

CHAN LAU KIT-CHING

From Nothing to Nothing

The Chinese Communist Movement
and Hong Kong, 1921-1936



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INTRODUCTION

Hong Kong ceased to be a British colony on 1 July 1997. It returned to Chinese sovereignty and became part of Communist China. But this was not Hong Kong's first encounter with Chinese Communism. It had been involved with the Chinese Communist Movement ever since its inception in 1921. This book attempts to portray this involvement during the earliest period of the movement, a topic as yet unexplored in the fast expanding field of historical study of Hong Kong.

Rationale of the study

The recent return of British Hong Kong to Communist China made an investigation into the relationship between Hong Kong and the Chinese Communist Movement timely. The fact, albeit little known, is that Hong Kong was greatly involved in the movement from its earliest beginning until its culmination in the establishment of the People's Republic of China. This involvement has hitherto been overlooked and left unrecognized as an important aspect of Hong Kong history of the first half of the twentieth century. An enquiry into the subject is, therefore, not only timely in view of Hong Kong's change of sovereignty, but a long overdue rectification of an oversight in the study of modern Hong Kong history.

Apart from filling a gaping void in twentieth-century Hong Kong history, the fact that Hong Kong served as the headquarters of the Communist movement in Guangdong for many years before the Communist takeover in 1949 naturally means that this study will be a source of enlightenment on the Communist development in the province of which Hong Kong, despite its lengthy status as a British colony, has been an integral part.

Emerging from this is another aspect to the rationale of studying Hong Kong and Guangdong in the Chinese Communist Movement. To understand a national movement of this import and magnitude, it is crucial to look at it from different perspectives, at different levels, and in different localities. It is grossly inadequate simply to study what appear to be the main events which constitute the movement. In the handling of major movements in China, the regional perspective comes naturally to mind, given the size of the country. It is, therefore,

somewhat surprising that there is a dearth of regional studies of the Chinese Communist Movement, especially in the English language.¹

The situation is not substantially better in terms of publications in Chinese, although there appears to the casual eye a good deal more regionally based writings in Chinese on the Chinese Communist Movement. Here it is necessary to differentiate between collections and compilations of sources and materials according to regions on the one hand, and regional studies based on careful and serious research on the other hand. There is an impressive array of publications of the first category, most of which appeared in the past fifteen years or so. There are in fact numerous such publications related to the Chinese Communist Movement in Guangdong. However, there is still little to speak of in terms of major and comprehensive study of the Guangdong movement resulting from careful and serious research. This is certainly true in the case of publications in the English language.

Deeper knowledge of the Communist situation in a particular region invariably enhances understanding of the Communist movement as a whole. Obvious questions emerge in this connection. What was the relationship between the particular situation and the main movement? How was the particular situation affected by the main events of the movement and vice versa? How was one particular situation similar to or different from other particular situations? Translated in more specific terms in this instance, how was the Guangdong Communist Movement shaped by the fact that for many years its headquarters was in the British colony of Hong Kong? The colonial setting was unique in the case of the Communist movement in Guangdong. Did it in any significant way set the Communist development in the province apart from that in the other regions?

Aim and scope

The aim is straightforward: to undertake a historical study of Hong Kong and through it of Guangdong, and the Chinese Communist Movement during the first fifteen years or so after the movement began. There is little fanfare and sophistication in that there is the marked absence of underlying or presumptive hypotheses. Knowledge of this important aspect of Hong Kong and Guangdong history is so scanty that no apology is needed for making this study mainly a fact-

finding exercise which, if properly done, should furnish a broader and firmer basis for further enquiry, investigation, and analysis.

Some time after the project began it was found that what appeared to be a relatively unambitious task of fact finding threatened to be much more daunting than expected. The original intention of the project was to look at Hong Kong and Guangdong in relation to the Chinese Communist Movement during the entire pre-1949 period. The initial design was also to study the Communist mechanism in Hong Kong and Guangdong at every level of operation and in the different localities. With the later realization that the scope and approach envisaged would far exceed the limits of the author's energy and competence and the publisher's tolerance of publication length, two changes were reluctantly conceded. The first was the reduction of the period covered. Instead of dealing with the years 1921-49, the study will end at 1936, and the rationale for the new dates will be given in the following section on periodization.

The second change was the abandonment of the idea of looking systematically at different levels of the Guangdong Communist machinery and Communist activities in different parts of the province and different localities in Hong Kong. With the new approach attention is in the main focussed on the highest level of operation between Hong Kong and the Chinese Communist Party Central (Executive) Committee (hereafter CCP Central)* on the one hand and Hong Kong and the Communist bases in Guangdong on the other, especially during major events and crises and at times of key policy changes either of the Chinese Communist Movement as a whole or in the Guangdong region in particular. To speak in more concrete terms, using the Communist situation in Hong Kong itself as an example, there will be no in-depth study of each of the Communist cells or branches, in the various factories, dockyards and other work places, and in the different areas in the territory. The same is true when dealing with the situations in Guangzhou and the major areas of Communist presence in other parts of Guangdong. In short, there is still much room beyond this book for further examination of the Communist developments in Hong Kong and Guangdong during the first fifteen years of the Chinese Communist Movement.

* The Committee was renamed the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee from June 1927.

Periodization

This project began with the aspiration to cover the entire pre-1949 era. Despite the expediency of cutting short the period, this section still attempts to deal with the periodization of 1921-49. These years, broadly speaking, fell into five distinct periods: 1921-7, 1927-36, 1936-41, 1941-5, and 1945-9. It is hoped that a brief look at each of the five periods will provide better contextualization for the years 1921-36 with which this study is primarily concerned.

The earliest period of 1921-7 was in fact further divisible. During the years 1921-4 the basic organizational structure for Communist development was laid down in Guangdong from where it was extended to the British colony of Hong Kong. It was a humble beginning, characterized generally by lack of manpower and funds both in Guangdong and Hong Kong. Yet this lack-lustre and unpromising start was somehow sufficient to enable the Communists in the two places to take good advantage of the extraordinary political and diplomatic events in the following two years to bolster significantly the position of not only the Communist movement in Guangdong, but that of the Chinese Communist Movement as a whole. The unusual happenings referred to here were encapsulated in the historic Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott in 1925-6 which has been credited by many historians, especially Chinese Communist historians, as an important milestone in the early consolidation of Communist influence in China.

The year 1927 marked the beginning of a new phase of Communist development in Guangdong and, especially, Hong Kong. The Guomindang (hereafter GMD) and Jiang Jieshi decided to split with the CCP and large scale anti-Communist purges were conducted all over the country. In Guangdong, the Party Purification Movement was launched in mid April. The Communist position in the province was severely dislodged and it became so endangered that the Guangdong Communist leadership was forced to make the decision to relocate the provincial headquarters from Guangzhou to Hong Kong. Consequently, unbeknown to many, Hong Kong was in fact the centre of Communist activities in Guangdong during most of the period from 1927 to 1936.

During the decade 1927-36 both Guangdong and British Hong Kong were, in Communist terminology, in the "White Region" where

the so-called "White Terror" reigned. Despite the severe dislocation caused by the anti-Communist purge in the spring of 1927, the rest of the year registered an extraordinarily high level of activities on the part of the Guangdong Communists with their central base in Hong Kong. The two main Communist attempts at gaining local control were unquestionably the Nanchang Uprising in August and the Guangzhou Uprising in December which, albeit unsuccessful, have since been regarded as major and significant events in the history of the Chinese Communist Movement.

Communist activities in Guangdong in the late 1920s and early 1930s were largely associated with the Li Lisan Line and the Wang Ming Line. The Guangdong Communist situation had become extremely isolated and had significantly deteriorated from an already untenable position by the time of the Long March. By 1936 Communist development in Hong Kong and Guangdong had almost come to a complete halt.

What constituted the "White Terror" in specific terms during the decade 1927-36 when Hong Kong was the nerve centre of the Guangdong Communist Movement? There is also the question whether the "White Terror" actually existed in Hong Kong or whether it was simply a Communist cliché loosely applied to the British colony. The answer is clear-cut. The "White Terror" was as real in the British colony as it was in Guangdong. For the most part of 1927-36 Guangdong was under the rule of Li Jishen and Chen Jitang. While both Li and Chen were not known for their friendship for Jiang Jieshi, they all were staunchly anti-Communist and their administrations spared no effort whatsoever to purge the Communists and destroy their aspirations.

The British Hong Kong administration in the same period was certainly no less hostile towards the Communists. The most overtly and blatantly anti-Communist governor was undoubtedly Sir Cecil Clementi who became governor in the midst of the colony's colossal crisis caused by the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott. It is not unreasonable to believe that the close relationship which developed between Clementi and Li Jishen largely stemmed from their common detestation of the Communists. After the departures of the two men from the local scene, the Hong Kong and Guangdong governments continued to co-operate intimately in capturing Communists and suppressing Communist activities.

During the first few years of the 1930s there were many police raids on the Communist hideouts in Hong Kong, many of which were carried out with information furnished by the Guangdong authorities or their agents in the colony. There were also numerous arrests of Communists, prominent among whom were Deng Zhongxia and Cai Hesun. Deng was fortunate in that he was eventually released. Most, however, were less fortunate. Their most common fate was expulsion from Hong Kong. Those expelled to Guangdong were in many instances arrested, interrogated, tortured, and then executed. Cai Hesun, a renowned and gifted Communist leader who had been active in France together with Zhou Enlai and others, belonged to this tragic category. It is almost certain that if Cai had not been arrested in Hong Kong and executed in Guangdong, and if he had lived longer, he would have achieved much greater prominence in the history of Chinese Communism. The British colony of Hong Kong played a substantial role in Chinese Communist martyrdom in Guangdong.

The decade 1927-36 was followed by the two war periods of 1937-41 and 1941-5. By the eve of the Sino-Japanese War the much battered Chinese Communist Movement was gasping its last breaths. As it turned out it owed a new lease of life largely to the war. Under great pressure from within China the GMD had to concede to the so-called Second United Front with the Communists to fight against the common national foe, Japan. Communist activities in Hong Kong and Guangdong between Marco Polo Bridge and Pearl Harbor need to be understood against three background features: first, the Second United Front instituted shortly after the outbreak of war; second, Britain's policy of neutrality which, in Hong Kong, worked much more to the advantage of China than Japan; and third the continued enmity between the GMD and the CCP behind the facade of the united front. In short, the interaction of these three factors resulted in a drastic rise of the level of Communist activities in the region.

Communists such as the son of Liao Zhongkai, Liao Chengzhi, Xue Shangshi, Wang Junyu, Lian Guan, Zhang Yunyi, Yun Guangying, Zhang Wenbin and others made substantial contributions to the resurrection of the Communist position in Guangdong where the number of Communists had been drastically reduced. There seemed to be only seventy to eighty Communists each in Hong Kong, Guangzhou, and the Pearl River Delta, nearly two hundred in the Chaomei region, and "several hundreds" in the Qiongya region.²

Owing to the grave manpower and resource constraints, revival work had of necessity to concentrate on Hong Kong and Guangzhou in the first place. At the end of March 1936 Liu Shaoqi, as head of the CCP Central Northern Bureau initiated the task of revival of Communist work in the south. For this purpose Liu sent Xue Shangshi and Wang Junyu to Hong Kong and Guangzhou in the summer. In September Xue set up in Hong Kong the CCP Southern Temporary Working Committee which, in turn, gave approval for the establishment of the Guangzhou Municipal Committee and the Hong Kong Working Committee. The two committees came into existence in December.³

In September the following year the CCP despatched Zhang Wenbin to Hong Kong to reinforce the Communist revival in Guangdong. Under his guidance the CCP Southern Temporary Working Committee was replaced in October by the CCP Southern Working Committee which moved to Guangzhou in February 1938. Two months later the working committee was restructured as the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee, thus marking the end of more than a decade of seeking refuge by the top organization of the Guangdong Communist machinery in the British colony of Hong Kong.⁴

However, Hong Kong remained a centre of Communist activities. Liao Chengzhi and Lian Guan went to Hong Kong where one of their first tasks was to establish, with British and GMD approval, the Eighth Route Army Hong Kong Office, early in 1938. In order to avoid openly defying Britain's alleged neutrality in the war, the office operated in Queen's Road Central behind the facade of a tea business called the Guangdong China Company. Liao maintained close contact with Guangzhou where an office of the Eighth Route Army was also set up.⁵ The term Communist activities assumed a new meaning in this and later periods. Whereas before Communist activities were in the main carried out by the Communists, by this time, as a result of the Communist anxiety to expand the support base, the term "Communist activities" came to be applied also to the actions of the so-called "fellow travellers" who, though not being Communists, were willing to associate themselves with the Communist cause for different reasons. Generally speaking, the major reasons for alignment with the Communists were to bolster national resistance to Japan during the war, and to undermine GMD autocratic rule when war was over.⁶

Communists activities in Hong Kong between Marco Polo Bridge and Pearl Harbor can broadly be categorized into three groups. They

were quite different in form if not in purpose. The first type of work was anti-Japanese literature and journalism. Mainly to escape from GMD opposition and suppression, many pro-Communist and leftist writers and journalists flocked to Hong Kong, including Mao Dun, Zou Taofen, Liu Yazi, to name only a few. All of a sudden Hong Kong was bubbling with literary activities in support of China's war effort. In March 1939 the Chinese National Anti-Japanese Literary Association Hong Kong Branch was formed to co-ordinate these activities.⁷ Apart from writers many veteran journalists congregated in Hong Kong. Some of them, such as Jin Zhonghua, Fan Changjiang, Qiao Guanhua, and Liao Mosha, founded the Hong Kong Institute of Chinese News on 24 April, 1939 for the training of a younger generation of journalists. Consequently the years 1937-41 have often been referred to as the "golden era" in the cultural history of Hong Kong.⁸

The second category of Communist activities in Hong Kong in the same period centred on Song Qingling, widow of Sun Yixian. Song headed the Defend China League in Hong Kong, the primary goal of which was to support the Communist forces in China in their fight against Japan. The league operated openly in Hong Kong along three main lines: propaganda for the Communist war effort; appeal both inside and outside Hong Kong for money and other forms of assistance especially medical and military supplies, for the New Fourth Army and the Eighth Route Army; and transportation and delivery of aid to the intended recipients in China.⁹ Liao Chengzhi of the Eighth Route Army Hong Kong Office naturally worked closely with Song and the Defend China League.¹⁰

The third kind of activities were those of the Communist guerrilla forces, mainly the ones operating in the East River Region. In the main the East River guerrilla forces were chiefly concerned with the collection of relief materials and funds, and with recruitment in Hong Kong. As far as recruitment was concerned, there were two obvious target groups. There was the expected effort to recruit among the local residents, especially those of East River origin. This aspect of work enjoyed the active co-operation of the local Communism groups.¹¹ The East River guerrilla forces were also anxious to recruit overseas Chinese, *Huaqiao*, youth from different parts of Southeast Asia, such as Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Thailand, Vietnam, and the Philippines. In this connection the main functions of the Hong Kong Communists,

especially the Eighth Route Army Hong Kong Office, were to receive the new recruits on their arrival in the colony, and to furnish them with as much necessities and supplies for themselves and the guerrilla forces as possible before sending them off to the East River Region.¹²

Communist activities in Hong Kong entered another distinct phase after the outbreak of the Pacific War. Hong Kong was under Japanese rule during 1941-5 and it is generally assumed that the Communists ceased all operation in those years. This, however, is an erroneous view. The Communist presence persisted throughout the Japanese occupation when the East River guerrillas, which came to be called the Guangdong People's Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Forces East River Column, commonly referred to simply as the East River Column, at the end of 1943, continued to be active in Hong Kong. Two distinct yet uneven periods are clearly discernible in this respect. During the first few months after the fall of Hong Kong, the preoccupation of the guerrillas, presumably under order from the CCP Central, was to evacuate from Hong Kong political personages, writers, journalists, and other influential people who were sympathetic with or useful to the Communist cause.¹³ For the rest of the occupation the guerrilla presence continued in Hong Kong in the founding in March 1942 of the Hong Kong Kowloon Independent Brigade, the primary mission of which was to sabotage the Japanese position in Hong Kong, and to rescue prisoners of war from the concentration camps in conjunction with the Communist guerrillas operating in the vicinity and the British Army Aid Group, a British intelligence organization working in the region.¹⁴ In recent years a considerable amount of literature has been published on the concentration camp aspect of the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong. Most of the writings are from the point of view of the Western ex-prisoners of war. These publications will be most beneficially balanced by some understanding of the Chinese Communists' contribution to the relief of the tremendous hardship and adversity caused by the Japanese militarists especially during the last stage of war.

The outbreak of civil war in China shortly after Japan's defeat and the unexpected speed with which the Communists swept southward brought about a flurry of Communist activities in Hong Kong. For some months after the war Communist activities continued in the main to be the work of the East River guerrillas. A significant expression of their influence in this period was the publication, in mid November

1945, of *Zheng Bao* (Upright Newspaper), which has since been called the first party paper in Hong Kong.¹⁵ The predecessor of *Zheng Bao* was in fact the *Qianjin Bao* (Advance Newspaper) which was the organ of the East River Column.¹⁶

The post-war Communist position in Hong Kong and Guangdong received a major boost with the arrival of Fang Fang, a veteran and energetic Communist leader, in the summer of 1946. Fang had earlier been assigned by the CCP Central to the task of overseeing party development and organization in south China generally and was assisted by such well known Communist figures as Zhang Hanfu, Xia Yan, Xu Dixin, Qiao Guanhua and others. With the unexpected and rapid spread of Communist victory, Hong Kong became an increasingly important operational base for the Communists. In May 1947 the CCP Central Hong Kong Bureau was founded with Fang Fang as Secretary and with Yin Linping, Zhang Hanfu, Liang Guang, Pan Hannian, Xia Yan and Lian Guan holding the other key positions of the bureau. The bureau's nomenclature was clearly misleading with its jurisdiction over the Communist structures not only in all of Guangdong and Guangxi, but in parts of Fujian, Jiangxi, Hunan, Yunnan, and Guizhou. The bureau was more aptly renamed the CCP Central South China Bureau in February 1949.¹⁷

Under the leadership of Fang Fang, the Hong Kong bureau made significant headway in four areas of work which substantially contributed to the final Communist victory in China in October 1949. The first was propaganda work. The intention was to develop Hong Kong into a propaganda base to reach three different target groups: the local people in Hong Kong, the people in China, and overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia and other parts of the world. In those days when the printed word played a predominant role in mass communication, newspapers were heavily depended on for the purpose of propaganda. Consequently, this aspect of Communist work in post-war Hong Kong was greatly bolstered by the founding of the Hong Kong Branch of the China News Agency in May 1947.¹⁸ Other important Communist efforts in this connection included the revival of the *Huashang Bao* (Chinese Merchants Newspaper) and the founding of the *Jingji Daobao* (The Economic Guide Newspaper) later in the same year, the publication of the weekly *Qunzhong Zazhi* (The Masses Magazine), and the launching of the Hong Kong editions of the *Dagong Bao* (The

Great Justice Newspaper), *Wenhui Bao* (Cultural Newspaper) in 1948.¹⁹

During the several crucial years before the Communist takeover, the Communist leadership in Hong Kong was entrusted with yet another responsibility which contributed substantially to the Communist success, especially in south China. Cadres were regularly assembled in the relative safety of the British colony where they received training before being despatched to work in various locations. The trained agents were then mostly despatched to destinations on the Guangdong border, and in the provinces of Sichuan, Guizhou, and Yunnan where they were to look for opportunities to organize the so-called "military struggles" to prepare the ground for the arrival of the Liberation Army from the north.²⁰

The third important mission of the CCP Central Hong Kong Bureau, later the CCP Central South China Bureau, was united front work to attain at least the acquiescence, if not outright support, of the many political personages who for various reasons had congregated in Hong Kong. While these people were not Communists, they were, however, mostly anti-GMD, and consequently affectionately regarded by the Communists as "fellow travellers". A good number of them were members of the China Democracy League, a federation of political parties which were of non-GMD and non-CCP affiliations. The Communist tactic in this area was not so much to convert members of the other political parties to Communism, but rather to help them to better organize themselves so as to be able to put up a more aggressive anti-GMD stance. Communist success in this respect was reflected in the fact that many of the targeted people eventually left Hong Kong for China at the end of the period and assumed various roles in the newly established Communist regime.²¹ One concrete expression of co-operation in Hong Kong was the Dade College, a joint project of the Communists and the so-called People of the Democratic Parties. The college was founded in the autumn of 1946 and, not unexpectedly, closed down by the British Hong Kong government in February 1949.²²

Finally, more than any previous periods, the post-war years witnessed a much more organized and consistent effort of the Chinese Communists at party work and recruitment among the local populace in Hong Kong. The emphasis was clearly on the workers and students. Communist cells were organized in factories and leftist schools were

set up. There was an obvious overlap of Communist labour and educational activities in that a great deal of energy was invested in the establishment and operation of schools for workers' children. Communist work in the labour and educational sectors represented perhaps one of the most serious causes of friction between the Communists and the British Hong Kong administration during the period.

This book deals with the first two of the five periods just outlined in terms of Hong Kong and the Chinese Communist Movement until the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. There was clear continuity between 1921-7 and 1927-36 in that it was in the first period that the Communist foundation was first laid in Hong Kong and Guangdong, and it was on this platform that Communist activities in the second period were staged. It was towards the end of the second period that whatever was left of the foundation and what was on it were virtually effaced, hence the title of the book *From Nothing to Nothing*. There was, therefore, a deep divide between the years 1921-36 and 1937-49. A searching question is whether Communist activities in Hong Kong and Guangdong in the first era, while unquestionably worthy of study, had any bearing on that in the second.

Sources and materials

The question of sources is dealt with at the outset in the Introduction because the availability and reliability of sources have generally been matters of particular concern with regard to research on Chinese Communist history. The crux of the problem here is not the availability of sources in general, which are plentiful, but of documentary and archival materials on the topic in question.

Contrary to initial apprehension, relevant documentary and archival materials are within easy reach in that they are in fact mostly in print. At the time when the research project was launched, the three major collections of archival and documentary materials in relation to the activities of the CCP and the Chinese Socialist, later Communist, Youth League, hereafter CSYL and CCYL respectively, in Guangdong, including Hong Kong, were being published. It was fortunate that the parts of the collections that cover the period concerned were then already published. The smallest of the three collections consists of three volumes, the first two of which are of

direct relevance: Guangdong Provincial Archives and CCPGPC Research Office for Party History, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1921-1926* (Research Materials on the Party and League in the Guangdong Region During 1921-1926), and *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934* (Research Materials on the Party and League in the Guangdong Region during 1927-1934) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1986).

The second collection is much larger and is devoted exclusively to the activities of the youth league. The period under discussion in this book is covered in the first eight volumes of the collection: Guangdong Provincial Archives and Guangdong Research Committee for History of Youth Movement (eds), *Guangdong Qingnian Yundong Lishi Ziliao* (Historical Materials on the Youth Movement in Guangdong) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1986-90). The third collection is the largest, relevant documents are found in the first fifteen volumes: Central Archives and Guangdong Provincial Archives (eds), *Guangdong Geming Lishi Wenjian Huiji 1921-1949* (A Collection of Historical Documents on Revolutions in Guangdong) (Guangzhou: Central Archives, 1982-90).

While the three collections taken together represent an impressive wealth of archival and documentary evidence on the subject, it is a natural tendency of a serious historian to look beyond the printed words and turn to the actual archives lest important documents are overlooked. After extensive consultation with Chinese scholars familiar with the archives in China, the Guangdong Provincial Archives, which was involved in the edition of all the three collections mentioned above, was pinpointed as the archives of primary importance. The conclusion was made on the basis that the CCP Central Archives were generally firmly closed to the average researcher, and that the Chinese Second Historical Archives in Nanjing, according to the experts who knew the archives well, did not appear to contain much of importance on the subject of this book. To date, the party archives remain inaccessible. To commemorate Hong Kong return's to China, a recent article in *Minguo Dang'an* (Archives of the Republic of China), a journal published under the auspices of the Nanjing archives, devotes itself to the holdings on Hong Kong during 1896-1949 in the archives. The article clearly confirms the correctness of the judgement that the archives are not of particular relevance to the research project in question.²³ A visit to the

Guangdong Provincial Archives ended in both relief and disappointment: relief in that the three collections in fact contain almost the entire bulk of the archives' holding of relevant materials; and disappointment resulting from the unrequited desire for further enlightenment. There is, however, one body of information in the archives which has not been available elsewhere. The hitherto unpublished material throws valuable light on Hong Kong's role in Chinese Communist martyrdom in Guangdong during the period, a theme in Hong Kong history which has escaped attention thus far.

Apart from archival and documentary sources, many other types of materials have been published on the subject in large quantities. Special mention needs to be made of the numerous biographical or autobiographical accounts published in recent years. Publications of this nature are generally received with scepticism due to various reasons, the most frequently cited of which is concern for accuracy. It is commonly felt that the considerable time gap in many cases between the occurrence of a specific event and the recording of the event is an almost certain guarantee of some degree of memory loss which, of course, has an adverse bearing on the reliability of the records. Fortunately, the effect of this reasonable presupposition is drastically minimized in this case by the sheer volume of the publications available. It is, therefore, not difficult to achieve reasonable accuracy by comparing and balancing the many records with each other. Reliability is further attained through setting these secondary materials against the vast body of Chinese Communist documents.

Before leaving the discourse on Chinese materials, reference must be made to a recent publication which was of immense importance in the writing of this book and will, without a doubt, be the same to later research on the Chinese Communist Movement in Guangdong. This invaluable book, entitled *Zhongguo Gongzhandang Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao* (Materials on the History of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Organizations), was jointly edited by the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Organization Section, CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Commission for Collecting Data on Party History, and, expectedly, the Guangdong Provincial Archives. The first volume of this work covers the period 1921-49 and was published by the Zhonggong Dangshi Chubanshe in Beijing in 1994. The value of the work lies in unravelling the mystery of the organizational maze of the Communist structure in Guangdong and Hong Kong. Due to the

turbulent nature of Chinese Communist history in the 1920s and 1930s, there were numerous rapid changes in the names and numbers of organizations and personnel of the Guangdong Communist structure at different levels and in different localities. The timely appearance of the publication provided welcome relief to the tormenting headache caused by these dizzying changes which have to be sorted out in the first place before giving a credible and readable account of the Communist situation in Guangdong and Hong Kong.

While still on the subject of confusion over names and rapid organizational changes, and the immense difficulties arising from them, this is perhaps an appropriate place to clarify the names of two bodies of the central Chinese Communist organizational hierarchy: the CCP Central and the Chinese Communist Party Central Political Bureau (hereafter Politburo). After each CCP national congress, a new CCP Central was elected. The Politburo, or Provisional Politburo as the case might be, was made up of some members of the CCP Central, and the Politburo's function was allegedly to facilitate the execution of the policies of the CCP Central. Both the CCP Central and the Politburo figure prominently in this study in that the Guangdong Communist leaders were responsible to them as the highest level of command in the entire Chinese Communist structure and were, therefore, in close communication with them.

Unfortunately, the co-existence of the CCP Central and the Politburo gives rise to considerable bewilderment in following some of the events dealt with in this book. The Politburo or Provisional Politburo had an irregular existence during the years concerned. Its membership, as previously explained, not insignificantly overlapped with that of the CCP Central. In order to avoid confounding the readers, many writers on Chinese Communism in this period refer to the CCP Central and Politburo loosely and interchangeably. However, notwithstanding the understandable desire for clarity, it is not appropriate to replace the Politburo with the CCP Central when the Politburo is specified as the body which made or announced a certain decision, or to which a certain letter or document from Hong Kong or Guangdong was addressed. It is this insistence on the correct separation of the two bodies which accounts of the seeming confusion in certain parts of this work where both the CCP Central and the Politburo are referred to.

In view of Hong Kong's political status as a British colony, one naturally expects the existence of British official sources and materials. While the British government generally regards Communist activities in Hong Kong as a sensitive subject, there is, on the whole, freer access to materials before 1949. These materials are not confined to the familiar Colonial Office (CO) 129 series on Hong Kong. Another important, yet less well known, Colonial Office series on Hong Kong is CO 537, which is particularly rich in materials relating to Communist activities in Hong Kong during the late 1940s, just prior to the Communist takeover in 1949. Other relevant minor Colonial Office series are CO 131 and CO 132.

Apart from sources emanating from the Colonial Office, which was of course the British government office chiefly responsible for the administration of Hong Kong, information is diffused in the files of the War Office (WO 106, WO 208), and the Admiralty (Adm 125) which were involved in the compilation of intelligence with regard to the Hong Kong/China region. The Foreign Office, in its dealing with China, especially with Guangdong through its consular staff, is a major repository of relevant materials (FO 371, FO 228).

However, the British government sources mentioned above are not particularly useful when dealing with the period 1921-36. Apart from the Hong Kong Seamen's Strike in 1922, the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott in 1925-6, and the Guangzhou Uprising in 1927, information on this earliest period of Communist history in the area is relatively scattered, if not sparse, in terms of British government documentation. This is probably because Communist activities outside of the strikes, where the Communists claimed to have played a significant role, and the short-lived Communist uprising were, in the main, secretive and dispersed. The colonial police force was entrusted with the task of combating and containing Communism. However, access has yet to be gained to the files of the Hong Kong Police, especially of the Political Bureau, renamed Special Branch in 1932, which was the sub-department charged with the responsibility of curbing the spread of Communism since the end of the 1920s. In any case, it has been widely circulated that these police files no longer exist in that they were destroyed during the Japanese occupation.

CONCLUSION

The first fifteen years or so of Chinese Communism in Guangdong and Hong Kong concluded with its virtual disappearance, marking an indisputable end to a period of the Chinese Communist Movement in the region. In fact the end was sufficiently clear-cut and definite as to prompt the question if this earliest period of Guangdong Communist history had any bearing whatsoever on the later Communist development in the province. It seems not unreasonable to suggest that by 1936 there was virtually nothing significant left of Communism in Guangdong. The Communist situation was rebuilt almost from scratch, taking advantage of the opportunities provided by the escalation of Japanese aggression which culminated in the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. The Guangdong case was yet another testimony of the tremendous weakness of the Chinese Communist position before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War and it raises the question if later Chinese Communist history would have been the same if there had not been the breathing space furnished by Japanese imperialism.

While the years 1921-36 perhaps cannot be claimed as the foundation of the later periods of Communist history in Guangdong and Hong Kong, they nonetheless were the earliest and important years of the history and, as such, are eminently worthy to be studied and understood. The Communist history in Guangdong and Hong Kong in this period, in many ways, did not form a significant deviation from the main history of the Chinese Communist Movement as a whole as it is generally known up to the present time. The Communists in Guangdong and Hong Kong responded to, took advantage of, received impetus from, or were restrained by more or less the same factors, elements, or conditions as Communists in other parts of China.

In more specific terms, these factors, elements, conditions and so on generally fell into two categories: those outside of the Chinese Communist Movement and those within. Nationalism, warlordism, labour activism, and anti-Communism reigned supreme in the external category. Internally, the CCP went through distinct stages of development: the first entente with the GMD, the anti-Communist Party Purification Movement, the Li Lisan Line, and the even more

radical Wang Ming Line. These events shaped and moulded Communist activities during the period all over China, including Guangdong and Hong Kong.

Consequently, the Guangdong/Hong Kong Communist position was from many perspectives a microcosm of the Chinese Communist Movement within the time scale in question. The immediate question that springs to mind here is the significance of Hong Kong's status as a British colony, bearing in mind that for most of 1921-36 Hong Kong was first a centre of Communist activism, and later the headquarters of the entire Guangdong Communist machinery. These facts might well create the impression of a relative haven for the Communists under the British colonial administration of Hong Kong. It might reasonably have appeared that the so-called "White Terror" since the Party Purification Movement in the spring of 1927 was much less terrifying in the British colony than in Guangdong which on the whole was under different and successive anti-Communist regimes.

While it might be true that there was perhaps greater latitude for Communist activities in Hong Kong, the danger posed by the British colony to the Communists did not seem to be significantly less than that they encountered in Guangdong. It has been seen that there was in fact such close co-operation between the British Hong Kong and Guangdong authorities that for the Communists being caught in Hong Kong was little different from being caught elsewhere in Guangdong. In most cases, the same terrible fate awaited the Communists arrested in Hong Kong and handed over to the Guangdong authorities as the Communists captured in Guangdong itself.

The negligible difference between Guangdong and Hong Kong as breeding grounds for Communism probably accounted for the fact that despite the unique feature of using a British colony as its headquarters, the Communist movement in Guangdong suffered more or less the same ignominious outcome as it did generally in other parts of China on the eve of the Sino-Japanese War. It should be of considerable interest to compare Hong Kong and Shanghai which was the seat of the CCP Central for most of the years under discussion and to see the impact of the presence of the foreign concessions, especially the International Concession in which the British predominated, on the Communist operation.

Despite the dissipation of the Communist movement in Guangdong and Hong Kong by 1936, a lasting contribution was made to Chinese

Communism through the persistent maintenance of the clandestine Red Underground Communication Line. It is clear that the communication line played a vital role in the ultimate survival of the Central Soviet Region from which the Communists fought their incredibly arduous way to Yan'an. Hong Kong was a crucial link in the communication line and was pivotal in its operation.

Nearly sixty years later Hong Kong again figured prominently in a communication network, this time the underground escape route through which leaders of the Tian'anmen Incident and other political dissidents made their way to safety and to the West. Certain groups in Hong Kong seemed to have played a central part in setting up and maintaining the operation of the route which the Mainland authorities were anxious to uncover and destroy. It is not unreasonable to surmise that a good part of the ire directed at Hong Kong by Communist China was caused by fear based on past experience. It was highly unlikely that Li Peng could have been ignorant of the Red Underground Communication Line, bearing in mind his close relationship with Zhou Enlai, Li Fuchun and others who used it to reach the Central Soviet Region in the early 1930s. Hong Kong was important then. Hong Kong was again important in 1989. But there was one big difference: whereas in the 1930's Hong Kong's role was to the advantage of the Communists, the exact opposite was true in 1989.

Partly because of the part Hong Kong played in the escape of the so-called democracy leaders, and partly because of other pro-democracy gestures in the British colony, on numerous occasions after the Tian'anmen Incident China denounced Hong Kong for becoming a base for subversive activities and vowed to put a stop to this dangerous course. China did not have to tolerate this situation for long. The change of sovereignty on 1 July, 1997 would bring to a definite end the long tradition whereby Hong Kong had served as a haven to Chinese political fugitives. It is well known that in the past Kang Youwei, Sun Yixian, Chen Jiongming and many others had found refuge in Hong Kong, or through the colony safety in other places. What was perhaps most galling to the Chinese Communists was that the tradition had not in the main worked to their benefit. On assuming the sovereignty of Hong Kong, this state of affairs must be terminated.

NOTES

Introduction*

*Notes are only provided for the parts which will not be dealt with later in the rest of the book

1. There is a dearth, but not total absence, of regional studies of the Chinese Communist Movement in the English language. In fact there are studies on Guangdong itself, although they are mostly on Communist work among the peasants in the province: Roy Hofheinz, Jr., *The Broken Wave: The Chinese Communist Peasant Movement, 1922-1928* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977); Robert B. Marks, *Rural Revolution in South China: Peasants and the Making of History in Haifeng County, 1570-1930* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984); and Fernando Galbiati, *Peng Pai and the Hai-Lu-Feng Soviet* (Stanford: University Press, 1985).

2. ZGS Organization Section, GDZ, and GD (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao* (Materials on the History of Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Guangdong Provincial Organizations) (Beijing: Zhonggong Dangshi Chubanshe, 1994), vol. 1, 268.

3. Many useful articles are found in GZDY (ed.), *Guangzhou Wai Xian Gongwei Shiliao* (Materials Relating to the Working Committees of the Counties around Guangzhou) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1988). Huang Jianxin, "Kangzhan Chuqi Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei de Tongyi Zhanxian Gongzuo" (The Work of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee United Front during the Early Period of the War of Resistance), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 14 (1988), 198; and GZDY (ed.), *Zhonggong Guangzhou Dangshi Dashiji* (Major Events of the CCP in Guangzhou) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1991), 82-5.

4. ZGS Organization Section, GDZ, and GD (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 270-1. Also see Yin Linping, who worked closely with Zhang Wenbin in Guangdong during the period, "Jinian Zhang Wenbin Tongzhi" (Commemorating Comrade Zhang Wenbin), *Nanfang Ribao*, 20 August, 1984; and Deng Geming, "Huiyi Dang de Hao Ganbu Zhang Wenbin Lieshi" (In Memory of the Good Cadre: Martyr Zhang Wenbin), *Guangzhou Ribao*, 26 August, 1984.

5. Liang Shangyuan, "Balujun Xianggang Barshichu Jianli Neiqing" (Details of the Establishment of the Eighth Route Army Hong Kong Office) in Liang Shangyuan (ed.), *Zhonggong zai Xianggang* (The CCP in Hong Kong) (Hong Kong: Wide Angle Press, 1989), 1-14. Also see Guan Guoxuan, "Liao Chengzhi Qiren Qishi" (The Person and Works of Liao Chengzhi), *Zhuanji Wenxue (Taipei)* 254 (1983), 17.

6. See, for example, Song Chun et al., *Zhongguo Xinminzhu Zhuyi Geming Tongyi Zhanxianshi* (The History of the New Democratic Revolution United Front) (Changchun: Dongbei Shifan Daxue Chubanshe, 1987); and ZSTY et al. (eds.), *Fengyu Tongzhou: Zhongguo Gongchandang tong Minzhu Dangpai Tuanjie Hezuo de Lishi Daolu* (In the Same Boat: The Historical Path of Co-operation between the CCP and Democratic Parties) (Shanghai: Baijia Chubanshe, 1990).

7. The Hong Kong sojourns of Mao Dun, Zou Taofen, and Liu Yazhi are respectively seen in Cha Guohua, *Mao Dun Nianpu* (The Chronology of Mao Dun) (Wuhan: Changjiang Wenyi Chubanshe, 1985), 210-11, 215-31, 245-60; Lu Weihuan and Huang Jichi (eds.), *Mao Dun Xianggang Wenji (1938-1941)* (An Anthology of Mao Dun and Hong Kong (1938-1941)) (Hong Kong: Wide Angle Press, 1984); Taofen [Zou Taofen], *Jingli* (My Experience) (Beijing: Sanlian Shudian, 1978), 133-52; and Liu Wuji (ed.), *Liu Yazhi Nianpu* (The Chronology of Liu Yazhi)

(Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 1983), 108-15. Also see "Zhonghua Quanguo Wenyijie Kangdi Xiehui Xianggang Fenhui (1938-1941) Zuzhi ji Huodong" (Chinese National Anti-Japanese Literary Association Hong Kong Branch (1938-1941): Its Organization and Activities) in Lu Weiluan, *Xianggang Wenzong: Neidi Zuojia Nanlai ji Qi Wenhua Huodong* (The Hong Kong Literary Scene: Cultural Activities of Mainland Writers Who Moved South) (Hong Kong: Huahan Wenhua Shiye, 1987), 53-92.

8. See *Xiaoyou Tongxun* (Alumni Newsletter), published by the Xianggang Zhongguo Xinwen Xueyuan Guangzhou Xiaoyouhui (Hong Kong Institute of Chinese News Alumni Guangzhou Chapter), 4 (1993), 1. Information on the activities of the key leftist journalists is available in Lian Guan, "Huiyi Bahujun Xianggang Banshichu" (Recollection of the Eighth Route Army Hong Kong Office), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 18 (1991), 35-6. Also see Xi'erxiao and Wang Qimou (eds.), *Gang Ao Tai Yanyi: Xianggang Yanyi* (The Stories of Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan: Stories of Hong Kong) (Beijing: Zhongyuan Biyayi Chubanshe, 1994), 85.

9. For example, "Song Qingling zai Xianggang" (Song Qingling in Hong Kong) in *Song Qingling* (Song Qingling) (Hong Kong: Wide Angle Press, 1981), 52-5.; and ZF (ed.), *Yongyuan he Dang zai Yiqi: Song Qingling* (A Devoted Member of the CCP: Song Qingling) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1983); and Jiang Hongbin, *Song Qingling* (Song Qingling) ([Nanjing]: Jiangsu Renmin Chubanshe, 1987), 154-72. For a better understanding of Defend China League, see its publicity materials in SJY (ed.), *Baowei Zhongguo Tongmeng Xinwen Tongxun* (Defend China League Newsletter) (Beijing: Zhongguo Heping Chubanshe, 1989).

10. Liao Mengxing, Liao Chengzhi's sister who was chief of staff and Chinese Secretary in Song's office, "Wo Renshi de Song Qingling Tongzhi (Yi)" (Comrade Song Qingling as Seen Through My Eyes, Part 1), *Fuyin Baokan Ziliao* 12 (1981), 193-4. (First published in *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily), 3 June, 1981). Also see Guan Guoxuan, "Song Qingling Nushi de Yisheng" (The Life of Madam Song Qingling), *Zhuanji Wexue (Taibei)* 230 (1981), 18; Zheng Canhui et al., *Song Qingling yu Kang Ri Jiuwang Yundong* (Song Qingling and the Anti-Japanese Salvation Movement) (Fuzhou: Fujian Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 169-95; and Liu Jiaquan, *Song Qingling Zhuan* (The Biography of Song Qingling) (Beijing: Zhongguo Wenlian Chubanshe, 1988), 340-62.

11. A rich source on the East River guerrillas is ZHDD, ZHSD and ZHDZ. (eds.), *Dongjiang Dangshi Ziliao Huibian* (An Anthology of Historical Materials on the CCP in the East River Region) (Huiyang: n.p., 1983-1987). Another useful source is GD (ed.), *Dongjiang Zongdui Shiliao* (Historical Material of the East River Column) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1984).

12. See the interesting collection of articles by overseas Chinese who went to fight in China via Hong Kong, ZXH (ed.), *Zhengrong Suiyue: Huaqiao Qingnian Huiguo Canjia Kangzhan Jishi* (Eventful Years: The Return of the Overseas Chinese Youths to Fight the Anti-Japanese War) (Beijing: Zhongguo Wenshi Chubanshe, 1988). The close relationship between the guerrillas and the Eighth Route Army Hong Kong Office is clearly seen in Yun Guangying, "Kang Ri Zhanzheng Baofa Qianhou Wo Dang zai Guangdong Kaizhan Gongzuo de Huiyi" (Recollection of CCP's Work in Guangdong before and after the Anti-Japanese War), *Guangdong Wenshi Ziliao* 28 (1980), 10-11; and in Liao Chengzhi's telegrams on the guerrillas in Liao Chengzhi Wenji Bianji Bangongshi (ed.), *Liao Chengzhi Wenji* (An Anthology of Works on Liao Chengzhi) (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 1990), vol. 1, 74-9.

13. For example, ZHSD, "Wo Dang Lingdao de Yici Daguimu de Yingjiu Xingdong" (A Large Scale Rescue Operation Directed by the CCP), *Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao* 13 (1985), 212-27; Dongjiang Zongduishi Bianxiezuo (ed.), *Dongjiang Zongduishi* (A History of the East River Column) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1985), 56-65; and ZHSD, "Yijiuersi'er Nian Xianggang Yinqu Xindong" (The 1942 Hong Kong Rescue Operation) in ZDZ (ed.), *Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao Zhuanti Yanjiuji: Kang Ri Zhanzheng Shiqi (Yi)* (An Anthology of

CCP Historical Materials: Special Issue on the Anti-Japanese War Period, Part One) (Beijing: Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao Chubanshe, 1988), vol. 1, 160-72.

14. For example, Wang Zuoyao, a guerrilla leader, *Dongzong Yiye: Geming Huiyilu* (The East River Column: Recollection of the Revolution) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1983), 248-56; and Gang-Jiu Duli Daduishi Bianxiezu (ed.), *Gang-Jiu Duli Daduishi* (A History of the Hong Kong Kowloon Independent Brigade) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1989), 103-18. Also see Edwin Ride, son of Colonel Lindsay T. Ride who was the commander of the British Army Aid Group, *BAAG: Hong Kong Resistance, 1942-1945* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1981).

15. For example, Chen Ping, "Zheng Bao zai Xianggang Chuban Faxing Qingkuang de Huiyi" (Recollection on the Publication of the Upright Newspaper in Hong Kong), *Guangzhou Wenshi Ziliao* 21 (1980), 141-5; Zhong Zi, alias Zhong Luping, who was on the staff of *Zheng Bao*, "Xianggang Jingbu Xinwen Shiye yu Guomindang Fandongpai de Douzheng" (The Struggle between the Progressive Press in Hong Kong and the GMD Reactionaries), *Guangdong Wenshi Ziliao* 35 (1982), 75-6; and Hui Lin and Shao Wu, *Xia Yan Zhuan* (The Biography of Xia Yan) (Beijing: Zhongguo Xiju Chubanshe, 1985), 290. Xia Yan was a veteran Communist journalist who was familiar with the Hong Kong situation at the time.

16. Zhong Zi, "Dongjiang Zongdai Qianjin Bao de Zhandou Licheng" (The Struggle of the East River Column), *Guangdong Geming Baokan Yanjiu* 1 (1987), 160-71.

17. For example, Yin Linping, "Lizu Nanyue - Kangzhan Hou Guangdong Dang Zuzhi Huodong Gaikuang" (Post-War Activities of the CCP in Guangdong), *Gemingshi Ziliao* (Beijing) 6 (1982), 22; and GDDY and GDZ, "Zhonggong Guangdong Zuzhi Yangge Jianjie" (A Brief History of the Development of the CCP Organization in Guangdong), *Guangdong Dangshi Tongxun* 51 (1988), 4-5. For information on Fang Fang, see, for example, Lu Yongdi and Liu Zijian, *Fang Fang* (Fang Fang) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1984); and the articles in ZSSD and ZPXD (eds.), *Jinian Fang Fang Tongzhi Zhuanji* (Special Issue Commemorating Comrade Fang Fang) (Shantou: ZSSD, [1984]), and in GDDY and GDZ (eds.), *Huiyi Fang Fang* (Recollections of Fang Fang) (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 1986). See also Xu Dixin, "Zuinanchu Xian Qicai" (Displaying Talent at the Critical Point) in *Xinhua Ribao* (Xinhua Daily) and Qunzhong Zhoukan Shixuehui (The Masses Weekly Magazine History Society) (eds.), *Zhang Hanfu Wenji* (An Anthology on Zhang Hanfu) ([Nanjing]: Jiangsu Renmin Chubanshe, 1987), 10.

18. Xuanyuan Lu, *Xinhuashe Toushi* (Perspectives of the China News Agency) (Hong Kong: Wide Angle Press, 1987), 1-17; and Liu Yunlai, *Xinhuashe Shihua* (A History of the China News Agency) (Beijing: Xinhua Chubanshe, 1988), 132.

19. See the articles written by the people involved with the *Huashang Bao* (Chinese Merchants Newspaper) in *Nanfang Ribao She* (The Southern Daily Press) and Guangdong Huashang Bao Shixuehui (Chinese Merchants Newspaper History Society of Guangdong) (eds.), *Baishou Jizhe Hua Huashang: Xianggang Huashang Bao Chuangkan Sishiwu Zhounian Jinian Wenji 1941-1986* (A Journalist's Recollection of the Chinese Merchants Newspaper: An Anthology Commemorating the 45th Anniversary of the Newspaper 1941-1986) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1987); Yang Qi, "Yi Fukan hou de Xianggang Huashang Bao" (Recollecting the Chinese Merchants Newspaper in Hong Kong After Its Resuming Publication), *Guangdong Wenshi Ziliao* 38 (1983), 168-86; Chen Lang, "Xianggang Xinwen Caifang Waiji" (Stories of News Reporting in Hong Kong), *Guangdong Wenshi Ziliao* 41 (1984), 35; Zhao Yuanhao et al., "Xianggang Jingji Daobao de Chuangkan ji Qi Huodong" (The Publication and Activities of the Hong Kong Economic Guide Newspaper), *Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao* 14 (1985), 263-76; and "Xianggang Xinhuashe Fazhenshi" (A History of the Development of the China News Agency in Hong Kong) in Lu Yan (ed.), *Xianggang Zhanggu* (The Stories of Hong Kong) (Hong Kong: Wide Angle Press, 1989), vol. 7, 2.

20. For example, Cai Fusheng, "Guangdong Jiefang Qianhou Huanan Caijing Gongzuo de Huiyi" (Recollection of the Financial and Economical Work in South China Before and After the Liberation in Guangdong), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 8 (1986), 37-8; Fang Fang, "Guanyu Huanan Dang de Gongzuo Wenti de Baogao, Yijiusijiu Nian Eryue" (Report on the Problems of Party Work in South China, February 1949), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 9 (1987), 20-1; and Huang Youfan, "Cong Fu Gang Xuexi dao Suijun Ru Chuan" (From Training in Hong Kong to Joining the Army for Sichuan) in *Geming Huiliyu* (Recollections of the Revolution) ([Beijing]: Renmin Chubanshe, 1982), vol. 5, 181-5.

21. See memoirs of the people concerned in Shi Guangshu (ed.), *Yinglai Shuguang de Shenghui: Xin Zhengzhi Xieshang Huiyi Qingli Ji* (Experience of the New Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference) (Beijing: Zhongguo Wenshi Chubanshe, 1987); and Yu Gang (ed.), *Zhongguo Ge Minzhu Dangpai* (The Democratic Parties in China) (Beijing: Zhongguo Wenshi Chubanshe, 1987), 29-38.

22. For an account of the college, see, for example, Lin Peng, Ding Shenzun, and Wu Chunquan, "Nanfang Geming de Ronglu: Dade Xueyuan" (Dade College: The Furnace of Revolution in the South), *Guangdong Wenshi Ziliao* 59 (1989), 181-92; and Zhou Shuzhen, *1949 Piaoyao Gangdao* (The Shaking Hong Kong Island in 1949), Xianggang Jishi Congshu (Hong Kong Documentaries Series) (Beijing: Shishi Chubanshe, 1996), 42-6.

23. Xu Yin, "Zhongguo Di'er Lishi Dang'anguan Guanzang Youguan Xianggang Diqu Dang'an Shiliao Gaishu" (An Introduction to Archival Materials on Hong Kong in the Chinese Second Historical Archives), *Minguo Dang'an* 47 (1997), 65-8.

Chapter 1. Communist Germination in Guangdong, 1921-1922

1. The classic reference on the May-Fourth Movement is unquestionably Chow Tse-tsung, *The May-Fourth Movement* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963). For the May-Fourth Movement in Guangdong and Guangzhou, see Tan Tiandu, "Huiyi Guangdong de 'Wusi' Yundong yu Gongchanzhuyi Xiaozu de Jianli" (Recollection of the May Fourth Movement in Guangdong and the Establishment of the Communism Group) in GDDY and GD (eds.), *"Yida" Qianhou Guangdong de Dangzuzhi* (The Organization of the Guangdong Communist Party before and after the CCP First National Congress), Guangdong Dang'an Shiliao Congkan (Guangdong Archival and Historical Data Series), (Guangzhou: n.p., 1981), 134-44; and GZQY (ed.), *Wusi Yundong zai Guangzhou Ziliao Xuanbian* (Selected Materials on the May-Fourth Movement in Guangzhou), Guangzhou Qingnian Yundongshi Ziliao Congkan (Materials on the History of the Guangzhou Youth Movement Series) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1984).

2. GDDY and GDZ, "Zhonggong Guangdong Zuzhi Yanghe Jianjie" (A Brief History of the Development of the CCP Organization in Guangdong), *Guangdong Dangshi Tongxun* 51 (1988), 1. Also see Zeng Jianzhao, "Guangdong Caoqi de Qingnian Tuan Zuzhi" (The Early Youth League Organization in Guangdong), *Guangdong Qingyunshi Ziliao* 1 (1982), 7-8.

3. For information on Chen in this respect and a survey of the establishment of the earliest Communist groups in China, see Lee Feigon, *Chen Duxiu: Founder of the Chinese Communist Party* (Princeton: University Press, 1983), 163-4. Also see ZDZ (ed.), *Gongchanzhuyi Xiaozu* (Communism Groups) (Beijing: Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao Chubanshe, 1987), vol. 1, 1-17.

4. Chen Gongbo, "Wo yu Gongchandang" (The CCP and Me), and Tan Zhitang, "Guanyu Guangdong Gongchandang de Chengli" (On the Establishment of the CCP in Guangdong) in GDDY and GD (eds.), *"Yida" Qianhou*, 80-6 and 113-14 respectively; and Yuan Bangjian, *Tan Pingshan Zhuan* (A Biography of Tan Pingshan) (Harbin: Heilongjiang Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 8-15. Also see Thomas C.T. Kuo, *Ch'en Tu-hsiu (1872-1942) and the Chinese Communist Movement* (South Orange: Seton Hall University Press, 1975), 84-5.

5. It appears that preparation for the founding of the league began in August and the league was formally established in November. Chen Shangguang, "Lun Guangdong Tuan Zuzhi de Chuanjian" (On the Establishment of the Guangdong League Organization), *Guangdong Qingyunshi Ziliao* 5/6 (1982), 49, and Sha Dongxun, *Wusi Yundong zai Guangdong* (The May-Fourth Movement in Guangdong) (Beijing: Zhongguo Jingji Chubanshe, 1989), 206 and 218 n.6. Also Yuan Bangjian, *Tan Pingshan Zhuan*, 21; and GDDY and GDZ (eds.), *Zhonggong Guangdong Dangshi Dashiji* (Major Events in the History of the CCP in Guangdong) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1984), 3. Apart from Tan Pingshan, early league members appeared to include Chen Gongbo, Tan Zhitang, Peng Pai, Guo Shouzheng, Luo Qiyuan, Lin Zuhai, Liu Ersong, Yang Pao'an, Zhou Qijian, Ruan Xiaoxian, and others, see He Qijun et al. (eds.), *Qingnianuan de Chuian* (The Establishment of the Youth League) (Beijing: Zhongguo Qingnian Chubanshe, 1987), 21.

6. Two of the Anarchists named have left memoirs: Sha Dongxun and Tan Zuyin, "Tan Zuyin de Huiyi" (Memoirs of Tan Zuyin) and Sha Dongxun and Liu Shixin, "Liu Shixin de Huiyi" (Memoirs of Liu Shixin) in ZDZ (ed.), *Gongchanzhuyi Xiaozu*, vol. 2, 758-64, 765-74. Also see C. Martin Wilbur and Julie Lien-ying How, *Missionaries of Revolution: Soviet Advisers and Nationalist China 1920-1927* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 25-6.

7. He Jirzhou and Sha Dongxun, "Guangdong Zuichu Gongchandang Zuzhi zhi Yanjiu" (A Study of the Early Structure of the CCP in Guangdong) in Zhu Chengjia (ed.), *Zhonggong Dangshi Yanjiu Lunwen Xuan* (Selected Papers on the Study of CCP History) (Changsha: Hunan Renmin Chubanshe, 1983), vol. 1, 158. Also see Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, *Laodongzhe* (The Labour Magazine) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1984); and Xie Jun, "Guangzhou Laodongzhe Yanjiu" (The Study of Labour Magazine in Guangzhou), *Guangdong Geming Baokan Yanjiu* 1(1987), 23-48.

8. For a lengthy discourse on the debate, see Arif Dirlik, *Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 204-30. Also see He Jirzhou and Sha Dongxun, "Guangdong Zuichu Gongchandang Zuzhi zhi Yanjiu" (A Study of the Early Structure of the CCP in Guangdong), *Xueshu Yanjiu* 4 (1980), 61-2. Also GDZ, "Wusi Shiqi Makesi Zhuyi zai Guangdong de Chuanbo" (The Propagation of Marxism in Guangdong during the May-Fourth Movement) in ZDZ et al. (eds.), *Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao Zhuanli Yanjiu: Dang de Chuanli he Diyici Guonei Geming Zhanzheng Shiqi* (Studies on Selected Topics of the History of the CCP: The Establishment of the Party and the First Revolutionary War) (Beijing: Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao Chubanshe, 1989), 9-10.

9. Li Dade, "Chen Duxiu Zujian de Guangzhou Gongchandang Xiaozu Chengli Shijian ji Chengyuan Kao" (A Study as to When Chen Duxiu Founded the CCP Group in Guangdong and Its Membership), *Guangzhou Yanjiu* 7(1984), 48-9; and "Wusi zhi Hou, Gedi Gongchanzhuyi Xiaozu de Jianli Dui Chuangjian Zhongguo Gongchandang Qi le Shenma Zuoyong?" (What are the Contributions of the Communism Groups Established in Different Regions after the May-Fourth Movement in the Development of the CCP in China?) in He Dong et al. (eds.), *Zhonggong Dangshi* (The History of the CCP), *Quanguo Gaodeng Jiaoyu Zixue Kaoshi Fudao Congshu* (Supplement for China's High Level Education Independent Study Examination Series) (Beijing: Zhongguo Qingnian Chubanshe, 1985), 34-5. Also see Hans J. Van De Ven, *From Friend to Comrade: The Founding of the Chinese Communist Party 1920-1927* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 64-5.

10. Tan Tiandu, "Huiyi Guangdong Qunbao de Chuangli he Guangdong Dangzuzhi de Dansheng" (Recollection of the Establishment of the *Guangdong Qunbao* and the Birth of the CCP Organization in Guangdong), *Guangdong Geming Baokan Yanjiu* 1 (1987), 7. Chen Gongbo himself regarded the newspaper as the "official organ" of the group, Ye Yonglie, *Zhonggong zhi Chu* (The Early Development of the CCP) (Hong Kong: Cosmos Books, 1991), 44.

11. ZGS Organization Section, GDZ, and GD (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao* (Materials on the History of the CCP Guangdong

Provincial Organizations) (Beijing: Zhonggong Dangshi Chubanshe, 1994), vol. 1, 6-7; and GZDY (ed.), *Zhonggong Guangzhou Dangshi Dashiji* (Major Events of the CCP in Guangzhou) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1991), 8.

12. For example Peng Pai Wenji Bianjizu (ed.), *Peng Pai Wenji* (An Anthology of Works on Peng Pai) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1981), 339; Lin Shuixian and Liu Linsong, "Ruan Xiaoxian Tongzhi Shengping Nianbiao" (The Chronology of Comrade Ruan Xiaoxian) in Ruan Xiaoxian Wenji Bianjizu (ed.), *Ruan Xiaoxian Wenji* (An Anthology of Works on Ruan Xiaoxian) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1984), 372; Li Jian, "Yang Pao'an Lieshi Zhuanlue" (A Biography of Martyr Yang Pao'an) in Yang Pao'an Wenji Bianjizu (ed.), *Yang Pao'an Wenji* (An Anthology of Works on Yang Pao'an) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 215-6; and Luo Kequn and He Jirzhou, *Liu Ersong* (Liu Ersong) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 4-14 and 99.

13. ZGS Organization Section, GDZ, and GD (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 7-8 and 51.

14. "Zhongguo Laodong Zuhe Shujibu Guangdong Fenbu" (The Chinese Labour Organization Secretariat Guangdong Branch) in Zhongguo Gongchandang Lishi Dacidian Bianjizu (ed.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Lishi Dacidian, Xinminzhu Zhuyi Geming Shiqi* (Dictionary of the History of the CCP, New Democratic Revolutionary Period) (Beijing: Zhonggong Zhongyang Dangxiao Chubanshe, 1991), 81-2; and Chen Shanguang, "Guangzhou Qingnian tuan he Guangdong Qingnian tuan" (The Guangzhou Youth League and the Guangdong Youth League), *Guangzhou Yanjiu* 18 (1986), 13.

15. Sha Dongxun, *Wusi Yundong*, 205-12. Also He Qijun et al. (eds.), *Qingnian tuan de Chujuan*, 21.

16. "Qingnian Gongchanguoji yu Zhongguo Qingnian Yundong Jishi (1919-1943)" (A Chronicle of the Communist International of Youth and the Youth Movement in China 1919-1943) in GTQY and SKXY (eds.), *Qingnian Gongchanguoji yu Zhongguo Qingnian Yundong* (The Communist International of Youth and the Youth Movement in China) (Beijing: Zhongguo Qingnian Chubanshe, 1985), 67.

17. For example, "Xianggang Haiyuan Dabagong" (The Hong Kong Seamen's Strike) in SZ and HGG (eds.), *Guangdong Haiyuan de Guanghui Licheng: Jinian Xianggang Haiyuan Dabagong Liushi Zhounian 1922-1982* (The Glorious History of the Guangdong Seamen: Commemorating the 60th Anniversary of the Hong Kong Seamen's Strike 1922-1982) (n.p., 1982), 4.

18. Chow Tse-tsung, *The May-Fourth Movement*, 338; and *ibid.*, 1.

19. Chan Ming Kou, "Labor and Empire: The Chinese Labor Movement in the Canton Delta, 1895-1927" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1975), 270. Also see Xuan Qianhong, "Guangdong Gongren Yundongshi" (A History of the Guangdong Labour Movement), *Guangdong Dangshi Tongxun* special issue (July 1988) 5.

20. It is, however, true that the Anarchist controlled so-called Communist group did make some attempt to address the labour issue in its publication, *Laodongzhe* (Labour Magazine), during the group's short existence. As expected, the views expressed were more Anarchist than Communist. The early Guangdong Communists, such as Tan Pingshan and Yang Pao'an also paid attention to the labour question, often attending and speaking at workers' gatherings. They also expressed their views on labour in publications such as *Guangdong Qunbao* (Guangdong Masses Newspaper) and *Laodong yu Fumu* (Labour and Women Magazine). The extent of the effect these writings had on the workers was questionable in that the vast majority of them were illiterate and, in any case, the publications were themselves of limited circulation. See, for example, Zhang Jingru et al. (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang de Chuangli* (The Establishment of the Communist Party in China) (Shijiazhuang: Hebei Renmin Chubanshe, 1981), 151.

21. Chan Lau Kit-ching, *China, Britain, and Hong Kong 1895-1945* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1990), 170.

22. Song Chao et al. (eds.), *Zhongguo Haiyuan Yundong Shihua* (A History of the Chinese Seamen's Movement) ([Beijing]: Renmin Jiaotong Chubanshe, 1985), 21-2; and Liu Dachao, "Guangdong Haiyuan de Zhandou Licheng" (A History of the Struggle of the Guangdong Seamen), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 2 (1984), 71-2. Some prominent Mainland Chinese scholars hold the view that the union provided the leadership of the strike, "Xianggang Haiyuan Bagong shi Shei Lingdao de?" (Who were the Leaders of the Hong Kong Seamen's Strike?) in Fang Xiao (ed.), *Zhonggong Dangshi Bianyi Lu: Xin Minzhu Zhuyi Geming Shiqi* (On the History of the CCP: The New Democratic Revolutionary Period) (Taiyuan: Shanxi Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1991), vol. 1, 93-4.

23. See details of negotiations in *Shen Bao* (The Newspaper for Expression) January - March 1922. Clippings from the newspaper on the strike have been collected and published under the title *Haiyuan Dabagong Ziliao* (Materials on the Seamen's Strike) (n.p., n.d.)

24. Jiang Minrui, *Guangdong Haiyuan de Guanghui Licheng* (The Glorious History of the Guangdong Seamen) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Gaodeng Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1987), 48-9. The seamen's strike is extensively covered in Deng Zhongxia, *Zhongguo Zhigong Yundong Jianshi 1919-1926* (A Brief History of the Chinese Labour Movement 1919-1926) (1949 Reprint. Hong Kong: Wenhua Ziliao Gongyingshe, 1978), 44-67.

25. This view is naturally disputed in many Chinese Communist writings, for example, Xuan Qianhong and Lu Quan, "Xianggang Haiyuan Dabagong shi Guomindang Lingdao de ma?" (Was the Hong Kong Seamen's Strike Led by the Guomindang (GMD)?), *Jindaishi Yanjiu* 41 (1987), 180. A dissenting view is found in Mo Shixiang, "Ye tan Guo-Gong Liangdang he Xianggang Haiyuan Dabagong" (A Discussion on the Relationship of the CCP and the GMD with the Hong Kong Seamen's Strike), *Jindaishi Yanjiu* 41(1987), 190-1.

26. Chen Yecheng, "Lin Weimin Zhuanlue" (The Biography of Lin Weimin) in SZ and HGG (eds.), *Guangdong Haiyuan de Guanghui Licheng: Jimian Xianggang Haiyuan Dabagong Liushi Zhounian 1922-1982*, 25; and Xuan Qianhong and Lu Quan, "Zhongguo Zaoqi Zhigong Yundong de Zhuming Lingdao - Su Zhaozheng" (Su Zhaozheng: The Famous Leader in the Early Chinese Labour Movement), *Lishi Jiaoxue* 201 (1980), 4. Also see Chan Wai Kwan, *The Making of Hong Kong Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 176.

27. Text of the manifesto is found in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1921-1926* (Research Materials on the Party and League in the Guangdong Region during 1921-1926), *Guangdong Geming Shiliao Congkan* (Materials on the Guangdong Revolution Series) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 11-13. For a Chinese Communist view of the significance of the manifesto on the strike, see Zhang Hong, *Xianggang Haiyuan Dabagong* (The Hong Kong Seamen's Strike) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1979), 48-9.

28. For Chen's report to the Comintern and other details, see Xuan Qianhong and Lu Quan, "Xianggang Haiyuan Dabagong shi Guomindang Lingdao de ma?", 183. Also see Tan Pingshan's letter to Shi Fuliang in Shanghai, Tan Pingshan, "Zhi Guochang Xinsheng" (Letter to Mr Guochang (alias of Shi Fuliang)) in GDDY and GD (eds.), "Yida" *Qianhou*, 6-7.

29. Zhang Hong, *Xianggang Haiyuan Dabagong*, 38-40; and Lu Quan and Xuan Qianhong, *Su Zhaozheng* (Su Zhaozheng) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1993), 87-8.

30. A discussion of the factors accounting for the successful outcome of the strike is found in Chan Lau Kit-ching, *China, Britain and Hong Kong 1895-1945*, 172-6.

Chapter 2. Communist Extension to Hong Kong, 1922-1923

1. "Chunmu gei Wenliang Xin" (Letter from Chunmu to Wenliang [alias of Shi Fuliang, the Secretary of the CSYL Central]), c. June 30, 1922, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *Guangdong Qingnian Yundong Lishi Ziliao* (Historical Materials on the Youth Movement in Guangdong) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1986-1990), vol. 1, 5-6; "Dangyuan ji Dangfei" (Party Member and Subscription Fee) in ZGS Organization Section, GDZ and GD (eds.), *Zhonggong Guangdong-sheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao* (Materials on the History of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Organizations) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1986), vol. 1, 7; and He Jinzhou and Sha Dongxun, "Guangdong Zuichu Gongchandang Zuzhi zhi Yanjiu," (A Study of the Early Structure of the CCP in Guangdong), *Xueshu Yanjiu* 4 (1980), 60.

2. The events are still marked by uncertainties and the evidence is, as C. Martin Wilbur puts it, "simply contradictory", Chen Kung-po, *The Communist Movement in China: An Essay Written in 1924* (New York: Octagon Books, 1979), 12. See the relevant happenings from the perspectives of Chen Gongbo and Tan Zhitang in Chen Gongbo, "Wo yu Gongchandang" (The CCP and Me), and Tan Zhitang, "Guanyu Guangdong Gongchandang de Chengli" (On the Establishment of the CCP in Guangdong) in GDDY and GD (eds.), "Yida" *Qianhou Guangdong de Dangzuzhi* (The Organization of the Guangdong Communist Party before and after the CCP First National Congress), Guangdong Dang'an Shiliao Congkan (Guangdong Archival and Historical Data Series), (Guangzhou: n.p., 1981), 104-8, 114. Also see Yuan Bangjian, *Tan Pingshan Zhuan* (A Biography of Tan Pingshan) (Har'bin: Heilongjiang Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 33-4.

3. "Chunmu gei Wenliang Xin" (Letter from Chunmu to Wenliang), c. 30 June, 1922, 5-6.

4. "Peng Pai Tongzhi Shengping Nianbiao" (Chronology of Comrade Peng Pai) in Peng Pai Wenji Bianjizu (ed.), *Peng Pai Wenji* (An Anthology of Works on Peng Pai) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1981), 342-3. Also see ZGS Organization Section, GDZ, and GD (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao* (Materials on the History of CCP Guangdong Provincial Organizations) (Beijing: Zhonggong Dangshi Chubanshe, 1994), vol. 1, 101-18.

5. Luo Kequn and He Jinzhou, *Liu Ersong* (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 23-5; and GZGY (ed.), *Guangzhou Gongren Yundong Dashiji* (Major Events of the Guangzhou Labour Movement) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1985), 64-5.

6. GZGY (ed.), *Guangdong Gongren Yundong Dashiji*, 65, 69-71; and Li Zhiye and Ye Wenyi, comps., "Guangdong Dang(Tuan) Huodong Jiyao (1: 1920.8-1927.7)" (Major Activities of the Guangdong Party (League) Part One: from August 1920 to July 1927), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 5 (1985), 221-2.

7. "Ruan Xiaoxian gei Shi Curtong Xin" (Letter from Ruan Xiaoxian to Shi Curtong) 19 May, 1923 in GD and GDQY (eds.), *Guangdong Qingnian Yundong Lishi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 40.

8. Liang Furan, who was personally involved in Communist activities in the 1920's in Hong Kong and who claimed to have obtained the information first hand from Zhang Rendao, albeit decades later, "Guangdongdang Zuzhi Chengli Yixie Qingkuang de Huiyi" (Recollection of the Situation during the Establishment of the CCP in Guangdong) in GDDY and GD (eds.), "Yida" *Qianhou*, 158-9. However, contrary to Liang's claim, Zhang did not seem to have joined the Hong Kong league. Also see "Ruan Xiaoxian gei Deng Zhongxia Xin" (Letter from Ruan Xiaoxian to Deng Zhongxia), 6 May, 1923, *ibid.*, 39; and Huang Zhenwei, "Xiangjiang Bo Huo" (Flaming Hong Kong) in Jin Yingxi (ed.), *Xianggang Shihua* (A History of Hong Kong) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1988), 184.

9. The earliest membership of the Hong Kong league is enclosed in "Ruan Xiaoxian gei Shi Curtong Xin" (Letter from Ruan Xiaoxian to Shi Curtong), June 19, 1923, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *Guangdong Qingnian Yundong Lishi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 50-1. Also see He Jinzhou, "Xianggang

Qingnian Yundong Xianqu Li Yibao" (Li Yibao: Pioneer of the Hong Kong Youth Movement), *Guangdong Qingyunshi* 43 (1990), 43.

10. For example, Liu Ersong, an early Guangdong league leader, started work in Shunde county behind the facade of the Guangdong New Student Society, GZM comp., *Guangzhou Gongren Yundongshi shang de Yike Juxing - Ji Liu Ersong Tongzhi Geming Shishi Pianduan (Chugao)* (The Giant in the History of the Guangzhou Labour Movement: Episodes of Revolutionary History from the Life of Comrade Liu Ersong (First Draft)) (Guangzhou: GDDY, 1964), 5-6. Also see GDDY and GDZ (eds.), *Zhonggong Guangdong Dangshi Dashiji* (Major Events in the History of the CCP in Guangdong) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1984), 10-11; and Yuan Bangjian, "Ruan Xiaoxian", (Ruan Xiaoxian) in GDDY, GDRY and GDM (eds.), *Nanyue Yinglie Zhuan* (Biographies of Martyrs of Southern China) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1983), vol. 1, 385. For a body of the earliest official publications of the society, see GZQY (ed.), *Guangdong Xuesheng Yundong Shiliao Xuanbian (1923-1927)* (Selection of Materials on the History of the Youth Movement in Guangdong (1923-1927)), *Guangzhou Qingnian Yundongshi Ziliao Congkan* (Materials on the History of the Guangzhou Youth Movement Series) ([Guangzhou]: n.p., n.d.), 338-81. Many issues of the *Xinxuesheng* (New Student Magazine) are found in GD and GDQY (eds.), *Guangdong Qingnian Yundong Lishi Ziliao*, vol. 6, 1-250.

11. "Tuan Xianggang Tezhi Guanyu Chengli Ganshihui de Tonggao (Di Yi Hao)" (CSYL Hong Kong Special Branch Circular No. 1: On Establishing an Executive Committee) 24 August, 1923 in GD and GDQY (eds.), *Guangdong Qingnian Yundong Lishi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 53.

12. See table containing these details sent to the CSYL Central by Lin Junwei, *ibid.*, 54. Also see Rao's comments against the names mentioned in "Tuan Xianggang Tezhi Guanyu Chengli Ganshihui de Tonggao (Di Yi Hao)", and in the table of the four groups in ZD and GD (eds.), *Guangdong Geming Lishi Wenjian Huiji 1921-1949* (A Collection of Historical Documents on Revolutions in Guangdong 1921-1949) (Guangzhou: ZD, 1982-1990), vol. 1, 82-3.

13. See explanatory notes below the table sent to the CSYL Central by Lin Junwei referred to in n.12 above.

14. "Ruan Xiaoxian zhi Deng Zhongxia, Bu Shiji Baogao" (Report from Ruan Xiaoxian to Deng Zhongxia and Bu Shiji) 20 September, 1923 in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1921-1926* (Research Materials on the Party and League in the Guangdong Region during 1921-1926), *Guangdong Geming Shiliao Congkan* (Materials on the Guangdong Revolution Series) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 38-9.

15. "Ruan Xiaoxian zhi Deng Zhongxia, Bu Shiji Baogao" (Report from Ruan Xiaoxian to Deng Zhongxia and Bu Shiji) 29 September, 1923 in GD and GDQY (eds.), *Guangdong Qingnian Yundong Lishi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 64-5; and "Ruan Xiaoxian gei Chen Duxiu Xin" (Letter from Ruan Xiaoxian to Chen Duxiu) 30 September, 1923, *ibid.*, 39-41.

16. See report of the executive committee, "Tuan Yuequwei Baogao (Di Yi Hao)" (CSYL Guangdong Region Executive Committee Report No. 1) 19 October, 1923 in GD and GDQY, *Guangdong Qingnian Yundong Lishi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 73-7.

17. See notification of the CSYL Hong Kong Local Executive Committee (CSYL.HKLEC), "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Tonggao (Di Yi Hao)" (CSYL.HKLEC Circular No. 1), October 1923, *ibid.*, 91.

18. The new structure is clearly laid down in "Liang Pengwan gei Liu Renjing Xin" (Letter from Liang Pengwan to Liu Renjing, Secretary of the CSYL Central) 24 October, 1923, *ibid.*, 88-90.

19. "Ruan Xiaoxian gei Chen Duxiu Xin" 30 September, 1923, 39-41.

20. "Liang Pengwan gei Liu Renjing Xin" (Letter from Liang Pengwan to Liu Renjing) 20 October, 1923 in GD and GDQY (eds.), *Guangdong Qingnian Yundong Lishi Ziliao*, vol.1, 78-9.

21. "Liang Pengwan gei Liu Renjing Xin" (Letter from Liang Pengwan to Liu Renjing) 28 October, 1923, *ibid.*, 100-1.

22. "Liang Pengwan gei Deng Zhongxia Xin" (Letter from Liang Pengwan to Deng Zhongxia) 27 October, 1923, *ibid.*, 93-4.

23. "Liang Pengwan gei Deng Zhongxia Xin" (Letter from Liang Pengwan to Deng Zhongxia) 25 October, 1923, *ibid.*, 92.

24. See, for instance, "Liang Pengwan gei Deng Zhongxia Xin" (Letter from Liang Pengwan to Deng Zhongxia) 1 October, 1923; "Liang Pengwan gei Liu Renjing Xin" (Letter from Liang Pengwan to Liu Renjing) 24 October, 1923; "Liang Pengwan gei Deng Zhongxia Xin" (Letter from Liang Pengwan to Deng Zhongxia) 27 October, 1923; "Liang Pengwan gei Lin Yunan Xin" (Letter from Liang Pengwan to Lin Yunan, an executive committee member of the CSYL Central) 5 November, 1923; "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Tonggao Di Wu Hao" (CSYL.HKLEC Circular No. 5) 17 November, 1923; and "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Tonggao Di Shisi Hao" (CSYL.HKLEC Circular No. 14) 11 December, 1923, *ibid.*, 67-8, 88-90, 93-4, 106-7, 124-5 and 164-5.

25. "Ruan Xiaoxian gei Liu Renjing Xin" (Letter from Ruan Xiaoxian to Liu Renjing) 5 November, 1923, and 13 November, 1923, *ibid.*, 105-6, and 119-21.

26. For example, "Liang Pengwan gei Lin Yunan Xin" 5 November, 1923, 106-7.

27. For example, "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di San Hao)", (CSYL.HKLEC Report No. 3), submitted by Liang Pengwan and Peng Yuesheng, November 1923, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *Guangdong Qingnian Yundong Lishi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 108.

28. See, for instance, Liang Pengwan's report on a study of the unions and workers in Hong Kong, "Liang Pengwan Guartyu Xianggang Ge Gonghui ji Gongren Gaikuang de Diaocha Baogao" (Liang Pengwan's Investigatory Report on the Unions and Labour Situation in Hong Kong) 24 October, 1923, *ibid.*, 81-7.

29. For example, "Liang Pengwan gei Deng Zhongxia Xin" (Letter from Liang Pengwan to Deng Zhongxia), October 1923, *ibid.*, 98.

30. See congress resolutions regarding the actual implementation of the united front by the CSYL in "Qingnian Yundong Jueyi'an" (Resolution on the Youth Movement) in ZD, *Zhonggong Zhongyang Wenjian Xuanji 1921-1949* (Selected Documents of the CCP Central 1921-1949) (Beijing: Zhonggong Zhongyang Dangxiao Chubanshe, 1982-1987), vol. 1, 119. For Mao Zedong's role at the congress, see Zhang Kemo, "Dageming Shiqi Mao Zedong Tongzhi zai Guangzhou - Jinian Mao Zhuxi Danchen Bashiwu Zhounian" (Comrade Mao Zedong in Guangzhou during the Great Revolution Period - Commemorating the 85th Birthday of Chairman Mao), *Zhongshan Daxue Xuebao* 69 (1978), 2-3.

31. See Liang Pengwan's statement regarding the development of the nationalist movement in Hong Kong, "Liang Pengwan Guanyu Zuzhi Jiuguo Shirentuan Kaizhan Jiuguo Yundong de Shengming" (Liang Pengwan's Declaration on Establishing Practical National Salvation Corps of Ten People for Developing National Salvation Movement), October 1923, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *Guangdong Qingnian Yundong Lishi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 96-7.

32. For example, "Liang Pengwan gei Liu Renjing Xin" (Letter from Liang Pengwan to Liu Renjing) 20 October, 1923, and "Liang Pengwan Guanyu Xianggang..." 24 October, 1923, *ibid.*, 78-9, and 81-7.

33. For a history of the Society of Collective Righteousness, see Huang Langzheng, *Lianyishe Sheshi* (A History of the Society of Collective Righteousness) (Hong Kong: Yisheng Chubanshe, 1971), see especially the details on the Hong Kong branch, 65.

34. "Liang Pengwan gei Liu Renjing Xin", 28 October, 1923, 100-1.

35. "Liang Pengwan gei Liu Renjing Xin" (Letter from Liang Pengwan to Liu Renjing) 20 October, 1923, and "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Tonggao (Di Qi Hao)" (CSYL.HKLEC Circular No. 7) in response to "Zhongyang Tonggao (Di Shijiu Hao)" (CSYL Central Circular No. 19),

November 1923, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *Guangdong Qingnian Yundong Lishi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 78-9, and 112.

Chapter 3. Communist Development in Hong Kong, 1923-1925

1. "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Tonggao (Di Shisi Hao)" (CSYL.HKLEC Circular No. 14) 11 December, 1923, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 164-5.

2. "Lin Junwei, Peng Yuesheng zhi Liu Renjing Xin" (Letter from Lin Junwei and Peng Yuesheng to Liu Renjing) 4 January, 1924; "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di San Hao)" (CSYL.HKLEC Report No. 3) 7 July, 1924; "Tuan Yuequwei Baogao (Di Si Hao)" (CSYL Guangdong Region Executive Committee Report No. 4) 5 October, 1924; "Tuan Yuequwei Zuzhibu Baogao (Di Yi Hao)" (CSYL Guangdong Region Executive Committee Organization Department Report No. 1) 1 January, 1925; and "Tuan Xianggang Diwei zhi Tuan Zhongyang Xin" (Letter from CSYL.HKLEC to CSYL Central) 10 March, 1925, *ibid.*, 181-4, 287-94, 303-8, 331-5, and 391-2.

3. For example, "Tuan Xianggang Diwei zhi Tuan Zhongyang de Baogao" (Report from CSYL.HKLEC to CSYL Central) 28 January, 1924, *ibid.*, 191-2.

4. For the CSYL Central's close interest in the league activities in the Guangdong area, see, for example, Lai Xiansheng (Lai Yurun), an active participant in the early Communist movement in Guangdong, "Zai Guangdong Gerning Hongliu Zhong - Huiyi 1922-1927 de Douzheng (1)" (In the Midst of the Guangdong Revolution: Recollection of the 1922-1927 Struggle Part One), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 1 (1983), 92.

5. For example, "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Tonggao (Di Shiwu Hao)" (CSYL.HKLEC Circular No. 15) 12 December, 1923, and "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Tonggao (Di Shiba Hao)" (CSYL.HKLEC Circular No. 18) 30 December, 1923, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 165, and 170-1; and "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di San Hao)" 7 July, 1924, 287-94.

6. For example, "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di Yi Hao)" (CSYL.HKLEC Report No. 1) 13 May, 1923, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 252-62. See also "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Tonggao (Di Shisi Hao)" 11 December, 1923, 164-5.

7. "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di Yi Hao)" 13 May, 1923, 252-62.

8. "Peng Yuesheng zhi Liu Renjing Xin" (Letter from Peng Yuesheng to Liu Renjing) 9 February, 1924; "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Xu)" (CSYL.HKLEC Report - Continuation) 5 March, 1924; "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di Wu Hao)" (CSYL.HKLEC Report No. 5) 8 September, 1924, *ibid.*, vol. 1, 199-200, 213-4, and 300-1. See also "Tuan Xianggang Diwei zhi Tuan Zhongyang de Baogao", 191-2; and "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di Yi Hao)" 13 May, 1923, 252-62.

9. "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di Yi Hao)" 13 May, 1923, 252-62. The first mention of the intention of setting up a CCP group in Hong Kong was apparently in May 1924, see, for example, "Quxiao Zhonggong Guangdong Quwei" (Abolishing the CCP Guangdong Region Executive Committee) 14 May, 1924, in ZGS Organization Section, GDZ and GD (eds.), *Zhonggong Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao* (Materials on the History of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Organizations) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1986), vol. 1, 8.

10. "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di Yi Hao)" 13 May, 1923, 252-62.

11. "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Tonggao (Di Shisi Hao)" 11 December, 1923, 164-5.

12. See "Liang Pengwan Guanyu Xianggang ..." in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 81-7.

13. "Lin Junwei, Peng Yuesheng zhi Liu Renjing Xin" (Letter from Lin Junwei, Peng Yuesheng to Liu Renjing) 4 January, 1924; and "Peng Yuesheng zhi Liu Renjing Xin" (Letter from Peng Yuesheng to Liu Renjing) 12 January, 1924, *ibid.*, 181-4, and 185.

14. "Lin Junwei, Peng Yuesheng zhi Liu Renjing Xin" 4 January, 1924, *ibid*.
15. "Peng Yuesheng zhi Liu Renjing Xin" (Letter from Peng Yuesheng to Liu Renjing) 9 March, 1924, *ibid.*, 220-1; and "Peng Yuesheng zhi Liu Renjing Xin" 9 February, 1924, 199-200. See also "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di Yi Hao)" 13 May, 1923, 252-62.
16. "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di Shiqi Hao)" (CSYL.HKLEC Report No. 17) 15 January, 1924, and "Tuan Yuequwei Baogao (Di Shiqi Hao)" (CSYL Guangdong Region Executive Committee Report No. 17) 14 May, 1924, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 186-7 and 265-7; and "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di San Hao)" 7 July, 1924, 287-94. See also "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di Yi Hao)" 13 May, 1923, 252-62.
17. For instance, "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao – Guanyu Xianggang Jingji Zhengzhi deng Qingkuang" (CSYL.HKLEC Report: On the Economic and Political Situation in Hong Kong) 5 March, 1924, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 211-13.
18. This Communist view of the Hong Kong educational scene at the time persists until today, see chapter ten, "Xianggang Zaoqi de Jiaoyu Shiye" (Education in Early Hong Kong) in Liu Shuyong, *Xianggang Lishi* (A History of Hong Kong), Xianggang Huigui Congshu (Returning of Hong Kong to China Series) (Beijing: Xinhua Chubanshe, 1996), 112-24. "Peng Yuesheng zhi Liu Renjing Xin" (Letter from Peng Yuesheng to Liu Renjing) 3 February, 1924, *ibid.*, 196-7.
19. "Shehui Zhuyi Qingnian Tuan Zhongyang Kuoda Zhixing Weiyuanhui Guanyu Yuequ Baogao de Jueyi'an (Tehao)" (CSYL Central Enlarged Executive Committee's Resolution on the Report of the Guangdong Region Executive Committee - Special No), February to April 1924, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 228-9.
20. "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di San Hao)" 7 July, 1924, 287-94.
21. See "Peng Yuesheng zhi Liu Renjing Xin" 9 March, 1924, 220-1; "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di San Hao)" 7 July, 1924, 287-94; and *Huazi Ribao*, July 2 and 8, 1924.
22. "Tuan Yuequ Di'erci Daibiao Dahui Jueyi'an" (Resolution of the Second CSYL Guangdong Regional Congress), June 1924, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 271-85. See also "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di Yi Hao)" 13 May, 1923, 252-62.
23. *Taochi Xunkan*, some copies of which are available in the Hung On-To Memorial Library, University of Hong Kong. Also see Fei Yundong and Pan Hedding, *Zhonggong Wenshu Dang'an Gongzuo Jianshi* (A Brief History of the CCP Central Documentary and Archival Work) (Beijing: Dang'an Chubanshe, 1987), 17. For the close relationship between anti-Communism and the traditional Confucian culture in the 1920s, see Dai Zhixian, *Shinian Neizhan Shiqi de Geming Wenhua Yundong* (The Revolutionary Cultural Movement during the Ten-Year Civil War) (Beijing: Zhongguo Renmin Daxue Chubanshe, 1988), 247-8.
24. For instance, "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Xu)" (CSYL.HKLEC Report - Continuation) 5 March, 1924, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 213-14; and "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di Yi Hao)" 13 May, 1923, 252-62.
25. "Lin Junwei, Peng Yuesheng zhi Liu Renjing Xin" 4 January, 1924, 181-4.
26. "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di Shiqi Hao)" 15 January, 1924, 186-7; and "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Xu)" 5 March, 1924, 213-4.
27. "Yuequ Guomin Yundong Weiyuanhui Tonggao (Di Yi Hao)" (Guangdong Region Nationalist Movement Committee Circular No. 1) 21 February, 1924, and "Tuan Yuequwei Baogao (Di Shisan Hao)" (CSYL Guangdong Region Executive Committee Report No. 13) 26 February, 1924, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 204, and 205-7. See also "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di San Hao)" 7 July, 1924, 287-94; and "Peng Yuesheng zhi Liu Renjing Xin" 3 February, 1924, 196-7.
28. "Lin Junwei, Peng Yuesheng zhi Liu Renjing Xin" 4 January, 1924, 181-4; and "Peng Yuesheng zhi Liu Renjing Xin" 3 February, 1924, 196-7.
29. "Tuan Xianggang Diwei zhi Tuan Zhongyang Baogao" (Report from CSYL.HKLEC to the CSYL Central) 23 March, 1923, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 399-400.

30. "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Tuanyuan Diaochabiao" (CSYL.HKLEC Investigation on Local League Members) 28 January, 1924, *ibid.*, 193-5; "Lin Junwei, Peng Yuesheng zhi Liu Renjing Xin" 4 January, 1924, 181-4; and "Peng Yuesheng zhi Liu Renjing Xin" 3 February, 1924, 196-7.
31. "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Xu)" 5 March, 1924, 213-4.
32. "Zhonggong Zhongyang gei Tuan Zhongyang Xin" (Letter from the CCP Central to the CSYL Central), December 1923, in GTQY and ZD, *Zhonggong Zhongyang Qingnian Yundong Wenjian Xuanbian 1921.7-1949.9* (Selected Documents on the Youth Movement of the CCP Central: July 1921 to September 1949) (Beijing: Zhongguo Qingnian Chubanshe, 1988), 26.
33. "S.Y. Gongzuo yu C.P. Guanxi Yijue'an" (Resolution on the Relations between the CCP and the work of CSYL) in "Zhongguo Gongchandang Kuoda Zhixing Weiyuanhui Wenjian, May 1924" (Documents of the CCP Central Enlarged Executive Meeting, May 1924) in ZD, *Zhonggong Zhongyang Wenjian Xuanji 1921-1949* (Selected Documents of the CCP Central 1921-1949) (Beijing: Zhonggong Zhongyang Dangxiao Chubanshe, 1982-87), vol. 1, 193-5.
34. Li Xianheng, Lin Hongnuan and Yang Shaolian, *Chen Yannian* (Chen Yannian) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1985), 32 and 35-9; and Yang Shaolian, Lin Hongnuan and Li Xianheng, "Chen Yannian" (Chen Yannian), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 1(1983), 173-4.
35. "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Tuanyuan Diaochabiao" 28 January, 1924, 193-5.
36. *Ibid.* See also "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di Yi Hao)" 13 May, 1923, 252-62.
37. "Tuan Yuequwei Baogao (Di Er Hao)" (CSYL Guangdong Region Executive Committee Report No. 2) 19 November, 1924, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 320-1; "Tuan Xianggang Diwei zhi Tuan Zhongyang de Baogao" 28 January, 1924, 191-2; and Chen Wan'an and Chen Shanguang, "Tuan Guangdong "San Da" zhi Yijiu'erwu Nian Wu Yue de Linshi Dahui - Guangdongtuan Zuzhi Shi Ziliao zhi San" (From the CSYL Third Guangdong Regional Congress to the Provisional Congress in May 1925: Historical Data on the Organization of the CSYL in Guangdong Part Three), *Guangdong Qingyunshi Ziliao yu Yanjiu* 9(1983), 22.
38. Compare the two lists in n. 7 and n. 35. Many of the members who had left departed either because they were expelled from Hong Kong or appointed to other important Communist positions elsewhere, see "Tuan Yuequwei Baogao (Di Si Hao)" 5 October, 1924, 287-94.
39. "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di Yi Hao)" 13 May, 1923, 252-62.
40. See "Xianggang Qingnianshe Zhangcheng Yijiu'ersi Nian" (1924 Constitution of the Hong Kong Youth Society) in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 330-1.
41. Lu Qi, "Ji zai Sheng-Gang Dabagong zhong de Deng Zhongxia Tongzhi" (Comrade Deng Zhongxia in the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott), *Guangdong Wenshi Ziliao* 29 (1980), 62-3.
42. See, for example, "Tuan Guangzhou Diwei Zongbaogao" (CSYL Guangzhou Local Executive Committee General Report) 3 March, 1924, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 210-11.
43. For instance, "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di San Hao)" (CSYL.HKLEC Report No. 3), November 1923, and "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di Ba Hao)" (CSYL.HKLEC Report No. 8) 18 November, 1923, *ibid.*, 108 and 126; and "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao (Di Yi Hao)" 13 May, 1923, 252-62.
44. Chen Wan'an and Chen Shanguang, "Cong Eryue Linshi Dahui dao "Wu Sanshi" Yundong - Guangdongtuan Zuzhi Shi Ziliao zhi Si" (From the Provisional Congress in February to the May-Thirtieth Movement: Historical Data on the Organization of the CSYL in Guangdong Part Four), *Guangdong Qingyunshi Ziliao yu Yanjiu* 12 (1984), 28.

Chapter 4. The Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott, June 1925-October 1926

1. Liang Furan, "Guangdongdang Zuzhi Chengli Yixie Qingkuang de Huiyi" (Recollection of the Situation during the Establishment of the CCP in Guangdong) in GDDY and GD (eds.), *"Yida" Qianhou Guangdong de Dangzuzhi* (The Organization of the Guangdong Communist Party before and after the CCP First National Congress), Guangdong Dang'an Shiliao Congkan (Guangdong Archival and Historical Data Series) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1981), 160; and Feng Tietong and Shi Hua, "Yang Yin" (Yang Yin) in GZDY and GZM (eds.), *Guangzhou Yinglie Zhuan* (Biographies of Martyrs in Guangzhou) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1991), 335-6.

2. Zheng Quan, "Nutao" (The Ferocious Waves) in *Nutao* (The Ferocious Waves) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1960), 3.

3. "Tuan Guangzhou Diwei Xuanchuanbu Baogao (Di Shiqi Hao)" (CSYL Guangzhou Local Executive Committee Publicity Department Report No. 17) 19 June, 1925, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 457-8.

4. He Jinzhou and Xie Yanzhang, "Peng Yuesheng" (Peng Yuesheng) in GDDY, GDRY and GDM (eds.), *Nanyue Yinglie Zhuan* (Biographies of Martyrs in Southern China) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1987), vol. 3, 53-4.

5. Hu Tichun and Chen Shanxin, "Luelun Zhongguo Gongchandang zai Sheng-Gang Dabagong zhong de Zuoyong" (A Discussion on the Function of the CCP during the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott), *Guangzhou Dangshi Yanjiu* 10 (1990), 9.

6. "Appendix K: Report of the Captain Superintendent of Police for the Year 1925" in Hong Kong Government, *Hong Kong Administrative Reports for the Year 1925* (Hong Kong: the Government, 1926), K-18.

7. ZGS Organization Section, GDZ, and GD (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao* (Materials on the History of CCP Guangdong Provincial Organizations) (Beijing: Zhonggong Dangshi Chubanshe, 1994), vol. 1, 11 and 14.

8. Huang Ping, the Secretary in Hong Kong, "Huiyi Sheng-Gang Dabagong" (A Recollection of the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott), *Dangshi Ziliao Congkan* 2(1980), 152; and Jiang Minrui, *Guangdong Haiyuan de Guanghui Licheng* (The Glorious History of the Guangdong Seamen) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Gaodeng Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1987), 62.

9. Xuan Qianhong and Lu Quan, "Su Zhaozheng Zhuanlue" (A Biography of Su Zhaozheng) and "Su Zhaozheng Shengping Huodong Jianbiao" (A Chronology of Activities of Su Zhaozheng) in GDDY and ZZSD (eds.), *Su Zhaozheng Yanjiu Shiliao* (Research Materials on Su Zhaozheng) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1985), 442-3, and 470.

10. Jiang Minrui, *Guangdong Haiyuan*, 62-3; and Rao Weihua, "Huiyi Yang Pao'an" (Remembering Yang Pao'an), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 1 (1983), 185. Also see a discussion of the two pronged policy in Wu Jialin, "Deng Zhongxia yu Wo Guo Gongren Yundong" (Deng Zhongxia and the Labour Movement in China), *Lishi Jiaoxue* 19 (1982), 2; and Li Jian, "Yang Pao'an Lieshi Zhuanlue" (A Biography of Martyr Yang Pao'an) in Yang Pao'an Wenji Bianjizu (ed.), *Yang Pao'an Wenji* (An Anthology of Works on Yang Pao'an) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 215-16.

11. Zeng Guofang, "Huang Su" (Huang Su) in GDDY, GDRY and GDM (eds.), *Nanyue Yinglie Zhuan*, vol. 3, 222; Yuan Puzhi, "Yisheng Baochi Gongren Bense de Gongchandangyuan" (A CCP Member: A True Worker of His Time) in Huiyi Chen Yu Tongzhi Bianjizu (ed.), *Huiyi Chen Yu Tongzhi* (Recollection of Comrade Chen Yu)

(Beijing: Gongren Chubanshe, 1982), 50; and Zhou Yan et al., *Chen Yu Zhuan* (The Biography of Chen Yu) (Beijing: Gongren Chubanshe, 1985), 46-8.

12. Bu Suiwen, "Chen Quan Lieshi Zhuan" (A Biography of Martyr Chen Quan), *Guangdong Dangshi Tongxun* 54 (1988), 35-6.

13. "Tuan Xianggang Diwei zhi Tuan Zhongyang Xin" (Letter from CCYL.HKLEC to the CCYL Central, renamed from CSYL as from January 1925), on the tense situation in Hong Kong after the May-Thirtieth Movement, 12 June, 1925, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 448. Also see Lu Qi, "Ji zai Sheng-Gang Dabagong zhong de Deng Zhongxia Tongzhi" (Comrade Deng Zhongxia in the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott), *Guangdong Wenshi Ziliao* 29 (1980), 62.

14. Xie Yanzhang, "Liang Guihua" (Liang Guihua) in GZDY and GZM (eds.), *Guangzhou Yinglie Zhuan*, 184.

15. Chen Shuangshuang, "Chen Richang" (Cheng Richang), *ibid.*, 330.

16. He Jinzhou, "He Yaoquan" (He Yaoquan), *ibid.*, 58-9.

17. Ou Yangping and Xie Yanzhang, "Gao Jingtian" (Gao Jingtian), *ibid.*, 272.

18. Liang Furan, "Zhonggong Guangdong Dangzuzhi de Jianli ji Chuqi de Gongnong Yundong" (The Establishment of the Communist Party in Guangdong and the Early Labour and Peasant Movements), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 1 (1983), 168. Also He Jinzhou, "Yang Yin" (Yang Yin) in *Zhongguo Gongren Yundong de Xianqu* (The Forerunners of the Labour Movement in China) (Beijing: Gongren Chubanshe, 1983), vol. 2, 201.

19. Lin Hongnuan and He Jinzhou, "Luo Dengxian Zhuanlue" (A Biography of Luo Dengxian), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 9 (1987), 164-5.

20. GFZB, "Diyci Guonei Geming Zhanzheng Shiqi de Guangdong Funu Yundong" (Guangdong Women's Movement during the First Revolutionary War), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 8 (1986), 165-6.

21. "Tuan Guangzhou Diwei Xueshengbu Baogao (Di Shiwu Hao)" (CCYL Guangzhou Local Executive Committee Student Section Report No. 15) 20 July, 1925, and "Tuan Guangzhou Diwei Xuanchuanbu Baogao" (CCYL Guangzhou Local Executive Committee Publicity Department Report) 25 August, 1925, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 484-92, and 511-13. The schools included Queen's College, St. Paul's College, Wah Yan College, Chih Chih College, Hon Nu Teachers College, To Shing College, Sai Ying Poon School, and Chih Wah College, see Mo Cangbai, "Xianggang de Qingnian Yundong" (The Youth Movement in Hong Kong) in GZQY (ed.), *Guangdong Xuesheng Yundong Shiliao Xuanbian (1923-1927)* (Selection of Materials on the Youth Movement in Guangdong (1923-1927)), *Guangzhou Qingnian Yundongshi Ziliao Congkan* (Materials on the History of the Youth Movement in Guangdong Series) ([Guangzhou]: n.p., n.d.), 496.

22. Chen Zhiwen, "Dageming Shiqi Guangzhou Xuesheng Yundong" (Student Movement in Guangzhou during the Great Revolution), and "Dageming Shiqi Guangdong Renmin Fandi Fanfengjian Douzheng" (The Anti-Imperialism and Anti-Feudalism Struggle in Guangdong during the Great Revolution), *Guangzhou Wenshi Ziliao* 18 (1980), 34-5 and 19(1980), 13-4.

23. See Reginald Edward Stubbs, Governor of Hong Kong, to L.S. Amery, Secretary of State for the Colonies, despatch, conf., 26 June, 1925, in CO 129/488.

24. A good feel of the situation is obtained from the following contemporary sources covering the two weeks or so prior to the outbreak of the strike: Swire Papers, Jss II 2/4, box 40; The Archives of the Council of World Mission, South China, Incoming Letters, box 24; and Ng Bar-ling Riji 1925 (Ng Barling's Diary 1925) in the Ng Bar-ling Collection. Ng was a contemporary veteran reporter in Hong Kong; Gechu Xinbu (Correspondence), 1925, in the Tung Wah (Donghua) Hospital Archives.

25. Mo Cangbai, a Hong Kong student leader in Guangzhou during the strike-boycott, "Wu Sanshi' Yundong yu Xianggang Xuesheng" (The May-Thirtieth Incident and the Hong Kong Students) in "Xianggang Xuesheng, Di Shisan Qi" (Hong Kong Students no.13) 15 May, 1926, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 5, 161; and Jianru [pseud.], "Xianggang Huangren Zhongxue Bake Yuan Hu Xiangqing" (The Details of the Students' Strike at the Queen's College) in GZQY (ed.), *Guangdong*, 544-8.

26. Gwenneth Stokes, *Queen's College, 1862-1962* (Hong Kong: Queen's College, 1962), 129. The severe dislocation in Queen's College is clearly borne out by the circulation numbers of the college paper, *The Yellow Dragon*, before and after the outbreak of the strike. The circulation numbers for all the issues of 1925 before the strike were between 1,100 and 1,150. The number dropped to 650 for the rest of the year and in to 1926. See *The Yellow Dragon* 26, no.2 (March 1925), 1; 26, no.3 (April 1925), 1; 26, no.4 (May 1925), 1; 26, no.5 (October 1925), 1; 26, no.6 (November 1925), 1; 26, no.7 (December 1925), 1; 27, no.1 (January, 1926), 1; 27, no.2 (February 1926), 1; and 27, no.3 (March 1926), 1.

27. Hong Kong Mei Fong Secondary Private Girls' School (ed.), *Xianggang Shili Mei Fong Nuzi Zhongxuexiao Zuijin Wunian Gaikuang* (Hong Kong Mei Fong Secondary Private Girl's School: The Current Five Years) (Hong Kong: the School, 1933), 2.

28. Qiuge (pseud.), "Shengbaoluo Bake zhi Jingguo" (The Details of the Students' Strike at St. Paul's College) in GZQY (ed.), *Guangdong*, 549.

29. D.C. Wilson, "Britain and the Kuomintang, 1924-1928: A Study of the Interaction of Official Politics and Perceptions in Britain and China" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1973), 204.

30. "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao" (CCYL.HKLEC Report) 27 October, 1925, reporting on the Hong Kong league's activities during the previous half year, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 2, 25-30. Also see Cai Luo and Lu Quan, *Sheng-Gang Dabagong* (The Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1980), 26.

31. Stubbs to L.S. Amery, desp., conf., 26 June, 1925, in CO 129/488. Also He Jinzhou, "Yang Yin", 201; and ZGS Organization Section, GDZ, and GD (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 92.

32. Letter from the workers to the directors, the eighteenth day of the fifth month (8 July), 1925, Gechu Xinbu 1925.

33. Shi Bing, "Deng Zhongxia" (Deng Zhongxia) in *Zhongguo Gongren Yundong de Xianqu*, vol. 2, 76; Jiang Minrui, *Guangdong Haiyuan*, 62; and Chen Zhiwen, "Dageming Shiqi Guangdong Renmin Fandi Fanfengjian Douzheng", 14. For information on the Triad position in Hong Kong in the 1920s and 1930s, see W.P. Morgan, *Triad Societies in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Government Printer, 1960), 67-8.

34. Stubbs to Amery, desp., conf., 26 June, 1925, in CO 129/488.

35. D.C. Wilson, *Britain and the Kuomintang 1924-1928*, 215.

36. See, for example, Butterfield and Swire (Hong Kong) to Butterfield and Swire (London), 3 July, 1925, in Swire Papers, Jss II 2/4, box 40; and Helen Davies, Headmistress of the Ying Wa Girls' School, to F.H. Hawkins, Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society, in The Archive of the Council of World Mission, South China, Incoming Letters, box 24. Also see Kathleen E. Barker, *Change and Continuity: A History of St. Stephen's Girls' College, Hong Kong, 1906-1996* (Hong Kong: St. Stephen's Girls' College, 1996), 67-70.

37. Stubbs to Amery, tel. 28177/25, 26 June, 1925, CO 129/488.

38. Chen Zhiwen, "Dageming Shiqi Guangdong Renmin Fandi Fanfengjian Douzheng", 14; Xuan Qianhong and Lu Quan, "Zhongguo Zaoqi Zhigong Yundong de

Zhuming Lingxiu – Su Zhaozheng” (Su Zhaozheng: The Famous Leader in the Early Chinese Labour Movement), *Lishi Jiaoxue* 201 (1980), 2-7; and SZ (ed.), *Guangdong Gongyunshi Ziliao Xuanji* (Selected Writings on Guangdong Labour Movement) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1982), vol. 1, 25-6.

39. Huang Ping, “Huiyi Sheng-Gang Dabagong”, 152; and “Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao” 27 October, 1925, 25-30.

40. See *Zhonghua Quanguo Zonggonghui Sheng-Gang Bagong Weiyuanhui Zhiyuan Yilan Ce* (A Summary of Membership of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott Committee) (reprint, Guangzhou: Guangdongsheng Zhongshan Tushuguan, 1978). Also see Guan Guoxuan, “Xianggang Bianwei ‘Chougang’ de Sheng-Gang Dabagong” (Hong Kong Becoming a Stinking Harbour: The Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott), *Zhuanji Wenxue (Taipei)* 291 (1986), 99.

41. See “Zhonggong Guangdong Quwei Guanyu Sheng-Gang Dabagong Qingkuang de Baogao” (CCP Guangdong Region Executive Committee’s Report on the Situation of the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott), July 1925, in ZD and GD (eds.), *Guangdong Geming Lishi Wenjian Huiji 1921-1949* (A Collection of Historical Documents on Revolutions in Guangdong 1921-1949) (Guangzhou: ZD, 1982-1990), vol. 6, 30-1.

42. *Ibid.*, 29-30.

43. These structural changes are recorded in the following documents: “Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao” 27 October, 1925, 25-30; “Tuan Yuequwei Zuzhi Baogao (Di Er Hao)” (CCYL Guangdong Region Executive Committee Organization Section Report No. 2) 20 November, 1925; “Tuan Yuequwei Zongbaogao (Xu)” (CCYL Guangdong Region Executive Committee General Report - Continuation) 6 January, 1926; “Tuan Xianggang Tewe Guanyu Jiaoyu Xuanchuan Gongzuo Zhuangkuang de Baogao” (CCYL Hong Kong Special Committee Report on the Situation of Education and Propaganda Work) 17 January, 1926; “Tuan Yuequwei Zuzhibu Baogao” (CCYL Guangdong Region Executive Committee Organization Section Report) 20 April, 1926; and “Tuan Guangdong Quwei Zuzhibu Siyuefen Gongzuo Baogao” (CCYL Guangdong Region Executive Committee Organization Section April Work Progress Report) 9 May, 1926, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 2, 61-5, 206-9, 220-2, 333-41, and 415-9.

44. “Zhonggong Guangdong Quwei Guanyu Sheng-Gang Dabagong Qingkuang de Baogao” July 1925, 25-37.

45. The weaknesses of the Guangdong Communists are summed up in “Tuan Yuequwei Baogao (Di Er Hao)” (CCYL Guangdong Region Executive Committee Report No. 2) 6 November, 1925, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 2, 38-9. Although this is a report of the CCYL, the situation was not different with the CCP in Guangdong generally. Also see Hu Tichun and Chen Shanxin, “Luelun Zhongguo Gongchandang zai Sheng-Gang Dabagong zhong de Zuoyong”, 12.

46. See “Tuan Yuequwei Zuzhi Baogao (Di Er Hao)” 20 November, 1925, 61-5.

47. “Tuan Guangzhou Diwei Zhengzhi Baogao (Zhengzhi Di Yi Hao)” (CCYL Guangzhou Local Executive Committee Political Report Political Series No. 1) 1 December, 1925, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 2, 109-12.

48. “Tuan Guangzhou Diwei Zuzhibu Guanyu Shiyiyuefen Gongzuo Baogao” (CCYL Guangzhou Local Executive Committee Organization Section November Work Progress Report), 30 November, 1925, *ibid.*, 95-101.

49. “Tuan Guangzhou Diwei Zuzhibu Gongzuo Baogao (Shi’eryuefen)” (CCYL Guangzhou Local Executive Committee Organization Section Work Report for December) 5 January, 1926, *ibid.*, 191-5. For the debate which ended in the virtual discontinuation of the society, see, for example, Zeng Jianzhao and Chen Shanguang, “Xinminzhu Zhuyi Geming Shiqi Guangdong Qingnian Yundong Dashiji (Er) (Chu Gao)” (Major Events of the

Youth Movement in Guangdong during the New Democratic Revolutionary Period: Part Two (First Draft)), *Guangdong Qingyunshi* 18 (1985), 60-2.

50. "Tuan Yuequwei Zuzhibu Yiyuefen Gongzuo Baogao" (CCYL Guangdong Region Executive Committee Organization Section Work Report for January) 11 February, 1926, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 2, 253-5.

51. "Tuan Xianggang Diwei Baogao" 27 October, 1925, 25-30.

52. "Tuan Yuequwei Zuzhibu Yiyuefen Gongzuo Baogao" 11 February, 1926, 253-5. Also see Chen Wan'an and Chen Shanguang, "Tuan Guangzhou Diwei Dahui he Tuan Yuequ 'Si Da' - Guangdongtuan Zuzhi Shi Ziliao zhi Wu" (CCYL Guangzhou Municipal Congress and the CCYL Fourth Guangdong Regional Congress: Historical Data on the Organization of the CSYL in Guangdong Part Five), *Guangdong Qingyunshi Ziliao yu Yanjiu* 13 (1984), 35.

53. "Tuan Yuequwei gei Tuan Zhongyang de Baogao" (Report from CCYL Guangdong Region Executive Committee to the CCYL Central) 4 January, 1926; and "Tuan Xianggang Tewe Zuzhi Gongzuo Baogao" (CCYL Hong Kong Special Committee Organizational Work Report) 18 February, 1926, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 2, 184-9, and 261-3.

54. "Tuan Yuequwei Zuzhibu Yiyuefen Gongzuo Baogao" 11 February, 1926, 253-5.

55. "Tuan Yuequwei Zuzhibu Baogao" 20 April, 1926, and "Tuan Guangdong Quwei Zuzhibu Siyuefen Gongzuo Baogao" 9 May, 1926, 333-41 and 415-19; and "Tuan Guangdong Quwei Zuzhibu Wuyuefen Gongzuo Baogao" (CCYL Guangdong Region Executive Committee Organization Section May Work Progress Report) 16 June, 1926, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 2, 493-8.

56. "Tuan Yuequwei Zuzhibu Baogao (Di Yi Hao)" (CCYL Guangdong Region Executive Committee Organization Section Report No. 1) 1 January, 1925, *ibid.*, vol. 2, 331-5.

57. "Tuan Guangdong Quwei Guanyu Jiugeyue lai Gongzuo de Zongbaogao" (CCYL Guangdong Region Executive Committee Work Report of the Past Nine Months) 30 June, 1926, *ibid.*, 511-26.

58. "Chen Yannian guanyu Zhonggong Guangdong Quwei de Zuzhi Zhuangkuang Baogao" (Chen Yannian's Report on the Organization Situation of the CCP Guangdong Region Executive Committee) 22-26 July, 1927, in ZGS Organization Section, GDZ and GD (eds.), *Zhonggong Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao* (Materials on the History of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Organizations) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1986), vol. 1, 14-15.

59. See GDDY and GDZ (eds.), *Zhonggong Guangdong Dangshi Dashiji* (Major Events in the History of the CCP in Guangdong) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1984), 29-30; and ZGS Organization Section, GDZ, and GD (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 51.

60. Hu Hua (ed.), *Zhongguo Gemingshi Jiangyi* (Lectures on the History of Revolutions in China) ([Beijing]: Zhongguo Renmin Daxue Chubanshe, n.d.), 754-5.

61. For example, "Su Feng gei Tuan Zhongyang de Diyici Baogao" (Su Feng's First Report to the CCYL Central) 30 September, 1925, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 563-5.

62. "Tuan Guangdong Quwei Guanyu Jiugeyue lai Gongzuo de Zongbaogao" 30 June, 1926, 511-26; and Lai Xiansheng, "Zai Guangdong Geming Hongliu Zhong - Huiyi 1922-1927 de Douzheng (1)" (In the Midst of the Guangdong Revolution: Recollection of the 1922-1927 Struggle Part One), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 1 (1983), 108.

63. For example, "Huiwu Xiaoxi" (Society's Affairs) in "Xianggang Xuesheng Di Shi'er Qi" (*Hong Kong Students* no. 12) 20 April, 1926, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 5, 110-40.

64. Lai Xiansheng, "Zai Guangdong Geming Hongliu Zhong (1)", 108. For details in terms of manpower needed for the operation of the complex picket machinery and for sustaining the strike-boycott generally, see Liu Shuyong, *Xianggang Lishi* (A History of Hong Kong), *Xianggang Huigui Congshu* (Returning of Hong Kong to China Series) (Beijing: Xinhua Chubanshe, 1996), 77-8.

65. Actually the lack of training had been a perennial and ongoing problem, but it was much exacerbated during the strike-boycott, see for example, "Tuan Yuequwei Baogao (Di Er Hao)" 6 November, 1925, 38-9.

66. Li Xianheng, Lin Hongrui and Yang Shaolian, *Chen Yannian* (Chen Yannian) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1985), 46-8.

67. "Tuan Yuequwei gei Tuan Zhongyang de Baogao" 4 January, 1926, 184-9.

68. "Tuan Xianggang Teweigei Guanyu Jiaoyu Xuanchuan Gongzuo Zhuangkuang de Baogao" 17 January, 1926, 220-2.

69. *Ibid.* See also "Tuan Yuequwei Zongbaogao (Xu)" 6 January, 1926, 206-9.

70. A detailed recollection of the course is found in Zhang Mingyun, "Huiyi Guangzhou Nongmin Yundong Jiangxisuo" (Recollection of the Guangzhou Peasant Movement Training Centre), *Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao* 9 (1984), 139-53.

71. "Zhonggong Zhongyang Kuoda Zhixing Weiyuanhui Wenjian" (CCP Central Enlarged Executive Committee Document), October 1925, in ZD, *Zhonggong Zhongyang Wenjian Xuanji 1921-1949* (Selected Documents of the CCP Central 1921-1949) (Beijing: Zhonggong Zhongyang Dangxiao Chubanshe, 1982-1987), vol. 1, 396-439.

72. "Tuan Guangdong Quwei gei Tuan Zhongyang de Baogao (Di Er Hao)" (Report from CCYL Guangdong Region Executive Committee to the CCYL Central No. 2) 10 June, 1926, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 2, 484-9.

73. "Tuan Guangdong Quwei Zuzhibu Wuyuefen Gongzuo Baogao" 16 June, 1926, 493-8. Also see Shen Hongli, "Gongchan Guoji Sulian Guwen yu Sheng-Gang Bagong -- Jinian Sheng-Gang Bagong Liushiwu Zhounian" (The Comintern Soviet Advisers and the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott: Commemorating the 65th Anniversary of the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott), *Zhongguo Xiandaiishi* 12 (1990), 66-72.

74. The "fortress policy" is clearly expounded in four articles written by Deng and published in *Gongrenzhiu* (Labour's Path) nos. 146-9: "Zenyang Baozhang Bagong Shengli" (How to Insure Victory of the Strike-Boycott); "Paotai Zhengce" (The Fortress Policy); "Baozhang Bagong Shengli de Liangge Paotai" (The Two Fortresses that Guarantee Victory of the Strike-Boycott); and "Qianfang Paotai Zenyang Jianzu" (How to Construct Fortresses at the Frontline). See Shi Bing, "Deng Zhongxia", vol. 2, 102-3. Also see, Jiang Ping, *Deng Zhongxia de Yisheng* (The Life of Deng Zhongxia) (Nanjing: Nanjing Daxue Chubanshe, 1988), 136-8.

75. See, for example, Huang Zhenwei, "Sheng-Gang Bagong" (The Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott) in Jin Yingxi (ed.), *Xianggang Shihua* (A History of Hong Kong) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1988), 189.

76. Jiang Minrui, "Deng Zhongxia yu Sheng-Gang Dabagong" (Deng Zhongxia and the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott), *Guangdong Shehui Kexue* 4 (1985), 50; and Lu Quan and Xuan Qianhong, *Su Zhaozheng* (Su Zhaozheng) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1993), 249-50.

77. Some details of the problems created are found in Jiang Ping, *Deng Zhongxia de Yisheng*, 127-8. Also see Si Bingwen, "Li Qihan" (Li Qihan) in *Zhongguo Gongren Yundong de Xianqu*, vol. 2, 153.

78. GZGY (ed.), *Guangzhou Gongren Yundong Dashiji* (Major Events of the Guangzhou Labour Movement) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1985), 96.

79. Bu Suiwen, "Chen Quan Lieshi Zhuan", 36-7.

80. Lu Quan and Xuan Qianhong, *Su Zhaozheng*, 250-1.

81. "Zhonggong Guangdong Quwei Guanyu Sheng-Gang Bagong Qingkuang de Baogao" (CCP Guangdong Region Executive Committee's Report on the Situation of the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott), mid October 1925, in ZD and GD (eds.), *Guangdong Geming Lishi Wenjian Huiji 1921-1949*, vol. 6, 88-90.

82. GZGY (ed.), *Guangzhou Gongren Yundong Dashiji*, 102; and Huang Suisheng, "Sheng-Gang Bagong Douzheng zhong de Sheng-Gang Gonghui Tongyi Yundong" (The Unification Movement of Hong Kong and Guangzhou Unions during the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott), *Guangzhou Dangshi Yanjiu* 10 (1990), 21. Also see Xuan Qianhong, "Guangdong Gongren Yundongshi" (A History of the Guangdong Labour Movement), *Guangdong Dangshi Tongxun* special issue (July 1988), 10.

83. Lu Quan and Xuan Qianhong, *Su Zhaozheng*, 251-2.

84. Jiang Ping, *Deng Zhongxia de Yisheng*, 138.

85. GZGY (ed.), *Guangzhou Gongren Yundong Dashiji*, 101-2; and Huang Suisheng, "Sheng-Gang Gonghui Tongyi Yundong", 21.

86. "Sheng-Gang Dabagong Dashiji" (Major Events of the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott) in GSKY (ed.), *Sheng-Gang Dabagong Ziliao* (Materials on the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott), *Zhongguo Xiandai Gemingshi Ziliao Congkan* (A Collection of Sources on the History of Modern Chinese Revolutions Series) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1980), 9.

87. Chen Zhiwen, "Dageming Shiqi Guangzhou Gongren Yundong" (Labour Movement in Guangzhou during the Great Revolution), *Guangzhou Wenshi Ziliao* 21 (1980), 13. Also see He Jin and Cai Mingjin, *Shouci Guo-Gong Hezuo Shiqi Guangdong Gemingshi* (A History of the Guangdong Revolution during the First KMD-CCP Cooperation) (Guangzhou: Huanan Ligong Daxue Chubanshe, 1994), 65.

88. Daniel Y.K. Kwan, *Marxist Intellectuals and the Chinese Labour Movement: A Study of Deng Zhongxia (1894-1933)* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 175-6.

89. Xuan Qianhong, "Guangdong Gongren Yundongshi", 10. Also see Hu Tichun, "Zhang Ruicheng" (Zhang Ruicheng) in GZDY and GZM (eds.), *Guangzhou Yinglie Zhuan*, 89. The Communist group here presumably included both party and league members. In December the number of league members among the Hong Kong seamen increased dramatically from four to forty-four, "Tuan Xianggang Tewe Zuzhi Gongzuo Baogao" (CCYL Hong Kong Special Committee Organizational Work Report) in ZD and GD (eds.), *Guangdong Geming Lishi Wenjian Huiji 1921-1949*, vol. 4, 162-5.

90. Song Chao et al., (eds.), *Zhongguo Haiyuan Yundong Shihua* (A History of the Chinese Seamen's Movement) ([Beijing]: Renmin Jiaotong Chubanshe, 1985), 62-6.

91. GZGY (ed.), *Guangzhou Gongren Yundong Dashiji*, 105.

92. Bu Suiwen, "Chen Quan Lieshi Zhuan", 37.

93. He Jinzhou, "He Yaoquan" (He Yaoquan) in GDDY, GDRY and GDM (eds.), *Nanyue Yinglie Zhuan*, vol. 1, 48-52.

94. Xuan Qianhong et al., "Su Zhaozheng yu Guoji Zhigong Yundong" (Su Zhaozheng and the International Labour Movement), *Dangshi Ziliao Congkan* 4 (1985), 101-2. Also see Deng Zhongxia, "Su Zhaozheng Tongzhi Zhuan" (A Biography of Comrade Su Zhaozheng) in Hua Yingshen (ed.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Lieshi Zhuan* (A Biography of Martyrs of the CCP) (Hong Kong: n.p., 1949), 26.

95. Xuan Qianhong and Lu Quan, "Su Zhaozheng Zhuanlue", 447.

96. GZGY (ed.), *Guangzhou Gongren Yundong Dashiji*, 113-14. See also Huang Suisheng, "Sheng-Gang Gonghui Tongyi Yundong", 22.

97. Bu Suiwen, "Chen Quan Lieshi Zhuan", 37. Details of the Third National Labor Congress are found in *Diyici Guonei Geming Zhanzheng Shiqi de Gongren Yundong* (Labour Movement during the First Revolutionary War), *Zhongguo Xiandai Shi Ziliao Congkan* (Materials on the Modern History of China Series) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe 1963), 219-31.

98. Huang Suisheng, "Sheng-Gang Gonghui Tongyi Yundong", 22.

99. *Ibid.*, and ZXGZ (ed.), *Guangzhou Bainian Dashiji* (Major Events in Guangzhou during the Last Century) (Guangzhou: the Committee, 1984), vol. 1, 338. For the role Liu Shaoqi, see He Jinzhou, "Liu Shaoqi Tongzhi zai Guangzhou" (Comrade Liu Shaoqi Guangzhou), *Guangzhou Wenshi* 22 (1981), 21-3.

100. GZGY (ed.), *Guangzhou Gongren Yundong Dashiji*, 114.

Chapter 5. From the Party Purification Movement to the Guangzhou Uprising, April-December 1927

1. ZXGZ (ed.), *Guangzhou Bainian Dashiji* (Major Events in Guangzhou during the Last Century) (Guangzhou: the Committee, 1984), vol. 2, 378.

2. He Jinzhou and Xie Yanzhang, "Peng Yuesheng" (Peng Yuesheng) in GDD GDRY and GDM (eds.), *Nanyue Yinglie Zhuan*, vol. 3, 52-7. For a first hand account, see Lai Xiansheng, alias Lai Yurun, "Zai Guangdong Geming Hongliu zhong -- Huiyi 1927 de Douzheng (2)" (In the Midst of the Guangdong Revolution: Recollection of 1922-1927 Struggle Part Two), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 2 (1984), 100-7.

3. Hu Tichun, "Zhang Ruicheng" (Zhang Ruicheng) in GZDY and GZM (ed) *Guangzhou Yinglie Zhuan*, 89-92; and He Jinzhou, "He Yaoquan" (He Yaoquan) GDDY, GDRY and GDM (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 57-61.

4. ZXGZ (ed.), *Guangzhou Bainian Dashiji*, vol. 2, 378; and Feng Tiedong and Hua, "Yang Yin" (Yang Yin) in GZDY and GZM (eds.), *Guangzhou Yinglie Zhuan*, 3; and GZDY, *Zhonggong Guangzhou Difangshi: Xin Minzhu Zhuyi Geming Shiqi* (Local History of the CCP in Guangzhou: The New Democratic Revolutionary Period) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1995), 142-3.

5. Yuan Bangjian, *Xianggang Shilue* (A Brief History of Hong Kong) (Hong Kong Zhongliu Chubanshe, 1988), 157; and Long Jihe, "Dageming Shiqi Guangdong Dang Tuan Gongzuo de Yixie Huiyi" (Recollection of Activities of the Guangdong Party League during the Great Revolution), *Guangzhou Dangshi Yanjiu* 5 (1989), 27.

6. Details of the action undertaken against the union on 26 May are available Governor Cecil Clementi to L.S. Amery, despatch, secret, 9 June, 1927, CO 129/500; and South China Command Intelligence Diary, secret, June 1927, I.G. 766/5, South China Command to British Legation, 1927, FO 228/3689. Also see Liu Dachao, "Guangdong Haiyuan de Zhandou Licheng" (A History of the Struggle of the Guangdong Seaman), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 2 (1984), 82-3.

7. ZGS Organization Section, GDZ, and GD (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao* (Materials on the History of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Organizations), (Beijing: Zhonggong Dangshi Chubanshe, 1994), vol. 1, 13.

8. Lai Xiansheng, alias Lai Yurun, *op.cit.*, 107-8. Also see Long Jihe, *op.cit.*, 28.

9. Discussion of Clementi's attitude and his relationship with Li Jishen until the found in Chan Lau Kit-Ching, *China, Britain, and Hong Kong 1895-1945* (Hong Kong Chinese University Press, 1990), 221-40. Also see Liang Ruochen, "Dageming S Guomindang Fandongpai yu Xianggang Ying Zhengfu Goujie Yi Li" (A Case of the Hong Kong British Government Colluding with the GMD Reactionaries during the G

Revolution Period), *Guangzhou Wenshi Ziliao* 4 (1961), 165-70; and Long Jihe, who served as the main communication link between Lai Yurun and Mu Qing at that time, *op.cit.*, 27-9.

10. Joe England and John Rear, *Chinese Labour under British Rule: A Critical Study of Labour Relations and Law in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1975), 80.

11. Long Jihe, *op.cit.*, 28; and Lai Xiansheng, *op.cit.*, 108-9.

12. For details of the conference see ZDZ (ed.), *Baqi Huiyi* (The 7 August Conference), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Lishi Ziliao Congkan* (Historical Materials on the CCP Series) (Beijing: Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao Chubanshe, 1986).

13. See records of the Conference and resolutions regarding reorganization in "Baqi Zhongyang Jinji Huiyi Wenjian" (Documents on the CCP Central Extra-ordinary Meeting for the August 7 Conference) in ZD, *Zhonggong Zhongyang Wenjian Xuanji 1921-1949* (Selected Documents of the CCP Central 1921-1949) (Beijing: Zhonggong Zhongyang Dangxiao Chubanshe, 1982-1987), vol. 3, 223-33. Also see "Zhonggong Zhongyang Guanyu Nanfangju gei Guangdong, Guangxi, Minnan Xin" (CCP Central on the Letter from the CCP Central Southern Bureau to Guangdong, Guangxi, and Southern Fujian) 11 August, 1927, in ZGS Organization Section, GDZ and GD (eds.), *Zhonggong Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao* (Materials on the History of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Organizations) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1986), vol. 1, 17.

14. Wang Jianying, "Kang Ri Zhanzheng Yiqian Zhongguo Gongchandang Lingdao Jigou de Bianhua Gaikuang" (On the Changes of Leadership Structure of the CCP before the Anti-Japanese War), *Jindaishi Yanjiu* 15(1983), 128; and Huang Zhenwei, *Zhonggong Guangdong Dangshi Gailun* (A Brief History of the CCP in Guangdong) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Gaodeng Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1994), 105-6.

15. ZGS Organization Section, GDZ, and GD (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 245.

16. "Zhonggong Zhongyang gei Guangdong Shengwei (sic) Xin" (Letter from the CCP Central to the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee) 4 August, 1927, in NQJ (ed.), *Nanchang Qiyi* (The Nanchang Uprising), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Lishi Ziliao Congkan* (Historical Materials on the CCP Series) (Beijing: Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao Chubanshe, 1987), 41-3. Another work on the Nanchang Uprising is Xu Zhaolin, *Zhuanglie de Kaiduan -- Nanchang Qiyi Yanjiu* (A Heroic Beginning: Research on the Nanchang Uprising) (Jinan: Huanghe Chubanshe, 1992).

17. "Zhonggong Zhongyang zhi Nanfangju zhuan Guangdong Shengwei Xin" (Letter from the CCP Central to the CCP Central Southern Bureau care of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee) 22 August, 1927, and "Zhonggong Zhongyang zhi Nanfangju ji Guangdong Shengwei Xin" (Letter from the CCP Central to the CCP Central Southern Bureau and the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee), undated but sometime in early October, *ibid.*, 48-9 and 51-2.

18. "Zhou Enlai gei Zhonggong Zhongyang de Xin" (Letter from Zhou Enlai to the CCP Central), September 1927; "Zhang Tailei zhi Zhonggong Zhongyang Jinji Xin" (Urgent Letter from Zhang Tailei to the CCP Central) 27 September, 1927; and "Zhang Tailei zi Shantou lai Xin" (Zhang Tailei's Letter from Shantou) 29 September, 1927, *ibid.*, 76-7, 78-9, and 80-1.

19. Lin Hongruan, *Zhang Tailei* (Zhang Tailei) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1981), 86-7; and Gong Chu, a unit commander on the occasion, *Hongjun yu Wo* (The Red Army and Me) (Hong Kong: Nanfeng Chubanshe, 1955), 76-7.

20. Lai Xiansheng, *op.cit.*, 110-14.

21. See extract from Canton Intelligence Report for the Period April - September 1927 in South China Command Intelligence Diary, secret, I.G. 766/9, October 1927, in South China Command to British Legation, October 28, 1927, CO 228/3689.

22. See CCP Central's analysis of the failure of the Nanchang Uprising, together with some chief participants' accounts of the uprising, "Zhongyong Tonggao Di Shisan Hao" (CCP Central Circular No. 13); appendix 1 "Li Lisan Baogao" (Li Lisan's Report); appendix 2 "Zhang Tailei Baogao" (Zhang Tailei's Report); appendix 3 "Zhang Guotao Baogao" (Zhang Guotao's Report) in ZD, *Zhonggong Zhongyang Wenjian Xuanji 1921-1949*, vol. 3, 329-62. Also see Ye Xinyu, "Dui Zhou Enlai zai Chaoshan Geming Huodong de Jidian Renshi" (A Few Notes on Zhou Enlai's Revolutionary Activities in Chaoshan) in GDDY et al. (eds.), *Zhou Enlai Tongzhi zai Chaoshan* (Comrade Zhou Enlai in Chaoshan), Guangdongsheng Dangshi Ziliao Congkan (Historical Materials on the CCP in Guangdong Series) (Shantou: n.p., 1985), vol. 1, 91.

23. Huai En [pseud.], *Zhou Enlai Shengping Dashiji* (Major Events in the Life of Zhou Enlai) (Chengdu: Sichuan Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 112.

24. Fan Guixia, "Zai Zhou Zongli Shenbian de Huiyi" (Recollection of the Time with Premier Zhou), *Guangzhou Wenshi Ziliao* 20 (1980), 6-9.

25. *Ibid.*, 11-13. Also see ZWY (ed.), *Zhou Enlai Nianpu 1898-1949* (A Chronology of Zhou Enlai 1898-1949) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1990), 127.

26. Huai En, *Zhou Enlai Shengping Dashiji*, 112.

27. "Zhonggong Zhongyang Guanyu Quxiao Nanfangju Jueding" (On CCP Central's Resolution of Dissolving the Southern Bureau) in ZGS Organization Section, GDZ and GD (eds.), *Zhonggong Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 24.

28. "Zhonggong Zhongyang zhi Guangdong Shengwei (sic) Han" (Letter from the CCP Central to the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee) 12 October, 1927, in NBJ (ed.), *Nanchang Qiyi*, 53-4. For accounts of the arrests and treatment of Ye's and He's soldiers by the Hong Kong authorities, see *Huazi Ribao* (Chinese Mail) 4, 7, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19 and 20 October, 1927.

29. Fan Guixia, "Zai Zhou Zongli Shenbian de Huiyi", 4-5.

30. Guo Moruo, who escaped to Hong Kong before leaving for Shanghai, talks of hiding in the British Colony, "Jinian Renmin Yingxiang Yun Daiying" (title supplied by editor) (Commemorating Yun Daiying: The Heroe of the People) in *Huiyi Yun Daiying* (Remembering Yun Daiying) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1982), 200.

31. "Zhonggong Zhongyang zhi Guangdong Shengwei (sic) Han", 53-4. Also according to the biographers of Xu Chengzhang, a Guangdong Communist who had earlier been despatched to work among the peasants and troops in the Hailufeng area, Xu was assigned the duty of taking care of the scattered revolutionaries in the Hailufeng region and that Xu alone led more than three hundred revolutionaries to relative safety in Hong Kong, see Yuan Bangjian and Chen Yongjie, "Xu Chengzhang Zhuanlue" (A Biography of Xu Chengzhang) in *Buqu de Gongchandang Ren* (The Staunch Communist Comrades) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1984), vol. 4, 57-8.

32. See record of the meeting in "Zhonggong Zhongyang Nanfangju he Shengwei Lianxi Huiyi Jingguo Qingxing" (On the Situation of the Joint Meeting of the CCP Central Southern Bureau and the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee) in GD and GDDY, *Guangdonggu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934* (Research Materials on the Party and League in the Guangdong Region during 1927-1934), Guangdong Geming Shiliao Congkan (Materials on the Guangdong Revolution Series) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 24-8. For Neumann's role in the uprising, see Huang Suisheng, "Gongchan Guoji Daibiao Niuman yu Guangzhou Qiyi" (The Comintern Representative Neumann and the Guangzhou Uprising) in GDX, GZDY and GZDX (eds.), *Guangzhou*

Qiyi Yanjiu (Research on the Guangzhou Uprising) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1987), 297-309.

33. "Zhongyang zhi Nanfangju bing Guangdong Shengwei" (Letter from the CCP Central to the CCP Central Southern Bureau and the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee) 23 October, 1927, in GLB (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Ziliao* (Materials on the Guangzhou Uprising), Zhongguo Xiandai Gemingshi Ziliao Congkan (A Collection of Sources on the History of Modern Chinese Revolutions Series) (Guangzhou: Renmin Chubanshe, 1985), vol. 1, 52-3.

34. For example, "Zhonggong Zhongyang Tonggao Shisan Hao" (CCP Central Circular No. 13) 24 October, 1927, in NBJ (ed.), *Nanchang Qiyi*, 55-63. As far as the Guangdong countryside and peasant movement prior to 1927 are concerned, see Hans J. van de Ven, *From Friend to Comrade: The Founding of the Chinese Communist Party 1920-1927* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 163-83.

35. See the resolution passed at the meeting, "Zuijin Gongzuo Gangling" (An Outline of Current Activities) in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934*, 29-34.

36. See resolutions of the conference in "Zhongyang Linshi Zhengzhiju Kuoda Huiyi Wenjian" (Documents of the Enlarged Meeting of the Provisional Politburo), November 1927, in ZD, *Zhonggong Zhongyang Wenjian Xuanji 1921-1949*, vol. 3, 363-416.

37. "Zhongyang zhi Nanfangju bing Guangdong Shengwei" 23 October, 1927, 52-3.

38. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Nanlu Tewe Han" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the Southern Region Special Committee), November 1927, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934*, 39-40.

39. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Nanlu Tewe" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the Southern Region Special Committee) 9 November, 1927, *ibid.*, 41-3.

40. Lu Quan and Xuan Qianhong, *Su Zhaozheng* (Su Zhaozheng) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1994), 339-40.

41. Chan Lau Kit-Ching, *China, Britain and Hong Kong 1895-1945*, 240-2.

42. "Guangdong Gongzuo Jihua Jueyi'an" (Resolution on the Working Plan in Guangdong), passed by the CCP Central Standing Committee on 27 November, in GLB (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 54-60.

43. Zhang Tailei reported the development in the East River Region immediately upon his return to Hong Kong, see "Zhang Tailei gei Zhonggong Zhongyang de Baogao (Jielu)" (A Report from Zhang Tailei to the CCP Central - Extract), 22 November, 1927, in GD (ed.), *Zhonggong Dongjiang Tewe Dang'an Xuanbian 1927-1934* (Selected Documents of the CCP East River Special Committee 1927-1934), Guangdong Dang'an Shiliao Congkan (Archival Materials on Guangdong Series) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1982), 1.

44. See Xie Qisheng and Fan Shiming, "Dongjiang Sanci Wuzhuang Qiyi de Jingguo ji qi Lishi Yiyi" (The Courses of the Three Military Uprisings in the East River Region and Their Historical Significance) in Huang Zhenwei (ed.), *Guangdong Geming Genjudi Xuanlun 1927-1937* (Selected Writings on the Guangdong Revolutionary Bases 1927-1937) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1988), 48-59; and Chen Wan'an, Wang Yifan and Yao Chuanyuan, "Dongjiang Geming Genjudi Jianjie" (An Introduction to the East River Revolutionary Base), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 12 (1988), 182-6.

45. "Guangdong Shengwei Tonggao (Di Ershiwu Hao)" (Guangdong Provincial Committee Circular No. 25), 25 November, 1927, in GLB (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 63-66. Also see Li Miaoxiang, "Guangdong Gedi de Nongmin Baodong yu Guangzhou Qiyi" (Peasants Rebellions in the Guangdong Region and the Guangzhou Uprising); and Lin Jinwen and Chen Denggui, "Guangzhou Fujin Ge Xian Nongmin

Wuzhuang zai Guangzhou Qiyi zhong de Zuoyong" (The Function of the Peasant Armed Forces in the Nearby Provinces of Guangdong in the Guangzhou Uprising) in GDX, GZDY and GZDX (eds.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Yanjiu*, 160-1, and 175.

46. Huang Suisheng, "Gongchan Guoji Daibiao Niuman yu Guangzhou Qiyi", 300-1; and "Guangdong Zhengzhi Baogao (Di Er Hao)" (Guangdong Political Report No. 2) 5 December, 1927, in GLB (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 81-8. Also see C. Martin Wilbur and Julie Lien-ying How, *Missionaries of Revolution: Soviet Advisers and Nationalist China 1920-1927* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 423-4.

47. "Guangdong Shengwei zi jiang Zhang Tailei Tongzhi Guanyu Guangzhou Baodong Wenti de Xin Yuanwen Zhaolu gei Zhonggong" (Document from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the CCP Central Recording the Letter from Comrade Zhang Tailei on the Problems of the Guangzhou Uprising) 29 November, 1927, in GLB (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 74-5.

48. "Shengwei Jinji Tonggao (Di Er Hao) - Haozhào Zhunbei Baodong" (Urgent Circular from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee No. 2 - On Preparing for the Uprising) 1 December, 1927, *ibid.*, 76-7.

49. For the close relationship between Ye and the Training Corps, see Lin Hongnuan, "Guangzhou Qiyi yu Ye Jianying" (Ye Jianying and the Guangzhou Uprising) in GDX, GZDY and GZDX (eds.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Yanjiu*, 247-54.

50. "Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Muqian Baodong Gongzuo de Zhunbei Qingxing gei Zhongyang de Baogao" (Report from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the CCP Central on the Progress of the Preparation Work for the Uprising) 8 December, 1927, and "Guangdong Shengwei Baogao (Di San Hao)" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Report No. 3) 10 December, 1927, in GLB (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 89-90 and 96-9.

51. ZDZ (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi* (The Guangzhou Uprising), Zhongguo Gongchandang Lishi Ziliao Congshu (Historical Materials on the CCP Series) (Beijing: Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao Chubanshe, 1988), 697.

52. "Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Muqian Baodong Gongzuo de Zhunbei Qingxing gei Zhongyang de Baogao" 8 December, 1927, 89-90.

53. Some writings have 13 December as the original date of the uprising. On balance 12 December appears to be the more plausible date. For an investigation of this controversy, see Jin Zaiji, "Guangzhou Qiyi Yuanding Riqi de Dingzheng" (A Debate on the Original Planned Date of the Guangzhou Uprising), *Dangshi Ziliao Congkan* 1 (1983), 134-6.

54. "Guangdong Shengwei Baogao (Di San Hao)" 10 December, 1927, 96-9. Also see ZGS Propaganda Section (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi* (The Guangzhou Uprising) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1957), 21.

55. Huang Ping, "Guangzhou Qiyi Qianhou de Ye Ting" (editor's title) (Ye Ting Before and After the Guangzhou Uprising) in ZHDD and ZHXD (eds.), *Ye Ting Yanjiu Shiliao* (Research Materials on Ye Ting) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1987), 522.

56. See Zhang's gruelling schedule in ZDZ (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi*, 697-8; Also see Zeng Ganting, then a cadre in the Guangdong Provincial Military Commission, "Zeng Ganting Canjia Guangzhou Baodong de Gongzuo Baogao" (Work Report of Zeng Ganting during the Guangzhou Uprising), and Deng Zhongxia, "Guangzhou Baodong yu Zhongguo Gongchandang de Celue" (The Guangzhou Uprising and the Strategy of the CCP) in GLB (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 367 and vol. 2, 357-8.

57. For example, Yang Guang, "Cong Yunsong *Hongqi* dao Guangzhou Qiyi" (From Transporting *Hongqi* (Red Flag Magazine) to the Guangzhou Uprising) in GLB (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Ziliao*, vol. 2, 253-5.

58. Huang Ping, "Guangzhou Qiyi Qianhou de Ye Ting", 522-3; and Chen Liping and Zeng Guanqun, "Lun Ye Ting zai Guangzhou Qiyi zhong de Zuoyong" (On the Role of Ye Ting in the Guangzhou Uprising) in GDX, GZDY and GZDX (eds.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Yanjiu*, 235-6.

59. Zuo Hongtao, "Guangzhou Qiyi zhong de Junshi Zongzhahui Ye Ting" (The Chief Military Commander of the Guangzhou Uprising: Ye Ting) in ZHDD and ZHXD (eds.), *Ye Ting Yanjiu Shiliao*, 527-8; and Xu Ziwei, "Guangzhou Qiyi de Huiyi" (A Recollection of the Guangzhou Uprising) in GLB (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Ziliao*, vol. 2, 75-6.

60. For example, Liang Guang, who had been given the task of disconnecting the electricity supply to Li Fulin, the anti-Communist warlord stationed in Henan who turned out to be most instrumental in crushing the uprising, simply had to cancel his trip to Guangzhou, see Liang Guang, "Huiyi Wo de Geming Licheng" (A Recollection of My Work during the Revolution), *Guangzhou Dangshi Yanjiu* 11 (1990), 3.

61. For example, "Guangdong Zhengzhi Baogao (Di Er Hao)" 5 December, 1927, 423-4; and "Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Muqian Baodong Gongzuo de Zhunbei Qingxing gei Zhongyang de Baogao" 8 December, 1927, 89-90.

62. "Guangdong Shengwei Baogao (Di San Hao)" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Report No. 3) 11 December, 1927, in GLB (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 96-9.

63. "(Shen) Baotong gei (Qu) Qiubai, (Zhou) Enlai Xin" (Letter from Shen Baotong to Qu Qiubai and Zhou Enlai) 13 December, 1927, *ibid.*, 353.

64. Qian Jiaju, "Dashidai zhong de Beiju - Jinian Wo de Dajie Qian Ruchang Nushi" (In Memory of My Sister Madam Qian Ruchang), *Ming Pao Monthly* 324 (1992), 47-9.

65. "Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Muqian Baodong Gongzuo de Zhunbei Qingxing gei Zhongyang de Baogao" 8 December, 1927, 89-90.

66. "(Shen) Baotong gei (Qu) Qiubai, (Zhou) Enlai Xin" 13 December, 1927, 353. See also the first post-revolutionary report of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the CCP Central, "Guangdong Baogao (Di Yi Hao)" (Guangdong Report No. 1) 19 December, 1927, in GLB (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 174-80.

67. "(Shen) Baotong gei (Qu) Qiubai, (Zhou) Enlai Xin" 13 December, 1927, 353; and "Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Muqian Baodong Gongzuo de Zhunbei Qingxing gei Zhongyang de Baogao" 8 December, 1927, 89-90.

68. Lu Quan and Xuan Xianhong, *Su Zhaozheng*, 343.

69. Bu Suiwen, "Guangzhou Qiyi zhong Xisheng de Sulian Zhishi" (Soviet Comrades who sacrificed for the Guangzhou Uprising) in GDX, GZDY and GZDX (eds.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Yanjiu*, 319-26.

70. An unusual source of information on the aftermath of the Guangzhou Uprising, which contains many photographs and other interesting items, is the Huston Papers housed in the Hoover Institution, Stanford University. These are the papers of Jay Calvin Huston who at the time of the uprising was American consul-general in Guangzhou. Another impressive eye-witness account is that of Earl Swisher, who was an instructor of the Canton Christian College, see Kenneth W. Rea (ed.), *Canton in Revolution: The Collected Papers of Earl Swisher, 1925-1926* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1977), 89-141.

Chapter 6. Aftermath of the Guangzhou Uprising

1. For example, Lin Hongnuan, "Guangzhou Qiyi yu Ye Jianying" (Ye Jianying and the Guangzhou Uprising); Xie Yingkeng, "Guangzhou Suwei'ai Zhengfu Mishuchang Yun Daiying" (Yun Daiying: The Secretary of the Soviet Government in Guangzhou), Ye

Chuangchang and Xie Yanzhang, "Zhou Wenyong yu Guangzhou Qiyi" (Zhou Wenyong and the Guangzhou Uprising); and Chen Qian, "Chen Yu yu Guangzhou Qiyi" (Chen Yu and the Guangzhou Uprising) in GDX, GZDY and GZDX (eds.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Yanjiu* (Research on the Guangzhou Uprising) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1987), 260-2, 278-9, 289 and 295; and Liu Jianyun, "Canjia Dageming Shiqi Xuesheng Yundong he Guangzhou Qiyi de Huiyi" (Recollection of Participating in the Student Movement and the Guangzhou Uprising during the Great Revolution), *Guangzhou Dangshi Yanjiu* 3 (1988), 27.

2. Li Lisan reported on the situation in Guangzhou immediately after his arrival in Hong Kong. See report from Li Lisan to the CCP Central, 28 December, 1927, in GLB (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Ziliao* (Materials on the Guangzhou Uprising), Zhongguo Xiandai Gemingshi Ziliao Congkan (A Collection of Sources on the History of Modern Chinese Revolutions Series) (Guangzhou: Renmin Chubanshe, 1985), vol. 1, 199-205.

3. Peng Qiuping, "Guangzhou Qiyi zhong de Guoji Jinanhu" (The International Association of Relief during the Guangzhou Uprising), *ibid.*, vol. 2, 278-80.

4. See relationship between Sir Cecil Clementi, then the Governor in Hong Kong and Li, in Chan Lau Kit-Ching, *China, Britain and Hong Kong 1895-1945* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1990), 224-54.

5. See the personal experiences of Shi Zhan upon his arrival in Hong Kong in "Zhanhuozhong de Xunli" (A Tour of the Warring Times), and of He Chao in "Zhujiang zai Paoxiao" (The Roaring of the Pearl River) in 1927 *Guangzhou Qiyi Shilu* (A History of the 1927 Guangzhou Uprising) (Guangzhou: Huacheng Chubanshe, 1986), 68-76 and 104-5. Ye Jianying too, apparently, had a narrow escape, Li Yunquan, "Yi Guangzhou Qiyi shi de Ye Jianying Tongzhi" (Recollection of Comrade Ye Jiangying during the Guangzhou Uprising) in ZDZ (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi* (The Guangzhou Uprising), Zhongguo Gongchandang Lishi Ziliao Congshu (Historical Materials on the CCP Series) (Beijing: Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao Chubanshe, 1988), 602.

6. Liang Guang, "Huiyi Wo de Geming Licheng" (A Recollection of My Work during the Revolution), *Guangzhou Dangshi Yanjiu* 11 (1990), 3; and Feng Tiedong and Shi Hua, "Guangzhou Qiyi zhong de Yang Yin" (Yang Yin in the Guangzhou Uprising) in GDX, GZDY and GZDX (eds.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Yanjiu*, 271. Zhou Wenyong, too, was assigned the task of finding jobs and lodging for the fugitives from Guangzhou, He Jinzhou and Wang Wenhua, "Zhou Wenyong" (Zhou Wenyong) in *Zhongguo Gongren Yundong de Xianqu* (The Forerunners of the Labour Movement in China) (Beijing: Gongren Chubanshe, 1984), vol. 3, 187.

7. Report of the meeting is found in "Guangdong Baogao - (Di Er Hao)" (Guangdong Report: No. 2) 21 December, 1927, and also see provincial committee's report two days before, "Guangdong Baogao - (Di Yi Hao)" (Guangdong Report: No. 1) 19 December, 1927, in GLB (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 186-9 and 174-80.

8. For a discussion of the Leninist concept of the correct line and opportunism, see Michael Y.L. Luk, *The Origins of Chinese Bolshevism: An Ideology in the Making, 1900-1928* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1990), 204-17. Also see resolution entitled "Zhongguo Xianchuang yu Gongchandang de Renwu Jueyi'an" (The Resolution on the Mission of the CCP and the Current Situation of China), passed in the November meeting of the Politburo, in ZSC (ed.), *Liuda Yiqian Dang de Lishi Cailiao* (Historical Documents on the CCP before the CCP Sixth National Congress) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1980), 919-29.

9. Yuan Bangjian, "Tan Pingshan Zhuyao Huodong Nianbiao" (A Summary of the Major Activities of Tan Pingshan) in Tan Pingshan Wenji Bianjizhu (ed.), *Tan Pingshan Wenji* (An Anthology of Works on Tan Pingshan) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 587.

10. For example, Yan Jingwen, *Zhou Enlai Pingzhuan* (A Critical Biography of Zhou Enlai) (Hong Kong: Powen Shuju, 1974), 111.

11. Tang Chuanliang, *Li Lisan Zhuan* (A Biography of Li Lisan) (Ha'erbin: Heilongjiang Renmin Chubanshe, 1984), 73.

12. Guo Chen and Liu Zhuanzheng, *Li Lisan* (Li Lisan) (Beijing: Gongren Chubanshe, 1984), 147-8.

13. See, for example, Chen Hongjun, "Di'erci Guonei Geming Zhanzheng Chuqi Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei de Zhongda Juece" (The Important Resolution of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee during the Early Years of the Second Revolutionary War) in Huang Zhenwei (ed.), *Guangdong Geming Genjudi Xuanlun 1927-1937* (Selected Writings on the Guangdong Revolutionary Bases 1927-1937) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1988), 7; Gu Rui, "Pang Ziqian Lieshi Zhuan" (A Biography of Martyr Pang Ziqian), *Guangzhou Dangshi Yanjiu* 10 (1990), 53; and Liang Guang, "Huiyi Wo de Geming Licheng", 3.

14. See Li's report in GLB (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 199-205.

15. Two resolutions came out of the conference, each to deal with one of the two main aspects: "Shengwei duiyu Guangzhou Baodong Jueyi'an" (Resolutions of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee on the Guangzhou Uprising), and "Guangdong Shengwei Quanti Huiyi Muqian Dang de Renwu ji Gongzuo de Fangzhen Jueyi'an" (Resolution of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee General Meeting on the Current Mission and Working Direction of the Party), January 1928, *ibid.*, 206-13 and 214-19.

16. For example, Li Peiqun, who had taken part in the uprising and who claimed to have been next door to the room where the conference was held, and to have overheard a good deal of Li Lisan's scathing denunciation of the leaders of the uprising, "Shouche Gongren de Nuhou" (The Roaring of the Rickshaw Pullers), *ibid.*, vol. 2, 146-53; and Li Peiqun, "Shengwei Xihuangtai Huiyi (Jielu)" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Meeting at Xihuangtai - Extract) in ZDZ (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi*, 603-6.

17. Li Peiqun, "Guanyu Guangdong Quwei ji Gedi Dangwei Yixie Qingkuang de Huiyi" (Recollection on the Situation of the CCP Guangdong Region Executive Committee and CCP Committees in Other Regions), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 2 (1984), 43-4; and Gu Rui, "Pang Ziqian Lieshi Zhuan", 53. Pang Ziqian, like Li Peiqun, overheard much of what transpired at the conference. Also see Wong Fan-hsi, *Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 23.

18. "Shengwei duiyu Guangzhou Baodong Jueji'an", 206-13.

19. "Guangzhou Baodong chi Yiyi yu Jiaoxun" (The Meaning and Moral of the Guangzhou Uprising), resolution passed by the CCP Central Temporary Political Bureau on 3 January, 1928, in GLB (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 220-58.

20. "Guangdong Shengwei Tonggao Di Yi Hao" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Circular No. 1), January 1928, *ibid.*, 259-63.

21. "Guangdong Shengwei Tonggao Di Er Hao" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Circular No. 2), January 1928, and "Guangdong Shengwei Baogao (San)" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Report Part Three) 10 January, 1928, *ibid.*, 264-5 and 272-4.

22. See the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee's views in "Guangdong Shengwei Quanti Huiyi Muqian Dang de Renwu ji Gongzuo de Fangzhen Jueyi'an", January 1928, 206-13; and response of the CCP Central to the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee, 8 January, 1928, *ibid.*, 268-71.

23. "Shengwei dui Zhongyang Zhengzhiju Huiyi Tongguo zhi 'Guangzhou Baodong zhi Yiyi yu Jiaoxun' de Jueyi'an" (Resolution of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee on Provisional Politburo's Ruling on "The Meaning and Moral of the

Guangzhou Uprising") 16 January, 1928, in GLB (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 280-4. Also see Zeng Qingliu, "Yijiu'erba Nian Chun Dangnei Guanyu Guangzhou Qiyi Pingjia de Zhenglun" (A Discussion on the Guangzhou Uprising: The CCP's View in the Spring of 1928) in GDZ, GZDY and GZDX (eds.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Yanjiu*, 116-17.

24. "Guangdong Shengwei Baogao - Si (Jielu)" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Report Part Four - Extract) 16 January, 1928, in GLB (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 285.

25. "Li Lisan gei Zhongyang Zhengzhiju Xin" (Letter from Li Lisan to the Politburo) 16 January, 1928, *ibid.*, 286.

26. "Chen Yu Nianbiao" (A Chronology of Chen Yu) in Zhou Yan et al., *Chen Yu Zhuan* (The Biography of Chen Yu) (Beijing: Gongren Chubanshe, 1985), 4.

27. "Zhongyang Gao Guangdong Tongzhi Shu" (Correspondence from the CCP Central to Comrades in Guangdong) 18 January, 1928, in GLB (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 287-301.

28. For example, Ou Mengjue, "Wei Gongren Jieji de Shiye Fendou Zhongshen - Huiyi Chen Yu Tongzhi" (Recollection of Comrade Chen Yu) in Huiyi Chenyu Tongzhi Bianjizhu (ed.), *Huiyi Chen Yu Tongzhi* (Recollection of Comrade Chen Yu) (Beijing: Gongren Chubanshe, 1982), 12-13; and Tang Chunliang, *Li Lisan Zhuan*, 75.

29. Huang Ping, "Dui Guangzhou Qiyi Huiyi de Buchong" (Supplement to the Recollection of the Guangzhou Uprising) in GLB (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Ziliao*, vol. 2, 47.

30. "Zhongyang gei Quwei Xin - Wu" (Letter from the CCP Central to the provincial committee - Part Five) 25 January, 1928, *ibid.*, vol. 1, 306-18.

31. "Zhongyang gei Li Lisan Tongzhi Xin" (Letter from the CCP Central to Comrade Li Lisan) 28 January, 1928, *ibid.*, 305.

32. Ou Mengjue, "Huiyi Chen Yu Tongzhi", 11; and Chen Qian, "Chen Yu yu Guangzhou Qiyi", 295-6.

33. For example, He Jinzhou, "Guangzhou Gongren Wuzhuang de Jiechu Lingdao zhe: Zhou Wenyong Zhuanlue" (A Biography of Zhou Wenyong: The Leader in the Armed Labour Movement in Guangzhou) in *Buqu de Gongchangdang Ren* (The Staunch Communist Comrades) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1981), vol. 2, 118.

34. ZXGZ (ed.), *Guangzhou Bainian Dashiji* (Major Events in Guangzhou during the Last Century) (Guangzhou: the Committee, 1984), vol. 2, 394-5; and Huang Qingyun and Zhang Xiaoyan, "Chen Tiejun he Chen Tie'er" (Chen Tiejun and Chen Tie'er) in GZDY and GZM (eds.), *Guangzhou Yinglie Zhuan* (Biographies of Martyrs in Guangzhou) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1991), 188-9.

35. *South China Morning Post*, 7 February, 1928.

36. For example, *Qishi'er Hang Bao* (The Seventy-Two Businesses Newspaper) 4 February, 1928, where Zhou is referred to as a Communist leader, and *South China Morning Post*, 7 February, 1928. Nie Rongzhen was extremely upset when he learned of the deaths in Hong Kong from the press. He kept a newspaper cutting of the news which he later showed to Zhou Enlai, see Nie Rongzhen, *Nie Rongzhen Huiyi Lu* (Memoirs of Nie Rongzhen) (Beijing: Zhanshi Chubanshe, 1983), vol. 1, 98-100.

37. J.C. Huston to J.V.A. MacMurray, no. 676, 29 February, 1928, Huston Papers, Package II, Part II, Folder 6a, Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

38. Li Xianheng, "Guangzhou Qiyi Gaishu" (A Brief History of the Guangzhou Uprising), *Guangdong Dangshi Tongxun* 48 (1987), 6.

39. ZWY (ed.), *Zhou Enlai Nianpu 1898-1949* (A Chronology of Zhou Enlai 1898-1949) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1990), 139.

40. "Zhongyang Tonggao Di Sanshiwu Hao - Guangzhou Baodong zhi Yiyi yu Jiaoxun' Jueyi'an Buchong" (CCP Central Circular No. 35 -- Supplement to the Resolution

of "The Meaning and Moral of the Guangzhou Uprising") 26 February, 1928, in GLB (ed.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 325-32.

41. *Ibid.*

42. See resolution in ZD, *Zhonggong Zhongyang Wenjian Xuanji 1921-1949* (Selected Documents of the CCP Central 1921-1949) (Beijing: Zhonggong Zhongyang Dangxiao Chubanshe, 1982-1987), vol. 4, 233-4.

Chapter 7. Futile Aggression, January-June 1928

1. During the Guangzhou Uprising, for instance, the league's role was immaterial, see Chen Jiawen, "Qianxi Gongqingtuan zai Guangzhou Qiyi zhong de Zuoyong ji Qi Jingyan Jiaoxun" (An Examination on the Function of the CCYL in the Guangzhou Uprising and the Associated Experience and Moral Lessons) in GDX, GZDY and GZDX (eds.), *Guangzhou Qiyi Yanjiu* (Research on the Guangzhou Uprising) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1987), 179-85.

2. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Beijiang ge Shengwei ji Quanti Wuzhuang Tongzhi Xin" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to Provincial Committees of the North River Region and Armed Comrades) 20 December, 1927, and "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Dongjiang Teweiyixin" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the East River Special Committee No.1) 22 December, 1927, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934* (Research Materials on the Party and League in the Guangdong Region during 1927-1934), Guangdong Geming Shiliao Congkan (Materials on the Guangdong Revolution Series) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 82-6 and 87-9.

3. "Muqian Dang de Renwu ji Gongzuo Fangzhen Jueyi'an -- Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Quanti Huiyi Tongguo" (Resolution of the Current Mission and Working Direction of the Party: Passed during the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee General Meeting) 1-5 January, 1928, *ibid.*, 92-8. Also see "Xunshiyuan Gongzuo Dagang" (Outline of Tasks of Inspectors) January 1928, *ibid.*, 99.

4. The raids and the arrests were reported by Li Lisan three days after his return to Hong Kong, "Zhang Li Junfa Zhanzheng Jieshu hou de Zhengzhi Zhuangkuang yu Baodong Fazhan Qingxing -- Lisan xiang Zhongyang Baogao" (Report from Li Lisan to the CCP Central on the Political Situation after the War Between Warlords Zheng and Li and the Development of the Uprising) 27 February, 1928, *ibid.*, 120-9.

5. For Li Lisan's views, see "Muqian Dang de Renwu ji Gongzuo Fangzhen Jueyi'an", *ibid.*, 92-8; for Qu Qiubai's views, see Wen Jize and Ding Shaohu, "Ta de Sixiang jiang Yongyuan Huozhe" (His Thinking Will Live on Eternally) in Chen Tiejian et al. (eds.), *Qu Qiubai Yanjiu Wenji* (An Anthology of Works on Qu Qiubai) (Beijing: Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao Chubanshe, 1987), 48-9.

6. Li Weihuan, "Huigu Dang de Liuda Qianhou" (A Recollection of the CCP Before and After the CCP Sixth National Congress), *Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao* 10 (1984), 11. For the Politburo's endorsement of the Comintern resolution, see "Zhongyang Tonggao Di Sishisi Hao -- Guanyu Gongchan Guoji Zhiweihui Eryue Huiyi Zhongguo Wenti Jueyi'an" (CCP Central Circular No. 44: Resolution for the China Problem Passed during the Comintern Executive Committee Meeting in February) 30 April, 1928, in ZD, *Zhonggong Zhongyang Wenjian Xuanji 1921-1949* (Selected Documents of the CCP Central 1921-1949) (Beijing: Zhonggong Zhongyang Dangxiao Chubanshe, 1982-1987), vol. 4, 85-7.

7. "Lisan zhi Qiubai Xin" (Letter from (Li) Lisan to (Qu) Qiubai) 24 January, 1928, in ZD and GD (eds.), *Guangdong Geming Lishi Wenjian Huiji 1921-1949* (A Collection of

Historical Documents on Revolutions in Guangdong 1921-1949) (Guangzhou: ZD, 1982-1990), vol. 8, 179-86.

8. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Qiongya Teweixin" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the Qiongya Special Committee) 20 January, 1928, and its enclosure "Zhonggong Qiongya Teweixin Baogao" (Report from the CCP Qiongya Special Committee) 27 December, 1927, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934*, 100-11.

9. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Beijiang Teweixin" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the North River Special Committee) 26 January, 1928, and "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Dangwu Jijian Zhongyao Shiqing zhi Zhongyang de Baogao" (Report from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the CCP Central on a Few Important Issues Concerning Party Work) 30 January, 1928, *ibid.*, 112-15 and 116-19.

10. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Muqian Zhengzhi Qingxing ji Jixu Lingdao Baodong zhi Celue gei Zhongyang Baogao" (Report from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the CCP Central on the Current Political Situation and the Strategy to Continue to Lead the Uprising) 4 March, 1928, *ibid.*, 130-3.

11. "Fu: Shengwei Jixu Zhixing Juti Gongzuo" (Appendix: The Provincial Committee Continued to Carry Out Major Party Work), approved at the executive committee of the provincial committee on 27 February, 1928, in Li Lisan's report to the CCP Central, see Li Lisan, "Zhang Li Junfa Zhanzheng Jieshu Hou de Zhengzhi Zhuangkuang", 124-9.

12. Exactly fourteen county committees and municipal committees were in the East River Revolutionary Base, see Li Miaoxiang and Ye Wenyi, "Shilun Guangdong Geming Genjudi Dang de Jianshe ji qi Jingyan Jiaoxun" (A Discussion on the Establishment of the Guangdong Revolutionary Bases and the Related Experience and Lessons) in Huang Zhenwei (ed.), *Guangdong Geming Genjudi Xuanlun 1927-1937* (Selected Writings on the Guangdong Revolutionary Bases 1927-1937) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1988), 29-30.

13. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Muqian Zhengzhi Qingxing", 130-3.

14. See the provincial committee's report to the CCP Central, written by Li Lisan, "Zong de Buzhi yu Jixu Douzheng" (On Overall Planning and Continuous Fighting) 18 March, 1928, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934*, 155-9.

15. See the provincial committee's letter to the North River Special Committee, "Baodong Qian de Buzhi" (Arrangement Before the Uprising), March 14, 1928, *ibid.*, 144-54.

16. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Zuijin Qingkuang zhi Zhongyang Baogao" (Report from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the CCP Central on the Current Situation) 12 March, 1928, *ibid.*, 138-43.

17. Actions in Hainan were in fact taken against the advice of the Communist leaders in Hainan where anti-Communist forces were three times stronger than the Communist ones, see Wen Xiaohong, "Zuo Qing Cuowu dui Qiongya Geming Genjudi de Yingxiang" (The Effect of Mistaken Leftist Opportunism on the Qiongya Revolutionary Base) in Huang Zhenwei (ed.), *Guangdong Geming Genjudi Xuanlun 1927-1937*, 176-8.

18. "Baodong Qian de Buzhi", 144-54.

19. See the provincial committee's letters to the East River Special Committee, "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Dongjiang Teweixin (Di Er Hao)" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the East River Special Committee No. 2) 20 March, 1928, and "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Dongjiang Teweixin (Di San Hao)" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the East River Special

Committee No. 3) 31 March, 1928, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934*, 162-7 and 190-3.

20. See the provincial committee's letter to the Qiongya Special Committee, "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Qiongya Teweixin" (Letter from CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the Qiongya Special Committee) 20 March, 1928, *ibid.*, 174-9.

21. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Muqian Zhengzhi Qingxing", 130-3. Also Li Lisan's private letter to Qu Qiubai, 18 March, 1928, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934*, 160-1.

22. See the provincial committee's circular containing the important resolutions of the meeting, "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Kuoda Huiyi ji qi Jueyi Yaodian (Tonggao Di Yi Hao)" (The CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Enlarged Meeting and Its Important Resolutions - Circular No. 1) 13 April, 1928, *ibid.*, 194-9.

23. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Dongjiang Teweixin (Di Si Hao)" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the East River Special Committee No. 4) 23 April, 1928, *ibid.*, 212-18.

24. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Qiongya Teweixin" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the Qiongya Special Committee) 26 April, 1928, *ibid.*, 219-26.

25. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Qiongya Teweixin" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the Qiongya Special Committee) 19 May, 1928, *ibid.*, 227-33. For criticism of Li Lisan's and the provincial committee's high-handed stance and unrealistic views, see, for example, Chen Yongjie, "Qiongya Geming Genjudi de Jianli he Fazhan" (The Establishment and Development of the Qiongya Revolutionary Base) in Huang Zhenwei (ed.), *Guangdong Geming Genjudi Xuanlun 1927-1937*, 128.

26. Tang Chuanliang, *Li Lisan Zhuan*, 77.

27. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei wei Zhunbei Xiashou Baodong shi zhi ge Gangbu Tonggao (Di Ba Hao)" (Circular from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to Party Branches on the Preparation of the Summer Harvest Uprisings No. 8) 29 May, 1928, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934*, 234-48.

28. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Nanlu Teweixin" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the Southern Region Special Committee) 2 June, 1928, *ibid.*, 249-56.

29. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Nanlu Teweixin" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the Southern Region Special Committee) 28 June, 1928, *ibid.*, 267-70.

30. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Dongjiang, Chaomei Teweixin" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the East River and Chaomei Special Committees) 8 June, 1928, *ibid.*, 257-63.

31. See "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Cong Douzheng dao Baodong de Tonggao (Di Shisan Hao)" (Circular of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee on the Progress from Struggle to Uprising No. 13) 29 June, 1928, *ibid.*, 271-8.

32. See Wu Zhizhi, "Guanyu Gongqingtuan Disici Quanguo Daibiao Dahui de Yixie Huiyi" (Recollection on the CCYL Fourth National Congress), *Guangdong Qingyunshi Ziliao yu Yanjiu* 1 (1984), 17-20.

33. See "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei, Tuan Shengwei gei Gedi Dang Tuan Tonggao" (Circular to Various Local Parties and Leagues from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee and the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee) 17 December, 1927, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 7, 79-84.

34. See Lu Dingyi, "Lu Dingyi Tongzhi Xiang Gongqingtuan Zhongyang Baogao Guangzhou Baodong de Jingguo ji Guangzhou Gongchan Qingniantuan zai Baodong zhong

de Gongzuo" (Report from Comrade Lu Dingyi on the Development of the Guangzhou Uprising and the Activities of the CCYL in the Uprising), *Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao* 9 (1984), 1-26. The report is also found in Lu Dingyi Wenji Bianjizu (ed.), *Lu Dingyi Wenji* (An Anthology of Works on Lu Dingyi) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1992), 50-71.

35. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu CY Wenti Jueyi'an" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee's Resolution on the Communist Youth Problem) 5 January, 1928, and also see "Gongqingtuang Zhongyang zhi Tuan Guangdong Shengwei Xin" (Letter from the CCYL Central to the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee) 28 January, 1928, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *Guangdong Qingnian Yundong Lishi Ziliao*, vol. 7, 90-1, and 130-4.

36. See the grandiose plan of the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee in "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei Gongzuo Jihua" (The Working Plan of the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee), *ibid.*, 105-10.

37. "CY Muqian Zhongyao Renwu yu Gesheng Gongzuo Fangzhen Jueyi'an" (Resolution on the Important Mission of the CCYL and the Working Directions in the Provinces) 13 February, 1928, *ibid.*, 119-24.

38. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei gei Zhongyang Xin" (Letter from the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee to the CCYL Central) 16 February, 1928, *ibid.*, 125-8.

39. "Tuan Zhongyang zhi Guangdong Shengwei Xin" (Letter from the CCYL Central to the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee) 9 April, 1928, *ibid.*, 157-68.

40. Li Peiqun, "Guanyu Guangdong Quwei ji Gedi Dangwei Yixie Qingkuang de Huiyi" (Recollection on the Situation of the CCP Guangdong Region Executive Committee and CCP Committees in Other Regions), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 2 (1984), 49-50. For Zhou Enlai's role, see Jiang Ping, *Deng Zhongxia de Yisheng* (The Life of Deng Zhongxia) (Nanjing: Nanjing Daxue Chubanshe, 1988), 188-9; and ZWY (ed.), *Zhou Enlai Nianpu: 1898-1949* (A Chronology of Zhou Enlai 1898-1949) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1990), 139.

41. Nie Rongzhen, *Nie Rongzhen Huiyi Lu* (Memoirs of Nie Rongzhen) (Beijing: Zhanshi Chubanshe, 1983), vol. 1, 98-9.

42. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Zuzhi Wenti Tonggao" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Circular on the Question of Organization), January 1928, in ZGS Organization Section, GDZ, and GD (eds.), *Zhonggong Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao* (Materials on the History of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Organizations) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1986), vol. 1, 39-43.

43. "(Li) Lisan Guanyu Shengwei Jiguan bei Pohuo gei Zhongyang de Baogao" (Report from Li Lisan to the CCP Central on the Raiding of the Hideouts of the Provincial Committee) 27 February, 1928, *ibid.*, 49-50.

44. "Xianggang Shiwei bei Pohuai ji Shengwei Fuzeren Gongzuo Fenpei" (The Raiding of the Hong Kong Municipal Committee and the Distribution of Work Among the Provincial Committee Leaders) 18 March, 1928, *ibid.*, 51.

45. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei gei Zhongyang Baogao" (Report from the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee to the CCYL Central) 31 January, 1928, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 7, 94-105.

46. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Zhongyang Baogao - (Yi)" (Report from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the CCP Central : Part One) 18 November, 1927, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934*, 44-57.

47. *Ibid.* Also see Yang Qingshan, who was involved in taking the *Hongqi* to Guangzhou around the time of the Guangzhou Uprising. "Wo zai Dageming Shiqi de Yiduan Jingli" (My Personal Experience during the Great Revolution), *Guangzhou Dangshi Yanjiu* 8 (1989), 14.

48. Lampson talked about his own and Clementi's attitudes toward Li in his personal letter to Austen Chamberlain, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 8 April, 1928, Chamberlain Papers (FO 800/262).

49. There are numerous newspaper reports in the period of cases of arrest and extradition and of suspected Communists trying to escape by jumping into the water while being extradited on board ship to Shantou, see for example, *Huazi Ribao* 24 May, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 19 and 26 June and 3 and 4 July. Also see some of the memoirs in Nanshitou Jianyu de Douzheng Bianjizu (ed.), *Nanshitou Jianyu de Douzheng (Huiyilu)* (The Struggle in the Nanshitou Prison: Memoirs), Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao Congkan (Materials on the Guangdong Party History Series) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1988).

50. For example, "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Kuoda Huiyi Zhengzhi Renwu ji Gongzuo Fangzhen Jueyi'an" (Resolution on the Political Mission and Working Direction Passed during the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Enlarged Meeting), the resolution was passed on 13 April, 1928, in ZD and GD (eds.), *Guangdong Geming Lishi Wenjian Huiji 1921-1949*, vol. 9, 171-218.

51. For example, "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei gei Xianggang Tonggao (Di San Hao)" (Circular from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to Hong Kong No. 3) 23 January, 1928, and also "Guangdong Zhigong Yundong Baogao" (Report on Guangdong Labour Movement), June 1928, *ibid.*, vol. 8, 143-4 and vol. 10, 179-204.

52. For example, "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Kuoda Huiyi Zhigong Yundong Wenti Jueyi'an" (Resolution on the Labour Movement Problem Passed during the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Enlarged Meeting), the resolution was passed on 13 April, 1928, and "Sheng-Gang Bagong Jinian Zhengqiuqi Gongzuo Dagang" (Task Outline for the Preparation of Activities Commemorating the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott) 19 June, 1928, *ibid.*, vol. 9, 247-60 and vol. 10, 315-22.

53. For the Jinan Incident see, Li Jiazhen, *Jinan Can'an* (The Jinan Tragedy) (Beijing: Zhongguo Zhengfa Daxue Chubanshe, 1987), and Ma Qibin (ed.), *Guo-Gong Liangdang Guanxishi* (A History of the Relationship between CCP and GMD) (Beijing: Zhonggong Zhongyang Dangxiao Chubanshe, 1995), 351-2.

54. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Fandi Yundong Jingguo Baogao" (Report on the Anti-Imperialism Movement from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee), June 1928, in ZD and GD (eds.), *Guangdong Geming Lishi Wenjian Huiji 1921-1949*, vol. 10, 411-22.

55. See section on the Government in Hong Kong Government, *Hong Kong Administrative Reports for the Year 1928* (Hong Kong: the Government, 1929), 15.

56. See "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Kuoda Huiyi Zhigong Yundong Wenti Jueyi'an" 13 April, 1928, 247-60; and "Sheng-Gang Bagong Jinian Zhengqiuqi Gongzuo Dagang" 19 June, 1928, 315-22.

57. One such trial is reported in *Huazi Ribao*, 24 May, 1927.

58. For example, *Huazi Ribao*, 23 May, 1928.

59. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Fandi Yundong Jingguo Baogao" June 1928, 411-22.

60. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei gei Zhongyang Baogao" 31 January, 1928, 94-105. Ironically, the British Hong Kong Government accorded a greater role to the Communists in the incident, see section on the Government in Hong Kong Government, *Hong Kong Administrative Reports for the Year 1928*, 29.

61. Yuan Bangjian, "Tan Pingshan Zhuyao Huodong Nianbiao" (A Summary of the Major Activities of Tan Pingshan) in Tan Pingshan Wenji Bianjizu (ed.), *Tan Pingshan Wenji* (An Anthology of Works on Tan Pingshan) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 587.

62. "Cai Hesen tan Tan Pingshan yu Di San Dang" (Cai Hesen on Tan Pingshan and the Third Party), and "Cai Hesen tan Tan Pingshan Zhuyi" (Cai Hesen on Tan Pingshan's Principles) in GDZ, ZGWG and ZFSD (eds.), *Tan Pingshan Yanjiu Shiliao* (Research Materials on Tan Pingshan) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1989), 307-8, and 308-9.

63. Yang Pao'an, "Suowei Di San Dang" (The So-called Third Party), published in *Bu'erseweike* (Bolshevik), no.17, 13 February, 1928, reprinted in Yang Pao'an Wenji Bianjizhu (ed.), *Yang Pao'an Wenji* (An Anthology of Works on Yang Pao'an) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 192-4.

64. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei gei Zhongyang Baogao" 31 January, 1928, 94-105.

65. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei gei Zhongyang Xin" (Letter from the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee to the CCYL Central) 16 February, 1928, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 7, 125-8. Also see activities of Yuan Peigen, a league leader then active in Hong Kong, in Bu Suiwen, "Zai Baise Kongbu xia Fendou de Qingnian Zhanshi - Gongqingtuan Guangzhou Shiwei Shuji Yuan Peigen Zhuanlue" (The Young Warrior Under the White Terror: A Biography of Yuan Peigen, Secretary of the CCYL Guangzhou Municipal Committee), *Guangdong Qingyunshi* 20 (1989), 62.

66. For example, "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Denghai Xianwei Xin (Denghai Di Yi Hao)" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the Denghai County Committee: Denghai No. 1) 2 June, 1928, in ZD and GD (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 10, 171-7.

67. "Tuan Zhongyang zhi Guangdong Shengwei Xin" (Letter from the CCYL Central to the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee) 9 April, 1928, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 7, 157-68.

Chapter 8. Repressed Aggression, June 1928-June 1930

1. For example, Chen Tiejian, "Xianquzhe de Zuji" (Footsteps of the Pioneers), and Kang Jie, "Shilun Qu Qiubai Tongzhi de Lishi Diwei" (A Discussion on the Importance of Comrade Qu Qiubai in Chinese History) in Chen Tiejian et al. (eds.), *Qu Qiubai Yanjiu Wenji* (An Anthology of Works on Qu Qiubai) (Beijing: Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao Chubanshe, 1987), 35-36 and 70. Also Li Weihai, "Huigu Dang de Liuda Qianhou" (A Recollection of the CCP Before and After the CCP Sixth National Congress), *Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao* 10 (1984), 11-12.

2. Tang Chuanliang, *Li Lisan Zhuan* (A Biography of Li Lisan) (Ha'erbin: Heilongjiang Renmin Chubanshe, 1984), 77. Li Lisan was the secretary of the delegation from Guangdong. Other well known Guangdong delegates included Yang Yin, Su Zhaozheng, Wang Zhuo, Gan Zhuotang, Ruan Xiaoxian, and others, see GDDY and GDZ (eds.), *Zhonggong Guangdong Dangshi Dashiji* (Major Events in the History of the CCP in Guangdong) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1984), 45-6.

3. Wen Jize and Ding Shaohu, "Ta de Sixiang jiang Yongyuan Huozhe" (His Thinking Will Live on Eternally), and Ye Xinyu, "Qu Qiubai zai Dangshi shang de Zhongda Gongxian" (Important Contribution of Qu Qiubai in the Party History) in Chen Tiejian et al. (eds.), *Qu Qiubai Yanjiu Wenji*, 48-9 and 63-4.

4. Tang Chuanliang, *Li Lisan Zhuan*, 78.

5. "Zhengzhi Juanyi'an" (Political Resolution) 9 July, 1928, in "Zhongguo Gongchandang Diliuci Quanguo Daibiao Dahui Wenjian" (Documents of the CCP Sixth National Congress) in ZD, *Zhonggong Zhongyang Wenjian Xuanji 1921-1949* (Selected

Documents of the CCP Central 1921-1949) (Beijing: Zhonggong Zhongyang Dangxiao Chubanshe, 1982-1987), vol. 4, 167-90.

6. "Gongchan Zhuyi Qingniantuan Gongzuo Jueyi'an" (Resolution on the Work of the CCYL) 10 July, 1928, *ibid.*, 258-63.

7. "Dui Guonei Gongzuo Zhishi de Diangao" (A Telegraph on Instructions on Communist Work in China) 9 July, 1928, *ibid.*, 235.

8. See circular "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Cong Douzheng dao Baodong de Tonggao (Di Shisan Hao)" (Circular of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee on the Progress from Struggle to Uprising No. 13) 29 June, 1928, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934* (Research Materials on the Party and League in the Guangdong Region during 1927-1934), Guangdong Geming Shiliao Congkan (Materials on the Guangdong Revolution Series) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 271-8.

9. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei, Tuan Guangdong Shengwei Tonggao (P Shiqi Hao, Y Shisan Hao)" (Circulars of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee and the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee Nos. P17, Y13) 10 July, 1928, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 7, 175-8.

10. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei, Tuan Guangdong Shengwei Tonggao (P Shiba Hao, Y Shisi Hao)" (Circulars of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee and the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee Nos. P18, Y14) 13 July, 1928, *ibid.*, 178-82.

11. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei, Tuan Guangdong Shengwei Tonggao (CP Er'shi Hao, CY Er'shi Hao)" (Circulars of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee and the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee Nos. CP20, CY20) 25 July, 1928, *ibid.*, 185-94.

12. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Zhongyang Zongbaogao (Di Wu Hao)" (General Report from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the CCP Central No. 5) 5 August, 1928, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934*, 303-25.

13. GDDY and GDZ (eds.), *Zhonggong Guangdong Dangshi Dashiji*, 46-7.

14. "Guangdong Quansheng Dang de Zuzhi, Dangyuan Shu Tongji" (Statistics of Party Members and Party Organization of the Guangdong Province) 7 August, 1928, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934*, 326-30.

15. Reference to the CCP Central's uneasiness is found in the provincial committee's record of the resolutions of the special meeting, "Shengwei Zuijin Gongzuo Zhongyao Jueyi'an" (Important Resolutions Passed on the Recent Work of the Provincial Committee) 10 September, 1928, *ibid.*, 331-45.

16. *Ibid.*

17. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei, Tuan Guangdong Shengwei zhi Qiongya Teweixin" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee and the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee to the Qiongya Special Committees) 25 September, 1928, and "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei, Tuan Guangdong Shengwei zhi Dongjiang Teweixin (Di Yi Hao)" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee and the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee to the East River Special Committees No. 1) in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 7, 195-215 and 217-9.

18. See "Guangdong Dang de Muqian Zhengzhi Renwu yu Gongzuo Fangzhen Jueyi'an" (Resolution on the Political Mission and Work Directions of the Party) 16-24 November, 1928 and "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Kuoda Huiyi Zongjie Baogao" (Summary Report of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Enlarged Meeting) 16-24 November, 1928, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934*, 346-90 and 391-7.

19. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Wang Moli zhi Zhongyang Xin (C Ershi'er Hao Jielu)" (Letter from Wang Moli of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the CCP Central, No. C22 Excerpt) 22 March, 1928, *ibid.*, 425-38.

20. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Xuanchuan Gongzuo zhi Zhongyang Baogao" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the CCP Central on Propaganda Work) 17 April, 1929, *ibid.*, 445-7.

21. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Xuanchuan Gudong Gongzuo Xin Luxian Tonggao (Di Liushi'er Hao)" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Circular on New Direction of Propaganda Work No. 62) 17 April, 1929, *ibid.*, 448-50.

22. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei gei Guangzhou Tezhi Xin" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the Guangzhou Special Branch) 1 November, 1929, *ibid.*, 490-8.

23. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Mao Zedong, Zhu De ji Hongjun Fuze Zhu Tongzhi Xin" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to Mao Zedong, Zhu De and Comrades in Charge of the Red Army) 26 May, 1929, and "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei gei Zhu De, Mao Zedong Xin" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to Zhu De and Mao Zedong) 13 August, 1929, *ibid.*, 451-7 and 457-74.

24. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Hailu Huizi Tewe Zhishixin" (Instructional Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the Hailu Huizi Special Committee) 21 November, 1929, *ibid.*, 499-502.

25. Li Jiezh, "Chen Jitang zhu Yue Shimo" (The Story of Chen Jitang's Control over Guangdong), and Zhao Lian, "Wo Ceng Jingli de Liangci Yue-Gui Zhanzheng" (The Two Guangdong-Guangxi Wars that I had Experienced) in ZXGZ (ed.), "Nantian Suiyue - Chen Jitang zhu Yue Shiqi Jianwen Shilu" (Years in the South: Documentation of the Period of Chen Jitang's Rule Over Guangdong), *Guangzhou Wenshi Ziliao* 37 (1987), 5-7 and 65-72.

26. For example, see "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei gei Guangzhou Tezhi Xin" 1 November, 1929, 490-8.

27. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Beiji Jiang Ge Xianwei Xin" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the County Committees in the North River Region) 29 November, 1929, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934*, 504-8.

28. *Ibid.* See "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei gei Guangzhou Tezhi Xin" 1 November, 1929, 490-8; and also "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Guangxi Qianwei Xin" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the Guangxi Frontline Committee) 25 December, 1929, *ibid.*, 509-16.

29. See "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei gei Guangzhou Tezhi Xin" 1 November, 1929, 490-8.

30. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Beiji Jiang Ge Xianwei Xin" 29 November, 1929, 504-8.

31. See, for example, Roy Hofheinz, Jr., *The Broken Wave: The Chinese Communist Peasant Movement, 1922-1928* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), 234-305.

32. "Dongjiang Suwei'ai de Zuzhi he Moshou Fenpei de Tudi Qingkuang" (Organization of the East River Region Soviets and the Distribution of the Confiscated Land), extracted from "Zhonggong Dongjiang Tewe Baogao" (CCP East River Special Committee Report) 18 May, 1930, in GD et al. (eds.), *Dongjiang Geming Genjudi Caizheng Shuishou Shiliao Xuanbian* (Selected Materials on the Finance and Taxation Situation of the East River Revolutionary Base) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 67-9.

33. See "Shengwei Zuijin Gongzuo Zhongyao Jueyi'an" 10 September, 1928, 331-45; and "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei gei Guangzhou Tezhi Xin" 1 November, 1929, 490-8.

34. GDDY and GDZ (eds.), *Zhonggong Guangdong Dangshi Dashiji*, 42-50.

35. For example, see "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Wang Moli zhi Zhongyang Xin (C Ershi'er Hao Jielu)" 22 March, 1928, 425-38. See also "Jinian Sinan Zhu Xianlie" (Commemorating the Martyrs) 25 November, 1928, and "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Dao Huang Pingmin, Zhu Bachi, Huang Zhong ji Qita Shiyu Sinan Tongzhi Tonggao (Di Sishiyi Hao)" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Circular on Commemorating Huang Pingmin, Zhu Bachi, Huang Zhongji and Other Comrades No. 41) 1 January, 1929, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934*, 398-9 and 421-3.

36. See Nie's report to the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee from the East River Region, "Guanyu Dongjiang Qingkuang de Baogao" (Report on the Situation of the East River Region) 6 November, 1929, in Nie Rongzhen Zhuanji Bianjizuo (ed.), *Nie Rongzhen Junshi Wenxuan* (Selected Documents on the Military Affairs of Nie Rongzhen) (Beijing: Jiefangjun Chubanshe, 1992), 13-17.

37. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Jiejue Lufeng Xianwei Jingji Wenti de Zhishi" (Instructions from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee on Solving the Financial Problem of the Lufeng County Committee) 26 May, 1929, in GD et al. (eds.), *Dongjiang Geming Genjudi Caizheng Shuishou Shiliao Xuanbian*, 38-9.

38. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Hailu huizi Tewe Zhishixin" (Instructional Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the Hailu huizi Special Committee) 21 November, 1929, 499-502.

39. "Tuan Zhongyang zhi Guangdong Shengwei Xin" (Letter from the CCYL Central to the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee) 9 April, 1928, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 7, 157-68.

40. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Tonggao (Di Wushisi Hao) - Dang, Tuan Liang Zhongyang Lianxi Huiyi yu CY Gongzuo de Jueyi" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Circular No. 54 - Resolution on CCYL Work Passed during the Joint Meeting of the Party and League Centrals) 26 November, 1928, *ibid.*, 229-36.

41. "Jieshao CY Shengwei Sanci Kuodahui, 1929" (Introducing the Three Enlarged Meetings of the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee, 1929), *ibid.*, 327-31.

42. "Tuan Zhongyang gei Tuan Guangdong Shengwei Xin" (Letter from the CCYL Central to the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee) 22 May, 1930, *ibid.*, 338-40.

43. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Tonggao (Di Wushisi Hao) - Dang, Tuan Liang Zhongyang Lianxi Huiyi yu CY Gongzuo de Jueyi" 26 November, 1928, 229-36; and "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei, Tuan Guangdong Shengwei Tongzhi (Di Jiu Hao) - Jianli Zhengque de Dang, Tuan Guanxi" (Circular of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee and the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee - Building up the Correct Party and League Relationship) 4 July, 1930, *ibid.*, 353-6.

Chapter 9. The Li Lisan Line in Hong Kong and Guangdong, June-September 1930

1. Tang Chuanliang, *Li Lisan Zhuan* (A Biography of Li Lisan) (Ha'erbin: Heilongjiang Renmin Chubanshe, 1984), 98.

2. *Ibid.*, 98-9.

3. *Ibid.*, 99. Also see Chen Zhili and Liu Ji (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Jiansheshi* (A History of the Work of the CCP) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1991), 225.

4. A reprint of "Xin de Geming Gaochao Qianmian de Zhu Wenti" (Problems Confronting the New Revolutionary Climax) is found in ZD, *op.cit.*, vol. 6, 49-66.

5. Tang Chuanliang, *Li Lisan Zhuan*, 99-100.

6. "Xin de Geming Gaochao he Yisheng huo Jisheng de Shouxian Shengli" (The New Revolutionary Climax and First Victories in One or Several Provinces) in ZD, *op.cit.*, vol. 6, 84-99.

7. Tang Chuanliang, *Li Lisan Zhuan*, 100-1.

8. *Ibid.*, 101-3; and Chen Zhili and Liu Ji (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Jianshe Shi*, 226.

9. "Zhongyang zhi Sijun Qianwei Xin" (Letter from the CCP Central to the Frontline Committee of the Fourth Army) 15 June, 1930, in ZD, *op.cit.*, vol. 6, 100-3.

10. Tang Chuangliang, *Li Lisan Zhuan*, 103-5; and Chen Zhili and Liu Ji (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Jianshe Shi*, 227-30.

11. Guo Chen and Liu Zhuanzheng, *Li Lisan* (Li Lisan) (Beijing: Gongren Chubanshe, 1984), 156-7; and GDDY and GDZ (eds.), *Zhonggong Guangdong Dangshi Dashiji* (Major Events in the History of the CCP in Guangdong) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1984), 52.

12. "Zhongyang Tonggao Di Qishisan Hao - Fazhan Chanye Gongren Dangyuan Jiaqiang Dang de Wuchan Jieji Jichu" (CCP Central Circular No. 73 - Strengthening the Proletarian Basis of the Party by Developing Members Engaged in Industries) 22 March, 1930, in ZD, *op.cit.*, vol. 6, 31-5.

13. The response of the provincial committee was clearly reflected in its circular to the various Communist leaderships in the province, see "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Jiaqiang Dang de Wuchan Jieji Jichu Wenti Tonggao (Di Si Hao)" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Circular No. 4: On the Problem of Strengthening the Proletarian Basis of the Party) 30 April, 1930, in ZGS Organization Section, GDZ, and GD (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao* (Materials on the History of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Organizations) (Beijing: Zhonggong Dangshi Chubanshe, 1994), vol. 1, 141-7.

14. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei gei Zhongyang de Baogao" (Report from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the CCP Central) 3 April, 1930, and "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei de 'Wu Sanshi', 'Liu Shijiu', 'Liu Er'shisan' Xuanchuan Gudong Gongzuo Dagang" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee's Outline for Propaganda Work for the May-Fourth Incident, June-Nineteenth Incident and June-Twenty-Third Incident) in ZD and GD (eds.), *Guangdong Geming Lishi Wenjian Huiji: 1921-1949* (A Collection of Historical Documents on Revolutions in Guangdong 1921-1949) (Guangzhou: ZD, 1982-1990), vol. 1, 301-2, and 345-55; and "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Jiaqiang Dang de Wuchan Jieji, Fazhan Chanye Gongren Dangyuan Tongzhi (Di Jiu Hao)" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Circular No. 9: On Strengthening the Proletarian Basis of the Party and the Development of Members Engaged in Industries) 23 May, 1930, *ibid.*, 148-51.

15. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Guangzhou Gongzuo Baogao" (The CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee's Report on Work Progress in Guangzhou) 12 June, 1930, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934* (Research Materials on the Party and League in the Guangdong Region during 1927-1934), Guangdong Geming Shiliao Congkan (Materials on the Guangdong Revolution Series) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 542-52

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei Tonggao (Di Sishiwo Hao)" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Circular No. 45) 12 June, 1930, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 7, 341-3.

19. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei Tonggao (Di Sishiliu Hao) – Juxing Shaonian Xianfengdui Yundongzhou" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Circular No. 46: On Launching the Youth Vanguard Unit Movement Week) 13 June, 1930, *ibid.*, 343-6.

20. GDDY and GDZ (eds.), *Zhonggong Guangdong Dangshi Dashiji*, 52.

21. The rationale behind the establishment of mobilization committees is spelled out in "Muqian Zhengzhi Xingshi yu Dang de Zuzhi Renwu" (On the Current Political Situation and the Organizational Mission of the Party), a policy paper passed at the National Congress on Organization on 22 July, 1930, in ZD, *op.cit.*, vol. 6, 148-78.

22. GDDY and GDZ (eds.), *Zhonggong Guangdong Dangshi Dashiji*, 51-2.

23. *Ibid.*, 52-3.

24. "Boshan zai Zhongyang Linshi Zhengzhiju Huiyi sheng Guanyu Nanjing Wenti yu Quanguo Gongzuo Buzhi de Baogao" (Boshan's Report during the Meeting of the Provisional Politburo on the Nanjing Problem and the Distribution of Work within the Country) 13 July, 1930, in ZD, *op.cit.*, vol. 6, 130-7.

25. See "Muqian Zhengzhi Xingshi yu Dang de Zuzhi Renwu" 22 July, 1930, 148-78.

26. GDDY and GDZ (eds.), *Zhonggong Guangdong Dangshi Dashiji*, 52-3.

27. Zeng Jianzhao and Chen Shanguang, "Xinminzhu Zhuyi Geming Shiqi Guangdong Qingnian Yundong Dashiji (San) (Chu Gao)" (Major Events of the Youth Movement in Guangdong during the New Democratic Revolutionary Period: Part Three (First Draft)), *Guangdong Qingyunshi* 19 (1985), 32.

28. GDDY and GDZ (eds.), *Zhonggong Guangdong Dangshi Dashiji*, 52-3.

29. "Muqian Zhengzhi Xingshi yu Dang zai Zhunbei Wuzhuang Baodong zhong de Renwu" (On the Current Political Situation and the Mission of the Party in the Preparation of an Armed Uprising), Li Lisan's report to the Central Mobilization Committee on 6 August, 1930, in ZD, *op.cit.*, vol. 6, 179-208.

30. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei, Zhongyang Junbu Nanfang Banshizhu gei Dongjiang, Huilai Liang Teweiji Shiyi Jun, Shi'er Jun Junwei Xin (Di E Sanshiwo Hao, H Shiliu Hao)" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee and the CCP Central Military Commission Southern Office to the East River Special Committee, Huilai Special Committee and the Military Commissions of the Eleventh and Twelfth Armies Nos. E35, H16) 15 June, 1930, in ZD and GD (eds.), *Guangdong Geming Lishi Wenjian Huiji: 1921-1949*, vol. 2, 55-68.

31. Luo Shangxian, "Tudi Geming Zhanzheng Shiqi de Dongjiang Geming Genjudi Gaikuang – Fangwen Gu Dacun Tongzhi Zhuiji" (The Situation of the East River Revolutionary Base during the Time of the Land Revolutionary War: An Interview with Comrade Gu Dacun) in Renmin Chubanshe (ed.), *Geming Huiyilu* (Memoirs of Revolutions) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1984), vol. 3, 71-2; and Chen Wan'an, "Dongjiang Geming Genjudi Shuping" (A Record of and Criticism on the East River Revolutionary Base), *Guangdong Dangshi Tongxun* 44 (1987), 14.

32. See Communist instructions with regard to general urban work in Guangdong, "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Wu Yue Gongzuo Baogao" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee May Report) 17 June, 1930, in ZD and GD (eds.), *Guangdong Geming Lishi Wenjian Huiji: 1921-1949*, vol. 2, 91-141.

33. *Ibid.*

34. "Jiaying gei Zhongyang de Baogao" (Report from [Ye] Jiaying to the CCP Central) 5 August, 1930, *ibid.*, 215-23.

35. See "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Wu Yue Gongzuo Baogao" 17 June, 1930, 91-141.

36. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei gei Zhongyang de Baogao (Di D Liushi Hao)" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee's Report to the CCP Central No. D 60) 24 June, 1930, in ZD and GD (eds.), *Guangdong Geming Lishi Wenjian-Huiji: 1921-1949*, vol. 2, 143-4.

37. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei gei Zhongyang de Baogao" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee's Report to the CCP Central) 2 July, 1930, *ibid.*, 153.

38. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Tonggao (Di Shi Hao)" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Circular No. 10) 3 July, 1930, *ibid.*, 155-61.

39. "Jiaying gei Zhongyang de Baogao" 5 August, 1930, 215-23.

40. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Tongzhi (Di Shiliu Hao)" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee Circular No. 16) 13 August, 1930, in ZD and GD (eds.), *Guangdong Geming Lishi Wenjian Huiji: 1921-1949*, vol. 2, 229-30.

41. "Guangdongsheng Xingwei Tongzhi (Di Wu Hao)" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Mobilization Committee Circular No. 5) 6 September, 1930, *ibid.*, 249-52.

42. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Guanyu Quxiao Geji Xingwei Zuzhi, Huafen Dang Tuan Zuzhi de Tongzhi" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee's Circular on Cancellation of the Mobilization Committees and a Clear Separation Between the Party and the League) 3 November, 1930, *ibid.*, 154-60. Also see Yang Qinliang, *Zhongguo Gongchandang Jianshe Jianshi* (A Brief History of the Work of the CCP), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Zhishi Congshu* (Knowledge on the CCP Series) (Beijing: Zhongguo Renmin Daxue Chubanshe, 1991), 42-3.

43. For example, Rao Weihua, "Youguan Quanguo Di'erci Laodong Dahui, Sheng-Gang Dabagong de Qingkuang" (On the Second National Labour Congress and the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike-Boycott) in SZ (ed.), *Guangdong Gongyunshi Ziliao Xuanji* (Selected Writings on Guangdong Labour Movement) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1982), vol. 1, 17-18.

44. For a reliable account, see Liu Zhiyuan, "Nanshitou Jianyu Douzheng Huiyi" (Recollection of the Struggle in the Nanshitou Prison) in Nanshitou Jianyu de Douzheng Bianjizu (ed.), *Nanshitou Jianyu de Douzheng (Huiyilu)* (The Struggle in the Nanshitou Prison: Memoirs), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao Congkan* (Materials on the Guangdong Party History Series) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1988), 1-2.

Chapter 10. Disintegration and Disappearance, 1931-1936

1. Tang Chuanliang, *Li Lisan Zhuan* (A Biography of Li Lisan) (Ha'erbin: Heilongjiang Renmin Chubanshe, 1984), 186-7. Also see QJ (ed.), *Jiangnan Yi Yan - Qu Qiubai Shengping he Guju* (The Life and Former Residence of Qu Qiubai) (Nanjing: Jiangsu Renmin Chubanshe, 1987), 41-2.

2. "Zhonggong Guangdong Linshi Shengwei Guanyu Jieshuo Si Zhong Quanhui Jueyi he Fen Youqing Douzheng de Jueyi" (On CCP Guangdong Temporary Provincial Committee's Acceptance of the Resolution of the CCP Sixth Central Committee Fourth Plenary Session and the Anti-Rightism Struggle Resolution) 12 February, 1931, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934* (Research Materials on the Party and League in the Guangdong Region during 1927-1934), *Guangdong Geming Shiliao Congkan* (Materials on

the Guangdong Revolution Series) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 575-8.

3. ZGS Organization Section, GDZ and GD (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao* (Materials on the History of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Organizations) (Beijing: Zhonggong Dangshi Chubanshe, 1994), vol. 1, 135,146.

4. "Zhonggong Liang Guang Shengwei zhi Zhongyang Baogao" (CCP Guangdong and Guangxi Provincial Committee's Report to the CCP Central) 29 March, 1931, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934*, 583-8.

5. For an insightful analysis of the relationship between the Comintern and the Li Lisan Line, see Shi Zhifu, "Li Lisan 'Zuo' Qing Cuowu de Chansheng yu Gongchan Guoji de 'Di San Shiqi' Lilun" (The Occurrence of Li Lisan's Incorrect Leftism and the 'Third Period' Theory of the Comintern) in BD (ed.), *Beijing Daxue Jinian Zhongguo Gongchandang Chengli Liushi Zhounian Lunwenji* (An Anthology Commemorating the Sixtieth Anniversary of the CCP) (Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe, 1982), 302-21.

6. Zhou Guoquan and Guo Dehong, *Wang Ming Qi Ren* (The Person of Wang Ming) (Beijing: Zhongguo Guangbo Dianshi Chubanshe, 1992), 32-44.

7. For instance, the Comintern representative in China believed that the two policies of anti-Li Lisan Line and anti-rightism should be adopted simultaneously, *ibid.*, 44.

8. Wang Ming, "Liang Tiao Luxian de Douzheng" (The Struggle of the Two Lines) in ZD, *op.cit.*, vol. 7, 93-161. For an analysis of Wang's views in the booklet, see Chen Zhili and Liu Ji (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Jiansheshi* (A History of the Work of the CCP) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1991), 243-4.

9. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei Gongzuo Jueyi'an" (CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee Work Resolution) 16 October, 1930, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 7, 362-6.

10. "Tuan Xianggang Shiwei Tonggao (Di Yi Hao)" (CCYL Hong Kong Municipal Committee Circular No.1) 20 November, 1930, *ibid.*, 366-70.

11. "Tuan Dongjiang Tewe Guanyu Hailuzi Qingxing yu Muqian Gongzuo Baogao" (CCYL East River Special Committee's Report on the Current Situation of the Hailuzi area and the Work of the Committee) 19 December, 1930, *ibid.*, 373-8.

12. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei Dibaci Changwei Huiyi Jilu" (Minutes of the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee Eighth Standing Committee Meeting) 8 January, 1931, *ibid.*, 383-92.

13. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei Tonggao - Zai Jianjue Fendui Lisan Luxian Dixia, Jiajin Zuzhi Qingnian Qunzhong Nianguan de Douzheng" (CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee Circular - On Hastening the Organization of Youngsters for the New Year's Struggle under the Staunch Direction of anti-Li Lisan Line) 8 January, 1931, *ibid.*, 392-6.

14. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei Tongzhi - Wei Jianli he Fazhan Guangzhou Gongzuo" (CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee Circular - In Establishing and Developing Work in Guangzhou) 15 January, 1931, *ibid.*, 396-8.

15. In fact both the Li Lisan Line and the Wang Ming Line are branded as "leftist opportunism" in "Li Lisan 'Zuo' Qing Jihui Zhuyi" (Li Lisan's Leftist Opportunism) and "Wang Ming 'Zuo' Qing Jihui Zhuyi" (Wang Ming's Leftist Opportunism) in *Zhongguo Gongchandang Lishi Dacidian Bianjizhu* (ed.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Lishi Dacidian, Xinminzhu Zhuyi Geming Shiqi* (Dictionary of the History of the CCP, New Democratic Revolutionary Period) (Beijing: Zhonggong Zhongyang Dangxiao Chubanshe, 1991), 488-9.

16. Zhou Guoquan, Guo Dehong, and Li Mingsan, *Wang Ming Ping Zhuan* (A Critical Biography of Wang Ming) (Hefei: Anhui Renmin Chubanshe, 1989), 197-9; and Zhou Guoquan and Guo Dehong, *Wang Ming Qi Ren*, 54-6.

17. SDY, *Wang Ming "Zuo" Qing Maoxian Zhuyi zai Shanghai* (Wang Ming's Leftist Adventuristic Principles in Shanghai) (Shanghai: Shanghai Yuandong Chubanshe, 1994), 185-91.

18. ZGS Organization Section, GDZ and GD (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 148.

19. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei zhi Zhongyang de Baogao" (CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee's Report to the CCP Central) 2 February, 1931, and "Zhonggong Guangdong Linshi Shengwei Changwei zhi Zhongyang Zhengzhiju de Baogao" (CCP Guangdong Temporary Provincial Committee Standing Committee's Report to the Politburo) 15 February, 1931, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934*, 574 and 579-82.

20. "Dasheng [Li Fuchun] zhi Zhongyang de Baogao" (Li Fuchun's Report to the CCP Central) 6 April, 1931, *ibid.*, 589-94.

21. Cai's arrest is reported in "Zhonggong Liang Guang Shengwei Zan Jiandai Shuji Qitai [Zhang Hanfu] zhi Zhongyang Xin" (Report to the CCP Central from Zhang Hanfu as the Temporary Secretary of the CCP Guangdong and Guangxi Provincial Committee) 9 June, 1931, *ibid.*, 595.

22. ZGS Organization Section, GDZ and GD (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 177-8. Also see memoir of Chen Feiqin, who was sent to Hong Kong by the CCYL Central after the raids, Zeng Jiaozhao and Chen Shanguang, "Yijiusan'er Nian Guangdongtuan Shengwei bei Puhuai de Qingkuang - Chen Feiqin Tongzhi Fangwen Lu" (On the 1932 Raid of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee - An Interview with Comrade Chen Feiqin), *Guangdong Qingyunshi Ziliao yu Yanjiu* 13 (1984), 21.

23. Liu Zhiyuan, "Nanshitou Jianyu Douzheng Huiyi" (Recollection of the Struggle in the Nanshitou Prison) in Nanshitou Jianyu de Douzheng Bianjizu (ed.), *Nanshitou Jianyu de Douzheng (Huiyilu)* (The Struggle in the Nanshitou Prison: Memoirs), Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao Congkan (Materials on the Guangdong Party History Series) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1988), 2.

24. "Zhonggong Liang Guang Shengwei zhi Zhongyang Baogao" (CCP Guangdong and Guangxi Provincial Committee's Report to the CCP Central) 20 August, 1931, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934*, 596-614. Also see "Zhonggong Liang Guang Shengwei Guanyu Qieshi Jianli Zuzhi Gongzuo de Jueyi de Baogao" (Report on the CCP Guangdong and Guangxi Provincial Committee's Resolution of Establishing Organizational Work) 20 December, 1931, in ZGS Organization Section, GDZ and GD (eds.), *Zhonggong Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao* (Materials on the History of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Organizations) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1986), vol. 1, 176-80.

25. Examples of reporting of the violent state of affairs are *Hong Kong Telegraph*, 24, 28 September, 1931. Also see Chan Lau Kit-Ching, *China, Britain and Hong Kong 1895-1945* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1990), 257-8.

26. "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei [?] Guanyu Liang Guang Gongzuo zhi Zhongyang de Baogao" (Report from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee [?] to the CCP Central on Work in Guangdong and Guangxi) 30 May, 1932, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934*, 617-47.

27. "Zhonggong Guanyu Riben Diguo Zhuyi Qiangzhan Manzhou Shibian de Jueyi" (The CCP's Resolution on the Forced Occupation of Manchuria under Japan's Imperialism) in ZD, *Zhonggong Zhongyang Wenjian Xuanji 1921-1949*, vol. 7, 442-8. Details of the Communist weakness in different localities in Guangdong between mid 1931 and early 1932 are seen in "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei [?] Guanyu Liang Guang Gongzuo zhi Zhongyang de Baogao" 30 May, 1932, 617-47.

28. The documents concerned are too numerous for individual citation; they abound in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 8, 1-367.

29. For instance, "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei (sic?) dui Tuan Sizhong Quanhui he Jieshou Tuan Zhongyangju dui Guangdong Jueyi de Jueyi" (CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee's

(sic?) Resolution on the CCYL Fourth Plenary Session and Acceptance of the CCYL Central's Attitude on the Guangdong Resolution) 24 March, 1931, *ibid.*, 20-7.

30. "Liang Guang Dang Tuan Shengwei Lianxi Huiyi Quanti Tongzhi zhi Dang Tuan Zhongyang Xin - Guanyu Tuan Shengwei Cunzai de Yanzhong Wenti ji Qi Yuanyin" (Letter to the CCP and CCYL Centrals from the Comrades of the Joint Meeting of the CCP and CCYL Guangdong and Guangxi Provincial Committees - On the Serious Question of the Existence of the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee and the Reasons Behind) 21 September, 1931, *ibid.*, 105-7.

31. "Wanbaoshan Shijian" (The Wanbaoshan Incident) in *Zhongguo Gongchandang Lishi Dacidian Bianjizu* (ed.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Lishi Dacidian, Xinminzhu Zhuyi Geming Shiqi*, 367; and LD et al. (ed.), *Wanbaoshan Shijian* (The Wanbaoshan Incident) (Changchun: Jilin Renmin Chubanshe, 1991).

32. "Tuan Guangdongsheng (sic?) Linwei Tonggao (Xinzi Di Yi Hao) - Guanyu Wanbaoshan, Chaoxian Shijian" (CCYL Guangdong Provisional Provincial Committee (sic?) Circular New Series No.1 - On the Wanbaoshan and Korea Incidents) 25 July, 1931, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 8, 75-8.

33. For example, "Tuan Guangdong Shenwei (sic?) gei Zhongyang de Baogao - Shengwei Changwei Jueyi'an he Gedi Gongzuo Qingxing" (CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee's (sic?) Report to the CCYL Central - On the Provincial Committee Standing Committee's Resolution and the Work Progress of Various Localities) 31 September, 1931, and "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei (sic?) gei Gedi Tuanbu de Yifengxin - Guanyu Fenti Gongzuo" (Letter from the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee (sic?) to the Leagues in Various Localities - On Anti-Imperialist Work) 10 October, 1931, *ibid.*, 122-6 and 149-53.

34. "Tang Xun Xunshi Guangdong de Baogao - Shengwei, Dongjiang, Qiongya, Huiyang, Beijiang Gongzuo Qingkuang" (Tang Xun's Inspection Report of Guangdong - Work Progress of the Provincial Committee, East River Region, Qiongya, Huiyang and the North River Region) 11 November, 1931, and "Gongqingtuan Zhongyang Xunshiyuan Tang Xun Baogao (Di San Hao)" (Report from Tang Xun, Inspector from the CCYL Central, No.3) 5 December, 1931, *ibid.*, 202-5 and 224-7.

35. "Tuan Zhongyangju Jueyi" (Resolution of the CCYL Central) 1 March, 1931, appended to "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei dui Tuan Sizhong Quanhui he Jieshou Tuan Zhongyangju dui Guangdong Jueyi de Jueyi" 24 March, 1931, 20-7.

36. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei (sic?) Gongzuo Baogao - Taolun Zhongyang dui Guangdong Gongzuo Jueyi he Gongzuo Buzhi" (Work Report of the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee (sic?) - Discussion on the CCYL Central's Resolution on the Work in Guangdong and the Work Arrangement) 2 April, 1931, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 8, 27-31. The CCYL Central was to continue to make constant reminders of the rationale and objectives of the "charge forward seasons" and "charge forward brigades" in the months to follow, see for example, *Communiqué* issued by the CCYL Central, "Zhongguo Gongchan Qingniantuan Jinxing 'Chongfeng Ji'" Gao Qingnian Gongren he Laoku Qingnian Shu" (Letter to the Hardworking Youth Workers on the CCYL's Charge Forward Seasons) 1 June, 1932, in GTQY et al. (eds.), *Zhongguo Qingnian Yundong Lishi Ziliao 1932. 6-12* (Historical Data on the Youth Movement in China: June to December 1932) (Beijing: Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao Chubanshe, 1988), vol. 11, 8-9.

37. Liu Zhiyuan, "Nanshitou Jianyu Douzheng Huiyi", 2.

38. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei (sic?) 'Wu Yi' Gongzuo Tonggao" (CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee (sic?) Work Circular on Work for the May-First) 13 April, 1931, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 8, 38-42.

39. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei (sic?) Guanyu Jianli Quansheng Faxing Gongzuo Jueyi'an" (CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee's (sic?) Resolution on Developing Province-wide Publication Work) 17 April, 1931, *ibid.*, 42-4.

40. In fact the CCP Central was unmistakable in its continued support of the organization of the "gather and flee meetings". It even went so far as to say that the party must oppose the saying that the "gather and flee meetings" were an extension of the Li Lisan Line. To hold this view was "the most shameless liquidism and escapeism which the party had to resolutely struggle with", see "Muqian de Zhengzhi Xingshi ji Dang de Jinji Renwu" (On the Current Political Situation and the Urgent Mission of the Party) 9 May, 1931, in ZD, *op.cit.*, vol. 7, 285-92.

41. Huang Zhenwei, *Zhonggong Guangdong Dangshi Gailun* (A Brief History of the CCP in Guangdong) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Gaodeng Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1994), 159-60.

42. See "AB Tuan" (AB League) in *Zhongguo Gongchandang Lishi Dacidian* Bianjizhu (ed.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Lishi Dacidian, Xinminzhu Zhuyi Geming Shiqi*, 261; and Zheng Xuejia, *Zhonggong Futian Shibian Zhenxiang* (The Truth of the CCP Futian Incident) (Taipei: Guoji Gongdang Wenti Yanjiushe, 1976), 1-9.

43. "Futian Shibian" (Futian Incident) and "Suqu Su Fendouzheng" (Exterminating Anti-Struggles in the Soviet Regions) in *Zhongguo Gongchandang Lishi Dacidian* Bianjizhu (ed.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Lishi Dacidian, Xinminzhu Zhuyi Geming Shiqi*, 363 and 363-4 respectively.

44. See, for example, He Yuwen, *Di Wu Zongdui: Zhonggong Qingzhi Diguo de Biange* (The Fifth Column: Evolution of the Chinese Communist Passion-Governed Empire), *Zhongguo Renwu zhi Jiu* (Personalities: China Series, 9) (Xindian, Taiwan: Shuhua Pubs., 1994), 85-92.

45. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei (sic?) Guangyu Futian Shibian de Jueyi" (CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee's (sic?) Resolution on the Futian Incident) 17 May, 1931, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 8, 62-3.

46. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei (sic?) gei Qiongya Teweizhi Shixian (Di Yi Hao) - Qiongya Tuan de Gongzuo Quedian, Tudi Geming he Haikou deng Chengshi de Gongzuo" (CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee's (sic?) Instruction Letter to the Qiongya Special Committee No.1 - On the Weaknesses of the Qiongya League, Land Revolution and Work in Haikou and Other Cities) 14 July, 1931, *ibid.*, 71-4.

47. For example, "Tuan Guangdongsheng Xunshiyuan gei Zhongyang de Baogao (Di Yi Hao) - Shengwei Benshen Qingkuang, Gedi Gongzuo Qingxing" (Report from the CCYL Inspector of the Guangdong Province to the CCYL Central No.1 - On the Situation of the Provincial Committee Itself and Work in Other Regions) 3 October, 1931, and "Qiong Tuan Teweizhi Guanyu Quan Qiong Zuzhi Huiyi Jueyi'an" (CCYL Qiongya Special Committee's Resolution on Organizing Meeting for the Entire Qiongya Region) 30 October, 1931, *ibid.*, 138-43 and 187-97 respectively.

48. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei (sic?) Guangyu Futian Shibian de Jueyi" 17 May, 1931, 62-3. For an account of the purge in the East River Region, see "Lun Guangdong Geming Genjudi de Qingnian Gongzuo" (On the Youth Work in the East River Revolutionary Base) in Chen Shanguang, *Qingnian Yundongshi Lunji* (An Anthology on the History of Youth Movement) (Guangzhou: Huanan Ligong Daxue Chubanshe, 1988), 231-2.

49. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei (sic?) gei Dongjian Teweizhi Xin (Xin Bian Di Er Hao) - Guanyu Tuan de Shiji Zhuanbian, Suqu Qingnian Canzheng, Qingnian Faling de Shishi" (Letter from the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee (sic?) to the East River Special Committee New Series No.2 - On the Actual Change of the League, the Establishment of Political Career of Youngsters in the Soviet Regions, and the Implementation of Rules for Youngsters) 26 August, 1931, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 8, 84-9.

50. See CCYL Guangdong and Guangxi Provincial Committee's complaint of the special committee's reluctance in furnishing the details in question in, for example, *ibid.*

51. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei (sic?) Guanyu Dongjiang AB Tuan Wenti yu Fen Yiqie Zhengzhi Paibie de Douzheng Jueyi" (CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee's (sic?) Resolution on the Questions of the East River Region AB League and Anti-Political Factions Struggles) 17

September, 1931, *ibid.*, 96-104. Also see "Tuan Guangdongsheng Xunshiyuan gei Zhongyang de Baogao (Di Yi Hao)" 3 October, 1931, 138-43; and "Tang Xun Xunshi Guangdong de Baogao - Shengwei, Dongjiang, Qiongya, Huiyang, Beijiang Gongzuo Qingkuang" 11 November, 1931, 202-5.

52. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei gei Zhongyang de Baogao - Dongjiang AB Tuan, Shehui Minzhudang Huodong Qingxing ji qi Pohuo Jingguo, Dongjiangtuan de Xianzhuang" (CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee's Report to the CCYL Central - On the Current Situation of the East River Region, AB League, and the Activities and Disclosure of the Social Democratic Party), November 1931, in GD and GDQY (eds.), *op.cit.*, vol. 8, 214-21. Also see "Gongqingtuan Zhongyang Xunshiyuan Tang Xun Baogao (Di San Hao)" 5 December, 1931, 224-7.

53. "Tuan Zhongyang gei Tuan Guangdong Shengwei (sic?) de Xin" (Letter from the CCYL Central to the CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee (sic?)) 31 July, 1932, in GTQY et al. (eds.), *Zhongguo Qingnian Yundong Lishi Ziliao*, vol. 11, 326-30.

54. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei (sic?) Guanyu Liang Guang Tuan Chongfeng Ji Gongzuo de Jihua" (CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee's (sic?) Plan for the Work of the Charge Forward Seasons in Guangdong and Guangxi) 15 August, 1932, *ibid.*, 390-8.

55. "Tuan Guangdong Shengwei (sic?) Yuezhi Baogao Di Wu Hao" (CCYL Guangdong Provincial Committee's (sic?) Report: Yue Character No. 5) 10 November, 1932, *ibid.*, 667-74.

56. Zeng Jiaozhao and Chen Shanguang, "Yijiusan'er Nian Guangdongtuan Shengwei bei Pohuai de Qingkuang - Chen Feiqin Tongzhi Fangwen Lu", 21-22; and "Appendix K: Report of the Inspector General of Police for the Year 1932", in Hong Kong Government, *Hong Kong Administration Reports for the Year 1932* (Hong Kong: the Government, 1933), K4-K5.

57. ZGS Organization Section, GDZ and GD (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 245.

58. *Ibid.*, 183-4 and 205.

59. *Ibid.*, 187-8 and 190.

60. *Ibid.*, 188, 245. Many accounts of failure to find the party in Guangdong during 1934-36 are found in GZDY (ed.), *Guangzhou Geming Huiyilu Xuanbian 1928-1938* (Selected Memoirs of the Revolution in Guangzhou 1928-1938), Zhonggong Guangzhou Dangshi Ziliao Congshu (Historical Materials on the CCP in Guangzhou Series) (Guangzhou: GZDY, 1990).

61. ZGS Organization Section, GDZ and GD (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 190-9.

62. For a succinct account of the complexity of Guangdong politics during these years, see Jiang Zuyuan et al. (eds.), *Jianming Guangdongshi* (A Simple History of Guangdong) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1987), 713-6.

63. Chan Lau Kit-Ching, *China, Britain and Hong Kong 1895-1945*, 176-219.

64. *Ibid.*, 221-54; and C. M. Turnbull, "Sir Cecil Clementi and Malaya: The Hong Kong Connection", *Journal of Oriental Studies* 22, no. 1 (1984), 33-60.

65. See *Huazi Ribao*, *Gongshang Ribao* (Industrial and Commercial Daily News), *Huaqiao Ribao* (The Overseas Chinese Daily News), and other Chinese papers during the period.

66. Clementi to L.S. Amery, Secretary for the Colonies, desp. 288, 25 May, 1928, CO 129/508.

67. ZGS Organization Section, GDZ and GD (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 146, 148.

68. *Ibid.*, 177-8, 182, and 183-4.

69. *Ibid.*, 183. Anti-Communist raids and arrests in 1931-32 received extensive coverage in the press, see, for example, reporting on an elaborate police search in *Huazi Ribao*, 15 April, 1931.

70. Report from Chen Qingyun to the Guangzhou National Government, July 1931, in GD, *Quan Zong Hao* 3/1/386 (Quan Zong Series 3/1/386), 2.

71. He Jinzhou, "Ji Bugao" (Ji Bugao) in GZDY and GZM (eds.), *Guangzhou Yinglie Zhuan* (Biographies of Martyrs in Guangzhou) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1991), 306.

72. Specific reference to Xie An is found in Xie Songya, "Chen Jitang Goujie Xianggang Ying Zhengfu Xianhai Geming Renshi" (Chen Jitang Colluding with the British Hong Kong Government in Framing Up the Revolutionaries), *Guangzhou Wenshi Ziliao* 4 (1961), 163.

73. Report from Chen Qingyun to the National Government, July 1931, in GD, *Quan Zong Hao* 3/1/386 (Quan Zong Series 3/1/386), 3. Also see the relevant part of the report included in Steve Tsang (ed.), *Government and Politics*, Documentary History of Hong Kong Series (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1995), 169.

74. Report from Chen Qingyun to the National Government, July 1931, in GD, *Quan Zong Hao* 3/1/386, 3.

75. "Zhonggong Liang Guang Shengwei zhi Zhongyang Baogao" 29 March, 1931, 583-8; and "Dasheng [Li Fuchun] zhi Zhongyang de Baogao" 6 April, 1931, 589-94. However, it seems strange that the Hong Kong Communist leaders were not aware of You's identity as an agent from Guangzhou. This point was made in, for example, *Huazi Ribao*, 10 March, 1931.

76. "Appendix K: Report of the Inspector General of Police for the Year 1931", in Hong Kong Government, *Hong Kong Administrative Reports for the Year 1931* (Hong Kong: the Government, 1932), K-3.

77. "Dasheng [Li Fuchun] zhi Zhongyang de Baogao" 6 April, 1931, 589-94.

78. See confessions of Lin Daowen and Yang Jianying in Report from Chen Qingyun to the National Government, July 1931, in GD, *Quan Zong Hao* 3/1/386, 2.

79. For example, see "Zhonggong Liang Guang Shengwei zhi Zhongyang Baogao" 29 March, 1931, 583-8.

80. A concise history of the association from its beginning in 1925 to its end in 1933 when the CCP Central moved from Shanghai to the Central Soviet is found in Zhongguo Gongchandang Lishi Dacidian Bianjizu (ed.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Lishi Dacidian*, *Xinminzhu Zhuyi Geming Shiqi*, 250-1.

81. Shi Bing, "Deng Zhongxia" (Deng Zhongxia) in *Zhongguo Gongren Yundong de Xianqu* (The Forerunners of the Labour Movement in China) (Beijing: Gongren Chubanshe, 1983), vol. 2, 128-30.

82. The friendship was clearly evident in some of the letters Maring wrote during his stay in Guangzhou, Li Yuzhen and Du Weihua (eds.), *Ma Lin yu Diyici Guo-Gong Hezuo* (Henry Maring and the First KMD-CCP Co-operation) (Beijing: Guangming Ribao Chubanshe, 1989), 218-305.

83. Lu Quan and Xuan Qianhong, *Su Zhaozheng* (Su Zhaozheng) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1993), 213-14; and Dan Norman Jacobs, *Borodin: Stalin's Man in China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 174. For information on the GMD leftists, see So Wai-chor, *The Kuomintang Left in the National Revolution 1924-1931* (Oxford, [England]: Oxford University Press, 1991).

84. See, for example, Chen Fulin, "Liao Zhongkai de Jiashi ji Zaoqi Shiji" (The Family Background and Early Activities of Liao Zhongkai) in Jinian Liao Zhongkai Xiansheng Danchen Yibaiyishi Zhounian Guoji Xueshu Yantaohui (1987, Guangzhou) (ed.), *Liao Zhongkai Yanjiu: Liao Zhongkai Guoji Xueshu Yantaohui Lunwenji* (A Study on Liao Zhongkai: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Liao Zhongkai) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1989), 155-7; and Zhou Xingjiang, *Liao Zhongkai he He Xiangning* (Liao Zhongkai and He Xiangning), *Zhonghua Minguoshi Congshu* (History of the Republic of China Series) ([Zhengzhou]: Henan Renmin Chubanshe, 1989), 1-16.

85. For instance, JD (ed.), *Jinian Liao Zhongkai He Xiangning* (In Memory of Liao Zhongkai and He Xiangning) (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1987), 2 of Preface; Li Yong et al. (eds.), *He Xiangning Zhuan* (The Biography of He Xiangning) (Beijing: Zhongguo Huaqiao Chubanshe, 1993), 2-3; and Shang Mingxuan, *He Xiangning Zhuan* (The Biography of He Xiangning) (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 1994), 3-6. Also see Vera Vladimirovna Vishnyakova-Akimova, *Two Years in Revolutionary China 1925-1927* (Cambridge, MA: East Asian Research Centre, Harvard University Press, 1971), 173.

86. NMZ (ed.), *Jinian Peng Zemin* (In Memory of Peng Zemin) (Beijing: Zhongguo Wenshi Chubanshe, 1987), 81-3.

87. Mo Yinggui, "Bei Gang-Ying Dangu Kouliu Tuoxian" (Escape from Detention Under the British Hong Kong Government) in "Ye Jianying Liangci Tuoxianji" (The Two Escapes of Ye Jianying), *Guangzhou Wenshi* 46 (1994), 11-12.

88. Wei Wei and Qian Xiaohui, *Deng Zhongxia Zhuan* (The Biography of Deng Zhongxia) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1981), 218-25; Jiang Ping, *Deng Zhongxia de Yisheng* (The Life of Deng Zhongxia) (Nanjing: Nanjing Daxue Chubanshe, 1988); and Lin Jinwen, "Huang Qian" (Huang Qian) in GZDY and GZM (eds.), *Guangzhou Yinglie Zhuan*, 251.

89. Bao Dongni, "Zhuiqiu Lixiang he Guangming de Zhanshi - Ji Peng Qingqiu" (In Memory of Warrior Peng Jingqiu in Hanzhi (ed.), *Nubing Liezhuan* (The Biographies of Female Soldiers) (Shanghai: Shanghai Wenyi Chubanshe, 1987), vol. 3, 302; and ZWY (ed.), *Zhou Enlai Nianpu 1898-1949* (A Chronology of Zhou Enlai 1898-1949) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1990), 139. Huang Qian was taken from Hong Kong to Guangzhou by a senior Chinese detective, Wu Guoying, who frequently appeared in the Hong Kong Chinese press in connection with the capture of Communists, see *Huazi Ribao*, 14 June, 1928.

90. "Appendix K: Report of the Inspector General of Police for the Year 1931", K-3. Also see Colin N. Crisswell and Mike Watson, *The Royal Hong Kong Police (1841-1945)* (Hong Kong: MacMillan, 1982), 122-3.

91. "Dasheng [Li Fuchun] zhi Zhongyang de Baogao" 6 April, 1931, 589-94; and Chen Zhiling, "Li Fuchun zai Guangdong" (Li Fuchun in Guangdong), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 15 (1989), 197. Also see Lin Jinwen, "Lin Daowen Zhuanlue" (A Biography of Lin Daowen), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 7 (1986), 222-3.

92. There seemed to be a greater chance of escape in Shanghai, see, for example, Chen Weiru, "Wo de Tewu Shengya" (My Life as a Secret Agent) in Zhang Wen et al. (eds.), *Tegong Zongbu -- Zhongtong* (Special Agents Headquarters - The Central Statistic Bureau) (Hong Kong: Zhongyuan Chubanshe, 1988), 142-188. Also see Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *Policing Shanghai, 1927-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 132-61.

93. Xie Songya, "Chen Jitang Goujie Xianggang Ying Zhengfu Xianhai Geming Renshi", 162-3; and Liang Ruochen, "Dageming Shiqi Guomindang Fandongpai yu Xianggang Ying Zhengfu Goujie Yi Li" (A Case of the Hong Kong British Government Colluding with the GMD Reactionaries during the Great Revolution Period), *Guangzhou Wenshi Ziliao* 4 (1961), 169-70. For a historical study of corruption in Hong Kong, see Henry J. Lethbridge, *Hard Graft in Hong Kong: Scandal, Corruption, the ICAC* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1985), 24-53.

94. Report from Chen Qingyun to the National Government, July 1931, in GD, *Quan Zong Hao* 3/1/386, 2-3. Also see Zhu Mingqiu, "Cong Nanyang dao Nanshitou Jianyu" (From Nanyang to the Nanshitou Prison) in Nanshitou Jianyu de Douzheng Bianjizu (ed.), *Nanshitou Jianyu de Douzheng* (Huiyilu), 171.

95. Li Peiqun, "Guanyu Guangdong Quwei ji Gedi Dangwei Yixie Qingkuang de Huiyi" (Recollection on the Situation of the CCP Guangdong Region Executive Committee and CCP Committees in Other Regions), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 2 (1984), 60.

96. He Jinzhou, "Lu Gengfu" (Lu Genfu) in GZDY and GZM (eds.), *Guangzhou Yinglie Zhuan*, 408.

97. Mai Sijing, "Guangdong Shenghui Gong'anju Jianwen" (Knowledge of the Guangdong Security Bureau) in ZXGZ (ed.), "Nantian Suiyue - Chen Jitang Zhu Yue Shiqi Jianwen Shilu" (Years in the South: Documentation of the Period of Chen Jitang's Rule Over Guangdong), *Guangzhou Wenshi Ziliao* 37 (1987), 398-406.

98. Liu Zhiyuan, "Nanshitou Jianyu Douzheng Huiyi", 5. Also Du Jiman, "Cong Lishe dao Nanshitou Jianyu" (From *Lishe* to the Nanshitou Prison) in Nanshitou Jianyu de Douzheng Bianjizu (ed.), *Nanshitou Jianyu de Douzheng (Huiyilu)*, 120-1.

99. Wan Ming, "Tiechuang Shinian" (Ten Years Behind the Iron Windows); Zhang Ruping, "Cong Huangpu Junxiao dao Nanshitou Jianyu de Huiyi" (From the Huangpu Military Academy to the Nanshitou Prison: A Recollection); and Feng Yangwu, "Dang Zuzhi Lingdao Nanyou Jingxing Yu zhong Douzheng" (On Party Members leading Imprisoned Comrades in the Struggles within the Nanshitou Prison), *ibid.*, 52-6, 76, and 128-9.

100. For example, Wan Ming "Tiechuang Shinian", 47; Zeng Ruokong, "Jianyu Douzheng Huiyi" (Recollection of Struggles within the Prison); Fu Cheng, "Chengjiaochang Yijiu" (Prison Recollection); Lu Xingnan, "Huiyi zai 'Chengjiaochang' li de Suiyue" (Recollection of the Time in Prison); Yang Pu, "Tiechuang Shenghuo Huiyi" (Recollection of Life Behind the Iron Windows), *ibid.*, 130-2, 133-6, 137-40, and 141-56. Apart from co-operation among the British colonial governments in Southeast Asia against Communism, there was active and extensive joint anti-Communist action by western colonial administrations in the region during the period, Anne L. Foster, "Secret Police Co-operation and the Roots of Anti-Communism in Interwar Southeast Asia", *Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, 4 (1995), 331-50.

101. For assessment of Cai's position in the Chinese Communist Movement see, for example, ZSX (ed.), *Cai Hesen Zhuan* (The Biography of Cai Hesen) (Changsha: Hunan Renmin Chubanshe, 1980), 1-3, 155; Luo Shaozhi et al., "Cai Hesen" (Cai Hesen) in GDRY (ed.), *Zhonggong Dangshi Renwu Zhuan* (The Biography of CCP Historical Characters) (Xi'an: Shaanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 1982), vol. 6, 46; and Liao Gailong, "Weida de Gongchan Zhuyi Zhanshi Cai Hesen" (The Great Communist Warrior Cai Hesen), *Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao* 1 (1982), 29-47. Also see Marilyn A. Levine, *The Found Generation: Chinese Communists in Europe during the Twenties* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993), 41-2, 85, 114-15, 141-3, and 146.

102. Luo Shaozhi et al., "Cai Hesen", 44-5; He Jinzhou, "Cai Hesen" (Cai Hesen) in GZDY and GZM (eds.), *Guangzhou Yinglie Zhuan*, 403; and Liu Ang, "Haoqi Guan Tiandi, Fengyu Song Zhengchuan: Mianhuai Cai Hesen Tongzhi" (In Memory of Comrade Cai Hesen) in Renmin Chubanshe (ed.), *Huiyi Cai Hesen* (Remembering Cai Hesen) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1980), 90-1.

103. "Xu De Guanyu Liang Guang Qingxing de Baogao (Jielu)" (Xu De's Report on the Current Situation in Guangdong and Guangxi (Excerpt)) 11 July, 1931, in ZGS Organization Section, GDZ and GD (eds.), *Zhonggong Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 171-2.

104. "Zhonggong Liang Guang Shengwei Zan Jian Dai Shuji [Xie] Qitai zhi Zhongyang Xin" (Letter from CCP Guangdong and Guangxi Provincial Committee Temporary Secretary Xie Qitai to the CCP Central) 19 June, 1931, in GD and GDDY,

Guangdongqiu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934, 595. Also see Cai Bo, "Cai Hesen Zhuan" (The Biography of Cai Hesen), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 6 (1985), 196-7.

105. Li Yichun, "Huiyi Hesen Tongzhi" (In Memory of Comrade Cai Hesen) in Renmin Chubanshe (ed.), *Huiyi Cai Hesen*, 133-4; Li Zhongcheng et al. (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Yinglie Zhuan* (The Biography of Martyrs of the CCP) (Beijing: Jingji Ribao Chubanshe, 1991), 529-30; and Zhou Yiping, *Zhonggong Dangshi Yanjiu de Kaichuangzhe -- Cai Hesen* (The Pioneer of Historical Research of the CCP -- Cai Hesen) (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 1994), 20-5.

106. Hu Hongsheng, "Wunian de Jianyu Shenghuo" (Five Years of Life in Prison) in Nanshitou Jianyu de Douzheng Bianjizu (ed.), *Nanshitou Jianyu de Douzheng* (*Huiyilu*), 158; and Wan Ming, "Tiechuang Shinian", 47.

107. He Jinzhou and Luo Weinian, "Li Shuoxun Zhuanlue" (The Biography of Li Shuoxun) in *Buqu de Gongchandang Ren* (The Staunch Communist Comrades) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1988), vol. 5, 268-70; Li Zhongcheng et al. (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Yinglie Zhuan*, 572-4; Yufeng [pseud.], *Li Peng* (Li Peng) (Hong Kong: Jingcheng Tushu, n.d.), 1-21; and Yang Quan, *Yanhe Zhi Zi - Li Peng* (Li Peng - Chinese Premier) (Hong Kong: Liwen Chubanshe, 1996), 35-41.

108. Zhao Juntao, "Li Shuoxun" (In Memory of Li Shuoxun), and Ke Lin, Li's trusted Communist associate who was practising herbal medicine when Li arrived in Hong Kong in 1931, "Li Shuoxun Tongzhi zai Guangzhou, Shanghai, Xianggang deng Di de Geming Huodong" (Comrade Li Shuoxun's Revolutionary Activities in Guangzhou, Shanghai and Hong Kong) in GDDY Li Shuoxun Bianxiezu (ed.), *Li Shuoxun* (Li Shuoxun) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Gaodeng Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1986), 21-5 and 41-3 respectively.

109. He Jinzhou, "Li Shuoxun zai Guangdong" (Li Shuoxun in Guangdong), *Guangdong Qingyunshi* 22 (1986), 31.

110. "Appendix K: Report of the Inspector General of Police for the Year 1932", K-4.

111. "Appendix K: Report of the Inspector General of Police for the year 1933", in Hong Kong Government, *Hong Kong Administrative Reports for the Year 1933* (Hong Kong: the Government, 1934), K-7.

112. See police reports in appendices K in Hong Kong Government, *Hong Kong Administrative Reports for the Year 1934, 1935, and 1936* (Hong Kong: the Government, 1935-1937), all K-1.

113. For an excellent study of the close anti-Communist co-operation among the colonial governments in the region, see Anne L. Foster, "Secret Police Cooperation and the Roots of Anti-Communism in Interwar Southeast Asia", 331-50.

114. See, for example, William Warbey, *Ho Chi Minh and the Struggle for an Independent Vietnam* (London: Merlin Press, 1972), 37-40. Also see Jiang Yongjing, *Ho Chi Minh zai Zhongguo: Yige Yuenan Minzu Zhuyi Weizhuangzhe* (Ho Chi Minh in China: A Faked Vietnamese Nationalist), *Zhuanji Wenxue zhi Ershi* (Biographical Literature Series no. 20) (Taipei: Zhuanji Wenxue Chubanshe, 1971), 61-75; and Huang Zheng, *Ho Chi Minh zai Zhongguo* (Ho Chi Minh in China) (Beijing: Jiefangjun Chubanshe, 1987), 40-52.

115. For example, ZSSD, "Tongwang Zhongyang Suqu de Mimi Jiaotongxian" (The Secret Communication Line to the Central Soviet Region), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 5 (1985), 164.

116. For a feel of Wu Defeng's personality and underground work, see Li Yingru, "Dixia Jiaotongxian" (The Underground Communication Line) in *Zhonggong Qingnian Chubanshe* (ed.), *Dixia Jiaotongxian* (The Underground Communication Line) (Beijing: Zhonggong Qingnian Chubanshe, 1986), 137-59.

117. Rao Weihua, "Wo Canjia Geming de Huiyi" (My Recollection of Participating in the Revolution), *Guangzhou Wenshi Ziliao* 20 (1980), 66. For details of the other lines, see,

for example, Shi Bo, *Hongse Kongbu de Tiequan -- Zhonggong Zhongyang Teke Jishi* (The Iron Fist of the Red Terror -- A Documentary of the CCP Central Special Agency) (Beijing: Renmin Zhongguo Chubanshe, 1993), 185-9.

118. During the short existence of the Shanghai -- Hong Kong -- Guangzhou -- Shaoguan -- Nanxiang -- Central Soviet Region route, it was used by Deng Xiaoping to report to the CCP Central in Shanghai after the Red Seventh Army, which Deng founded and led, had reach Chongyi in southwestern Jiangxi in February 1931. Later Deng arrived in Hong Kong where he boarded a boat for Shanghai in mid April, see Maomao [pseud.], *Wo de Fuqing Deng Xiaoping* (My Father Deng Xiaoping) (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 1995), 230-2; and Zheng Yi, *Deng Xiaoping Zhuan* (The Biography of Deng Xiaoping) (Hong Kong: Ming Pao Press, 1996), 40.

119. Rao Weihua, "Wo Suo Zhidao de Huanan Jiaotong Zongzhan Hongse Jiaotongxian Qingkuang" (My Understanding of the South China Communication Depot and the Red Communication Line), *Guangzhou Wenshi Ziliao* 24(1981), 28-9. Also Li Ping, "Li Peiqun Tongzhi Geming Shiji Pianduan" (Episodes of the Revolutionary Activities of Comrade Li Peiqun), being one of the key figures in the successful operation of the Red Communication Line and he was given charge of the Western Fujian Depot in April 1931, *Guangzhou Dangshi Yanjiu* 9 (1990), 16-17.

120. Lu Weiliang, one of the chief communicators involved, "Zhandou zai Hu Gang Yue Min Jiaotongxian Shang" (Fighting Along the Shanghai-- Hong Kong -- Guangdong -- Fujian Communication Line), *Guangdong Dangshi Tongxun* 56 (1989), 1.

121. ZSSD, "Tongwang Zhongyang Suqu de Mimi Jiaotongxian", 164; and Rao Weihua, "Wo Suo Zhidao de Huanan Jiaotong Zongzhan Hongse Jiaotongxian Qingkuang", 29. Lu Weiliang's involvement in the establishment of the communication line is clearly reflected in one of his early reports on the line, "Lu Weiliang de Baogao (Zhelu) Guanyu Guangdong Ge Xian de Zhengzhi Qingkuang he Ge Lu Jiaotong Sheli Zhuangkuang" (Lu Weiliang's Report on the Political Situation of Guangdong and Other Counties and the Establishing of the Various Communication Lines - Excerpt) 24 March, 1931, in GDDY et al. (eds.), *Dongjiang Geming Genjudi Shiliao Huibian* (Chao, Cheng, Rao, Ao, Suqu) 1927.4-1937.7 (An Anthology of Historical Materials on the East River Revolutionary Base -- The Soviet Regions of Chao'an, Chenghai, Raoping, Nan'ao, April 1927 - July 1937) (Guangzhou: n.p., 1987), 228-31.

122. Useful information is found in TSW, "Hongjun Wuxiandian Tongxin de Chuangjian, Fazhan ji qi Lishi Zuoyong" (The Establishment, Development and Historical Function of Radio Communication of the Red Army), *Zhonggong Dangshi Ziliao* 30 (1989), 86; and Shi Bo, *Hongse Kongbu de Tiequan*, 191-5.

123. See, for example, ZSSD, "Tongwang Zhongyang Suqu de Mimi Jiaotongxian", 168-9. Also Zeng Changming, an important communicator and at one time Captain of the Dabu Communication Depot, "Baowei Dabu Jiaotongzhan de Douzheng" (The Struggle in Protecting the Dabu Communication Depot), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 5 (1985), 174-5.

124. Huang Yingbo, "Xianggang Jiaotong Zongzhan Qingkuang Jilue" (A Record of the Situation of the Hong Kong Communication Depot), *Guangzhou Dangshi Ziliao* 27 (1986), 4-5.

125. Ye Chuangchang, "Li Shaoshi" (Li Shaoshi) in GDDY, GDRY and GDM (eds.), *Nanyue Yinglie Zhuan* (Biographies of Martyrs of Southern China) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1983), vol. 1, 425; and "Zhonggong Liang Guang Shengwei Zuzhibu gei Zhongyang de Baogao" (CCP Guangdong and Guangxi Provincial Committee Organization Section's Report to the CCP Central), March 24, 1932, in ZGS Organization Section, GDZ and GD (eds.), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Guangdongsheng Zuzhi Shi Ziliao*, vol. 1, 185-6.

126. Ye Chuangchang, "Li Shaoshi", 425-6; and ZSSD, "Tongwang Zhongyang Suqu de Mimi Jiaotongxian," 165-6.

127. Chen Denggui and Yao Chuanyuan, "Shilun Dongjiang Geming Genjudi de Lishi Zuoyong" (An Appraisal of the Historical Function of the East River Revolutionary Base), *Guangdong Dangshi Tongxun* 39 (1986), 22-3; and Liu Nanbiao and Zhuo Jiali, "Zhongyang Hongse Jiaotongxian de Jianli ji qi Zuoyong" (The Establishment and Use of the CCP Red Communication Line) in Huang Zhenwei (ed.), *Guangdong Geming Genjudi Xuanlun 1927-1937* (Selected Writings on the Guangdong Revolutionary Bases 1927-1937) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe 1988), 277-8.

128. ZSSD, "Tongwang Zhongyang Suqu de Mimi Jiaotongxian", 168; and Liu Nanbiao and Zhuo Jiali, "Zhongyang Hongse Jiaotongxian de Jianli ji qi Zuoyong", 279.

129. For example, ZSSD, "Tongwang Zhongyang Suqu de Mimi Jiaotongxian", 168-9; and Shi Bo, *Hongse Kongbu de Tiequan*, 181.

130. For details of the establishment of the East River soviets, see, for example, Huang Zhenwei, *Zhonggong Guangdong Dangshi Gailun*, 145-6.

131. For example, "Zhonggong Dongjiang Teweitonggao (Di Shiqi Hao) - Guanyu Suwei'ai de Caizheng Wenti" (CCP East River Special Committee Circular No. 17 - On the Financial Problems of the Soviets) 15 October, 1929; "Zhonggong Dongjiang Teweitonggao (Di Shiqiu Hao) - Guanyu Moshou Fenpei Tudi Wenti" (CCP East River Special Committee Circular No. 19 - On the Distribution of the Confiscated Land) 19 October, 1929; "Dongjian Geming Weiyuanhui Guanyu Gongbu Zhixing Tudi Zhenggang de Baogao" (Report from the East River Revolutionary Committee on the Announcement of Implementing the Land Policy), October 1929; and "Zhonggong Hailu huizi Teweigei Shengwei de Baogao (Di Ershi Hao)" (The CCP Hailu huizi Special Committee's Report to the Provincial Committee No. 20) 1 December, 1929, in GD et al. (eds.), *Dongjiang Geming Genjudi Caizheng Shuishou Shiliao Xuanbian* (Selected Materials on the Finance and Taxation Situation of the East River Revolutionary Base) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 39-41, 42-6, 49-51, and 51-2.

132. For example, "Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei gei Dongjiang Teweixin (Jielu)" (Letter from the CCP Guangdong Provincial Committee to the East River Special Committee - Excerpt) 4 December, 1929, *ibid.*, 53-8.

133. See, for instance, "[Yang] Jianying gei Zhongyang de Baogao" (Report from Yang Jianying to the CCP Central) 5 August, 1930, in GD and GDDY, *Guangdongqu Dang Tuan Yanjiu Shiliao 1927-1934*, 553-9.

134. For history of the sovietization of the East River Region from late 1929, and the transportation of gold and cash by Lu Weiliang, Zeng Changming, Xiao Guichang and others from the Central Soviet Region to Hong Kong, see respectively Yang Shaolian, "Shilun Dongjiang Geming Genjudi de Zhengquan Jianshe" (On the Development of the Political Power in the East River Revolutionary Base), and Chen Wan'an, "Shilun Dongjiang Geming Genjudi de Lishi Zuoyong" (On the Historical Function of the East River Revolutionary Base) in Huang Zhenwei (ed.), *Guangdong Geming Genjudi Xuanlun 1927-1937*, 255-6 and 242. Also see Yi Fen, "Zhou Enlai Tongzhi he Li Te Guwen Jinru Jiangxi Suqu de Jingguo - Yi Zhonggong Qingxi Jiaotong Zongzhan" (On How Comrade Zhou Enlai and Adviser Li Te Reached the Jiangxi Soviet Region - Recollection of the CCP Qingxi Communication Depot), *Guangzhou Wenshi Ziliao* 23 (1981), 7.

135. For example, Yi Fen, *idem*.

136. See, for example, Chen Xianqiang, "Shilun Zhou Enlai dui Yuedong Jiaotongxian de Jiechu Gongxian" (On Zhou Enlai's Spectacular Contribution to the Eastern Guangdong Communication Line), and Zhuang Mingrui, "Zhou Enlai Tongzhi zai Chaoshan Geming Huodong Xueshu Taolunhui Guandian Zonghe" (Seminar on Zhou Enlai's Revolutionary

Activities in Chaoshan: An Overview) in GDDY et al. (eds.), *Zhou Enlai Tongzhi zai Chaoshan* (Comrade Zhou Enlai in Chaoshan), Guangdongsheng Dangshi Ziliao Congkan (Historical Materials on the CCP in Guangdong Series) (Shantou: n.p., 1985), vol. 1, 338-9 and 376.

137. Xiao Jingguang was among the earliest group of the so-called "leading cadres" to make their way to the Central Soviet Region through the Red Communication Line by the end of 1930, see Xiao Jingguang, *Xiao Jingguang Huiyilu* (Memoirs of Xiao Jingguang) (Beijing: Jiefangjun Chubanshe, 1987), 76-7. Also see Rao Weihua, "Wo Suo Zhidao de Huanan Jiaotong Zongzhan Hongse Jiaotongxian Qingkuang", 33-4.

138. An interesting record of the CCP Central Special Agency is Shi Bo, *Hongse Kongbu de Tiequan*. The far-reaching and debilitating effect of Gu's defection on the Communists is extensively dealt with in the account.

139. ZSSD, "Tongwang Zhongyang Suqu de Mimi Jiaotongxian", 166-7.

140. Li Peiqun, a key operator of the Red Communication Line, was acutely aware of the two categories, "Guanyu Guangdong Quwei ji Gedi Dangwei Yixie Qingkuang de Huiyi", 55.

141. Rao Weihua, "Wo Suo Zhidao de Huanan Jiaotong Zongzhan Hongse Jiaotongxian Qingkuang", 29-30; and Yi Fen, "Zhou Enlai Tongzhi he Li Te Guwen Jinru Jiangxi Suqu de Jingguo - Yi Zhonggong Qingxi Jiaotong Zongzhan", 1-2. The question of finding the right kind of clothes appeared to be more important when dealing with Communists travelling to Shanghai from the Central Soviet Region where the standard of living was appreciably lower than Hong Kong and Shanghai, Ye Chuangchang, "Li Shaoshi", 425.

142. See discussion on the subject in Zhang Zhaoben, "Lun Zhou Enlai zai Chaoshan Geming Huodong de Lishi Diwei" (On the Historical Role of Zhou Enlai's Revolutionary Activities in Chaoshan) in GDDY et al. (eds.), *Zhou Enlai Tongzhi zai Chaoshan*, 366-7.

143. Chen Xianqiang, "Shilun Zhou Enlai dui Yuedong Jiaotongxian de Jiechu Gongxian", 342; Li Ping, "Li Peiqun Tongzhi Geming Shiji Pianduan", 17; and Lu Weiliang, "Zhandou zai Hu Gang Yue Min Jiaotongxian Shang", 3. For details of the Shantou Communication Depot which was involved in Zhou's reception, see Gu Yuliang, "Shantou Jiaotongzhan Jianzhan Qingkuang Jiyi" (Recollecting the Situation of the Establishment of the Shantou Communication Depot), *Guangdong Dangshi Ziliao* 5 (1985), 178-81.

144. Song Ke, "Hongjun Zong Canmouchang Liu Bocheng" (Liu Bocheng: The General Chief of the Red Army), *Xinghuo Liaoyuan* 15 (1983), 49; Xiao Jingguang, *Xiao Jingguang Huiyilu*, 76-7; and Liu Jinghui and Mao Shucheng, "Qian Xijun - Jiechu de Hongjun Xuanchuan yuan" (Qian Xijun - An Outstanding Propagandist of the Red Army) in Hanzhi (ed.), *Nubing Liezhuan*, vol. 3, 123-4.

145. Ye Jianying Zhuan Bianxiezu (ed.), *Ye Jianying Zhuan* (The Biography of Ye Jianying), *Dangdai Zhongguo Renwu Zhuanji Congshu* (Biographies of Contemporary Chinese Personages Series) (Beijing: Dangdai Zhongguo Chubanshe, 1995), 135-7.

146. For a brief biography of Deng Fa, see He Jinzhou, "Shizhi Xianshen wei Renmin - Deng Fa Zhuanlue" (The Biography of Deng Fa) in *Buqu de Gongchandang Ren* (The Staunch Communist Comrades) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1981), vol. 2, 309-25. Also see Jiang Boying, *Minxi Geming Genjudishi* (A History of the Western Fujian Revolutionary Base) (Fuzhou: Fujian Renmin Chubanshe, 1988), 352.

147. Lu Weiliang, "Mianhuai Deng Fa Tongzhi" (In Memory of Comrade Deng Fa), *Guangdong Dangshi Tongxun* 39 (1986), 8.

148. Lu Weiliang, "Zhandou zai Hu Gang Yue Min Jiaotongxian Shang", 1-2; and Lu Weiliang, "Huigu tong Ye Jianying Tongzhi Xiangchu de Pianduan" (Recollection of the

Times with Comrade Ye Jiangying) in Yingsilu Bianjizu (ed.), *Yingsilu -- Huainian Ye Jianying* (An Anthology in Remembrance of Ye Jianying) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1987), 96.

149. Lu Weiliang, "Zhandou zai Hu Gang Yue Min Jiaotongxian Shang", 2; and Ye Jianying Zhuan Bianxiezu (ed.), *Ye Jianying Zhuan*, 137-9.

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