, and in China itself in the European concessions. But, owing to the recent passage from its ancient civilisation to more modern ideas, the country is too unsettled, too divided and too ill-governed to be able to reorganise itself without
powerful external aid. For the same reasons, no one will supply its present government with the necessary credits for re-establishing order, modernising the country and reforming its administration.

The League of Nations is the right organisation to help China; it alone can do it in an absolutely disinterested manner; this service would be in the best interests of all the members without exception.

If the League of Nations succeeded in saving China from its present chaos it would be blessed by the immense majority of the Chinese and it would be the best advertisement for the League itself. The most sceptical Americans could no longer deny its utility. But in order that this intervention should succeed it is necessary to look at things as they are and not be satisfied any longer with words.

* * *

Starting out from the principle that a great military expedition is excluded for every sort of reason, what practical method of procedure is there?

Dr. Legendre, who knows the situation well, had made the following suggestions, which seem to us very reasonable.

He recommends, in the first place, by means of all the foreign fleets, to create a police for all the large waterways and navigable rivers, which in China constitute the chief means of communication and on which stand the chief towns. Thus, without great risk, one could rapidly pacify the principal regions, arrest the progress of the communist armies and localise the conflicts in the interior.

In the meantime, there should be organised, with well-chosen foreign cadres and the best elements of the Chinese troops, a sort of international police, well-armed and absolutely disciplined, capable of re-establishing, little by little, definite order in all the provinces.

It would be necessary at the same time to proceed to the progressive disarmament of the millions of soldiers, more or less brigands, who are desolating the country. Many of them would be very happy to be able to work on the land again without being continually held to ransom and pillaged. They should be given the opportunity. Others would be employed on great works of public utility, in the first place on the upkeep of dykes, long dangerously neglected, on canals for navigation and irrigation, on the repair of the railways and on the creation of an indispensable network of roads. With good roads, order would be easier to maintain and in case of famine the population could be relieved.

We may add that it would be necessary, as quickly as possible, to reorganise the whole system of education, in order to get rid completely of subversive propaganda and render the studies serious.
All this requires time and a great deal of money, but we do not think that the question of credits should be insoluble if China accepts a temporary control over its finances as several European States have done. These great reforms in the public interest, and a good administration would in any case cost the Chinese less than the continuation of the present frauds.

We know that Nankin itself desires to reorganise and modernise the country as we have indicated. Sun-Yat-Sen had planned to do so, but could not find the necessary financial support.

This vast re-organisation should therefore be carried out with tact, with "face-saving", for the Government of Chang-kai-check but with authority and energy. One ought to be able to expect of the patriotism of all the Chinese leaders that, far from putting spokes in the wheels, they would make the population understand the necessity for all these measures. They would also have to react against the anti-foreign movements which they have hitherto encouraged.

Then it would be necessary to help the Government to, withdraw the power from the military chiefs, who abuse it and to reform the Government so that the interests of the people as a whole would be represented. Finally, it would be necessary for the laws and administrative methods to be adapted to those of civilised countries, to the extent that one might, without inconvenience, abrogate the unequal treaties which are so detested by Chinese patriots.

In fact, we demand that the League of Nations place China under the conditions of existence required of all its other members in conformity with the Covenant.

By so doing it would be working not only in the interest of the Chinese people but also for the maintenance of peace. For unless an effort is made now to save this unfortunate people the reigning anarchy will certainly drive them into the arms of the U.S.S.R. and their neighbours will be obliged, whether they like it or not, to defend their vital interests by force of arms. One of them has already begun.

We hope that those countries best informed, owing to the nearness of their colonies—France, England and Holland—will make the League understand its duty to intervene in the sense that we have indicated, for now, if internal and external peace is to be restored in China, it is necessary to act, and not temporise any longer.

According to recent information, Japan is contemplating an understanding with the U.S.S.R. It goes without saying that we regard such a policy as absolutely ill-omened, in the case of Japan as of any other country.
The communist armies in January 1932  
according to a Chinese official report

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ARMIES</th>
<th>CENTRES OF OPERATION</th>
<th>EFFECTIVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st group of armies (3,4 and 12)</td>
<td>Jouikin</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd group of armies (5,8 and 22)</td>
<td>South-West of Fukien</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th army</td>
<td>Lienhwa-Kanchow</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Independent division</td>
<td>Lienhwa</td>
<td>2,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16th army</td>
<td>Hsiuhui</td>
<td>9,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th army</td>
<td>North-East of Kiangsi</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19th army</td>
<td>Frontier Kiangsi-Hupeh-Hunan</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frontier army Kiangsi-Hunan</td>
<td>Chaling</td>
<td>4,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>6th army</td>
<td>Region of Lake Hunghu</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd army</td>
<td>West of Hupeh</td>
<td>12,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th group of armies (1,9 and 14)</td>
<td>Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei</td>
<td>43,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>200,800</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Zones of operations of the communist armies

The great province of Outer Mongolia, which does not figure on this map, has been sovietised by force and annexed to the U.S.S.R.