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(1917 - 1949)
VOLUMES 7-10

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NEW INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND WAR OF RESISTANCE IN CHINA

7 September 1939

[Text] Ever since Fascist Germany started its military action against Poland, Europe has been engulfed in the flames of a serious imperialist war. According to cable information yesterday, England and France have launched their offensive against Germany. The British Air Force bombed the German fleet in Wilhelmshaven the day before yesterday, and the French Army began to move toward the German border to launch a surprise attack at a certain point of the German defense line, while other nations are either preparing to enter the war or have temporarily declared neutrality. All such facts indicate that the scope of the second imperialist war, which started long ago, has further expanded. The major imperialist nations in Europe, such as Germany, England, and France, have been engulfed in the vortex of war, and other imperialists, such as Italy, are poised for action. Meanwhile, the socialist Soviet Union remains steady as a rock and adheres to its consistent policy of peace. All these facts indicate that the essence of the limited imperialist war is being replaced by a general war at flying speed.

The new imperialist war has widened because the imperialist countries have to resort to war to solve their conflicts; Fascist Germany has to fight its war of aggression at all costs, and England and France, adopting the compromise policy of nonintervention, refuse to conclude a mutual aid pact with the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, though it was the first to be invaded by Germany, and though its people are now participating in the resistance against Fascist aggression, Poland, at the critical moment of its national destiny, has no independent standpoint of principle and refuses the aid of the socialist Soviet Union, but permits the manipulation of the reactionary bourgeoisie of England and France. Thus, countries like Poland have become the bone of contention between the two great imperialist groups. As a result, though the people of Poland are filled with righteous national anger, and the people of England and France are indignant over fascism, from the point of view that "any war is the effort of a certain class to continue its policy 'by another means,'" and from the point of view of the narrow bourgeois interest

represented by both sides, the nature of the war this time is basically an imperialist war.

The Chinese people have been waging a war of resistance against the Japanese Fascist warlords for 2 years. China's resistance war is for the liberation of the nation and for world peace and justice. Therefore, our standpoint is easily understood. We sympathize with the revolutionary movement of the laboring people of any nation against fascism and imperialist war, but we oppose the aggressive war of the reactionary bourgeoisie of any nation to sacrifice the interests of the laboring people and redivide the world. Meanwhile, we are fighting a resistance war, and our diplomatic line is also easily understood. "To befriend all those who help us and to resist all those who help the enemy constitute an immutable principle." It was thus with us in the past, and it is thus with us now.

However, the Chinese people must understand that, when fighting China's resistance war, we must not ignore the changes in the world or the European war now in progress. When judged according to the current situation, the new imperialist war may influence China's resistance war in the following two ways:

First, the signing of the nonaggression pact between the Soviet Union and Germany ended the "anticommunist agreement" and constitutes a blow to Japanese imperialism, isolating it even further. The outbreak of the war between Germany and Poland has engulfed England and France, and Japan can no longer receive the help from those nations which it did in the past. Thus, it has been a blow to Japan. These developments are favorable to China's resistance war.

Next, the policy of Japanese imperialism to destroy China is consistent and unchangeable. Past experience shows that Japanese imperialism has the habit of utilizing the tense situation in Europe, especially war in Europe, to destroy China. During the first imperialist war between 1914 and 1918, Japanese imperialism proposed the 21 articles to destroy China. Since the 18 September incident, every time there was trouble in Europe it was an occasion for Japanese imperialism to attack China. Now, with the outbreak of the European war, the enemy chieftain, Abe, declared that "Japan must concentrate its entire energy to resolve the 'China incident,'" thus indicating that Japan must utilize the situation of the European war and concentrate its entire energy against China. Thus, the danger of intensified all-out attacks on China by the Japanese Fascist warlords has been created. Meanwhile, being now tied up in the European war, England, which has interests in the Far East, may make certain compromises with Japan by sacrificing the interests of the Chinese people in order to salvage its interests in China and the South Seas. Thus, the grave danger of a possible Far Eastern Munich has been created.

Nevertheless, the most crucial is the issue of China itself. As long as we can adhere consistently to the national policy of resisting to the

bitter end, of internal unity, especially the policy of Kuomintang-Communist cooperation, and to the policy of striving for national progress, then, under a favorable international situation, we may be able to shorten the duration, reduce the sacrifice, and win victory in our resistance war. Even under worse conditions, we can similarly and definitely surmount the temporary difficulties and win victory.

Therefore, the Chinese people must pay close attention to the situation of the European war, to the development of each and every stage. Meanwhile, analyzing the current situation of the resistance war from a firm and correct standpoint, the Chinese people can see clearly that the current domestic political situation makes it impossible for us to handle the new environment successfully. In other words, the danger of compromise and capitulation still exists, while anticommunism is an indication of the concrete preparation for such compromise and capitulation. At the same time, the lack of progress and the regression in politics are the obstacles to national unity, the continuous creation of new troops with fighting strength and the growth of new and vigorous strengths of the people. Therefore, under the new international situation, "the people of the whole country must, under the slogans of supporting Chairman Chiang, supporting the National Government, persevering in the resistance war, opposing capitulation, adhering to unity, resisting differentiation, adhering to progress, and opposing regression, mobilize all strength and prepare for a counteroffensive."

Mao Tse-tung

o Editorial, Chungking HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO (New China Daily News), 7 September 1939

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OUR VIEWS ABOUT THE WORK OF THE POLITICAL COUNCIL IN THE PAST AND THE CURRENT SITUATION

8 September 1939

[Text] Organized on the anniversary of the resistance war, the People's Political Council has been in existence for over a year.

When accepting the invitation to participate in the Political Council, we published "Our Views on the People's Political Council," pointing out: "In the violent environment of the resistance war at present, the holding of the People's Political Council clearly indicates an improvement of China's political life toward the democratic system and progress of China's parties and factions, races, classes and strata, and regions toward unity. Though in its method of creation and the provisions of functions and authorities the People's Political Council is not a plenipotentiary organ representing the people as can be desired, it does not, for these reasons, lose its effect and significance--the effect of further uniting all strength in the nation to fight the resistance war and save the nation and the significance of initiating the political life of the nation toward true democracy. Therefore, besides continuing our effort to promote a plenipotentiary people's representative organ by general election, our Communist Party members must participate in the work of the People's Political Council with the most positive, enthusiastic, and sincere attitude."

In the past year the People's Political Council has convened three times. When we look at its work so far as a whole, its greatest accomplishment is that it has been able to truly reflect the desire of the greatest majority of the entire nation regarding China's most urgent and crucial political issues today--persevering in the national self-defense resistance war, striving for final victory, and attacking the tendency toward compromises and the criminal activities. At its first general meeting the People's Political Council solemnly declared: "This Council, on behalf of all the citizens of the nation, solemnly declares: The nation of China must, with an indomitable determination, mobilize all materiel and manpower for self-defense and humanity and wage a long-term

resistance war against the vicious aggressors until the day of final victory." At the second general meeting it adopted a resolution "to support the government policy to wage a total war, persevere in the war, and strive for the initiative announced by Chairman Chiang" and appealed to the people of the entire nation to "persevere in the resistance war, never to capitulate, and to defend the nation together, in order to complete the tasks of fighting the war and building the nation." The third general meeting resolved that "the already decided policy of fighting the resistance war must be pursued to the final end" and appealed to the people "to build their confidence, match their steps, and, with one heart and one mind, from beginning to end, recover our territorial sovereignty and administrative integrity and complete the great cause of the resistance war and national construction." Besides the above, in regard to the various concrete issues of the resistance war and national construction, the members of the Political Council, during the three general meetings, submitted over 300 bills. Though such bills included both essential and nonessential matters, the members racked their brains, trying to benefit the resistance war and national construction. What is regrettable is that the government has not definitely and effectively implemented the greater part of the resolutions of the Political Council, thus reducing its efficiency and failing to satisfy the enthusiastic hopes of the people.

In regard to the work of our Communist Party members in the Political Council in the past year, based on the standpoint we declared on 5 July last year, we have followed the directive of the Chinese Communist Central for "a clear political standpoint and sincere spirit of unity" and, under the instructions and encouragement of the progressives in the nation, struggled alongside our colleagues in the Political Council to realize the will and demands of the Chinese people. We firmly believe that the greatest desire, will, and demand of the people today are to strive for the victory of the resistance war and to consolidate and expand national unity and progress, which are indispensable to the victory of the resistance war. Therefore, in the past three Political Council meetings we proposed time and again "the bill to support the government in introducing the resistance war and national construction program," "the bill to support Chairman Chiang and the National Government in intensifying national unity and persevering in a sustained resistance war for final victory," and "the bill to support Chairman Chiang, severely reprimand the household guard for their declaration, and use it as the only criterion in the resistance war policy hereafter." With the support of all the members, the bills were passed. In addition, on the various fundamental issues relevant to the resistance war, such as troop building, conscription, developing guerrilla warfare behind enemy lines, introducing democracy, and protecting the rights of the people, we expressed our views in special bills. In the work of the past year we have firmly adhered to our standpoint: "Participating in the People's Political Council on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party, we sincerely desire to strive together hand in hand with the Political

Council members of the Kuomintang, other parties and factions, and those without party or factional affiliations, in order to discuss and decide, in friendship and harmony, the concrete methods and means of enforcement beneficial to the resistance war and national construction."

Meanwhile, we firmly exposed and ruthlessly attacked all the fallacies advocating surrender and detrimental to the resistance war. Though expressed in a subtle form, the treacherous theories of renegade Wang and his cohort Li Sheng-wu at the first and second general meetings encountered our attack and rebuttal and those of the majority of the Political Council members. Though embarrassed for lack of much accomplishment, we believe that, in our work in the Political Council in the past year, we have carefully adhered to the fundamental standpoint of unity and perseverance in the resistance war and followed the people's will and desire, without the least bit of transgression.

Now the government has issued an order to extend the term of the Political Council members for 1 year. We, as Political Council members, wish to present our views on the current situation and on the policy of how to strive for victory in the resistance war hereafter to our colleagues on the Political Council and the people of the entire nation.

In regard to the characteristics of the current situation of the resistance war, on the one hand, the enemy, after 2 years of aggressive war, finds itself in ever greater difficulties, while our prospect of victory becomes ever more apparent; on the other hand, the Japanese bandits, instead of changing their policy to destroy China, have become more unscrupulous, cruel, and vicious in following their predetermined policy against China and more cunning in implementing their policy of controlling the Chinese with the Chinese and supporting the war with war. In military affairs, they have suspended a great frontal offensive and concentrated on wiping out the guerrillas behind their lines in order to lull our determination in the resistance war while consolidating their foundation in the occupied areas. In politics, they vigorously support and utilize renegade Wang, vociferously advocate their fallacies against Chiang, against the communists, and for surrender, intensify their activities to create a counterfeit party, a counterfeit government, and a counterfeit army, instigate renegade Wang's followers and other elements with two minds to provoke, alienate, and promote anti-Chiang and anticommunist activities in the resistance war stronghold, and attempt to create a situation which will force China to surrender. In economics, they resort to plunder, extraction, blockade, and exploitation in order to implement their vicious scheme of supporting the war with war and slaughtering the Chinese people with Chinese resources. Meanwhile, in the resistance war stronghold, there are some who do not have a correct understanding of the current situation, feeling either that the enemy bandits have eased up on their policy to destroy China, or that the Sino-Japanese issue can be solved by some kind of international conference. Thus, they abandon their trust in

self-revitalization and fail to perform the practical work to prepare for a counteroffensive. Some even ignore the danger of national perdition, but concentrate their energy on domestic issues, vigorously encouraging the conspiracies against the communists and against the the unity between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, constantly attacking all the progressive forces, and ruthlessly oppressing the able young people. It is the pain of boiling the beans with their own vines, and it is the time when brothers, fighting within their own walls, defend themselves against outsiders together. Their influence has not only shaken the confidence of all our countrymen in the nation in the victory of the resistance war, but also lowered the sympathy for the nation of China in international public opinion. Meanwhile, such difficulties as military service and currency devaluation have made some people feel helpless over the resistance war. All these have made the crisis of the nation more intensified and aggravated. Simultaneously, the development of the international situation has produced tremendous changes in the resistance war environment of China. With the evaporation of the anti-communist axis resulting from the signing of the nonaggression pact between the Soviet Union and Germany, the Japanese bandits have become more isolated diplomatically and shaken in internal affairs. This point should be favorable to China's resistance war situation. Meanwhile, with the European war resulting from Fascist Germany's invasion of Poland, the Japanese bandits will utilize the tense situation in Europe to intensify their policy to destroy China, and the compromise faction in England will try even harder to achieve a compromise between England and Japan by sacrificing China. All these factors will increase our difficulties in the resistance war. Thus, the environment of China's resistance war here and abroad is in a new and rapidly changing period. In this new international and domestic situation, the solemn task of the people of the entire nation at present is to clearly recognize the various characteristics of the new international and domestic situation and their possible tendencies, adhere to the policy of persevering in the resistance war, resist the danger of compromise, strive for a greater national unity, oppose all kinds of conspiracies to create a split, pursue national progress, and oppose all reactionary and regressive phenomena. Meanwhile, we must seize upon and utilize every change and factor in the international situation favorable to us in order to increase our foreign aid, overcome dangers, break down all difficulties, reinforce our strengths, and prepare for a counteroffensive.

To overcome the current difficulties and dangers and to conscientiously prepare the strengths for a counteroffensive, we feel that we must devote our efforts to the following aspects:

A. In Politics

1. Mobilize all the strengths in the nation against compromise and surrender; expand the anti-Wang movement; purge the Wang remnants and all the compromise and surrender elements in the resistance war stronghold.

2. Reinforce the wartime government; unite military and political leadership; recruit the talents of all parties and factions; raise the efficiency of the wartime administrative structure.

3. Introduce wartime democracy; severely punish those guilty of illegal oppressive activities against the people and the young; truly protect the people's rights to speak, publish, meet and associate, and to arm themselves in the resistance war.

4. Conscientiously punish and dismiss the corrupt officials; introduce local self-government.

5. Form arbitration organs in all areas to handle the disputes between labor and capital and between tenants and landowners; make suitable improvements in the life of the impoverished workers and peasants in order to increase the resistance war fervor of the masses and facilitate military service and mobilization.

B. In Military Affairs

1. Develop guerrilla warfare behind enemy lines: To reach the stage at which the enemy rear is turned into the front and many minor victories accumulate into a major one, the following steps are necessary:

(1) Formulate and introduce administrative programs in guerrilla bases according to the program and principle of the resistance war and national construction and special local conditions.

(2) Unify the military and political powers of the guerrilla bases under the direction of the local main force units with outstanding war achievements and rich experiences.

(3) The Central Government must replenish the resistance war units of the guerrilla bases with the necessary arms and supply the required economic aid.

(4) Send units with the determination and ability to persevere, firm political work, and good discipline behind the enemy lines to expand guerrilla warfare.

(5) All personnel and units sent behind enemy lines must stress unity against the enemy and sincerely implement the policy of the Anti-Japanese National United Front; they must not create internal frictions to damage themselves and help the enemy.

(6) The personnel and units sent behind the enemy lines must follow the policy of democracy and organize a resistance war political power truly elected by the people and approved by the superior-level government. At the same time, they must enforce the policy to improve the people's life

in order to rally the broad strata of people against the counterfeit political power, disintegrate the counterfeit army, and prevent our manpower and materiel from falling into enemy hands.

2. Cultivate a new national defense army: To persevere in the resistance war, especially to prepare for a true counteroffensive when the conditions are favorable and to expel the enemy bandits, a new national defense army must be cultivated as the nucleus in the future counteroffensive. Therefore, the following steps are necessary:

(1) Select from the front line X X divisions which have a history of combat merits, without distinction as to party or faction or boundary line, as the foundation of army building.

(2) Provide for the unified organization of national defense divisions.

(3) The cadres of the national defense divisions must follow the existing systems of the units selected, receive modern military training and firm political education, and be able to preserve the superior traditions of the particular units.

(4) The equipment, treatment, and supplies of the national defense divisions must be equal, but relatively better than those of the ordinary units.

(5) Specific periods and plans for the training of the national defense divisions must be decided on, and meritorious and able high-level officers must be in charge of the training, which will be carried out in different areas and performed in concentrated groups.

(6) Establish national defense industries, increase purchasing from outside, and plan to complete the modern equipping of X X national defense divisions within 2 years.

C. In Economics

To destroy enemy construction and exploitation while realizing our production and thrift, the following steps are necessary:

1. Destroy the economic construction and material exploitation of enemy-occupied areas, activate the people to boycott enemy goods, and prohibit supplying the enemy with useful native products, such as certain special military-need articles. The indispensable enemy goods must be purchased under state control.

2. The state must subsidize and encourage private investment in order to expand the industrial-agricultural cooperative movement; extensively develop all types of practical industries; vigorously raise agricultural production.

3. Vigorously promote the thrift movement of military and government organs and private individuals.

D. In Finance

To firmly change the existing work style and thoroughly enforce the wartime fiscal policy, the following steps are necessary:

1. The issuance of legal tenders and the circulation of capital must be suitably coordinated in order to avoid currency unbalance between the coast and the interior.

2. Foreign exchange must be strictly and thoroughly controlled. The People's Political Council must form a foreign exchange committee to periodically inspect the Finance Ministry's approvals and uses of foreign exchange in order to stop all malpractices.

3. Strictly inspect and prohibit private manipulation of currency and disruption of the legal tender, especially the profiteering, speculation, and manipulation by those in official positions; severely punish the violators.

4. Permit the issuance of a limited amount of local paper currency and circulating mediums in war areas, especially in enemy-occupied provinces.

5. The gold bonds of the state must be sold by wide appeals to overseas Chinese and domestic banking circles; they must be guaranteed with definite funds and the subscribers given the convenience of domestic investment.

6. In regard to the tax policy of the state, the progressive rates of business, income, and inheritance taxes must be enforced according to the environment and feasibility of the various areas; agricultural taxes must be improved and harsh levies abolished.

7. The assets of traitors must be confiscated. In the case of landlords who have fled to enemy areas, the state must, on their behalf, collect the money or grain as a minimal amount, to be considered temporarily as the direct receipts of the state.

8. The state budget, from the central to the local areas, must be formulated anew, increasing the items related to the resistance war according to the need, reducing wherever possible the unrelated items, and deleting all items which can be deleted.

9. The compensation of state administrative personnel, especially of high-level officials, must be uniformly reduced. It must be lower than that of military officers at the same levels. Special expenses and double salary must be eliminated. Commissions on government loans and purchases must be abolished.

E. In Diplomacy

To isolate the Japanese bandits and increase foreign aid, the following steps are necessary:

1. Conscientiously ally with all peoples and governments aiding and sympathetic with our resistance war; strive to make them increase their material and spiritual aid to us.

2. Firmly oppose the conspiracy of the government of any country to sacrifice China and compromise with the Japanese bandits; firmly adhere to the policy of independence and self-determination in diplomacy.

3. Help the People's Political Council, the parties and factions, and the mass organizations of all fields to send all types of delegations to the various countries for extensive citizens' diplomatic activities in order to increase the aid given us by democratic and peace forces.

F. In Party and Factional Cooperation

Reinforcing the sincere unity among all the resistance war parties and factions, especially the friendly cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, is actually the fundamental assurance for implementing the above steps, overcoming the dangers of the current situation, and defeating the Japanese bandits and renegade Wang. Therefore, the following steps are necessary:

1. Protect the legitimate rights of all resist-Japan parties and factions by unequivocal decrees; conscientiously abolish all means of restricting and controlling the activities of the so-called heretic parties.

2. Strictly prohibit discriminatory and oppressive conduct against the Communist Party and other resist-Japan parties and factions; strictly prohibit damage to the employment and character of the people in the fields of industry, agriculture, military affairs, education, and commerce and of the young people on grounds of party affiliation or ideological issues in order to create a unanimous and sincere unity in the whole nation.

3. In all types of resistance war work, extensively accept the participation and the talents of all parties and factions; refrain from rejecting talents useful to the state on grounds of their party or factional affiliations or private opinions.

At this time, when the bandits are deep in our land, calamity is imminent, and the world is undergoing rapid changes, persevering in the resistance war to the bitter end, consolidating domestic unity, and striving for national progress in order to increase the resistance war strength and

prepare for a counteroffensive against the enemy are the demands and desires of the people of the entire country. We People's Political Council members, as the people's representatives and emissaries, respectfully make this joint declaration prior to the fourth general meeting, with the hope that the people of the entire nation and our Political Council colleagues will give us their instructions, encouragement, supervision, and criticisms and that our declaration will serve as the direction of the common struggle of our colleagues inside and outside the Council and of our countrymen throughout the nation.

Mao Tse-tung, Ch'en Shao-yu, Ch'in Pang-hsien, Lin Tsu-han, Wu Yu-chang, Tung Pi-wu, Teng Yin-chao

8 September

o HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO, 9 September 1939

* CHIEH-FANG, No 86, 10 October 1939

* "Guide to the Anti-Japanese National United Front" (9), Chieh-fang Press, 1940

* "Collection of Important Documents Since the War of Resistance," compiled by the Chinese Communist Central Secretariat, 1942

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Revolution," Vol 4, China People's University, 1957

6080
CSO: 4005

COMMUNIST MEMBERS OF POLITICAL COUNCIL CONTRIBUTE MONEY TO SUPPORT ANTI-WANG CHING-WEI WORKERS IN HONG KONG

12 September 1939

[Text] In care of HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO

Anti-Wang striking worker friends of the Hong Kong NAN-HUA, T'IEN-YEN, and TZU-YU newspapers:

Your declaration of a strike in the struggle against the traitors of the Wang faction clearly constitutes an excellent model for the people of the entire nation and demonstrates even more the vanguard effect and the indomitable, positive spirit of struggle of the worker class in the resistance war. The continuous development and expansion of the movement will serve as a most severe blow to the Japanese bandits and the Chinese traitors.

With the greatest enthusiasm, we extend to you our sincere greetings and high respect! And we have each donated 50 yuan (total of 350 yuan) for transmittal by the HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO as an expression of our feelings.

Our national liberation salute!

Mao Tse-tung, Ch'en Shao-yu, Ch'in Pang-hsien, Lin Tsu-han, Wu Yu-chang, Tung Pi-wu, Teng Yin-ch'ao

12 September

o Chungking HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO, 13 September 1939

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CSO: 4005

ESSENTIAL POINTS OF SPEECH ON SECOND IMPERIALIST WAR

At the Yenan Cadres Meeting

14 September 1939

[Text] I. New Stage of the War

The second imperialist war has long been underway; it has been fought for several years. The Japanese imperialist invasion of China began in 1931. Japan first occupied the three Northeastern provinces and thereafter launched a large-scale aggression against China in 1937. Italian imperialism invaded Abyssinia in 1935. In 1936 Germany and Italy jointly invaded Spain, and in 1938 Germany occupied Austria and Czechoslovakia. During this period more than 500 million people in the East and the West were engulfed in war, while such imperialist nations as England, America and France did not participate. Therefore, we call this period the first stage of the second imperialist war. Beginning from now, from the entry of the British and French imperialist nations into the war, we call it the second stage, because the conditions are entirely different. If the war in the past could not be termed a world war and was not on a world scale, it is different now. Now it is an imperialist world war and a new stage of that war.

II. Cause of the War

According to historical facts and Lenin's theories, in the imperialist era the development of capitalism is extremely unbalanced. Therefore, a war among the imperialist nations is inevitable. Less than 20 years after the end of the first imperialist war to redivide the world, the second imperialist war exploded, and the imperialist nations again launched a war to redivide the world. The initial stage of the new war, the first stage, was built on the world economic crisis. After the unprecedented world economic crisis of 1929 to 1933, what followed was not prosperity but a special kind of slump. Some imperialist nations, either dissatisfied with their share of the spoils in World War I, such as Japan and Italy, or wishing to regain what they had lost, such as

Germany, armed themselves to the teeth and ascended the stage of war, attempting to extricate themselves from the economic crisis by means of war and to avert the collapse of capitalism. It was thus that the second imperialist war exploded, forming its first stage.

In the second stage of the second imperialist war, Germany, England, France, and Poland launched a large-scale war, and all the capitalist nations in the world will be directly involved. It is built on the new economic crisis. The new world economic crisis beginning in 1937 has been permeating England, America, and France, the so-called "peaceful" nations," in the past several years and is developing toward Germany, Japan, and Italy. On top of the economic crisis, a grave political crisis has arisen, and the people are dissatisfied with capitalism and the bourgeois dictatorship. Whether in the long-fascistized nations or those in the process of fascistization under the excuse of war, such a political crisis and the people's dissatisfaction are aggravating. On the other hand, the socialist Soviet Union is so powerful that no one dares to provoke it. In this situation, the bourgeoisie of all imperialist nations feel that, besides expanding the war, besides expanding the limited war to a general war, and besides destroying their imperialist friends, they cannot escape from the economic and political crises or avert their own perdition.

All these are the calculations of the bourgeoisie of all nations on the eve of their death. As for such calculations, the calculations to escape the economic and political crises and avert their own perdition by means of a war to redivide the world, they will inevitably create greater economic and political crises and hasten their perdition. They have no way to turn. Like rabid dogs, they have become insane, made completely insane by the capitalist system. They have no choice but to charge recklessly at their enemies, at the walls of the world. Such is the life of the bourgeoisie of the nations of the world. A group of rabid dogs fighting among themselves--such is today's imperialist war.

III. Goal of the War

"War is a continuation of politics." The nature of imperialism is plunder. The "peacetime" policy of imperialist nations is always plunder. However, when the policy of plunder of some imperialist nations encounters the interference of other imperialist nations, and when peaceful means cannot be used to overcome such interference, the means of war is resorted to in order to continue the policy of plunder. Therefore, plunder is the only political goal of an imperialist war. The goal of the second imperialist war is identical with that of the first one: it is to redivide the world. In other words, it is to redivide the colonies and semicolonies and the spheres of power, to plunder the people of the world, and to gain control over the people of the world. The goal of the second imperialist war in its past and present stages is completely identical. Besides this goal, is there any other goal? Is there any good goal? None at all. Whether

Germany, Italy and Japan, or England, America and France, all imperialist nations directly participating in the war have only this one counter-revolutionary goal, the goal of plundering the people, and the imperialist goal. The "permanent peace" of Japanese imperialism, the "national self-determination" of Hitler, the "anti-state socialism" of Chamberlain, and the "aid to Poland" of Daladier are all actually "plunder," but to make it sound good and deceive the people they ordered their secretaries to create euphemisms.

IV. Essence of the War

The essence of the war is determined by its political goal. All wars are divided into two categories. According to Comrade Stalin, wars are divided into (1) just, nonplundering and liberating wars and (2) unjust and plundering wars. Like the first imperialist war, the second war belongs to the second category, because the goal of both wars is to plunder the people of the world, having no other aim and not the least bit of benefit to the people of their own or other nations. Such are the plundering, unjust, and imperialist essences of the war. To hoodwink the people and mobilize public opinion, both sides of the war today shamelessly declare themselves just and accuse the other side of being unjust. Actually, it is a mockery and a deception. Only national and people's liberation wars, and wars launched by socialist nations in aid thereof, are just wars. This time many people are confused. They feel that, while Germany is unjust, England and France are democracies resisting fascism and Poland is waging a national self-defense war, and that England and France are more or less progressive in nature. This is an extremely confused view. Such confusion comes from failing to clarify the goal of the war, and also from failing to clarify the different characteristics of its first and second stages.

V. Characteristics of the First Stage of the War

The characteristics of the first stage of the second imperialist war are: (1) In terms of the relations among them, some of the imperialist nations, Germany, Italy, and Japan, the three imperialists, launched an insane aggressive war, invaded small and weak nations, encroached upon the interests of the democratic countries, and instigated a fascist threat inside them. Thus, the people of the whole world demanded that aggression be resisted and democracy defended, and they asked other imperialist nations, the so-called democratic nations of England, America, and France, to intervene in the aggressive war and permit the people to salvage the little bit of democracy. The Soviet Union time and again declared its willingness to form an antiaggression united front with the so-called democratic nations. Had these so-called democratic nations blocked the aggressors at that time, had they launched a war, together with the Soviet Union, against the aggressors at that time, such as by aiding the Spanish Government, blocking the German and Italian aggression, and helping China stop the Japanese invasion, then such action, such war,

would have been just and progressive. Yet the so-called democratic nations did not intervene. Instead, they adopted the policy of "nonintervention." Their goal was to let the aggressors and the aggressed consume themselves in war before they would intervene and reap the benefit. As for England and France, which presented Austria and Czechoslovakia to Germany, it was a condition of exchange. In other words, it was in exchange for Germany's attack on the Soviet Union. England and France hoped for a conflict between the Soviet Union and Germany. Borrowing a knife to commit murder, when both sides were wasted, they could proclaim hegemony over the world. As a result of this policy of "nonintervention" in the war, only some of the imperialist nations came forth to do battle, while others "sat atop the mountain to watch the tigers fight," thus demonstrating the onesided, limited, and nonintervening essences of the war. The people were unable to force the bourgeois governments of the democratic nations to abolish the counterrevolutionary "nonintervention" policy they followed. Hence the onesidedness. It was the first characteristic of the war in its first stage.

(2) However, during this period, besides the unjust and plundering war launched by German, Italian, and Japanese imperialism and the tolerance of this war on the part of the so-called democratic nations, there was another factor. There was also the national liberation war, i.e., Abyssinia's war to resist Italy, the Spanish Republic's war to resist Germany and Italy, and China's great resistance war against Japan, and the people of the whole world and the socialist Soviet Union all sincerely rendered aid to such wars. The wars of the second category were just, nonplundering and liberating wars. It was the second characteristic of the war in its first stage.

The onesidedness of the imperialist war and the existence of anti-imperialist wars were the two characteristics of the imperialist war in its first stage.

VI. Our Revolutionary Policy in the First Stage of the War

According to the characteristics of the war in its first stage, the revolutionary policy during this stage, without doubt, was to organize an antiaggression united front of the aggressed nations in order to resist the onslaught of the aggressors, to organize the rising anti-fascist struggles of the people inside the democratic nations in order to protect democracy, and, at the same time, to continue organizing the struggles of the Soviet Union and the governments of the democratic nations to block the further development of aggression. The third point, organizing the antiaggression united front of the Soviet Union and the governments of the democratic nations, began after Munich and resulted from the failure of Spain and the destruction of Czechoslovakia. The anger of the broad strata of people in England and France, and even of the leftwing elements in the bourgeoisie, created the possibility of forcing the Chamberlain and Daladier governments to abandon the policy

of nonintervention and form an antiaggression united front with the Soviet Union. This possibility was not entirely lost at that time. In sum, the general task of the revolution during this period was to organize all possible forces into an antifascist and antiaggression united front in order to resist the insane aggression of the three fascist nations and smash the fascist raids inside the various nations. Therefore, at that time the united front had the following four possible components: (1) the people's and the proletarian and petty bourgeois united fronts in the capitalist countries; (2) the national and the proletarian and bourgeois united fronts in colonial and semicolonial countries; (3) the socialist Soviet Union; (4) the bourgeoisie and the governments of the democratic countries. These four components were possible at that time because, under the insane aggression of the fascist countries, under the threat of the domestic fascist power in the democratic nations, and under the existing anti-Soviet danger, there were common interests, to a certain extent, between the bourgeoisie and the governments of the various democratic nations on the one hand and the people of their particular nations on the other, between the bourgeoisie and the governments of democratic nations on the one hand and the people of the colonies and semicolonies, and between the bourgeoisie and the governments of the democratic nations and the Soviet Union. Among the components, the main force was the Soviet Union. If the Soviet Union and the governments of the so-called democratic nations had organized a truly effective united front to coordinate with the united fronts of the people of the various nations and the colonies and semicolonies, they could have blocked the further aggression of the fascist countries and postponed the outbreak of a world war. Even if a war should break out, they could have defeated the fascists. Had it been done, it would have benefited the people and the nations of the world other than the aggressors, and it would have been supported by the international proletariat. Therefore, the Soviet Union joined the League of Nations, concluded mutual aid treaties with France and Czechoslovakia, and finally conducted negotiations with England and France. Such a revolutionary policy was compatible with the international situation at that time and was necessary and correct. It was the only way, there being no other choice.

VII. Breakdown of British-French-Soviet Negotiations and the Beginning of the Second Stage of the War

The bourgeoisie of the so-called democratic nations on the one hand feared the fascist nations because they were invading their interests, but even more they feared the development of the revolutionary strength. They feared the Soviet Union, the liberation movement of the people of their own countries, and the national liberation movement of the colonies and semicolonies. Therefore, they refused to form a true antiaggression united front or wage a true antiaggression war with Soviet participation, but instead organized their own counterrevolutionary united front and fought their own plundering bandit war.

The British-French-Soviet negotiations lasted more than 4 months, from 15 April to 23 August. While the Soviet Union exhausted all its patience, England and France refused to subscribe to the principle of equality and reciprocity, only asking the Soviet Union to guarantee their security. Yet they would not guarantee the security of the Soviet Union or the Baltic nations, thus leaving a gap for Germany, nor would they permit Soviet troops to pass through Poland to resist the aggressors. Naturally, the Soviet Union was unwilling to agree to such a treaty proposed by England and France, a treaty which was completely incompatible with the revolutionary goal and compatible only with the counterrevolutionary goal. Meanwhile, England and France absolutely rejected the treaty proposed by the Soviet Union, which was based on the principle of equality and reciprocity, truly beneficial to blocking the development of the aggressors, and truly beneficial to world peace. This was the basic cause for the breakdown of the negotiations. During this period Germany abandoned its anti-Soviet stand and wished to discard the so-called "anticommunist agreement" and recognize the inviolability of the Soviet border. Thus, the mutual nonaggression pact between the Soviet Union and Germany was concluded. The lack of any sincerity on the part of England and France in their negotiations with the Soviet Union, their lack of sincerity in halting aggression, and their decision to break up the negotiations proved nothing else than that Chamberlain had already decided on war.

Therefore, the outbreak of the war was not intended by Hitler, but by Chamberlain, because, if he really wanted to avoid war, the participation of the Soviet Union was indispensable. Even England's Lloyd George, a bourgeois representative, would understand this point. Yet some idiots cannot understand it even today, feeling that Chamberlain had not made any advance preparations for the war. They fail to see that Chamberlain's participation in the three-nation negotiations was only for the purpose of mobilizing public opinion, so that he could tell the people: The British and French governments have done their best and, since we cannot succeed in the three-nation alliance, we have no choice but to open fire on Germany.

In this situation, the war between Germany and England, France, and Poland exploded in early September. Thus began a new stage of the second imperialist war--its second stage.

VIII. Characteristics of the Second Stage of the War

At present, after the outbreak of the world war, the condition has basically changed. The distinction between the fascist and democratic nations in the past has lost its meaning. Today, the distinction can only be: (1) the nations waging an unjust and plundering imperialist war and those actually supporting such a war--the first category; (2) the nations waging just and nonplundering national liberation and people's liberation wars and those supporting such wars--the second

category. Now we must make new distinctions based on the new conditions and discard the old ones, because the conditions have changed. The bourgeoisie of the democratic nations have made their final rejection of compromise with the people. They have rejected compromise with the Soviet Union and launched a plundering war. Now the most reactionary nation in the world is England, and the ringleader against the Soviet Union, communism, democracy, the people, and small nations is Chamberlain.

In this situation, all communist party members must understand that the time for striving to rally the bourgeoisie and the governments of the so-called democratic nations and for building a united front together with the Soviet Union, the people of all nations, and the colonies and semicolonies has passed, and there is no longer such a possibility. The only possibility today is for the Soviet Union to build an antiwar and antiaggression united front together with the people of the capitalist countries and the oppressed colonies and semicolonies. We no longer can count on the bourgeoisie of the so-called democratic nations. This component, as a result of its vacillation, has finally shifted to the enemy stronghold and become one of the two strongholds in the imperialist war. It is a momentous change. Therefore, the possible components of the new united front have been reduced from four to three, with the following results: First, the second imperialist war has shifted from limited to general (from limited reaction to general reaction); next, the components of the new antiwar and antiaggression united front have changed from complex to simple. These are the two characteristics of the war in its second stage.

Many comrades fail to pay attention to the changes in condition or the characteristics of the changes. They think that everything is the same as before, and their thinking is suspended in the past, looking at the new changes with the old viewpoint and ignoring the essential changes in the new situation; therefore, they unconsciously fall into the trap of complete error, into the situation of the social democratic party. I hope that the comrades committing this error will promptly correct themselves, and I believe that, once reminded, they will correct themselves promptly.

IX. Our Revolutionary Policy in the Second Stage of the War

In view of the characteristics of the war in its second stage, what should be the revolutionary policy of the proletariat, especially of the Communist Party?

I feel that it should be as follows:

(1) We must appeal to the people in the belligerent nations to rise and resist the imperialist war, expose its imperialist essence, regard all the belligerents as bandits, be they of one side or the other, especially British imperialism, the ringleader, warn the people against being tricked

by the imperialist bandits, propagandize to them to turn the imperialist war into a revolutionary domestic war, and build a people's united front against the imperialist war.

In all belligerent nations, wherever there are communist parliamentary members, they must vote against the war budget in the manner of the courageous and firm struggle waged by Germany's proletarian leader, Comrade Liebknecht, in the German parliament during the first imperialist war. They must never vote for the war; they must never merge their own identity with that of the social democratic parties, because the social democratic parties of these nations are repeating the errors of the first imperialist war and, under the so-called slogan of "defending the mother country" (the mother country of the capitalist bandit group), are shamelessly supporting the war. Japan's social democratic party, the so-called Social Mass Party, has long since deserted the proletariat in order to support the aggressive war of its warlords. Under the intimidation and bribery of Chamberlain and Daladier, the social democratic parties of England and France have betrayed the British and French proletariat in order to support the bandit war of British and French imperialism. The Polish social democratic party supports the running dog bought by Chamberlain, the bourgeois reactionary government of Poland, betraying the interests of the nation. In Poland, doubtlessly, they should mobilize the entire people, ally with Russia, resist the German imperialist aggression, and fight to defend and liberate Poland. Yet the fascist government of Poland has suppressed its national liberation movement and refused the aid of the Soviet Union; it is willing to lead the people to serve as the cannon fodder of British and French financial capital and to turn Poland into a component of the reactionary front of international financial capital. Without doubt, we sympathize with the Polish people, but we definitely do not sympathize with the reactionary government of Poland. That the Polish social democratic party supports such a government is similarly intolerable. Therefore, whether in Germany, Japan, or Italy, or in England, France, or Poland, only by exposing the treachery of the social democratic party will the communist party of all belligerent nations be able to rally the masses, organize a revolutionary united front, and prepare to smash the counterrevolutionary war with a revolutionary war.

(2) In the neutral countries, such as America, the communist party members must expose before the people the imperialist policy of the bourgeois government, i.e., the policy of neutrality in name but supporting the war in fact, and attempting to make a big profit from the war. During the 2 years of the Sino-Japanese war, U.S. imperialism, under the mask of neutrality, has reaped a big profit, and now it wants to make another big profit out of the new war. Two weeks ago, in my talk on 1 September, I thought that the American bourgeoisie for the moment would not abandon the democratic and peacetime economy. Who would expect that, within a few short days, it would declare the so-called "partial emergency situation." Thus, it is following the steps of England and France and

advancing toward reaction and war. The communist party members must oppose such a false neutrality, which actually aids the imperialist war, the fascism of the governments of such nations, the treachery of their social democratic parties, and their involvement in the war, so that the area of the war will not expand without limit.

(3) In the colonies and semicolonies, it is the national united front, either to resist the aggressors (such as in China) or to resist the suzerain nations (such as in India), in order to attain the goal of national independence. We must oppose the activities of the national renegades to betray the national interest in such nations before we can develop the united front to defeat the enemies. In the colonies of the belligerent nations, we must oppose the treacherous activities of the national renegades in support of the war waged by their suzerains and resist recruiting the people of the colonies into the front of the suzerain nations. We must tell the colonial people of the painful experience of the first imperialist war. In the colonies and semicolonies, if we do not oppose the national renegades, the national liberation movement will have no hope.

X. The Future of the War

This war is a sustained war. I agree with Comrade Voroshilov's speech at the 18th congress of the Soviet Communist Party. He said: "Modern wars in the future will be sustained, prolonged and consuming." He also said: "Without doubt, in an inevitable and general military conflict, there will be an unprecedented life and death juncture." His estimates are correct. The quality of being sustained is found in imperialist and anti-imperialist wars, counterrevolutionary and revolutionary wars, their continuation and partial and temporary suspension, the reorganization of and changes in the participants, and the destruction and creation of participants. Such intertwining, tortuous, and complex changing conditions form the sustained essence of war. The second imperialist world war is an unprecedented calamity for mankind. Death, illness, starvation, unemployment, loss of education, loss of family members, and the breaking up of homes--all kinds of tragedies will fill the whole world. Without doubt, such conditions will cause the oppressed people of the capitalist nations and the oppressed people of colonies and semicolonies to wake up, unite, resist the imperialist war and organize revolutionary wars. The scale will be much larger than that of World War I. During the first war, besides Russia, there was no communist party in any nation. Now it is different. The communist party is distributed in several dozen nations, and it has become strong in politics and organization. During World War I there was no socialist nation. Now it is different. The Soviet Union not only exists but has become a first-class power. It is firmly against the imperialist war and for the people's liberation and national liberation wars. It will have a great effect in defending the interests of mankind and in blocking imperialism.

Now the world has been clearly divided. All the bourgeoisie participating in the imperialist war are reactionaries, forming a reactionary stronghold. The current imperialist war is a war between the two factions of the imperialist group in this great reactionary stronghold. This factional conflict in the great reactionary stronghold will not stop them from joining together to resist the Soviet Union, the people's liberation movement of all nations, the national liberation movement of the colonies and semicolonies, and the world revolution. It would be infantile to think that they will fight forever or that they will be easily overthrown by the revolutionary people. This is one aspect--the aspect of the world reactionary front. In the other aspect we have the Soviet Union, the people's liberation movement of the capitalist nations, and the national liberation movement of the colonies and semicolonies. All these form the revolutionary front and the revolutionary stronghold. The goal is to smash the world reactionary stronghold, defeat the imperialist war with the revolutionary war, overthrow the ringleaders of war, knock down the bourgeoisie, and liberate the oppressed people and oppressed nations in the world from capitalism, from the imperialist war. This is a great struggle process, an arduous and sustained process, and a process of educating the people, wakening them, organizing them, and leading them to fight the bourgeoisie. The capitalist economy has reached a dead end, and the era of great revolutions with momentous changes has arrived. The current era is the new era of war and revolution and the era to completely reform the dark world into a world of light, and we are in the midst of it.

The nation of China, which has waged 2 years of resistance war, is a component of the world revolutionary stronghold, an important and effective component. The national liberation war of the 450 million people will produce a great effect in the reform process of the world. The imperialist war is detrimental to the world and to China. Nevertheless, the existence and development of the Soviet Union, the people's liberation movement of the capitalist nations in the world, and the national liberation movement of the colonies and semicolonies are all beneficial to China and constitute the reliable aid to China's revolutionary war. China, the Soviet Union, and the people's liberation and national liberation movements of all nations must organize a firm united front. It will be a revolutionary united front, a united front against the counterrevolution. On this point, the war between the imperialists and their mutual wasting furnish a favorable condition to the people's liberation and national liberation movements, China's resistance war, and the Soviet Union's construction of a communist society. In this respect, the darkness of the world is temporary, and its future is bright. Imperialism will perish; the liberation of the oppressed people and nations is without doubt. China's future is also bright. As long as its Anti-Japanese National United Front becomes more consolidated and we, under the slogans of persevering in the resistance war, opposing surrender, adhering to unity, opposing splits, adhering to progress, and opposing regression, struggle vigorously, our enemy will perish, and a free and independent new China will soon emerge.

o MILITARY AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS MAGAZINE OF THE 8TH ROUTE ARMY, No 9, Political Department of the 18th Group Army of the Citizens Revolutionary Army (8th Route Army), 25 September 1939

* CHIEH-FANG (LIBERATION), No 85, 30 September 1939

* RESIST-ENEMY NEWS, No 101, 26 October 1939

* "On World War II," Education Bookstore, 1 November 1939

* "Guide to the Anti-Japanese National United Front" (9), Liberation Press, July 1940

* "Collection of Important Documents Since the War of Resistance," Chinese Communist Central Secretariat, 1942

6080
CSO: 4005

INSCRIPTION IN COMMEMORATION OF THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE AN-WU YOUTH TRAINING CLASS

5 October 1939

[Text] The young people with their fresh blood and youthful vigor who have joined the revolutionary ranks, be they Communist Party members or nonmembers, are all valuable. Without them, the revolutionary ranks cannot develop, and the revolution cannot succeed. Nevertheless, the natural shortcoming of the young comrades is their lack of experience, while revolutionary experience must begin with participating personally in the revolutionary struggle and performing the work of the lowest level. After a number of years of concrete work, without the least bit of falsity, experience will belong to those who are inexperienced!

To the commemoration of the second anniversary of the youth training class.

Mao Tse-tung

5 October 1939

o "Selections on China's Youth Movement" (inscription), China Youth Press, 1940

* "Comrade Mao Tse-tung on Youth and Youth Work," China Youth Publishing Press, 1960

* "Long Live Mao Tsetung Thought," April 1967

6080
CSO: 4005

SPEECH AT RALLY OF SCHOOLS AND YOUTH BODIES IN YENAN IN COMMEMORATION OF THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE '9 DECEMBER' MOVEMENT

9 December 1939

> [Text] At a rally of school and youth bodies held in Yenan on 9 December 1939 in commemoration of the fourth anniversary of the 9 December student movement, Chairman Mao pointed out the great historical significance of this movement.

The 9 December Movement has great historical significance. It was a movement which prepared this country for the great war of resistance against Japan. It was like the 4 May Movement, which prepared this country for the first revolution. The 9 December Movement motivated and prepared the way for the "7 July" war of resistance. After the 4 May Movement came the 30 May Movement, during which China saw the formation of an all-people's movement, and all the workers, students and merchants were on strike everywhere in the country. The 4 May Movement prepared public opinion, prepared the cadres, prepared the ideology, and prepared people's minds for the great revolution of 1925-1927.

The 9 December Movement was a movement that mobilized the Chinese people for the war of resistance, a movement that reoriented our ideology and trained our cadres and a movement that mobilized the entire nation. This movement occurred when the Red Army reached northwest China on its northward move to fight the Japanese. This is how the 9 December student movement was related to the northward move of the Red Army in the war against Japan. These two events helped start the all-people's war of resistance. After the "1 August" declaration, the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee called upon the people all over the country to oppose Japanese imperialism, and it asked the entire nation to be united for the war of resistance. The 9 December Movement took place after the "1 August" declaration. The students opposed suppression of the youth at that time. They opposed the Japanese imperialist aggression against China. They demanded that the civil war be ended and that all political

parties unite to fight Japan. The occurrence of this movement shocked the entire country. The 9 December Movement will be a great event to be remembered in history.

o "Chairman Mao Discusses Youth and the Work of Youth," People's Publishing House, 1964

1004
CSO: 4005

COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG REFUTES THE RUMOR FABRICATED BY THE COMMANDING HEADQUARTERS OF A CERTAIN WAR ZONE

January 1940

> [Text] Recently, the headquarters of a certain war zone issued a circular telegram which stated: "According to reports, Mao Tse-tung returned from Sinkiang to Yenan and made a report to his subordinates on 5 May. He said that Li Li-san [2621 4539 0005], who led 730 men, including some Russians and many Soviet-made airplanes, would use the opportunity of counterattacking the enemy to seize political power from the central government and would make Lanchow China's Moscow." A reporter of this newspaper asked Comrade Mao Tse-tung about this report. The following is Comrade Mao's reply.

This kind of report must have been fabricated by the Japanese. It is rather strange that it came from China's war zone headquarters. I "returned from Sinkiang to Yenan," but I have not even prepared to go to Sinkiang. As to Li Li-san, he has been arrested by the Soviet authorities because of his participation in the activities of the Trotskiyite reactionary bloc. I don't know how he came back! Those who instigate a split between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party and those who are prepared to surrender to the Japanese aggressors have fabricated hundreds of thousands of intelligence reports. This piece is the most clumsy. If it were believed by any person, then that person must be very stupid. "To seize political power from the central government." What a big headline! The plain fact is that the border region is being seized [by the Nationalists]. In July this year they seized Hsun-i of the border region. Recently they seized Chen-yyan and Ning-hsien. Bombers and heavy artillery pieces were used in the attack. We heard that they will take Ching-yang, Ho-shui, Shun-yao and Lu-hsien to pave the way for seizing Yenan. In front of us are the Japanese, who grab large chunks of territory from China. Behind us are the Chinese who seize small pieces of land from our Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia border

region. The border region had 23 counties, but now there are only 20 counties left. Even if they take all the counties left in the border region, the total area is less than one-thousandth of what the Japanese snatched from us. How brave these gentlemen are! Your newspaper should publish articles advising those brave gentlemen to restrain themselves a little. If they are truly brave, let them deal with the Japanese. According to past experience, no good results will come from civil strife.

o CHIEH-FANG, No 96, 20 January 1940

1004
CSO: 4005

CABLE MESSAGE FROM POLITICAL COUNCIL MEMBERS MAO TSE-TUNG AND OTHERS TO THE POLITICAL COUNCIL

3 February 1940

[Text] Gentlemen of the Secretariat of the Chungking People's Political Council:

Recently it has been reported repeatedly that the secret service organizations in Shensi, Kansu, Shansi, Hopeh and Honan provinces had issued instructions to their subordinates saying, in brief, that a North China inspection group of the People's Political Council would arrive soon. Its mission, according to these reports, is to collect information in order to prove that the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia border region occupied by the Communist 8th Route Army is responsible for the frictions that occurred among these provinces. The inspection group is to bring back information to Chungking and make proposals to the government authorities as to how to deal with these problems. It was further learned that a resolution will be introduced during the next session of the People's Political Council to eliminate the special status of the border region and the 8th Route Army and to use this opportunity to attack the Chinese Communist Party. All secret service agents were instructed to collect information and to make preparations to welcome the inspection group in coordination with local party, government and military organizations. My colleagues and I could not believe this report, because it is rather queer. Now that I have received a telegram from you, I have begun to believe that an inspection group really has been organized. A review of the names of the leader and members of this inspection group shows not only that not a single communist member of the People's Political Council was invited, but also that Messrs Shen Chun-ju [3088 0689 0320], Tsou Tao-fen [6760 7290 1164], and Tao Hsing-chih [7118 5887 4249], who introduced the original resolution at the fourth session of the People's Political Council for organizing such an inspection group, and Messrs Chang I-lin [1728 0001 7792], Huang Jen-chih [7806 0117 0037], Chiang Heng-yuan [3068 1854 3293], and Chang Piao-fang [1728 5903 5364], who are known for their moderate attitudes, indisputable reputation, impartiality and selflessness, are not among the members. The group consists

essentially of Kuomintang members of the People's Political Council with the exception of Yu Chia-chu [0151 1367 5468] of the National Youth Party and Liang Shih-chiu [2733 1395 4428] of the National Socialist Party, who during the second session of the People's Political Council made known his absurd pro-Wang Ching-wei arguments, advocated peace with Japan, and subsequently clashed violently with communist and other members of the People's Political Council who resolutely advocated war with Japan. With the inspection group so organized, the information gathered and the conclusions drawn therefrom will undoubtedly be biased and harmful to public interest. That this inspection group should collaborate with secret service agents is only natural. It may be recalled that in December 1938 Chang Chun-li [1728 0689 0536] wrote an article advocating the elimination of the special status of the border region and the 8th Route Army and the elimination of communism. Shortly afterward, Wang Ching-wei issued a message propounding his anticommunist views. If the purpose of this inspection group is not any different from that of Wang Ching-wei and Chang Chun-li, then it might be easier for the gentlemen of the inspection group to stay in Chungking, write a few impressive articles echoing the ideas of Wang and Chang, and then draft a resolution for the People's Political Council. Why should they brave the severe winter weather to make this trip? If they think that they are unable to convince the public without an on-the-spot inspection, then it is ridiculous for these people with special relations to gather fabricated information from the hands of secret service organizations and then write a 200,000 to 300,000-word inspection report filled with vehement denunciations of the Communist Party as a legal document for opposing communism, limiting communism and dissolving communism. Internal political problems can only be resolved according to rational political principles. How can deliberate pretentions resolve any problem? Some people may say that we communists are wrong in our estimate of the inspection group, that the forthcoming inspection will be made justly and fairly without any fishy motive, and that its mission is to maintain two-party cooperation and to seek a rational settlement of the border region problem on the basis of national unity. If so, it is then fortunate for the country that what we said is wrong. If so, when the inspection group arrives at Yenan the undersigned are prepared to entertain our colleagues of the People's Political Council with millet rice and kaoliang liquor, the two special products of northern Shensi. We will then toast our guests while discussing freely our grand plans for national unity and national salvation. You can rest assured that we will not be disrespectful in entertaining our honorable guests.

Members of the People's Political Council: Mao Tse-tung, Ch'en Shao-yu [7115 4801 4416], Lin Tsu-han [2651 4371 3211], Wu Yu-chang [0702 3768 4545]

o CHIEH-FANG, Nos 98, 99 combined issue, 20 February 1940

* "Collection of Important Documents Since the Resistance War," 1942

* "Reference Materials on China's Revolutionary History," Vol 4, 1957

1004
CSO: 4005

DECLARATION OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN YENAN

20 February 1940

[Text] To: The National Government, the People's Political Council, the Kuomintang, All Anti-Japanese Armed Units, All Anti-Japanese Mass Organizations and the Press.

The inaugural meeting of the Association for the Promotion of Constitutional Government in Yenan was held on 20 February 1940. We respectfully declare our association's views about constitutional government and hope that our views will be adopted and carried out by the government. We also hope that people of all circles will join us in promoting constitutional government so that true democracy can be carried out. The future of the war of resistance depends upon this.

First, the meaning of carrying out constitutional government is to let the people's will manifest itself and to win the war against Japanese imperialism. It has been 29 years since the founding of the republic. But our country is a republic in name only, a dictatorship in fact. Not to mention such dictators as Yuan, Feng, Tuan and Tsao, the Kuomintang, since it came to power, has followed in the footsteps of these dictators without any improvement. The reason is that much lip service has been paid to political tutorage without fostering the people's will to fight imperialism. In 1924 a declaration of the first National Congress of the Kuomintang said: "In recent years the so-called system of people's rights in various countries has usually been monopolized by the bourgeois class and has become a tool for oppressing the ordinary people. The Kuomintang's Principle of People's Rights is shared by all ordinary citizens, not privately owned by a few people." These words cannot be better stated! If this declaration were put into effect, there would have been no civil wars or foreign aggression. Unfortunately, these fine words were shelved, and one-party dictatorship is euphemized as political tutorage. Throughout the country, from north to south and from big cities to deserted villages, we have not seen any person or anything well tutored. As a result of many years of political tutorage, we can only see

corrupt officials willfully doing whatever they wish and local rascals and oppressive gentry committing an unlimited number of crimes. The nation's law is scoffed, the wealth of the nation is squandered, and, as a consequence, this brought foreign invasion. Since the beginning of the war of resistance, the entire nation has arisen to fight for its survival. The greatest problem now is how to let the people's will manifest itself and how to thoroughly defeat Japanese imperialism. Alas, some people still wish to isolate the implementation of constitutional government from such critical national issues as letting the people's will manifest itself and chasing the Japanese aggressors out of China. They refuse to see in constitutional government a tool for saving the country from perishing. Instead, they regard it as a skillful design to confuse people's eyes and ears. As a consequence, the people's constitutional government movement is banned; freedom of the press, assembly and association is restricted; political tutorage, which according to the people's consensus should have been ended, is continued; the delegates to the National Congress elected before the war of resistance are allowed to continue their tenure without a new election; and the unsatisfactory organizational law of the National Congress is proclaimed valid. All these are against the people's will and unsuitable to the needs of the war of resistance. Our colleagues of this association wish to register their firm opposition. We dare say that if these methods are used to carry out constitutional government, no internal or external problems can be resolved. Unless drastic changes are made according to the people's will, the people's support cannot be rallied for the benefit of the war effort. This is the first point we wish to declare to our fellow countrymen.

Second, the election law for the delegates to the National Congress must be thoroughly revised, and new elections must be held. Although a few unbiased persons were elected to the National Congress before the war of resistance, most of the so-called elections were phony. The director of elections at that time was Chu Min-i [5969 3046 1355], now a traitor. The entire show, masterminded by the Kuomintang, was full of scandals and a farce to our countrymen and the world. Among those elected were traitors, spies, corrupt officials, local rascals and oppressive gentry. With these people meeting together to write a constitution, the product undoubtedly will be a piece of useless, official-sounding composition. With these people convened to carry out constitutional government, the result undoubtedly will be the same one-party dictatorship under a new name. What they wish to do is for their own interests. Why should they put on this superfluous act, using constitutional government as a front to camouflage their true intentions? The colleagues of this association wish to express their firm opposition to this. At the same time, we suggest a revision of the law for electing delegates to the National Congress and the holding of a new election. Only by so doing can we satisfy the needs of national unity and the war of resistance. Otherwise, we are following the wrong track with the wrong vehicle and exposing ourselves to ridicule. This will never contribute to the good

fortune of our country. This is the second point we wish to declare to our countrymen.

Third, the organizational law for the National Congress must be thoroughly revised, and the National Congress must be made an organization wielding supreme power in the land. According to the original organizational law, the function of the National Congress is limited to writing a constitution and selecting a day for implementing the constitution. Its function will come to an end after its adjournment. The people in power are unwilling to see constitutional government really carried out and unwilling to make the National Congress a powerful organization for national salvation. Behind this intention is the devilish desire to carry out one-party dictatorship. Members of this association are firmly against the organizational law of the National Congress, which does not suit the needs of the war of resistance. We suggest that the organizational law be thoroughly revised and that the National Congress be made an organization wielding supreme power in the country. First, the National Congress, aside from writing a constitution and selecting a date for implementation of the constitution, should be an organization to carry out the constitution. Second, the National Congress should have the power to make basic policies for domestic affairs and foreign relations. Third, the National Congress should have the power to elect, supervise and recall government officials. Fourth, the National Congress should have the power to write laws for the country. Fifth, the National Congress should establish a permanent office which will perform the function of the National Congress during its adjournment. Only these suggestions, if carried out, will suit the needs of the national crisis and prevent the National Congress from degenerating into a window-dressing device. If we say that it is up to the constitution to decide which organization is to implement the constitution, then the organizational law for the National Congress should not give the National Congress in advance the power to implement the constitution. This stipulation is self-deceiving and also deceives the public. That the National Congress should be an organization wielding supreme power in the land was decided by Dr Sun Yat-sen. He said: "After the promulgation of the constitution, the power of control over the central government should be exercised by the National Congress. The National Congress has the power to elect and recall government officials and the power of initiation and referendum for laws of the land." If the National Congress is not the organization to implement the constitution, then which organization should be trusted with this responsibility? Success depends upon sincerity. If there is no sincerity in carrying out constitutional government, it would be better not to talk about the subject at all. Sincerity in opening the government to the people, sincerity in implementing democracy, and sincerity in arousing the people to manage their task of self-salvation and national salvation without resorting to expediency are the fundamental premises for convening the National Congress. This is the third point we wish to declare to our countrymen.

Fourth, a penetrating constitutional movement should be started everywhere in the country. People should have the freedom to discuss constitutional government and elect their delegates to the National Congress. All anti-Japanese political parties should have the legitimate right of existence, and their members should have the freedom to run for seats in the National Congress. If there is no mass movement for constitutional government, if the people do not have freedom of speech, assembly and association, and if all anti-Japanese political parties do not have the legitimate right of existence and the right to engage in legitimate activities, we are convinced that the so-called constitutional government is nothing but empty and futile talk. If these conditions are not changed, the constitution, no matter how well written, will be only a bunch of meaningless black characters. No matter how much some people may claim that constitutional government is the result of their promotion a long time ago, constitutional government is but a coverup for one-party monopoly of political power. If these people sincerely reverse themselves and have the determination to join the people to make a new start, then they should begin by giving the people and all anti-Japanese political parties and organizations the freedom to discuss constitutional government and the freedom to elect their own delegates to the National Congress. This is the fourth point we wish to declare to our countrymen.

These four points represent the platform of our organization as well as the opinion of the people all over the country. We are convinced that democratic constitutional government is an overwhelming tendency in China as well as in the world. Although there are many obstacles, this objective will eventually be attained. At this time, when our national enemy penetrates deep into our territory, democratization is the best policy for saving our country from perishing. We also believe that the concerted effort of the Kuomintang, the Chinese Communist Party, all anti-Japanese political parties, and all anti-Japanese people will gradually put the country on the road to democratic constitutional government. These are our deep convictions which we sincerely wish to convey to our fellow countrymen. At the inception of this association, we take the courage to present our feelings to the authorities. Why don't those who share our views join us!

Wu Yu-chang [0702 3768 4545], chairman of the Board of Directors, Association for the Promotion of Constitutional Government in Yenan

Directors: Mao Tse-tung, Ch'en Shao-yu [7115 4801 4416], Chang Wen-t'ien [1728 5119 1131], Wang Chia-hsiang [3769 4471 4382], K'ang Sheng [1660 3932], Ch'en Yun [7115 0061], Teng Fa [6772 4099], Lin Po-ch'u [2651 0130 3255], Li Fu-ch'un [2621 1381 2504], Kao Kang [7559 1511], Kao Tzu-li [7559 5261 4539], Lo Mai [5012 6701], Hsiao Ching-kuang [5135 0513 0342], T'an Cheng [6223 2398], Chang Pang-ying [1728 6721 5391], Hsieh Chueh-tsai [6200 6030 0762], Ko Ching-shih [2688 1987 2457], T'eng Tai-yuan [3326 0108 6678], Chang Hao [1728 3185], Meng Ching-shu [1322 1987 2885],

Feng Wen-pin [7458 2429 1755], Chang Ch'in-chiu [1728 3830 4428], Ting Ling [0002 3781], Ts'ao I-ou [2580 0001 7743], Ai Szu-ch'i [5337 1895 1142], Chou Yang [0719 2254], Wang Hsueh-wen [3769 1331 2429], Hsu Kuang-yuan [6079 0342 6678], Wu Liang-p'ing [0702 0081 1627], Ch'en Po-ta [7115 0130 6671], Nan Han-ch'en [0589 3352 6591], Li Ch'u-l'i [2621 0443 2746], Yang Sung [2799 2646], Ho Shih-ching [0149 1895 2417], Chao I-min [6392 3015 2404], Ch'en K'ang-pai [7115 1660 4101], Fu Lien-chang [0265 0865 3864], Kao Lang-t'ing [7559 2597 0080], Tsao Chu-ju [2580 5468 1172], Jao Cheng-hsi [7437 2973 6932], Wang Lin [3769 2651], Yeh Li-chuang [5509 2621 1104], Lei Ching-t'ien [7191 4842 1131], Pe Chen-pang [4101 2182 6721], Kao Shu-hsien [7559 6615 0341]

20 February 1940

o HSIN-CHUNG HUA-PAO, 28 February 1940

* CHIEH-FANG, No 101, 8 March 1940

* "Collection of Important Documents Since the Resistance War," Chinese Communist Central Secretariat, 1942

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," No 4

1004
CSO: 4005

DECLARATION OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE CURRENT SITUATION IN COMMEMORATION OF THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE WAR OF RESISTANCE

7 July 1940

[Text] Fellow countrymen, officers and men of the armed forces, and anti-Japanese comrades of all political parties!

On this great third anniversary of the war of resistance, the CCP Central Committee, with the utmost sincerity and the utmost enthusiasm, extends our national revolutionary salutation to our countrymen, officers and men on the front, and anti-Japanese comrades of all political parties; our deep sorrow for the martyrs who have given their lives to their country in the last 3 years; and our deep concern for our wounded officers and men of the armed forces and our wounded countrymen.

The 3 years of war of resistance prove that Japanese imperialism is bound to collapse, China will never perish, and final victory will certainly belong to the Chinese nation, because Japanese imperialism has been greatly weakened during our 3 years of heroic resistance, a will to fight to the end has been fostered in the heart of the entire nation, and current changes in the international situation are basically favorable to China.

However, we also face a period of unprecedented difficulty for our war of resistance. Japanese imperialism is stepping up its attack on China and has declared its Eastern Monroe Doctrine. Some people on China's anti-Japanese front are wavering. As far as international conspiracy is concerned, it is quite possible that the peace mediation policy of Germany and Italy will take the place of the Eastern Munich policy of Great Britain, the United States and France.

The accelerated Japanese imperialist attack on China and the artillery and fighter-bombers of Hitler and Mussolini are echoing each other in an attempt to achieve the objective of their imperialist war--redivision of the world and enslavement of all the people of the world. The suicidal policy of Great Britain, the United States and France, characterized by

their consistent hostility to the Soviet Union and yielding to Germany and Italy, has caused the tragic loss of France, serious setbacks to Great Britain, and a threat to U.S. interests in the Atlantic and the Pacific. The imperialist war has developed to a new stage, but the conflict among the imperialists has not come to an end. The economic and political crises caused by the war of imperialism are threatening the survival of mankind and will inevitably lead to the explosion of a world revolution. This revolution is brewing among all oppressed peoples and nations. We are in a new era between war and revolution. All wars of imperialism are wars for slaughtering people. Only the great, prosperous socialist Soviet Union, not involved in the vortex ot imperialist wars, is the real helper of all oppressed peoples and nations. The only reliable friends of China during its war of resistance are the Soviet Union and all the people of the world.

In the present international situation, Japanese imperialism, under the pressure of both internal and external crisis, is embarking upon its last adventure, attempting to block China's lines of communication with the outside world, imposing increasing pressure and increasing difficulties on China by launching frontal attacks and aerial bombardment in order to split China and force it to surrender. Under this increasing pressure and difficulty, the wavering elements in China will become more wavering and eventually will stumble onto the road of surrender. These people are confused in their mind, weak in their will, unable to endure hardships, and unable to see the future of the war of resistance. Once they are confronted with crisis or difficulty, they waver. They are the most dangerous people on the anti-Japanese front.

Fellow countrymen, officers and men, and anti-Japanese comrades of all parties! We are now in a stage fraught with unprecedented danger of surrender and unprecedented difficulties to our war of resistance. We should not hide this danger and difficulty. The Chinese Communist Party considers it its duty to remind our countrymen of this danger and difficulty and to point out that the entire country should be further unified to overcome this danger and difficulty.

Wang Ching-wei's capitulation is now bankrupt. He and his cohorts have become the meanest toys in the hands of Japanese imperialism. The capitulation of the French bourgeois class has turned all French people into slaves of Hitler. Surrender is absolutely not a solution. The Chinese Communist Party is entirely sympathetic to the fate of the French people. The Chinese Communist Party is firmly convinced that, under the strong leadership of the French Communist Party, the great French nation will not perish. The struggle of the French people will be coordinated with the struggle of the Chinese people to defeat their external oppressors.

Fellow countrymen, officers and men, and anti-Japanese comrades of all political parties! We must resist any enemy attack, overcome any difficulty, oppose any conspiracy to surrender, and struggle to the end

against all capitulationist elements. The entire nation must be further unified; internal friction must be eliminated; Kuomintang-Chinese Communist Party relationships must be readjusted; the danger of a civil war must be avoided; the Anti-Japanese National United Front must be consolidated; all the people of the country must carry out the war of resistance to the end under the leadership of Mr Chiang Kai-shek; and the promises of all political parties and factions must be fulfilled.

To our fellow countrymen and comrades of our friendly political parties, the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee announces: We always carry out our promises. In our 22 September 1937 declaration we said that we would struggle for the thorough realization of the Three People's Principles, call off our land revolution, discard our policy of violence, rename the Red Army as the National Revolutionary Army, and change the name "soviet" to local democratic government. We have earnestly carried out all these promises without reneging. All the policies we have carried out in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia border region, behind the enemy lines and in all anti-Japanese bases, are entirely in conformity with the Three People's Principles. We now declare again: During the entire period of the anti-Japanese war and the period of establishing a democratic republic, we will always implement the Three People's Principles. Any statement accusing the Chinese Communist Party of failure to carry out its promises is ill-intentioned slander. On this problem we demand that the Kuomintang also honor its promises and earnestly carry out all political promises and promises regarding certain problems made to the people and our party so as to benefit national unity and the war of resistance.

The Chinese Communist Party Central Committee announces: During the period of national unity for the war of resistance and Kuomintang-Chinese Communist Party cooperation, it is absolutely forbidden to implement any policy of violence or sabotage within the country. We have always supported Mr Chiang Kai-shek and the National Government's policy of carrying the war of resistance to the end, and we have always kept our promise of nonviolence and nonsabotage. All the hearsay that the Chinese Communist Party will again adopt the old policy of violence and sabotage is nothing but rumors fabricated by traitors. At the same time, we ask the Kuomintang to forego its policy of sabotage toward the Chinese Communist Party in order to insure the unity and long-term cooperation between the two parties.

The Chinese Communist Party Central Committee announces: We shall restrain the anti-Japanese armed units under our leadership and limit their activities within the designated war zone, behind the enemy lines, and within the 23 counties in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia border region; we shall not take any action in other areas that might cause conflict with our friendly armed units. Within the designated war zone and behind the enemy lines, our armed units will cooperate with all friendly anti-Japanese forces in the war against the enemy. However, we demand that all friendly anti-Japanese units also restrain their subordinates from taking any action toward the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army that

might cause any conflict so as to insure unity on the anti-Japanese front. At the same time, we demand that the National Government give all possible assistance to the 8th Route Army, the New 4th Army and all anti-Japanese guerrilla units, because they are on the forefront of our national defense. In the last 3 years the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army have heroically engaged the enemy in more than 10,000 large and small battles, persisted in the war of resistance over vast areas behind the enemy's frontlines, and tied down 40-50 percent of the total enemy forces in China. They are situated in the most dangerous positions. They live under the most difficult conditions. They suffer the worst shortage of ammunition.

The Chinese Communist Party Central Committee announces: We continue to carry out the resolution adopted in November 1938 at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, namely, "We shall not develop our party organization in the friendly armed units." Those local party headquarters which have not yet strictly carried out this resolution should take corrective action. Our party's policy toward all friendly anti-Japanese armed units is to unite with them and strengthen them, not to split or destroy them. However, we demand that the Kuomintang and all other anti-Japanese armed units adopt the same policy toward the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army in order to eliminate mutual suspicion, conduct the war of resistance with one heart, and enable all armed units under the same supreme commander to fulfill their mission in fighting the enemy.

The colleagues of our party think: In order to overcome unprecedented danger of capitulation and the unprecedented difficulties in the war of resistance, the existing "anticommunism," "restrict communism," "absorb communism," "prevent communism," and "control communism" policies must be eliminated, because the implementation of these policies has the serious effect of weakening our strength against Japan and causes unrest in people's minds. We should never adopt any policy for the war of resistance that will call for two wars--one against the enemy within and another against the enemy without. This kind of policy is suicidal. China should take the anticommunist policy of the Daladier government in France as a warning.

The colleagues of our party think: In order to overcome the unprecedented danger of capitulation and the unprecedented difficulties in the war of resistance, we must change many of our methods. We must implement freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association. We must release all arrested Communist Party members and patriotic elements. We must recognize the right to legitimate existence of all anti-Japanese political parties. We must convene a democratic National Congress. We must abolish the harmful secret service-like working style. We must change all unsuitable financial and economic policies, cultural and educational policies, and the draft policy for the armed forces. We must emphasize self-reliance instead of reliance on unreliable foreign aid.

Fellow countrymen, officers and men of the armed forces, and anti-Japanese comrades of all political parties! The unprecedented danger of surrender and the unprecedented difficulties for the war of resistance are upon us. We must overcome these dangers and difficulties. The Chinese Communist Party is firmly convinced that these dangers and difficulties are entirely conquerable. China is equipped with all the necessary conditions to overcome any danger and any difficulty if the Chinese Government and people will use these favorable conditions. China is a country with a vast territory, abundant resources and a large population. China should never be compared with Abyssinia or Spain, not to mention Holland or Belgium. China should not even be compared with France. Japan is far inferior to Germany. China still has a large army with several million men. It is strengthened by the unity among the Kuomintang, the Chinese Communist Party and the majority of the Chinese people. It can take advantage of the internal contradictions among the imperialists. It has the support of a strong Soviet Union and the world revolution. Since the Opium War, China in the last 100 years has gone through numerous crises and obtained rich experiences. Dr Sun Yat-sen's heroic struggle especially deserves to be the model for our nation. During this serious national crisis we must carry out the great teachings bequeathed by Dr Sun Yat-sen, his revolutionary Three People's Principles, his policy of uniting with the Soviet Union, his Three Great Policies for helping the peasants and workers, and his Testament. We must do away with pessimistic, wavering and helpless feelings and continue to struggle unyieldingly. Then the danger of surrender will be overcome, the war of resistance will be won, the task of national reconstruction will succeed, and the future of China as a nation will be boundlessly glorious!

Down with Japanese imperialism!

Carry the war of resistance to the end!

Be united to the end!

Long live Chinese national liberation!

Central Committee, Chinese Communist Party

o "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Revolution," Vol 4, 1957

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party"

Δ HSIN-CHUNG HUA-PAO, 5 July 1940

Δ CHIEH-FANG, No 111

1004
CSO: 4005

CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE SPOKESMAN ON THE SOUTHERN ANHWEI INCIDENT

18 January 1941

> [Text] While under orders to move north, the New 4th Army, located south of the Yangtze River, suddenly was attacked by government troops. This represents an attempt to quickly annihilate an anti-Japanese armed unit. As the news broke, the nation and the world were shocked. A reporter of this newspaper was sent to see the spokesman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. He issued the following statement:

This tragic event is not accidental. It is, in fact, a premeditated act on the part of pro-Japanese conspirators and members of the stubborn anticommunist faction. Shortly after the beginning of the war of resistance, the guerrillas of the Red Army in south China were reorganized as the New 4th Army of the National Revolutionary Army. In the last 3 years this army has fought strong enemy forces north and south of the Yangtze River and rendered meritorious services numerous times. This is known not only to every one of our countrymen but also to the world. By ordinary reasoning, these outstanding anti-Japanese units should be well cherished. Unfortunately, as the nation is confronted with a strong enemy and as the national crisis is worsening, the people in power fail to adhere to the principle of "national interest first" and "war of resistance first," cling to their 10-year-old anticommunist prejudice, and always discriminate against the armed units led by the Chinese Communist Party. Incidents of humiliation, cruel treatment, besiege, and sneak attacks on our troops occur repeatedly. This treatment of the New 4th Army, of course, is no exception. In central Hupeh the Li Hsien-nien battalion of this army was attacked numerous times by Ch'eng Ju-huai [4453 3067 2037] and others. In southern Kiangsu the Chen I [7115 3015] unit was repeatedly under the pressure of Leng Hsin [0397 2946]. In northern Kiangsu the troops under Kuan Wen-wei [4619 2429 5588] were oppressed by Han Te-ch'in [7281 1795 0530]. The units under Lo Ping-hui [5012 3521 6540] in eastern Anhwei and the units under Peng Hsueh-feng [1756 7185 2000]

located north of the Huai River were under the oppression of Li P'in-hsien [2621 0756 0341]. Many of the rearguard personnel and the wounded officers and men of the New 4th Army in Ping-chiang and western Honan were murdered. These notorious incidents were known as the Ping-chiang massacre and the Chueh-shan massacre. The wife and young son of Chang Yun-i [1728 0061 6654], chief of staff of the New 4th Army, were arrested. These incidents which have occurred in the last few years are well known to everybody. In the last few months the situation has become worse. Massive attacks were launched in northern Kiangsu, eastern Anhwei and central Hupeh in the name of "eliminating the bandits." These campaigns loomed large along the Yangtze and the Huai rivers. Also, on 19 October 1940 Ho Ying-ch'in [0149 2019 2953] and Pai Ch'ung-hsi [4101 1504 4406], in their respective capacities as the general chief of staff and deputy general chief of staff, telegraphed Chu Teh and P'eng Te-huai, commander in chief and deputy commander in chief, respectively, of the 18th Combined Army Corps, Yeh T'ing [5509 2185] and Hsiang Ying [7309 5391], commander and deputy commander of the New 4th Army, instructing all units of the New 4th Army and the 8th Route Army to assemble before a definite date in an area north of the Yellow River. In the telegram they stressed the so-called "military administration" and "military order." In view of the interest of the country, Chu, P'eng, Yeh and Hsiang promised in their reply cable to move the units of the New 4th Army located south of the Yangtze River to the north. By the end of December all preparations for the move had been completed by Yeh T'ing. When the troops were about to move, the Kuomintang press unexpectedly released a news report about the troop movement. This constituted an act of informing the enemy of our military secrets. At the same time, we heard that Ku Chu-t'ung [7357 4376 0681] and Shang-huan Yun-hsiang [0006 1351 0061 4161] had been ordered by the government authorities to attack. The order included such words as "catch them all in one net and capture Yeh and Hsiang alive." Ostensibly, however, the government authorities had given orders to all government units to help the New 4th Army travel through their territory without causing any difficulty. Commander Yeh T'ing presumed that these words uttered by the responsible authorities were trustworthy. He started the troop movement on 4 January. The number of troops and officers of the New 4th Army Headquarters totaled about 10,000. No sooner had they started moving than they were attacked. When they reached Mou-lin village between Ching-hsien and Tai-ping, they were surrounded and attacked by the 52d Division led by T'ang Yun-shan [0781 0061 1472], the 108th Division led by Jung Chi-wu [2051 4764 0063], the 79th Division led by Tuan Mou-lin [3008 5399 2651], the 144th Division led by Fan Tzu-ying [5400 1311 5391], the 40th Division led by Chan Chung-yen [6124 1813 6056], the new 7th Division led by T'ien Chung-yi [3944 4429 3015], and the 10th Division led by Wang Ching-hsiu [3769 0513 0208], totaling more than 70,000 men and all under the command of Ku Chu-t'ung and Shang-kuan Yun-hsiang. While hastily responding to the attack, Commander Yeh T'ing cabled the government asking the reason for this attack. During the 7 days and 7 nights of bloody fighting, the government authorities kept lying that they had cabled Ku Chu-t'ung to inquire about the true situation.

Actually, all government troops were under secret orders to carry out the plan to wipe out the New 4th Army. On the 13th, when the fierce battle was in its 8th day, the ambushed New 4th Army, on the move under government orders, exhausted its ammunition and food supply. The entire force was sacrificed. The government's objective had been achieved. On the 17th, the Military Council of the National Government issued a formal announcement declaring the New 4th Army a rebellious unit and straightforwardly admitting the annihilation of the New 4th Army units in southern Anhwei. It also said that Yeh T'ing had been wounded and captured and that the deputy commander, Hsiang Ying, had fled. It also announced the elimination of the New 4th Army as an army unit and said that Yeh T'ing would be court-martialed. Such a dignified announcement had in fact exposed to all the people of the country a conspiracy to annihilate an anti-Japanese unit. Coincidentally, on the 17th the Japanese KYODO news agency issued a startling report from Nanking. It said in brief: "The Chungking government has ordered the communist troops stationed south of the lower Yangtze to move to the north of the river before 26 December. In order to prompt the communist troops to move, the commanders of the Third War Zone have started surrounding and attacking the New 4th Army and other communist troops in the vicinity of Tung-liu. Some of the defeated communist troops retreated from Ti-kang to the north of the Yangtze on the 10th. The Japanese Army also attacked the New 4th Army in the vicinity of Hsuan-cheng and Ching-tan. The pacification units of the 'national government' also assisted the Japanese Army in the battle." At this time the true facts of a great conspiracy and a tragic massacre to eliminate an anti-Japanese armed unit and to crush those different from themselves were further bared to the world. The so-called northward move within a specified time limit was but a cunning trick to lure our troops into a trap so that they could be surrounded, attacked and wiped out. The so-called military discipline and the law of the nation meant that those who survived the slaughter were declared rebels and would be turned over to the courts for trial. The old tunes glorifying the solemnity of military discipline and the sacredness of the law of the nation are nothing but alibis for intrigues to murder the opponents of those who are in power. The New 4th Army is an anti-Japanese armed unit, and its northward move was made in compliance with government orders, but the army was surrounded and annihilated. Where is military discipline? Where is the law of the nation? The violators of orders were those who gave the orders. The lawbreakers are those who made the law. There should be no more argument about this.

When the New 4th Army south of the Yangtze was under attack, the government authorities also ordered more than 200,000 men under the command of Tang En-po [3282 1869 0130], Li P'in-hsien [2621 0756 0103], Li Hsien-chou [2621 0103 3166], Wang Chung-lien [3769 0112 1670] and Han Te-ch'in [7281 1795 0530] to stage a massive attack on the New 4th Army stationed north of the Yangtze. The so-called "catch them all in one net" plan was not limited to the area south of the Yangtze River. Meanwhile, in northwest China the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia border region was encircled by more than

200,000 troops. In Sian, government secret service agents, aside from blockading the office of the 8th Route Army, even kidnaped a water carrier of the office a few days ago and compelled him to put poison in the drinking water. In Kweilin the police and government military units compelled the local offices of the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army to close down immediately. A dossier of Communist Party members and progressive elements in the entire country has been compiled. Probably, it will not be too long before they "catch them all with one net." In view of these facts, there is a tendency that the tragedy of civil war will be repeated. There is a possibility that the heroic 3 1/2-year-old war of resistance will be abandoned. The shameful criminal act of eliminating the New 4th Army in southern Anhwei is only an exposed part of the entire intrigue. This is only the beginning of the scenario of the pro-Japanese elements, conspirators and stubborn anticommunist factions who wish to replace the war of resistance with a civil war and replace national unity with a split. This kind of lawless criminal act in favor of the enemy can never be tolerated by the hundreds of thousands of Communist Party members and hundreds of thousands of officers and men of the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army. Even the military, civilians, and patriotic fellow countrymen and those in the entire world who advocate righteousness cannot stand idly by. We appeal to all patriotic soldiers and civilians of the country and call upon all righteous people of the world sympathetic to China's national liberation to unite with us in our joint struggle to achieve the following goals:

1. Severely punish the leaders who conspired and perpetrated the crime of annihilating the New 4th Army in southern Anhwei!

2. Release all captured officers and men of the New 4th Army! Protect the lives and safety of Commander Yeh T'ing and other military and political cadres!

3. Give compensation to the family members of officers and men of the New 4th Army who were killed or wounded!

4. Stop the anticommunist war in central China involving several hundreds of thousands of troops!

5. Lift the anticommunist blockade in northwest China!

6. Stop the criminal act of killing and arresting Communist Party members and patriotic personalities throughout the country and release all patriotic political prisoners!

7. Get rid of Ho Ying-ching and all other pro-Japanese elements!

8. Oppose all intrigues to sabotage the war of resistance and destroy national unity!

9. Tighten up the anti-Japanese front and persist in the war against Japan to the end!

We are deeply convinced that most of our armed and civilian countrymen of various political parties and nonpartisan countrymen take the fate of our country seriously and stand on the same line with us in opposition to those few pro-Japanese elements and in breaking up their shameful intrigues to sell out our country through civil strife and peace with the enemy. The Chinese nation is facing its most serious crisis in the war of resistance. We communists and most of the soldiers and civilians in the country know very well what our duties are and what measures we should take during this critical situation.

o "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Revolution," Vol 4, Chinese People's University, 1957

* "Collection of Important Documents Since the War of Resistance," 1942

Δ HSIN-CHUNG HUA-PAO, 18 January 1941

Δ CHIEH-FANG, No 124

1004
CSO: 4005

PROTEST AGAINST A CAPITAL CRIME

1 February 1941

[Text] The New Year Day open wire of Chu, P'eng, Yeh, and Hsiang protesting the ambush of the New 4th Army states: "When our South China New 4th Army Headquarters and 10,000 troops, led by Yeh T'ing and others, followed orders to move north, we suddenly were ambushed by 70,000 Kuomintang troops in the Mao-lin area south of Ching-hsien. Under waves of siege, from beginning to end, we fought bloody battles for 7 days and 7 nights. The casualties were heavy, and we were out of ammunition and provisions." Upon hearing such news, one is shocked and angry. This act of violating their own military orders, disobeying the laws of the state, destroying their own countrymen, and damaging the strength of the nation is truly outrageous to the extreme!

After the New 4th Army was organized pursuant to orders, being new, it was extremely ill equipped. Yet it marched to the front under orders to resist a powerful enemy and established combat merits many times. If rewarded according to their merits, these troops, which were successful in the resistance war, should have received reinforcements and should have been expanded, so that they could become crack troops to resist Japan, defend the nation, and protect China's Southeast. To one's surprise, not only were no reinforcements provided, but orders were issued time and again forcing the troops to move north. For the sake of saving the overall situation and averting national perdition, Commander in Chief Chu took great pains to convince the southern Anhwei troops of the New 4th Army to move north. The troops followed the route designated by Ku Chu-t'ung, commanding officer of the Third Military Region, and headed toward southern Kiangsu in their move north. To their surprise, the so-called order to move proved to be a plot to exterminate the entire force. As stated in the New Year wire of Chu, P'eng and others, "according to information obtained from the encircling army in combat, such a plan to exterminate the entire force was formulated long ago. Catching us unprepared, they wanted to lure us into an ambush. The order from their superiors contained such words as 'catching them all in one net; capturing Yeh and Hsiang alive'.... Meanwhile, they are preparing large-scale

arrests and killings as well as raids on the various offices of the 8th Route Army in the entire country. In the Northwest they are building a Great Wall of blockade; in Central China they are deploying over 20 divisions of regular troops for a large-scale attack." One can thus see that the pro-Japanese conspirators and diehard anticommunist elements are committing the heinous crimes of starting a civil war to sabotage the resistance war and creating a split to destroy unity!

As chief and assistant chief of the General Staff of the Military Commission, Ho Ying-ch'in and Pai Ch'ung-hsi sent the wires of the 19th and the 8th demanding that the headquarters and troops of the southern Anhwei New 4th Army withdraw northward. Yet the order to move north was part of the ambush plot! While the order forcing the New 4th Army to withdraw was being issued, another order was given to attack the troops which were withdrawing as ordered. Given such contradictions, where is the solemnity of orders? Where is the integrity of the chief of the General Staff?

While time and again issuing orders for the headquarters and the southern Anhwei troops of the New 4th Army to withdraw northward, the Military Commission and Ku Chu-t'ung of the Third Military Region designated southern Kiangsu as the route of withdrawal. When the troops of the New 4th Army followed orders to proceed to southern Kiangsu, they were ambushed by 70,000 Kuomintang troops! Given such vicious means, where are the righteousness, integrity, and ethics of the Central Government proclaimed by Ho and Pai?

At the time when the headquarters and the South China troops of the New 4th Army were enticed into an ambush, the military authorities, while issuing the order to "catch them all in one net; capture Yeh and Hsiang alive," made promises that the troops stationed along the way would not interfere with the withdrawal. Callous and inhuman, they say one thing but mean another. Where are the laws of the state? Where is the integrity of the authorities?

Alas! Orders! Orders! Military discipline! Military discipline! Endless crimes in the world are committed in thy names!

One can thus see that those who disobey orders are the very ones who issue them; those who violate the laws are the very ones who formulate them. Hereafter, the soldiers and civilians of the entire nation will recognize even more clearly that those who proclaim vociferously the solemnity of military orders and the sanctity of state laws are merely using them as excuses to further their own selfish ends and damage the nation and the people!

When Germany, Italy and Japan criticized Roosevelt for violating international law by rendering aid to the British, Roosevelt stated openly in his message to the 77th Congress: "The international law proclaimed by the dictators is a one-sided thing. It lacks the spirit of mutual

observance; it only serves as a tool of oppression." We will borrow his words to present to China's dictators and conspirators, who respect and admire Roosevelt most. In other words, "the military orders and state laws proclaimed by the hypocrites are things created by them according to their own wishes. They lack the spirit of mutual observance; they are only the tools to oppress and destroy the dissenters."

Discrepancy in words and deeds; benefiting oneself at the expense of others--these are the nature of the class represented by those people. In regard to those without righteousness, integrity and ethics, one actually should not blame them for not being righteous, honest or ethical. As stated in an ancient Chinese proverb, "what they say are righteousness, integrity and ethics, but what they do are robbery and prostitution." It is an apt portrayal of those people. Their words and deeds, as precisely described by Lu Hsun, are "ethics contrary to the conduct of the Chinese people!"

Nevertheless, what they do today does not concern only the issue of their personal ethics and integrity but that of the destiny of the state and the nation. Their conspiracy to replace unity with a split and their crime to substitute a civil war for the resistance war are actually great wrongs done by them to help the enemy and the puppet and damage the republic! Their heinous crimes not only are intolerable to our communist 8th Route and New 4th armies, but the majority of soldiers and civilians in the entire nation who love truth and justice cannot remain on the sidelines. We appeal to our military and civilian countrymen of the entire nation and the just people of the whole world to unite with us and

Struggle to punish the conspiratorial ringleaders!

Struggle for the withdrawal of the troops exterminating the communists in Central China!

Struggle for the destruction of the Northwest anticommunist blockade!

Struggle for the cessation of the nationwide slaughter!

Struggle to avert the perdition of the Chinese nation!

We deeply believe: Righteousness will overcome wickedness! Light will overcome darkness!

o "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Revolution," Vol 4, China People's University, 1957

CHIEH-FANG CHOU-K'AN, No 124

6080
CSO: 4005

OFFICIAL LETTER FROM SEVEN POLITICAL COUNCIL MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY TO THE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL COUNCIL

18 February 1941

[Text] Secretariat of the People's Political Council:

In regard to the action of the government against the New 4th Army, our Party Central expressed a serious protest and proposed 12 articles of remedial measures:

(1) Stop provocations.

(2) Cancel the order of 17 January.

(3) Punish Ho Ying-ch'in, Ku Chu-t'ung and Shang-kuan Yun-hsiang, the ringleaders of the southern Anhwei incident.

(4) Release Yeh T'ing; restore him to his position as army commander.

(5) Return all personnel and weaponry to the southern Anhwei New 4th Army.

(6) Give relief to all the casualties of the southern Anhwei New 4th Army.

(7) Withdraw the troops fighting against the communists in Central China.

(8) Remove the Northwest blockade line.

(9) Liberate all arrested patriotic political prisoners in the nation.

(10) Abolish one-party dictatorship; introduce democracy.

(11) Implement the three principles of democracy; follow the Testament of Sun Yat-sen.

(12) Arrest all pro-Japanese factional leaders for disposition according to the laws of the state.

We hope the government will adopt our proposal. Before it acts, we are writing for your consideration.

Mao Tse-tung, Ch'an Shao-yu, Ch'in Pan-hsien, Lin Po-ch'u, Wu Yu-chang, Tung Pi-wu, Teng Yin-ch'ao

18 February 1941

o HSIN-CHUNG HUA-PAO, 27 February 1941

* "Collection of Important Documents Since the War of Resistance," compiled by the Chinese Communist Central Secretariat, 1942

"Political Council and Freedom of Speech," published by the Shanghai Periodical Company, April 1941

6080
CSO: 4005

LETTER OF REPLY FROM THE SEVEN POLITICAL COUNCIL MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY TO THE POLITICAL COUNCIL REITERATING WHY THEY ARE UNABLE TO ATTEND THE CURRENT SESSION

8 March 1941

[Text] Hsin-hua Press, Yenan, 9 March--The second session of the People's Political Council convened in Chungking on 1 March. None of the seven council members of the Communist Party attended. Their reasons for not attending the meeting were explained in the 5 February wire from the seven council members and the 2 March official letter from Tung Pi-wu and Teng Yin-ch'ao, two of the council members, to the Political Council. The Political Council wired the seven council members on 6 March urging their attendance. Upon receipt of the wire, the seven council members replied on 8 March, explaining in detail their reasons for not attending the meeting. The original text of the wire is as follows:

Secretariat of the People's Political Council and the entire council membership:

We received your wire of "yu," and we are most grateful for your concern. That the Chinese Communist Party members have exhausted their minds and bodies to continue the national resistance war and safeguard domestic unity in the past 4 years has long been publicly recognized by the people of the country; that the Political Council members of the Chinese Communist Party attended every council meeting is also known to you all. Nevertheless, for this session of the Political Council there are those who block our attendance. The council members of the Chinese Communist Party were invited by the government. Yet recently the government has been regarding the Chinese Communist Party almost as an enemy, exterminating the troops it leads, arresting and killing its members, and interdicting its newspapers. The southern Anhwei incident and the 17 January order, especially, were momentous matters since the advent of the resistance war and were seriously detrimental to domestic unity. After the issuance of the 17 January order, the enemy and the bogus government applauded, while the people of the country seethed with anger. [words illegible] All felt that a split between the Kuomintang and the

Communist Party was imminent. In view of this dangerous situation, the Chinese Communist Party Central had no choice but to take appropriate steps to avert the danger and protect unity. It proposed 12 articles of remedial measures. After an entire month there has been no reply, while the political oppression and military attacks have become more aggravated than ever before. The New 4th Army has become a rebel army; the 8th Route Army is branded as bandit troops; the Communist Party is called a cabal. Meanwhile, such alarming slogans as "knock down the Communist Party on the Yenan-Chungking road," "resisting Japan and exterminating the bandits are of equal importance," and "exterminating the bandits is not civil war" are written in large letters on the walls by the government and the regular troops. If this situation is not changed, even if we want to come to the meeting, it is impossible for us to do so. We expressed our feelings in a wire to the Secretariat of the Political Council, and we trust you understood them. Subsequently, many Political Council members tried to mediate, and we were grateful for their sincerity. In consideration of the overall situation, Tung Pi-wu and Teng Yin-ch'ao, our council members in Chungking, proposed 12 articles of provisional measures for action by the government, so that the council members of our party could attend the meeting. Our idea was transmitted to the Secretariat of the Political Council, but we have not been favored with a reply. The remedial and provisional measures we proposed were conditions presented to the government, which invited us to serve as members of the Political Council, for its action, which would serve as the criterion to determine whether we should attend the meeting. As the government has the freedom to act or not to act, we also have the freedom to attend or not to attend. Our support of the Political Council remains unchanged. If, by your effort during this session and the decisive action of the gentlemen in the government, our measures are adopted, and if there are a resolution to that effect and a guarantee of performance, then, even if it is toward the end of the session, our council members in Chungking will follow your orders and attend. Otherwise, we will have to wait until the issues are resolved. That we accepted the invitations of the government was for the sake of unity and resistance war. As long as the deep gash inflicted by the southern Anhwei incident is not mended, it will be difficult for us to attend any conference called by the government. This is the reason why our current situation is not entirely identical with yours. We respectfully express our feelings, and we hope for your understanding.

Mao Tse-tung, Ch'en Shao-yu, Ch'in Pang-hsien, Lin Tsu-han, Wu Yu-chang, Tung Pi-wu, Teng Yin-ch'ao, Political Council members in the Chinese Communist Party

o HSIN-CHUNG HUA-PAO, 13 March 1941

"Reference Materials on the History of China's Revolution," Vol 4, China People's University, 1957

6080
CSO: 4005

LETTER FROM COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG TO COMRADE BROWDER PROTESTING THE CLASS CONVICTION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BY THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

March 1941

[Text] Hsin-hua, New York, 10 March--To Browder: The decision of the U.S. Justice Department shows the domestic cruelty of the ruling class during the imperialist war. Together with the proletariat and progressives of America and the world, we protest the class conviction of the American people. We firmly believe that the Communist Party and the American people will rally around the slogan to "free Browder" and struggle for peace and democracy. In our struggles for the victory of the resistance war, for unity and for progress, we will reinforce our fighting unity with the U.S. Communist Party and people.

Mao Tse-tung

o CHIEH-FANG, No 127, 30 April 1941

6080
CSO: 4005

COMMUNIST PARTY COMMENTS ON STATEMENT OF 8TH KUOMINTANG CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING AND CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S SPEECH

5 April 1941

[Text] Though Chiang Kai-shek openly admits the existence of a crisis in his regime, he has not realized that the cause of the crisis is the absence of democracy.

That the Central Committee meeting, in its declaration, not only does not rectify the criminal act of ambushing the New 4th Army, but even stresses the so-called military order and military discipline, is truly a great mistake.

The Communist Party hopes that the Kuomintang will improve, but the only way for it to truly improve is to accept the 12 articles of remedial measures proposed by the Communist Party and sincerely implement them.

Hsin-hua Press, Yenan, 5 April--In regard to Chiang Kai-shek's speech and the declaration of the Eighth Kuomintang Central Committee Meeting, the Communist Party published the following comments:

In his speech at the meeting, Chiang Kai-shek stated: "Currently, there are those who criticize and ridicule us by saying that the work of our party is not firm, but too lax; they even say that we are decadent, degenerate. All such criticisms we must admit and accept.... When we look at the past 3 years and 8 months, especially the recent 6 months, our spirit of struggle has truly deteriorated. From the party to the government, from the party Central Committee to party affairs, politics, military affairs, and economics, there is no new spirit or new vigor. I feel that this is a grave crisis which should cause us alarm." His words indicate an indisputable fact: All the criticisms and opinions of the Chinese Communist Party and our countrymen at home and abroad are completely correct. Nevertheless, we must realize that all those voicing such opinions have always been considered criminal. "Controlling the opinions of the people even more vigorously than controlling the river." This truth is not understood by the Kuomintang authorities. By now the

people's freedoms of thought, speech, and publication have been almost completely eliminated, and the situation is becoming worse. However, the calculations and measures of the Kuomintang authorities are wrong. The people's indignation has risen with the political pressure and economic exploitation of the large bourgeoisie, while the crisis of a split resulting from the ambush of the New 4th Army has further aggravated the people's dissatisfaction toward the Kuomintang regime. As a result, Chiang Kai-shek had no choice but to admit the truth of the crisis in his regime. He asks the Kuomintang members to introspect, but he has no intention of eliminating the true cause of the crisis. What is the cause? In a word, it is the absence of democracy. As long as the conflict between the Kuomintang regime and the people's interests exists, the crisis will exist. Meanwhile, for a rapprochement between the Kuomintang and the people there is no other way than democracy. In his speech Chiang never once mentioned democratic politics. "Becoming one with the people" is merely an empty phrase or an indication of his desire to reinforce secret service work. As for the declaration of the Central Committee meeting, it clearly indicates that constitutional government has been postponed to "the conclusion of the war." The constitutional government for which the people and the parties and factions of the entire country have appealed for the purpose of strengthening national unity in the resistance war has been laid aside. Next, for China, an oppressed nation, to rise and resist a powerful enemy, short of arming the entire populace, it will be impossible to win final victory. Yet the Kuomintang authorities, under the excuse of "military orders and military discipline," seek to destroy the people's armed force, using "military orders and military discipline" as the tools to eliminate dissenters. The act of ambushing and exterminating the New 4th Army, for instance, actually was a crime against the resistance war, yet the Central Committee meeting, in its declaration, failed to rectify the mistake. On the contrary, it stressed the so-called "military orders and military discipline" for the unprincipled conspiracy to destroy the troops fighting the resistance war. It cannot but be considered an error of understanding. In regard to "economic construction" in the declaration of the Central Committee meeting, while it negates, on the one hand, the necessity to improve the people's living standard, branding it as "inciting class struggle," it continues, on the other hand, the so-called economic control, which has many defects and benefits the exploitation by a minority of the large bourgeois elements, and it denies free economic development in order to discourage the national industrial and commercial bourgeoisie and the broad petty bourgeoisie. If such an erroneous economic policy is not changed, it is quite apparent that the currently developing economic crisis will not be surmounted. Yet it can only be changed under democratic politics. In sum, we hope the Kuomintang will improve, because its improvement will benefit the national resistance war. But if the Kuomintang authorities do not fundamentally reexamine their errors or the true cause of the degeneration and decadence of their party, but only deal with the symptoms, there will definitely be no result. The

only way for the Kuomintang to make any true improvement is to accept the 12 articles of remedial measures proposed by the Communist Party and conscientiously implement them. Treating the symptoms without fundamental changes in policy will serve no purpose.

o HSIN-CHUNG HUA-PAO, 10 April 1941

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TAKE NOTE WHO IS THE TRUE RULER OF OUR COUNTRY TODAY

18 May 1941

[Text] Those assessing the tendency of Japanese imperialism often start from the subjective needs of the Japanese radicals in regard to the United States, i.e., the fascists, and forget the factor which exists objectively and serves as the major determinant of Japan's tendency. Such is the case with the Kuomintang people as well as others since the formation of the three-nation Axis.

The current international situation has three major characteristics: One is Germany's great success; two is China's developing anti-Japanese war; three is Russia's peace policy. In our general assessment of international issues and special assessment of the Japan issue, we cannot depart from these three characteristics. Those who fail to see them, or underestimate their importance, will inevitably arrive at incorrect, or not very correct, conclusions.

German imperialism has conquered all of Europe outside the Soviet Union and is pushing toward Africa and the Near East, continuing its large-scale bombing of the British Isles, and developing submarine warfare in the Atlantic, thus indicating its tendency to seize world supremacy. England and America, which struggle against it for such supremacy, have no choice but to wage a desperate fight. America's prompt preparation to enter the war is a result of this situation. In this situation, the plan of British and American imperialism is to concentrate forces against Germany. According to their assessment, as long as the British Isles hold, they will be able to utilize their naval superiority, regain their command of the air, force Hitler eastward, and make him clash with the Soviet Union. With heaven's help, once the anti-Soviet faction in Germany is provoked and a war between Germany and the Soviet Union breaks out, their "plan" will have "succeeded." Blocking Hitler from moving west, preventing the Soviet Union from remaining uninvolved, and starting another European Munich constitute their general policy. In the Far East, utilizing the internal conflicts of the three-nation Axis, dismantling the Tokyo-Berlin Axis, bribing Japan and dragging it into their

camp, creating a Far Eastern Munich, taking advantage of the conflicts between China and Japan and between the Soviet Union and Japan, and forcing Japan toward the west and the north in coordination with their policy to force Germany toward the east constitute the "ingenious trick" of British and U.S. imperialism. The more successful Germany becomes, the greater will be the effort of the British and American gentlemen to seek out the weak points of Germany and Japan while aiming all their schemes at the Soviet Union. Every time a crisis arises, they will always try to extricate themselves at the expense of the Soviet Union. Such is the pattern they devised long ago. In regard to Japan, Germany's success serves as an encouragement to its ruling class to profit by the occasion, because the energy of England and America is drawn to the Atlantic, not the Pacific. On this issue, while each of the three factions of Japan's rulers (the pro-Germany and Italy fascist faction, the pro-British and America status quo faction, and the intermediate faction between the two), in the distribution of political power, wishes to utilize every opportunity in the changes in the international situation unfavorable to the others to further its own goal, they are unanimous when it comes to taking advantage of the conflicts in the west (conflicts between England and Germany, between America and Germany, and between Russia and Germany) to advance Japan's goal of expansion; they can again unite, because they find it more advantageous to let Hitler shoulder the heavy burden of England and America and attract the attention of the Soviet Union to the west, while they, themselves, sit atop the mountain to watch the tigers fight and reap the benefit. In the three-nation Axis, Japan is different from Italy, which serves as Hitler's foot soldier. Japan is of a semi-independent nature. In regard to orders which coincide only with Hitler's wishes but conflict with Japan's wishes, such as starting a Pacific war immediately, Japan will not obey them. Starting a Pacific war immediately is made impossible by Japan's war in China, its national strength, and the internal conflicts among its rulers. This has created certain comedies in the liaison between Japan and England and America in recent months, especially in the recent week. Such comedies can only be explained from the fact that both England and America, on the one hand, and Japan, on the other, are willing to avoid a Pacific war temporarily (not permanently), the only difference being that one side wishes to concentrate on Germany while the other side wishes to concentrate on China and sit atop the mountain to watch the tigers fight in the West in order to reap the benefit in the future. Nevertheless, it is a bucket of cold water as far as the ruling figures of the Chinese Kuomintang are concerned, because, with the formation of the three-nation Axis, they have been hoping daily for salvation in a war between Japan and the United States. But their Roosevelt does not want to consider their supplications, and Japan's intent is also contrary to their desire. We feel that this is the way to view the changes in the international situation resulting from Germany's success.

Many have underestimated the developing resistance war in China. Some even feel that Japan may leave China alone, march south, and start a war with America. To their surprise, it has turned out to be otherwise. What fundamentally determines Japan's tendency is precisely China--the majestic China confronting it, becoming ever more aware and waging an ever more vigorous resistance war. China today is a conflagration of national revolution. Hundreds of millions here are raising high the torches, and the Communist Party stands in the frontline of their ranks. In the 2 1/2 years since they occupied Wuch'ang-Hankow, the Japanese rulers have followed the policy of easing up on the Communist Party and inducing the surrender of the Kuomintang. But the policy has failed. The Communist Party is becoming ever more consolidated as the fighting goes on, while the Kuomintang hesitates over surrendering. What is regrettable is that the ruling figures in our friendly party have failed to improve the government and reinforce unity. On the contrary, they have launched anticommunist campaigns twice in these past 2 1/2 years, copying the ways of the Japanese, concentrating on fighting the communists, and slackening the resistance of Japan, as if to say: We are devoting our full force against the communists; you Japanese can freely launch a war against America and stop attacking us. But Japanese imperialism does not listen to these words. What it wants is all of China. It desires not only to "oppose the communists" but also to "exterminate the Kuomintang." The Japanese say: If you want us to stop advancing, you must surrender, and you must launch a total war against the communists; just a southern Anhwei incident is insufficient. Since the southern Anhwei incident, the Japanese have exerted a great effort to provoke a war between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party.

Nevertheless, as the Communist Party Central is doing its utmost for the general situation, while the major leaders of the Kuomintang are unwilling to be tricked by Japan, its provocations have gone bankrupt, and it has been forced to deploy its troops for risky attacks, which it is unwilling to do. This is the reason for the suddenly tense war situation in recent days. We can definitely say that, as a result of the unity between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and the ever-developing people's resistance war, the flames against Japanese imperialism will only burn ever stronger, and Japanese imperialism will perish in China's conflagration. Naturally, it is a great help to England and America, restraining Japan from marching south and making it possible for them to concentrate on Germany. But they do not have any love for China. They are selfish imperialists. As long as Japan does not launch a Pacific war, they are willing to give it many things, such as rubber, oil, cotton, machinery and everything else one can think of. But that is only secondary; even sacrificing China and Dutch Indonesia is in the bag of tricks of Roosevelt and Churchill. A new danger of a Far Eastern Munich is definitely not something impossible. Nevertheless, as long as China exerts itself and continues its effort, let Japan point its spearhead westward, we will throw our torches eastward and fight a great duel. It is entirely possible to defeat Japan. Hampered

by the great China, Japan has no choice but to temporarily avoid a Pacific war. What basically determines Japan's tendency is China, just as Japan is the basic factor determining China's tendency. They are merely two sides of the same thing.

As for the peace policy of the Soviet Union, one may say that it serves as a brake to the entire world. Its force will overcome the conspiracies of all the imperialist reactionaries. Regardless of the dreams of England and America that Hitler's fire of war will burn eastward, or any other anti-Soviet conspiracies, one day they will become a pile of scrap metal. The defection of Hess proved the failure of the most recent great conspiracy of England and America. A new understanding between Germany and the Soviet Union has been reached and the danger of a new Munich in Europe averted. It was the victory of Stalin's invocation of the "east wind." It is the same in the East as in the West. No matter how much England and America try to create a Far Eastern Munich and mobilize all their disciples in Japan and China, it will serve no purpose. The Monkey God had no way of leaping out of the palm of Buddha. England and America have no way of stopping China's resistance war. China's resist-Japan torch has Stalin to add oil to it, and one can count on him to do so. If Japanese imperialism should recklessly launch an attack on China's western territory, one can count on its being burned, because China has not only an unsevered Kuomintang-Communist cooperation but also an ever-growing Sino-Soviet cooperation. Failure to see the peace policy of the Soviet Union, or underestimating it, is also definitely incorrect.

Will Japan not push south? It will push south. But currently it must first advance west, recklessly wishing to solve the China issue first. It hopes to utilize the present to let Hitler attack England and America ferociously, while it fiercely assails China. It attempts to sever the two communication lines in China's Northwest and Southwest and connect the Peking-Hankow railway line. After a spell of fierce attacks it will follow with a spell of soft assault, activating its fifth columnists (those like Ho Ying-ch'in) and vigorously resorting to the means of associating in order to attain its goal of inducing surrender. Attacking and associating are Japan's two great feats of magic. We predict that a surrender crisis may arise at a certain time, and we must be prepared. Japan's wishful planning is probably thus: It will solve, or generally solve, the China issue within not too long a period of time. By the time England and America can pay even less attention to the East, then you might as well hand over the Pacific; otherwise I will attack you. Anyway, by that time I can do "as I please." As for the subjective planning of all imperialists, one must not regard it as the outcome. Their subjective planning and the final outcome are either fundamentally opposite or far apart. This should be the way to regard the planning of Japanese imperialism. Since it wishes to "first solve" the China issue, let it try once again. Since its so-called "plan" for China has failed many times, let it fail once again. This is entirely possible. No reactionary in the world knows how to assess the development of the

revolutionary strength. This point will lead to the downfall of the reactionaries.

To whom does the world actually belong? The imperialist bandits will claim it as theirs, but the people will claim it as theirs. To whom does China actually belong? The Japanese imperialist will claim it as his, but we will claim it as the Chinese people's. "Take a look at the country today: To whom does it belong?" Only the people, only we, can correctly answer this question. The right, the correct, can only be the people, us, definitely not the enemy, not them.

People of the entire nation, unite to resist Japanese imperialism! We have every confidence in victory!

o CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO (editorial), 18 May 1941

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YENAN COMMENTATOR ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

24 May 1941

[Text] An observer in Yenan commented on the current situation:

(1) Recently, while on the one hand mobilizing troops for a gigantic new onslaught, Japanese imperialism on the other hand has been planning a new conspiracy to induce surrender. The military situation is tense on the front, while rumors of peace are widespread in Hong Kong and Shanghai. Thus, the Japanese bandits implement their dual policy of hitting and dragging simultaneously. (2) Certain imperialist authorities also follow the dual policy: While rendering some slight aid to China, they continue to seek a compromise with Japan and plan our surrender. The new conspiracy of a Far Eastern Munich has leaked from the New York Stock Exchange to the whole world. The talks between Matsuoka and (Ko-lu) were not for no purpose. (3) Certain authorities in Chungking also pursue the dual policy: While continuing the resistance war, they have not blocked the path of compromise; while willing to coordinate with the 8th Route Army in combat, they do not abandon the anticommunist policy or furnish supplies to the 8th Route Army, and they continue to create anticommunist rumors. Such dual policies make it impossible to carry on the resistance war, easily generate a feeling of pessimism, and aggravate the situation of confusion. Recently, the news of "peace" in the Far East spread by UNITED PRESS, ZEITUNG PRESSE and other press agencies has not been denied by the Chinese, American, and Japanese authorities concerned. Therefore, the current situation urgently requires the attention of our countrymen, while the key to overcoming all kinds of dangers rest inside, not outside, i.e., the decisive abandoning by the Kuomintang authorities of the dual policy, which is detrimental to the unity of the resistance war.

o CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 24 May 1941

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RUMOR AND SMOKESCREEN

28 May 1941

[Text] Creating rumors is a common trick of riffraff of the marketplace, yet political vagrants resort to such despicable means in political struggles and actually call it "spreading rational hearsay."

In social and political struggles, holding in their hands the banner of justice and truth, the progressive class and progressive political party are not afraid of openly and frankly announcing their political program and goal to the broad masses, clarifying their own political tasks and the direction of their political action, and waging an open and solemn struggle against the current major enemy. They have no need to resort to the low-class and shameless means of conspiracies, schemes and rumors, because they have confidence in themselves. Truth is on their side, and their future is bright. Therefore, their actions are open and aboveboard, frank and solemn.

On the other hand, to protect their selfish interests, which are contrary to truth and justice, while knowing that their advocations, outlines, political tasks, and political goals are unpopular with the broad people, the political vagrants do not dare to act openly and seriously. They can only resort to stealth and secrecy; therefore, they are experts in conspiracies, tricks and rumors. Creating rumors, or "spreading rational hearsay," becomes their favorite trick, because, unable to compete with their opponents in open and frank political struggles, they can only depend on creating rumors. Furthermore, as an ancient classic puts it, "Tseng Ts'an committed murder; his mother threw down the shuttle of the loom," or, as a poet wrote, "three men together become tigers in the marketplace; saturation turns into glue and varnish." It can be very effective.

Moreover, rumors also have another function: to serve as a blinder or smokescreen. Wasn't there such a story? When a thief was discovered in the act and an alarm was raised, the thief ingeniously joined in the outcry: "The thief is over there!" He was thus able to get away. When

doing something against their own conscience, the decadent political figures often resort to rumormongering to shift the attention and hide themselves.

The most recent example of this was the extensive and systematic spreading of the rumor that "the 18th Group Army concentrates in north Shansi and does not coordinate with the friendly troops in combat." The first to spread this rumor was a skilled veteran in this field--the T'UNG-MENG PRESS. Early this month, while mounting a minor military operation, the Japanese bandits launched a major attack by rumors. The T'UNG-MENG PRESS spread all kinds of rumors, article after article, stressing in particular the refusal of the 8th Route Army to cooperate with the Central troops, its concentration in northern Shensi in preparation for action against Sian, its utilization of the opportunity to expand and capture the weapons of the Central troops, etc. The goal of the Japanese bandits in launching military attacks and attacks by rumor is very clear. It can be described in one word: Intimidation! Or, to force a surrender by intimidation! Military attack is to show off their military might, as if to say: If you do not surrender, we will occupy your homeland and all your seaports, wipe out tens of thousands of your troops in Chung-t'iao-shan, and take Loyang, Sian, Kunming, and Chungking. What are you going to do about it? Attack by rumor is to alienate the relationship between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. They paint a gloomy picture and intimidate you by saying: See how bad the relationship is between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. Self-revitalization, but what hope is there? Better surrender immediately! Such rumors as "the 8th Route Army will not fight Japan" are the smokescreen, while forcing a surrender by intimidation and inducement is the goal. The technique is most superficial; the reason is most clear.

What is strange is that certain Chinese--not traitors like Wang Ching-wei, but certain figures of the ruling stratum in the resistance war stronghold--actually copy T'UNG-MENG PRESS' broadcast word for word and voluntarily rebroadcast the rumors. While actually stating that "information from the enemy is mostly fabricated and cannot be believed," such news organs as TA KUNG PAO and the CENTRAL PRESS AGENCY repeat the "information from the enemy" and claim that "that the 18th Group Army has been concentrating in northern Shansi and until now has not cooperated with the friendly troops in battle is a fact." The Japanese do not have to spend a penny, and there are those Chinese who volunteer to serve as phonographs and witnesses to their rumors. Isn't it strange?

Nevertheless, actually there is nothing "strange" about it. If we understand the ingenuity of the thief in the story cited above, we will understand the "secret" of the rumors. The spokesman of the Chungking Military Commission more or less leaked a part of this "secret" on the 23d of this month. He said: "Last week there was a general mobilization of the bandit army, totaling over 300,000 men. When they brag about solving the 'China incident' by such means, not only will no one

in the world believe them, but even the enemy bandits themselves know it is impossible." Did it not imply that such means (military attack) would not solve the problem; better use another method! As was expected, T'UNG-MENG PRESS immediately reported that military authorities on all fronts claimed that the initial fighting had concluded. Thus, the rumors echoed back and forth, creating an intermediary effect like writing verses on a red leaf. What was regrettable was that some of the Political Council members in Hong Kong were actually deceived by this little sleight of hand.

We feel that there is no need for us to "quell the rumors" again, because the perseverance of the 8th Route Army and the Communist Party members in the resistance war and their loyalty to the nation are facts which cannot be shaken by rumors; they are true gold, fearing no fire. Though the New 4th Army has been declared a rebel army and the 8th Route Army has not received one bullet in 2 years or a halfpenny's worth of rations in 5 months, the officers and soldiers of the two armies have never for one minute stopped fighting the enemy. Meanwhile, to relieve the battle pressure in southern Shansi, the 8th Route Army is waging bloody battles on the entire front in North China. These are the facts well known to those creating rumors and those spreading them. That they create and spread rumors is for another purpose.

What is the purpose? Those creating rumors wish to induce surrender; those spreading them wish to surrender. They all want to use the Communist Party as the excuse, and the Communist Party serves as the red leaf on which they write their verses. During the height of their spring fever, the Japanese compose a poem on a red leaf and float it up the Yangtze River. Picking up the red leaf, those at this end feel excited. They write an answering poem and float it down the river. This was the reason that the T'UNG-MENG PRESS and CENTRAL PRESS AGENCY have chanted and responded on the Communist Party issue in recent days. There are also Germany's ZEITUNG PRESSE, America's UNITED PRESS, and England's REUTER which, for their own different purposes, have spread the love poems of both sides everywhere. Their common goal is to "hurry the marriage," except that England and America do so for the purpose of resisting the communists, the Soviet Union and Germany, and Germany has in mind the purpose of opposing England and America. That is the only difference. "You had better get married quickly, so that the Pacific war can be launched"--this is the goal of Germany. "You had better get married quickly, so that an anticommunist, anti-Soviet Union, and anti-Germany Far Eastern Munich can be created"--this is the goal of England and America. We cannot but advise the leaders of the Chinese Kuomintang that such a marriage is a "shotgun marriage," which will not bring happiness in the future; it is better to refuse the proposal. Using the Communist Party as an excuse will not get you anywhere, either. If you don't believe us, just wait and see!

Our countrymen throughout China, pay attention to the crisis of surrender concealed under the smokescreen of rumors! The grave danger of a Far Eastern Munich is growing daily. The "military attack" this time, with the goal of "intimidating Chiang to surrender," has temporarily passed. What follows will inevitably be surrender by inducement. Though it is an old trick of the Japanese to "hit, then drag; hit and drag," it contains a new significance, because it is precisely from May to October 1941 [?]. Our countrymen of the entire nation must rise and expose and smash it. It is a momentous task linked with the life of the nation!

o CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO (editorial), 28 May 1941

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YENAN COMMENTATOR ON THE DOUBLE MEANING OF 'FIRESIDE TALKS'

30 May 1941

[Text] Concerning U.S. President Roosevelt's fireside chat published on the 27th, a Yenan commentator stated:

This chat had a double meaning--forcing Germany to compromise and preparing to enter the war. Currently, the imperialist war has developed to a crucial point in history. Every imperialist nation is confronted with this issue: either a long-term war, which may result in the destruction of capitalism and the outbreak of a world revolution; or an imperialist peace, in which case the current war may be converted to a war against the Soviet Union. With the defection of Hess and the failure of the anti-Soviet faction inside Germany, the anti-Soviet conspiracy of British and American imperialism suffered a great setback. Nevertheless, the conspiracy is not finished. The goal of England and America is still to utilize their naval superiority, regain command of the air, and force Hitler's fire to spread eastward. They know that Hitler fears only America; therefore, in his chat this time Roosevelt demonstrated an extraordinary attitude in threatening him. When he said that "we cannot tolerate Hitler's control of the world or the world of the 2000's," he indicated that, as long as Hitler did not attack England or seek naval superiority, he would be permitted to control Europe and be relieved of the burden of the Versailles Treaty, so that there would be an imperialist peace, in order to attack the Soviet Union; otherwise, war would be declared on Germany. It was to force Germany to compromise. However, Hitler fears not only America but the Soviet Union even more. After the defection of Hess, Germany and the Soviet Union have reached a new understanding. The Mediterranean war is unusually fierce, and England may be invaded. Churchill's SOS cables are probably raining down like snowflakes. The U.S. rulers have no choice but to make plans to enter the war in case the effort to force Germany to compromise fails. Therefore, Roosevelt's chat has the effect of preparing to enter the war. His words also imply the conspiracy of a Far Eastern Munich. According to the T'UNG-MENG PRESS, Roosevelt in his chat stated that the relationship between Japan and America "has not

been studied." He also said: "That the scope of the chat is unusually narrow is for the purpose of concentrating on Germany." These words show that he is leaving room for Japan, but they actually imply a great conspiracy to sacrifice China for a compromise between Japan and America. They deserve our attention. In his statement of the 28th, China's Foreign Minister Wang repeatedly expressed "gratitude" to Roosevelt, without indicating the least bit of alarm. It is truly unsound. Before we have final proof that America has abandoned the conspiracy of a Far Eastern Munich, our task is to be vigilant against betrayal. As for "gratitude," there is really no hurry.

o CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 30 May 1941

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YENAN COMMENTATOR'S COMMENTS

2 June 1941

[Text] A Yenan commentator commented on the letters exchanged between Hull and Kuo T'ai-ch'i on America's willingness to relinquish its extra-territoriality in China after peace is resumed between China and Japan:

This is an interesting interlude in the midst of fermenting a Far Eastern Munich. The purpose is to obscure the understanding of the Chinese people and their vigilance against the realistic danger of betrayal with a blank check of a remote future. Nevertheless, while the trick may win the gratitude and allegiance of certain Chinese who worship the dollar and revere material things, it will only aggravate the feeling of repugnance of the broad masses of China. They will tell Uncle Sam: Instead of such blank checks of a remote future, it is better for you to immediately stop sending petroleum, iron and steel, and other weapons to Japan, and not to serve as an accomplice of the Japanese bandits in their slaughter of the Chinese.

o CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 2 June 1941

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WHAT THE KUOMINTANG LACKS

17 June 1941

[Text] What does the Kuomintang lack? Airplanes and artillery? Cadre talents? The method to resist Japan? True, none of these things is in ample supply. But what it lacks most is the confidence of the nation.

Certain gentlemen of the Kuomintang often revile others (especially the Communist Party) for lacking the concept of the state and the nation. However, since the Communist Party and the people have never been negative toward the resistance war and national liberation, no matter how novel the theories of these gentlemen or how extensive their articles, one will only find the waste of paper alarming and incompatible with the thrift movement advocated by Mr Chiang Kai-shek. But just how much reserve is left in the treasury of their own concept of the state and the nation is doubtful. We will not gloat over the misfortunes of others. We can only solemnly advise those gentlemen: Please take care of yourselves, and add more weight to it! It will be beneficial to you and to us, and to the state and the nation most beloved by you and us.

Please think it over calmly. How far have you gone in flattering and depending on America? We do not ask you to give up your illusions about America, because it involves the freedoms of thought and speech. But Confucius said: Let the words be adequate to express the idea; excess is the same as inadequacy. You arbitrarily claim that China and England are the left and right wings of America and that the Han River and the English Channel are both its frontiers. What's the need of that? You also claim that America and China have transcended the relationship of allies. We wish to inquire what obligation as an ally, since the beginning of history, has America ever performed for China? Yet, the relationship of allies has been transcended! What kind of intimate relationship is it? Just because little Captain Roosevelt came to China and acquired a few sworn brothers, do you flatter them to the skies? But the curve on the graph representing the military supply trade between America and Japan is shooting up into the clouds. You take Hull's sheet of empty words as a Buddhist charm, while they are

discussing with Nomura the matter of ordering China to stop the war. It seems that China has, at whatever time, entered America's pocketbook altogether! This is truly transcending the relationship of allies, and the Han River can truly be considered the Mississippi.

Is it impossible not to rely on America? At least, do not rely on the America of Mars! No matter how Pao Hsu and others weep their hearts out and stand at the gate of the U.S. State Department for weeks on end, the America on Earth can only move its Pacific fleet to the Atlantic at present. Yet you--you once placed all your hopes on a war between Japan and the Soviet Union. Now you place your hopes on a war between Japan and America. You don't care that, from the high heavens to the depth of the earth, no trace of a war between Japan and America is found on today's daily agenda. We wish to ask you: If, unfortunately, America's compromise should become a fact, how would you conclude your comedy? When the people blame you for practicing a planned deception in your action today, how can you deny it? Even if the compromise between Japan and America does not succeed, what royal favors has America granted us to make our noble and struggling great nation so degraded, to make us lose our national and personal integrity to such an extent? Just how much national concept is in all your propaganda? On which page and which chapter of Mr Sun Yat-sen's nationalism are they based? Under what dictionary definition of Mr Chiang Kai-shek's slogan of self-revitalization?

Please think it over again calmly. How far have you gone in your destruction and suppression, your rumormongering and false accusations against the Communist Party and the people? To handle the Communist Party and the people, what a gigantic structure you have built! This structure is growing bigger and bigger, like the pitiful Arab and the camel in the fable, squeezing all other functions of the resistance-war government out of the tent. Whether in ancient times or today, whether here or abroad, adopting such a policy when the powerful enemy is pressing in on us is not prospering or building the nation; it can only damage and destroy the nation. How can you not understand this simple truth? Yet, since you regard strangers as compatriots and dream of building your national center in the New York Stock Exchange, naturally you consider your compatriots as strangers, and naturally you fail to see the unlimited power and unlimited future of the nation in the people. Moreover, "one foot of cloth can still be sewn; one peck of rice can still be hulled; two brothers cannot tolerate each other." You wish to treat your own countrymen as sworn enemies! How brave you were in the southern Anhwei incident and the many kinds of anticommunist activities! How creative and positive when you fabricate rumors and manufacture all kinds of anticommunist public opinion! Since you do not hesitate to brand the people and the people's vanguard as bandits and rebels, how can you have any confidence in the nation? Though we suffer all kinds of intolerable hostility on your part, as long as you continue the resistance war the Communist Party and the people will cherish you

and remain cooperative. Unfortunately, you seem to lack even this kind of confidence. Since you do not trust others, or even yourselves, just how much national concept do you have? On which page and which chapter of Mr Sun Yat-sen's nationalism are they based? Under what dictionary definition of Mr Chiang Kai-shek's slogan of self-revitalization?

"This faithless and perverse world? Verily I say unto you: If you have faith like a mustard seed, in regard to this mountain, if you wish to move it from here to there, it will be moved, and there is nothing which you cannot do." Today, when the national confidence is so cruelly trampled upon, we cannot but borrow the words of Jesus to present to the Kuomintang. Many in the Kuomintang have been very pessimistic recently, and they even know that relying on America is not the way out. They wonder why the Communist Party gains greater victories under more difficult conditions. No matter how unfavorable the domestic and international environment, the Communist Party remains impregnable and steady and progresses. What secret does it have? Its entire secret is its faith in the nation and the people of China; therefore, it always struggles alongside the great masses of the entire nation and does not rely on foreign countries, especially the imperialists. Nevertheless, for what reason is the Kuomintang unable to raise its national confidence, unable to trust the people and itself, but has to worship the scheming imperialist conspirators? Many "theorists" of the Kuomintang say that, among the three principles of democracy, nationalism is the most needed at present. This probably is the so-called ideology. For what reason is the Kuomintang unable to adhere to this one ideology with its entire effort? As long as the Kuomintang can firmly raise its national confidence and firmly wage the national independence war, all its difficulties can be solved, and its future will remain bright.

o CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 17 June 1941

6080
CSO: 4005

DECLARATION OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE IN COMMEMORATION OF THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WAR OF RESISTANCE

7 July 1941

[Text] Countrymen and resistance war officers and soldiers of the entire nation!

The sacred war of our great nation of China to resist the Japanese bandits and defend the nation has been fought for exactly 4 years. The arrival of the 5th year of the resistance war coincides with the serious changes in the international situation. Hitler, Germany's insane fascist leader, has launched a gigantic attack on the Soviet Union, and the Soviet government is leading its 200 million people and several-million-men Red Army in a great war to smash the fascist aggression.

Countrymen, officers and soldiers! The nature of the antifascist war of the Soviet Union is identical with that of our resistance war. Both are just wars to defend independence, safeguard freedom, and resist aggression. Meanwhile, like the Japanese fascists who are attacking China, the German fascists are aggressive, enslaving, and unjust. Therefore, China and the Soviet Union stand on the same front, sharing the successes and failures, the fortunes and misfortunes.

Since the outbreak of the Soviet-German war, sympathy for the Soviet Union has rapidly spread to the entire world, and the people of China feel an even greater concern. Primarily, the Soviet Union is a socialist state supporting the opppressed nations. In our 4 years of resistance war, the one [nation] which has helped us most is the Soviet Union. Next, the war between the Soviet Union and Germany directly affects China's resistance war. If Hitler succeeds in the Soviet Union, China will face a serious crisis. Therefore, all the people of China know that the war waged by the people of the Soviet Union is in defense not only of the Soviet Union but also of China and the freedom and independence of all nations. The success or failure of the Soviet Union is that of China, as well as of democracy and freedom, independence and liberty, universal principles and justice, and science and light. Thus, Hitler is the enemy not only of the Soviet Union but also of all free nations, especially China. For this reason,

overthrowing Hitler is the task of the people of China as well as the people of the United States and all nations. Without doubt, fascist Hitler's insane aggression will only hasten his destruction, as the enemies of fascism vise up throughout the world. A powerful antifascist aggression front is forming throughout the world. This is an era of great struggle between the fascist and antifascist fronts throughout the world, and the battle between the two has been joined.

In order to court Japan, consolidate the fascist alliance, and resist China, the Soviet Union, England and America, the fascist countries of Europe openly recognize China's renegade Wang Ching-wei. The devil's claws of Hitler and Mussolini are stretching toward the Pacific. That fascism is the public enemy of China's 450 million people and all mankind has been completely revealed. Meanwhile, trapped in China's quagmire, fascist Japan competes with England and America in the south. Its economy is deteriorating, and its people are dissatisfied. If it should tear up its neutrality pact with the Soviet Union and make the great Soviet Union an enemy, the day of its destruction and collapse will become more imminent. However, the more urgent the situation, the harder it is to block its reckless determination to carry out its plans. While the dangers of war with the Soviet Union have increased, it will never abandon its policy to destroy China, and its ambition to march south against England, America, the Netherlands and Australia still exists. The threat of the fascist alliance in the world increases simultaneously in the west and the east. Only a firm struggle built on the foundation of an antifascist international united front will check the conflagration and stem the tide. All ideas of gloating over the misfortunes of others and hoping for a windfall are manifestations of superficiality and ignorance. As for repeating the mistakes of Chang Po-lun or following in the footsteps of Wang Ching-wei, the so-called appeasement policy and surrender line are the most stupid and inferior measures and should never be considered by China and the democratic nations of Europe and America. The Chinese people will always firmly oppose a Far Eastern Munich.

The sacred resistance war of the great nation of China is not only for the purpose of averting China's perdition but is also helpful to the international resistance against aggression. In the past 4 years the soldiers and civilians of the entire country have been exerting themselves in the resistance war, disregarding the sacrifices and difficulties, filling the front ranks of the fallen, rallying over and over again, and paying a tremendous price. After many difficulties they have been able to deter the enemy bandits, win the admiration of the world, lay the foundation for national recovery, and create the embryo of a new China. These are all the results of our unity above and below, the joint military-civilian effort, the cooperation of the parties and factions, and the aid of friendly nations, worthy of our joyful celebration and special notice.

Nevertheless, enemy aggression is just beginning, not ending, and those plotting against us include the vicious fascist alliance, Nanking's puppet regime serving as the tiger's claw, and the pro-Japanese elements inside. Politics has not stabilized, the people's living conditions have deteriorated,

and public opinion has not been expressed. All kinds of alarming dark shadows have the tendency of becoming more aggravated. What is even more strange is that anticommunism has become a policy, and the term "alien party" has appeared in writing. Military discipline and military orders are borrowed as excuses to hit the most positive of the resistance war troops. Thus, the southern Anhwei incident occurred, and the New 4th Army was disbanded. Secret service agents act outrageously, and illegal arrests are innumerable. As a result, the morale of the resistance war has been destroyed and the new spirit of the early period of the war demolished. In regard to all such dark sides, if they are not eliminated, the achievement of the resistance war of 4 years may be abandoned, the soldiers and civilians of the whole nation may feel lost, and international sympathy will have no substance to which to attach itself. These are what should cause our countrymen deep concern and alarm.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party feels that now, at the beginning of the 5th year of the resistance war, when changes are occurring in the international situation, is an excellent opportunity for us to discard the old and arrange the new. The people of the entire nation must perform many important fighting tasks. From foreign affairs to internal administration, there must be new reforms and innovations before we can adapt to the current situation, refresh the senses of our countrymen, and attain the goal of the resistance war and national construction. This party respectfully proposes the following:

(1) Support the international antifascist front; promote the unity of China, the Soviet Union, England, America, and all other antifascist states and nations; resist the fascist alliance of Germany, Italy, and Japan; support the correct action of the National Government to sever relations with Germany and Italy and to prepare new steps.

(2) Reinforce the struggle against the puppet regime of renegade Wang; purge his remnants; consolidate the anti-Japanese camp.

(3) Intensify the reorganizing and training of all National troops; strengthen frontline coordination of all units; supply the troops behind enemy lines with provisions and ammunition; actively counterattack the enemy.

(4) Strengthen the political, economic, and cultural establishments of all resist-Japan bases with government aid, so that such bases will persevere in the enemy rear, making it impossible for the enemy to move its troops west, north, or south.

(5) Strengthen the cooperation among the anti-Japanese parties and factions; readjust the relationship between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party; solve the New 4th Army issue; recognize the legitimate activities of all anti-Japanese parties and factions; stop arresting Communist Party members and all patriotic elements; eliminate internal frictions; cultivate the resistance war strength.

(6) Grant freedom of speech, publication, assembly and association to all patriotic people; activate the wisdom and strength of the people; resist the enemy bandits.

(7) Reform the political structure; dismiss the corrupt and the greedy; promote the enlightened people; purge the concealed pro-Japanese elements in government organs and eliminate the enemy's fifth column.

(8) Prohibit corrupt and greedy officials from hoarding, speculating, and manipulating the national economy; enforce grain balancing and price stabilization in order to give the people relief.

(9) Reform the conscription system; prohibit blackmail, bribery, coercion, and abuse; replace it with political mobilization to encourage the people to go to the frontline in order to benefit the resistance war.

(10) Readjust the relationship between the central and the local governments; rely on local talents and rally the minorities in order to consolidate the rear.

This party feels that the above points constitute the basic policy for today's internal affairs and foreign diplomacy. If they are implemented, there will be a brand-new atmosphere in the entire nation, all difficulties will be surmounted, and there will be a firm foundation for the victory of the resistance war and national construction.

The Chinese Communist Party wishes to reiterate: This party's adherence to the policy of the Anti-Japanese National United Front never varies; it wishes to unite with the Chinese Kuomintang, all patriotic parties and factions, and all patriotic people to the final end and to struggle for the common goal of the resistance war and national construction. In regard to the three principles of democracy and the national reconstruction outline, this party is the most sincere and firmest follower. It will carry out the declaration of 22 September 1937, without the slightest hesitation. The 8th Route and New 4th armies are always a part of the National Army, performing the resistance war tasks most loyally and courageously, resisting and counterattacking more than half of the enemy forces, recovering large areas of lost territory, and building many resistance bases in the enemy rear. In these resistance bases we have gradually introduced the three principles of democracy. We have implemented the three-thirds system of a democratic government under which the parties and factions and the classes and strata cooperate and the human, political, and property rights of all anti-Japanese classes and strata (including the landlords and capitalists) are guaranteed; we have implemented the rural policy, reducing rents and interest on the one hand and enforcing rent and interest payments on the other; we have implemented the labor policy, improving the workers' life on the one hand and strengthening labor discipline on the other; we have implemented the economic policy, developing agriculture, industry, and commerce and improving the people's living conditions; we

have implemented the culture policy, wiping out illiteracy and ignorance and improving the national spirit. All these serve as proof that the Chinese Communist Party is the vanguard in defending the nation, a revolutionary political party whose words and deeds are one, the model of unity in the resistance war, and the example of arduous struggle. Meanwhile, the enemy, renegade Wang, and the pro-Japanese faction concentrate their aims on this party, wishing to destroy and eliminate it, because they know that its existence constitutes the greatest obstacle to their plan to destroy China. If the Communist Party is not eliminated, it will be impossible to destroy China. What is strange is that some of those in the country who are still fighting the resistance war feel the same way as the enemy in their intent to slander, betray, and destroy this party, calling it a bandit army and a cabal and devoting their full effort to its destruction and suppression. In the face of a powerful enemy, why are they so anxious to destroy their own countrymen? Truly it is beyond understanding! We hope that such phenomena will be rapidly eliminated and the condition of the early period of the resistance war resumed, turning hostility into harmony, changing mutual friction into mutual aid, and all concentrating on the state and the nation. Then the future of the resistance war will become bright, and the 5th year of the war will bring unity, progress, and victory. This is what this party prays for.

Countrymen, officers and soldiers! The 5th year of the resistance war is the decisive year of the destiny of the world as well as that of China. Everyone must become aware, unite and strive with an extraordinary effort, adhere to the banner of China's national liberation, stand on firm ground and struggle forward, and, in coordination with the antifascist struggles of the people of the various nations, seek our complete victory. The Chinese Communist Party fully believes that, as long as we persevere in our effort and make no mistakes, our goal can be attained, and the final victory will belong to us.

Down with Japanese imperialism!

Down with the fascist slaves!

Aid the Soviet Union!

Long live the victory of the resistance war!

Long live the antifascist front of the whole world!

Chinese Communist Party Central Committee

7 July 1941

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 7 July 1941

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Revolution," Vol 4, Chinese People's University, 1957

* "Reference Materials on China's New Democratic Revolution," China Book Publishing House, April 1951

6080
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REFUTING HO YING-CH'IN

9 July 1941

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 9 July--In his article on the 4th year of the resistance war published by the CENTRAL PRESS AGENCY, Ho Ying-ch'in still claimed: "The New 4th Army disobeyed orders, refused to move and intended to sabotage the resistance war situation and destroy the anti-Japanese front; it was therefore ordered to be disbanded." The spokesman of the Revolutionary Military Affairs Commission of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee stated:

Ho Ying-ch'in, the hidden leader of the pro-Japanese faction, was the ringleader in the incident of disbanding the New 4th Army and the one whom the Chinese Communist Party Central once requested the National Government to punish. The whole world knows that the New 4th Army consisted of loyal and courageous troops in the resistance war before the southern Anhwei incident and that its 100,000 men continued to fight the enemy north and south of the Yangtze after the soutern Anhwei incident. After the southern Anhwei incident occurred was precisely because army commander Yeh T'ing and deputy commander Hsiang Ying followed orders to move north and encountered an ambush in the Mao-lin area. Therefore, the action of 13 January to wipe out the southern Anhwei troops of the New 4th Army and the order of the Military Commission of 17 January to disband the said army were both reactionary and counterrevolutionary measures confounding the right and wrong and contrary to the interest of the resistance war. They will not escape the censure of public opinion in generations to come. A folk ballad of southern Anhwei states: "Military discipline, military discipline--eliminate the dissenters; orders, orders--Japan is pleased." It truly hits the nail on the head. At the beginning of the 5th year of the resistance war, all soldiers and civilians in the nation demand a stronger national unity, and Committee Chairman Chiang also declared the necessity of "loyal and sincere unity." Treacherous and shameless, Ho Ying-ch'in had the audacity to utter such defamations, which are detrimental to unity and beneficial to the Japanese bandits. He is truly as heartless as Ch'en Shu-pao! When it comes to "sabotaging the resistance war situation and destroying the anti-Japanese front," the whole country knows that it is none other than the pro-Japanese Ho Ying-ch'in. With Ch'in Kuai in power, Yueh Fei had

to die. With Ho Ying-ch'in inside the resist-Japan front, the loyal and courageous New 4th Army had to be disbanded. If he continues to usurp an important position, the resistance war situation and the resist-Japan front will be destroyed. Therefore, we eagerly hope that the National Government will take the resistance war standpoint, dismiss Ho Ying-ch'in, and promptly solve the New 4th Army issue in order to promote unity and the resistance war. We hope and pray for it.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 10 July 1941

6080

CSO: 4005

RESOLUTION OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATION AND STUDY

1 August 1941

[Text] (1) Though our party's study of the history and society of China and the international situation in the past 20 years has been advancing gradually, increasing our knowledge, it is still extremely inadequate. We get the rough outlines without seeking thorough understanding, and we consider ourselves correct. Subjectivism and formalism still exist to a serious extent in the party. Since the resistance war our party has made great progress in understanding Japan, domestic economic and political relations and social conditions, and subjectivism and formalism have diminished. But what we understand is still roughhewn and sketchy, without systematic and detailed comprehension. Subjectivism and formalism have not completely disappeared. The gravity of the damage to revolutionary work in the past 20 years resulting from subjectivism and formalism in the thinking and method of a number of comrades and the lack of ample knowledge in all aspects has not been fully realized by the leading organs of the party and all the comrades. In regard to the internal and external environment of their own work area, whether in the aspect of social, economic and political relations, or of the enemy and the counterfeit government, or of work, some responsible local comrades are lacking in a systematic and detailed understanding. Many comrades in the party do not understand the principle that there is no right to speak without investigation, or the fact that systematic and detailed social investigation constitutes the foundation for determining policies. They still do not know that the fundamental task of a leading organ is to understand conditions and master the policies and that, if the conditions are not understood, the policies inevitably will be wrong. They still do not know how detailed are Japanese imperialism's investigation and study of China. They still do not know that the subjectivist work style of rough outlining and regarding oneself as right is the first manifestation of impure party essence, while seeking the truth through the facts and close linking of theory and reality constitute the minimum attitude of a party member with a strong party essence. Ours is now a large political party with a great revolutionary mission. Its every word and every act affect the future of the state and society. We must vigorously prevent emptiness and superficiality, wipe out the subjectivist work style,

and adopt concrete methods. From the Central to each and every party member, we must reinforce our investigation and study of history, of the environment, and of the concrete conditions inside and outside the country, the province, the county, and the district before we can effectively rally the revolutionary strength of all classes in the nation and overthrow the control of Japanese imperialism.

(2) In regard to the method of investigation and study, the following are examples: First, collect all kinds of newspapers, publications, and books on politics, military affairs, economics, culture, and social class relations issued by our enemies, our friends, and ourselves for extracting, editing, and studying. Second, invite experienced persons to hold investigation meetings of three to eight persons and study typical instances of the issues of a township, ward, county, city, town, army, division, plant, store, or school (such as the land, labor, vagrant, and guild issues). To start from typical instances is the most concrete method, proceeding from one typical instance to another. Third, in the rural village stress the detailed investigation of the living conditions, political needs, and mutual relations of the landlords, rich peasants, merchants, middle peasants, poor peasants, hired help, handicraft workers, and vagrants; in the city stress those of the compradore and large bourgeois class, national bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, proletariat, the masses of poor people, and vagrant masses. Fourth, collect material by utilizing all types of cadres and delegates meetings. Fifth, write biographies of famous figures. Assessing the tremendous influence of the leading figures in China's society, studying the different aspects of such figures, and compiling the information into biographies constitute an important link in the study of all of China. Inside the anti-Japanese front, biographies of several hundred to several thousand words should be written on capitalists and landowners with assets of 50,000 yuan or more, officers of the rank of regimental commander and above, officials of the rank of county magistrate and above, responsible persons of all the parties and factions at the county level and above, famous scholars, cultured persons, journalists, religionists, and social activists well known inside and outside the county, and foreign activists living in China in order to clarify their background and interests and decide on the appropriate steps to cooperate with them against Japan. In regard to the leaders of guilds scorned by society, head tramps, bandit chiefs, and famous performers and courtesans, if they have any good point worthy of recording, we should also clarify them so that they will contribute to the national liberation cause. In regard to the important enemy bandits and traitors and the important elements serving as their henchmen, as they are the objectives of our current struggle there is an even greater need to understand them fully in order to attain the goal of knowing oneself and the others and winning all battles. The writing of the biographies should be assigned to the comrades of the district and county committees. The contents of the biographies must be factual, without any distortion due to personal bias or prejudice. Sixth, interview individuals verbally, either sending someone to do so or asking the interviewees to appear, including the cadres, workers, peasants, cultured persons, sympathizers, merchants, officials, tramps, and captives. Seventh, collect and study county, prefectural, and provincial records, family records, and maps.

(3) In regard to the working cadres and students of the cadre training schools, we must conduct education on clarifying the objective conditions (enemies, friends, and ourselves). We must encourage those comrades who excel in clarifying the objective conditions quantitatively and qualitatively and criticize those who prefer empty discussions divorced from reality. We must encourage those who understand the conditions and pay attention to policies and criticize those who do not understand the conditions and pay no attention to policies. In this way the trend of understanding conditions and paying attention to policies will be closely linked with that of learning Marxist-Leninist theories. In studying we must oppose the trend of disregarding reality and only memorizing the text, as well as the undesirable phenomenon of disconnecting the study of Marxist-Leninist truths and principles from the clarification of China's social conditions and the solution of the issue of its revolution. We must encourage the cadres and students to read newspapers and guide them in the method of newspaper reading and in the analysis of every change in the current situation. We must furnish the cadres and students with practical information on all kinds of conditions inside and outside the country, the province, and the county and make the teaching and studying of such information and forming conclusions into a regular course of study, assigning the necessary time required and giving tests.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 8 September 1941

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Revolution," Vol 4, Chinese People's University, 1957

"Conduct Rectification Records," Liberation Press, March 1950

"Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 4

6080
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STATEMENT OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON A RECENT INTERNATIONAL EVENT

19 August 1941

[Text] Concerning the declaration of Roosevelt and Churchill and the Moscow conference to be held soon, the Chinese Communist Central makes the following announcement:

The joint declaration of the U.S. President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Churchill of 14 August and the proposal for a three-power conference in Moscow constituted a momentous event of a world historical significance, opening a new stage in world history. The joint declaration and the proposal for a Moscow conference showed the determination of England and America to smash fascism. Such determination is completely favorable to the Soviet Union, to England and America, to China, and to the world. The greatest danger in the past and at present is the profascist reactionary faction inside England and America which attempts to accept a fascist peace contrary to the will of the people, but now the declaration has rejected such a peace. Or, there are those who advocate watching the fire from across the river and letting the Soviet Union shoulder the burden of wiping out fascism alone, in order to reap the benefit in the future, but the proposal to hold a Moscow conference for the concrete distribution of war tasks and war resources is a blow to such a negative endeavor. As long as England and America admit "the necessity of disarming the aggressor nations," advocate "the final collapse of Nazism," and agree to share the war tasks and war resources, the victory of the Soviet Union, England, and America and of China and the whole world is assured. The fact that the Soviet Union observed the treaty while Germany tore it up and attacked the Soviet Union, mentioned in Stalin's famous speech of 3 July, constituted a long-term political factor, and this factor is actually the foundation of military victory. This truth has been completely proven in the Roosevelt-Churchill joint declaration and the proposal for a Moscow conference. The joint declaration and the proposal for a Moscow conference demonstrated especially the determination of America to participate in the sacred war against fascist aggression, and it shows that the great fighting front against fascist aggression in the whole world has been completed politically. The Moscow conference will complete it organizationally. The fascist aggression

front is already in a state of isolation, and the failure of fascism is already decided. Such a situation was impossible before the outbreak of the European war in the fall of 1939, although at that time the Soviet Union and the people of the whole world vigorously advocated an anti-fascist front to safeguard international security, the Munich policy, detrimental to themselves as well as others, still existed in England and America. Only after the cruel lessons of war was this erroneous policy changed. In regard to the direct factor, it was the result of the courageous struggle of the Soviet people. The Red Army halted the German offensive and gave Roosevelt and Churchill the courage to hold the meeting and publish the declaration. It was also the result of the courageous struggles of the people of England and America. Such struggles hit the profascist reactionaries inside their own countries and gave Roosevelt and Churchill the strength to refuse the temptation of a fascist peace, publish the declaration for human justice, and decide on a firm alliance of England, America, and the Soviet Union, the three great powers, which is a policy with political foresight. It was also the result of the courageous struggles of the people of China. China stopped the attack of Japan's fascist bandit army and supplied England and America with the courage to declare the disarming of all aggressor nations. Japan was not mentioned in the declaration. Article 4 of the declaration hinted at the possibility of trade with and supply of raw materials to Japan, and Article 7 implied permitting Japanese immigration. It shows that they were still trying to court Japan's status quo faction, demonstrating their willingness to compromise. Article 2 of the declaration opposed territorial changes by force, Article 3 advocated the restitution of rights to those countries deprived of them, and Article 8, especially, admitted the necessity of disarming all aggressor nations. All of these points are actively anti-Japanese. In sum, the people of China welcome the joint declaration of England and America and the three-power conference soon to be held in Moscow. The Chinese people believe that they are the international foundation for winning liberation from the fascist threat, not only for the people of England, America, and the Soviet Union, but also for the people of the whole world and of China. The tasks of the Chinese people are to persevere in unity and the resistance war, overcome the reactionary elements inside the anti-Japanese front which are attempting to destroy unity and the resistance war, and actively organize a counteroffensive against the Japanese bandits. An enemy fifth column exists inside China, made up of pro-Japanese and pro-German factions. Contrary to the national interest and the interest of mankind, they advocate anticommunism for the purpose of responding to Hitler's "anti-Bolshevik crusade" and clearing the way for Japanese fascism. At this time, when worldwide antifascist unity is being forged, if such a fifth column remains unaware of the situation and continues its criminal activities against the communists, the people, the nation and mankind, it will be abandoned by the entire country and the whole world. We believe that, as long as the people of the whole nation reinforce their endeavors and purge the fifth column, we will be able to consolidate our unity, persevere in the resistance war, and realize the counteroffensive. China has the qualifications to participate in the world antifascist front and become an effective force. The

destiny of all of China and all of mankind is linked with this fight against fascism, and the parties and factions in China must handle skillfully this rare opportunity, rally the people of the entire country, and unanimously strive toward the good and the progressive. This is what our Communist Party members eagerly hope for.

Chinese Communist Party Central Committee

19 August 1941

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 20 August 1941

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Revolution," Vol 4, Chinese People's University, 1957

6080
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NOTE ON 'THE LONG MARCH OF LU CHUNG-TS'AI'

26 August 1941

[Text] This is a report of actual facts, written in simple and concise language by Comrade Kao K'o-lin, which is worthy of study by everyone. Today we must sweep aside the writing style of "1,000 words instantly when putting pen to paper, but 10,000 li away from the subject matter," the "boastful talks," and subjectivism and formalism. Comrade Kao K'o-lin's report was written in one evening after a three-man investigation meeting. His investigation meeting was successful, and so was his report. We need this kind of writing, not the stereotyped "boastful talks" or party "eight-legged essays."

Mao Tse-tung

26 August

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 14 September 1941

6080
CSO: 4005

MESSAGE MOURNING CHANG CHI-LUAN FROM POLITICAL COUNCIL MEMBERS IN YENAN

September 1941

[Text] Upon the death of the People's Political Council member Chang Chi-luan, former chief editor of TA KUNG PAO, the various circles in Chunking have decided to hold a memorial meeting on the 26th of this month. The five Political Council members of the Chinese Communist Party in Yenan sent a wire of sympathy. The full text is as follows:

To the memorial meeting for Mr Chang Chi-luan: Mr Chi-luan always persevered in unity and the resistance war in the various sessions of the Political Council and made his contributions to the state. Upon hearing of the shocking news of his death, we are deeply grieved. We send this wire to express our sorrow: Mao Tse-tung, Ch'en Shao-yu, Ch'in Pang-hsien, Wu Yu-chang and Lin Tsu-han.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 22 September 1941

6080
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COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG ADDRESSES EASTERN ANTIFASCIST MEETING, CALLING ON ALL NATIONS TO STRENGTHEN UNITY

30 October 1941

[Text] The central agenda for the 4th and 5th days of the Antifascist Nationality Conference called for the delegates to continue making reports and analyses for members of their respective nationalities. The meeting of the 29th consisted of the reports of Vietnamese delegate Hoang Than Quang, Tibetan delegate (Sang Yueh-hsi), Taiwan delegate Ts'ai Ch'ien, Mongolian delegate We Lan-fu, Moslem delegate (Ma Yen), Northeast delegate Yu Ping-jan, and Dutch Indonesian delegate (A-li-a-han). The 30th was the last day for special reports. After reading the congratulatory cables from various sources, the Overseas Chinese League delegate first made his report. He gave a concrete account of the distribution of Overseas Chinese in East Asia, their economic situation, and their great contributions in labor production. "They took the risk of leaving their father country and courageously wandered to all areas, and they struggle continuously for their own livelihood and the glory of their father country. Currently, when the fascist wild tide sweeps over the whole world, the Overseas Chinese will form antifascist strongholds in all areas!" He ended the report by substantiating his conclusion with concrete facts. Thai delegate (Ma-na) was the second person to make a statement: "Thailand is currently under the sword of Japanese aggression. Japan has now completely discarded the false friendship of the past. The false friend of the past is the true enemy of today." When he discussed current conditions in Thailand, he revealed the conspiracies carried out by Japan, such as "corrupting the bureaucrats, provoking the feelings of the government and the people, disrupting relations between the Thais and the Chinese, creating animosity between the Thais and the British and American residents, inducing Thai students to study in Japan, and instigating Thailand to attack Vietnam." Finally, he enumerated the desires of the Thai people: "Internally, they wish to unite all minorities and all classes to resist Japan, rally the foreign residents in Thailand, especially the Chinese, and build an antifascist front. Externally, they wish to unite all nations in the East for joint struggles, participate in the world antifascist front, and render aid to the Soviet Union." There followed the reports of Miao delegate (Sha-wa-chi-kai) and Yi delegate (Mo-han). Old worker Chu Pao-t'ing congratulated the meeting

on behalf of the Staff and Workers Association. He pointed out that the path of Japan's workers and peasants was to overthrow fascism together! He then said that old workers in the Soviet Union did not ask for old-age benefits or holidays but worked at a high intensity, that the British workers were making more tanks, that the American workers were intensifying national defense production, and that the Chinese workers also disregarded all difficulties and toiled incessantly. "I advocate building a great workers' antifascist alliance, a great peasants' antifascist alliance, a merchants', a students'...." His story-telling style of reporting made everyone roar with laughter.

During the rest period, Comrade Mao Tse-tung braved a fine rain and arrived suddenly. He was cheered wildly by the entire meeting. Full of energy and very alert, he strode to the rostrum after a few words with the reporters and addressed the meeting:

"This meeting will be successful. The reports and discussions today will be very productive. That the various nationalities can unite, rise, and jointly handle Japanese imperialism is an excellent phenomenon. I feel that the main goal of the meeting is unity, promoting the unity of the nationalities and smashing fascism together. That Japan and Hitler can succeed for a time is because they seize upon our weak point. Our weak point is disunity, which exists in China, in East Asia, and in the whole world."

After making a profound explanation of the history of the past, he pointed out:

"Currently, because China is united, it is able to wage the resistance war. But our unity is still inadequate, because some people make a show of resisting Japan while sabotaging unity behind the scenes. Those of another type fight the war and cause friction at the same time. These two types of people are different: The former consists of traitors; the latter includes those ignorant of the general situation. Yenan is a place where unity is stressed. Here there are Moslem temples, associations to promote Mongolian culture, minority academies.... Here it is possible to hold an antifascist nationality meeting."

He then discussed the situation in the future:

"Hereafter there will be bigger battles to fight. The fascists have great ambitions, still possess the strength, and will launch more insane aggressions. Hitler lashes out indiscriminately in face of the great unity of England, America, and the Soviet Union. Naturally, difficulties always exist in war. Therefore, there will still be a difficult period in the struggles against fascism. This point must be clearly realized by all. Now the difficulties are only 50 or 60 percent; 100-percent difficulty is still to come. This meeting is very meaningful. Meetings are going on in Moscow and the Far East. Our meeting is also for the purpose of overcoming the difficulties, while the fascists are utilizing them. In my view, the more areas the fascists occupy, the greater will be the danger they run, just

as it was for Napoleon, Alexander of Macedonia, Mongolia.... Today, as long as we unite, it will not be difficult to tear off the arms and legs of fascism. Japan wants to invade the north and the south. Most likely it will come.... Currently we have three united fronts: China's Anti-Japanese National United Front, the ABCD front in the East, and the concerted action of England, America, and the Soviet Union. With these three united fronts, fascism will be smashed. We must understand the conditions and overcome the difficulties, fearless and confident. The revolutionary people are live; they have life in history. Fascism will perish. The struggles of the masses must undergo difficulties before victory.

In conclusion, he informed everyone:

"Fascism will soon die. Our people are in the period of youth and vigor. Today the struggle against fascism throughout the world requires practical work, studying the problems, intensifying learning.... Even planting a little more millet will help. Fascism has no soul, but we do. By holding hands tightly, uniting, and aiding one another, we will squeeze fascism to death. I wish the meeting success, stressing equality and friendly unity."

After some 15 minutes, Comrade Mao Tse-tung concluded his speech amidst a standing ovation.

Finally, Jewish delegate Miss (Yeh-hua Sang-po-ko-lan-te) made a statement. She said:

"The 20 million Jewish people in the world all recognize Hitler as their sworn enemy. We wish, by our firm struggles, to eliminate this group of pests to mankind!"

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 31 October 1941

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COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG DELIVERS A RADIO SPEECH

7 November 1941

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 7 November--The following is the text of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's radio speech today:

As the Chinese Communist Party has pointed out time and again, mankind's task throughout the world today is to unite and resist fascism, while that of the Chinese people is to unite and resist Japanese aggression. Currently, both types of unity must be greatly reinforced.

From the standpoint of mankind, we feel that England and America must do everything to supply the Soviet Union with more planes and tanks, to aid China with more funds and weaponry, and to devote a greater effort to helping the people of all nations trampled by Germany and Italy in their uprisings. America should declare war on Germany without hesitation. It is a step which is absolutely impossible to avoid and which should not be avoided. The greater the delay, the more American ships will be sunk by German bombing. Meanwhile, America absolutely must not be deceived by Japan's conspiracies or reach any compromise with it. America must, together with China and England, check Japanese fascism by force. Apparently our hopes coincide with those of the majority of the people of England and America. What is regrettable is that some people who do not understand the general principles exist in the governments and congresses of these two nations,thus blocking the realization of the people's will. Therefore, the people of England and America must strive to overcome such epochal obstacles and push the world antifascist struggles to a higher stage.

China's situation is also at the turning point for further progress. Though the Japanese fascists are preparing to advance north and south simultaneously, whatever path they choose, it is inevitable that they will march west to destroy China. After encountering defeat on the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei border and in Ch'ang-sha and Cheng-chou, Japan is preparing to launch a new offensive against China. The people and troops of the entire nation must defend each and every resist-Japan battlefield and smash the enemy's conspiracy to attack. The people of the whole nation must unite even more successfully, support the National Government to persevere in the resistance war, and

prepare all conditions for a counteroffensive in order to promptly oust the Japanese bandits from China. Our Communist Party members have always appealed for greater unity. On this eve of the enemy's new offensive, improving the relations among all sides in the resistance war stronghold becomes an even more urgent need. We hope that the Kuomintang authorities will make prompt decisions and adopt all necessary measures toward this goal. We believe that, as long as the whole nation truly unites, Japan's attack will be halted, the preparations for a counteroffensive will be achieved, and the goal of ousting the enemy will be realized.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 7 November 1941

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DIRECTIVE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE PACIFIC ANTI-JAPANESE FRONT

9 December 1941

[Text] (1) As stated in the declaration of this party on the Pacific war, the war fought by England, America, and the Pacific nations against Japan is a just and liberating war, and their victory over Japan is the victory of democracy and freedom. Therefore, the central task of the people of China, all Overseas Chinese, and the South Sea nations is to build and develop an extensive anti-Japanese and antifascist united front of the Pacific nations. The components of this united front must include the governments, parties and factions, and the people of all classes and strata of all nations resisting Japanese aggression, the antiwar people in Japan, and the people of its colonies, including Korea, Taiwan, and Vietnam. This united front must be an alliance of the lower level as well as the upper, of the people as well as the governments. It must be embodied in an anti-Japanese military alliance of China, England, America, and other Pacific nations and built on the close cooperation between the suzerain governments and the native states. It must improve the political and economic positions of the native states, organize their people, raise their positivity, and launch guerilla warfare in all Japanese-occupied areas. It will be impossible to defeat the Japanese bandits without these factors.

(2) The Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party have an especially important role in regard to the united front of England and America. On the one hand, in cooperation with England and America, eliminating the Japanese bandits is an essential prerequisite to the liberation of the nation of China; on the other hand, domestic unity, improving its political and military affairs, actively hampering and hitting the enemy, and actively preparing a strategic counteroffensive on the part of China are the important conditions for England and America to defeat the Japanese bandits. For this reason, the Chinese Communist Party must, in all kinds of situations, sincerely and frankly cooperate with the British and the Americans in order to raise the resistance war strength of England and America and improve the resistance war conditions of China.

(3) Overseas Chinese work must be vigorously launched in the South Seas and in England and America. They policy of Overseas Chinese work must be to unite all Overseas Chinese, including all classes and strata and all parties

and factions among them, so that they will wage an anti-Japanese struggle together, propagandize and support the unity and resistance war of their fatherland, and support and participate in all the anti-Japanese measures and actions of the local governments. We must rectify the ultraleftist tendency among the Overseas Chinese and some Communist Party members, asking them to cooperate with the local Chinese embassies and consulates and Kuomintang units. However, in regard to the conduct of the pro-Japanese and pro-German elements in sabotaging the unity of the Overseas Chinese and hampering the work of resisting Japan, we must firmly, but suitably, oppose it.

(4) We must vigorously launch guerilla warfare in enemy-occupied areas in South China, Hainan Island, Vietnam, and all enemy-occupied areas in the South Seas, take concerted military actions, wherever possible, with all the resist-Japan friendly armies and nations such as England and America, and win their support in all aspects. The policies followed by the guerilla must be compatible with the requirements of the anti-Japanese united front. We must prevent and rectify all types of leftwing tendencies.

(5) In regard to our work in the South Sea areas, we must establish connections with the local communist parties, help them rectify the leftwing tendencies, and extensively launch the work of a united front.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 13 December 1941

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Revolution," Vol 4, Chinese People's University, 1957

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 4

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DECISION OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE YENAN CADRE SCHOOL

(This decision is applicable in all resist-Japan bases)

Passed by the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Politburo

17 December 1941

[Text] (1) The basic defects of the Yenan Cadre School are the dislocation of theory and reality and of learning and application, as well as serious subjectivism and dogmatism. Such defects are mainly manifested as follows: The students are made to learn large quantities of abstract principles of Marxism-Leninism, with no attention, or almost no attention, given to their substance or to their application in China's concrete environment. To remedy such defects, we must stress the point that the goal of the study of Marxist-Leninist theories is to give the students the ability to apply theories correctly in solving the practical problems of China's revolution, not to memorize and recite the principles in the books. First, we must make the students distinguish the words and the substance of Marxism-Leninism. Next, we must make them understand the substance (not looking at the words and getting the meaning, but knowing the meaning in their minds). Third, we must make them acquire the ability to apply the substance to China's concrete environment and discard all formal and empty studying. For this reason, besides correctly teaching the theories of Marxism-Leninism, we must increase their education in China's history and conditions and party history and policy, so that they will learn both the theoretical and the practical and link the two vividly. Cadres at the district committee level and above in the party and at the regimental level and above in the army (after having solved their cultural problems) must use the history of the Soviet Communist Party as the basic text for learning Marxism-Leninism, paying special attention to the concrete application of the fundamental viewpoints of dialectic materialism and historical materialism (not large quantities of their abstract principles) in order to overcome the extremely undesirable defects of subjectivism and dogmatism.

(2) The absence of clear provisions of their own concrete goals on the part of the various schools is also one of the defects. Therefore, it is provided that

(a) The Central Research Institute serves as an advanced research organ to train the party's theoretical cadres.

(b) The Central Party School serves as an advanced and intermediate school to train practical work cadres of the party at the district committee level and above and political work cadres of the army at regimental level and above, all possessing certain independent working abilities.

(c) The Military Academy serves as an advanced and intermediate school to train military work cadres at the regimental level and above, all possessing certain independent work abilities.

(d) The Yenan University, the Lu Hsun Art School, and the Natural Science Academy serve as schools to train all types of party and nonparty advanced and intermediate political, cultural, scientific, and technical talents.

The curricula, textbooks, and methods of teaching of the above schools must be compatible with their concrete goals.

(3) For the purpose of strengthening the concrete guidance of the schools and linking the education of such schools with the practical work units of the Central, it is decided that the Central Research Institute is directly subordinated to the Central Propaganda Department, the Central Party School to the Central Party School Management Committee, the Military Academy to the Military Commission Staff Department, and the Yenan University, Lu Hsun Art School, and Natural Science Institute to the Central Cultural Commission. The superior organs in charge of the schools must consider the work of the schools under them an important part of their duties. The Central Propaganda Department must, together with the particular superior organs in charge, conduct unified planning, inspection, and supervision of the curricula, teachers, textbooks, and funds of the schools.

(4) For the purpose of realizing the concrete goals of the schools and deriving the maximum benefit from the party's limited energy and financial abilities, the schools must follow the principle of quality rather than quantity when recruiting students. The schools and their superior organs must reexamine the student components. All those incompatible with their concrete goals must be assigned work or transferred.

(5) Improving the quality of teachers is a determining factor for the success of a school. The education of cadres at the district committee and regimental level and above must be under the personal guidance of the Central Committee members and the responsible comrades of the various organs of the Central. The existing teachers must be individually reexamined and handled according to the new standards. The Central Propaganda Department must render practical aid to the specialized teachers of the schools and raise their quality. Their political and material treatment must be improved.

(6) It will be impossible to learn Marxist-Leninist theories without a relatively high cultural level. All the old cadres of worker-peasant origin at the county and battalion levels and above whose cultural level is too low but who need to and can learn must first take supplementary culture courses. Such supplementary courses must not be limited to the number of words to be learned, but must include the ability to read and write, knowledge of history and geography, social political knowledge, and natural sciences. The criterion for organizing the cultural classes is the cultural level of the students, not their work positions.

(7) The curricula of the schools of a specialized nature (such as military, political and legal, fiscal and economic, natural science, cultural and art, normal education, and medicine) must consist mainly of the theoretical and the practical relevant to the specialization. The ratio of cultural, political, and specialized subjects must be determined according to the conditions of the schools. Generally speaking, specialization subjects must constitute 50 percent of the curriculum (80 percent in schools where supplementary cultural courses are not required), cultural subjects 30 percent, and political subjects 20 percent. The abnormal situation of overemphasizing political subjects at the expense of all others must be firmly rectified.

(8) All comrades in charge of school education work must conscientiously study the content and methods of teaching and the principle of unifying theory and practice in the content and methods. In the methods of teaching, the pattern of enlightening, studying, and experimenting must be firmly adopted in order to develop the initiative and creativity of the students, and the empty pattern of injecting and coercing must be firmly abolished. In teaching, the practical material of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia border region and its adjacent areas must be fully utilized by means of all kinds of investigations and studies.

(9) In regard to the teaching and study of Marxism-Leninism, the erroneous way of stressing the form rather than understanding the substance, and emphasizing inanimate learning rather than application, must be firmly rectified. The school authorities and the teachers must give their full attention to enable the students to learn to understand the substance of Marxism-Leninism and its concrete application to China's environment. Whether the student has truly understood is determined by his ability to apply what he has learned. Application means analyzing China's history and the current concrete issues and summarizing China's revolutionary experiences with the spirit and method of Marxism-Leninism, so that the students form a habit of such application and become skillful in analyzing issues and guiding practice with the spirit and method of Marxism-Leninism after leaving school.

(10) In regard to political textbooks, CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO documents of the Central, and material published by the departments and commissions of the Central must be fully utilized. The necessary texts and supplementary reading material must be systematically compiled and printed or reprinted. The

Central Propaganda Department must, together with the publishing and fiscal organs, formulate the 1942 publication and budget plans relating to education for approval and promulgation by the Central.

(11) In regard to the students' living and the educational facilities of the schools, the necessary improvements to existing conditions must be made.

(12) The school administrative organ must follow the principle of being compact and efficient. The task of the party branch in the school is to assure the completion of the education plan and to rectify the incorrect situation of the party branch and the school administration being on the same level. The party branch may make suggestions regarding school administration via the party line, but it must not do so out of interference. In schools of the nature of the united front, the workstyle of party members monopolizing everything must be rectified.

(13) The academic trend of free thinking, seeking the truth through the facts, diligent study, observance of discipline, voluntary selfgovernment, and uniting and helping one another must be built in the school, while subjectivism, sectarianism, seeking the high and the far, arbitrariness and blind following, bragging, considering oneself correct, and the bad habit of learning superficially without profound understanding must be firmly opposed. The faculty and staff must serve as models in building the desirable academic trend.

(14) This decision is applicable in Yenan, but all the basic principles contained herein are also applicable in the resist-Japan bases.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 20 December 1941

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Revolution, Vol 4, Chinese People's University, 1957

* "Records of Conduct Rectification," Hong Kong New Democracy Publishing House, May 1949, enlarged edition

6080
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RESOLUTION OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE LAND POLICY IN RESIST-JAPAN BASES

Passed by the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Politburo

28 January 1942

[Text] Since the beginning of the resistance war, the land policy of our party introduced in the various resist-Japan bases is the land policy of the Anti-Japanese National United Front and of reducing rents and interest while enforcing their payment. Since its implementation in the resist-Japan bases the policy has won the support of the broad masses, united the people of all classes and strata, and aided the resistance war behind the enemy lines. In all areas where the implementation of reduced rents and interest and their payment is relatively general, conscientious and thorough, the positivity of the masses in the anti-Japanese struggle and democratic construction is relatively high, normal work conditions are maintained, the social living order is stabilized, and the base is relatively consolidated. Nevertheless, the policy has not been generally, conscientiously and thoroughly implemented in many areas. In some bases only a part of the area has implemented rent and interest reduction, while in other parts it is merely considered a propaganda slogan and no decree has been issued, let alone implemented. Or, although the government has promulgated a decree formally reducing rents and interest, the policy actually has not been conscientiously implemented, creating the situation of reduction in words only, without enforcement. In such areas the positivity of the masses is not developed, and they cannot be truly organized to create a fervent resist-Japan base. Such resist-Japan bases cannot be consolidated and, unable to withstand the enemy onslaught, they turn into weak areas. Then, in other areas certain leftist errors have occurred. Although the errors have occurred only in part of the areas and have been mainly rectified after the Central directives, they still require the attention of the comrades of these areas. When the resistance war is entering a more difficult period, all bases are requested to launch even more vigorously the positivity of the broad masses in resisting Japan and in production and to rally even more vigorously all the resist-Japan classes and strata in order to persevere in a long-term struggle in the enemy rear. After carefully studying the experiences of the various areas, the Central has made a summary decision of our

party's land policy. The concrete method of implementing the land policy is attached hereto as supplements for adoption by all areas. It is hoped that the comrades of all areas will study and conscientously implement them.

(1) Recognize the peasants (including hired help) as the basic strength in resisting Japan and in production. Therefore, party policy is to aid the peasants, reduce feudal exploitation by the landlords, enforce rent and interest reduction, and guarantee the civil, political, land, and property rights of the peasants in order to improve their life and raise their positivity in resisting Japan and in production.

(2) Recognize the fact that the majority of the landlords are anti-Japanese and the fact that a part of the enlightened gentry supports democratic reform. Therefore, party policy only helps the peasants by reducing feudal exploitation but does not eliminate feudal exploitation or attack the enlightened gentry supporting democratic reform. Thus, after rent and interest reduction is enforced, payment of rent and interest must also be enforced; after the civil, political, land, and property rights of the peasants are guaranteed, those of the landlords must also be guaranteed in order to rally the landlords to resist Japan unanimously. Only in the case of traitor elements who absolutely refuse to repent is the policy of eliminating their feudal exploitation adopted.

(3) Recognize the fact that in China today the capitalist production pattern is a relatively progressive one, while the bourgeoisie, especially the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, is a relatively progressive social component and political strength. The production pattern of the rich peasants has a capitalist essence, and the rich peasants are the rural bourgeoisie and an indispensable force in resisting Japan and in production. The petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie, and the rich peasantry not only wish to resist Japan but also desire democracy. Therefore, party policy is not to undermine capitalism and the bourgeoisie, or the rich peasantry and its production, but on the condition of suitably improving workers' life, to encourage capitalist production and rally the bourgeoisie and to encourage rich peasant production and rally the rich peasantry. Nevertheless, the middle and poor peasants are dissatisfied over that part of the exploitation of the rich peasants with a feudal essence. Therefore, when rent and interest reduction is introduced in the rural village, the rent and interest of the rich peasants must also be reduced. But thereafter the payment of rent and interest must be enforced, and the civil, political, land, and property rights of the rich peasants must be guaranteed. In regard to those landlords who farm their land according to the capitalist pattern (the so-called operating landlords), their treatment is the same as that of the rich peasants.

(4) The above three basic principles are the starting point of our party's Anti-Japanese National United Front and its land policy. As shown us by the experiences of the past 4 years, only by adhering to these principles will we consolidate the Anti-Japanese National United Front, correctly handle

the land issue, rally the entire people behind the national resistance war, and completely isolate the Japanese bandits. Any ultraleftwing or ultra-rightwing, one-sided tendency will make it impossible to attain our goal.

(5) On the rural united front, the conflicts between the landlords and the peasants, such as the former's opposition or obstruction of the latter's demand for democracy and a decent living, must be suitably handled according to the above principles. The rational demands of both sides must be satisfied, but both sides must subordinate themselves to the interest of the national resistance war as a whole. When handling rural disputes, party and government work personnel must not take the side of either the peasants or the landlords; they must adopt the policy of reconciling the interests of both parties according to the above principles.

(6) The three-thirds system of political power is a rational political form to reconcile the internal relations of the anti-Japanese classes. This system must be firmly, conscientiously, and generally implemented in the Consultative Council and the government systems. The idea that the three-thirds system is merely a means to appease those outside the party is incorrect.

(7) Government decrees must make provisions for both sides, neither favoring nor overburdening. On the one hand the landlords must generally reduce rents and interest; they must not resist or refuse to carry it out. On the other hand the peasants must fulfill their obligation to pay rent and interest; they must not resist or refuse to pay. On the one hand the landlords retain their land and property ownership and, according to law, have the right to sell or mortgage their land, use it as collateral, or dispose of it in any other way. On the other hand, when making such disposals the landlords must give consideration to the peasants' livelihood. All contracts on land and loans must be entered into voluntarily by both sides. At the end of the contractual period, either side has the right to discontinue the contract.

(8) In regard to funds for the resistance war, except for those who are absolutely impoverished, people of all classes must pay to the government according to the progressive principle, neither favored not overburdened; they may not refuse to pay.

(9) The implementation of rent and interest reduction constitutes the prerequisite for improving agricultural production, while agricultural production is the major production in the resist-Japan bases. Therefore, party and government work personnel must devote their maximum effort to its development. The government must make large amounts of agricultural loans in order to solve the financial difficulties of the peasants.

(10) The main task of the Agricultural Relief Association before rent and interest reduction is implemented, is to help the government to enforce the decree reducing rents and interests. After the implementation of rent and interest reducation its task is mainly to help the government settle rural disputes and develop agricultural production. It does not replace

government decrees with its own decisions or replace the government with itself. In the settlement of rural disputes, the means of arbitration, not dictatorial decision, must be adopted. In the development of agricultural production, all members of the Agricultural Relief Association must be mobilized to produce an exemplary and leadership effect.

(11) Reducing rents and interest and guaranteeing the civil, political, land, and property rights of the peasants constitute the first aspect of our party's land policy, yet many areas in the bases have not generally, conscientiously and thoroughly implemented rent and interest reduction. The reason is either the landlord's refusal to implement it or the indifferent bureaucractic attitude of party and government work personnel. Therefore, party and government work personnel of all bases must make a strict reexamination of their own work, send men to the villages to inspect the extent of implementation, conduct a careful investigation and study, generally summarize the experiences of the various areas, publicize instances of correct implementation, and criticize instances of bureaucratism. We must know that a big gap often exists betwen issuing slogans and decrees and implementing them. If bureaucractism is not severely rejected and rightwing viewpoints opposed, it will be impossible to implement the slogans and decrees.

(12) Payment of rent and interest and guaranteeing the civil, political, land, and property rights of the landlords constitute the second aspect of our party's land policy, yet leftwing errors of neglecting this aspect have occurred in the bases. The reason is either a lack of understanding of our party's land policy on the part of the peasants or a lack of understanding, or complete misunderstanding, of it on the part of party and government work personnel. To prevent a repetition of such errors in the future, party policy must be clearly explained to party members and the peasant masses so that they will know that our party's land policy in the Anti-Japanese National United Front is fundamentally different from that of the civil war period and will refrain from restricting themselves to narrow present benefits, but instead link present and future benefits and the partial benefit and that of the entire nation. We must convince the peasants that, after implementing rent and interest reduction and guaranteeing their civil, political, land, and property rights, we will enforce rent and interest payment and guarantee the same rights to the landlords. Similarly, on the issue of rent and interest reduction and guaranteeing the civil, political, land, and property rights of the peasants, we must convince the landlords not to restrict themselves to the narrow present benefit but consider the benefit of the future and the entire nation.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 6 February 1942

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Revolution," Vol 4, Chinese People's University, 1957
* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," vol 4

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SUPPLEMENTS TO THE RESOLUTION OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE LAND POLICY IN RESIST-JAPAN BASES

6 February 1942

[Text] In view of the different conditions in the various bases, and even in the same base, a uniform system in regard to the concrete method of solving the land issue cannot be followed. The Central has provided the principles for unified implementation in its resolution on the land policy, while these supplements propose the concrete method based on such principles for adoption by the various areas. In regard to the items listed in these supplements, all those compatible with the practical conditions of the particular areas must be firmly implemented; in regard to items which are incompatible with the local conditions and require modification, the various areas may modify them, but they must report such modifications to the Central and obtain its approval.

(Supplement I) On the Issues of Land Rent and Tenancy Rights

(1) In all areas where rents have not been reduced, the amount of rent must be lowered by 25 percent (25-percent rent reduction) in principle. In other words, the amount of rent must be reduced by 25 percent compared with that before the beginning of the resistance war; this is applicable to public, private, and tenancy land and land farmed in partnership, whether in forms of cash, payment in kind, payment by labor, or fixed amount. In regard to the different forms of partnership farming, the landlord's share must not be uniformly specified as not more than 40 or 60 percent. It must be decided according to the labor, plow animal, farm tools, fertilizer, seed, and food grain contributed by the owner and the tenant and reduced by 25 percent from the existing rental. In guerilla areas and in the vicinity of enemy-occupied areas, the reduction may be somewhat less than 25 percent. It should be a reduction of 20, 15, or 10 percent for the purpose of activating the positivity of the peasants in resisting Japan and rallying the various classes and strata in the war.

(2) Land rent is uniformly paid after the harvest. The lessor may not ask the lessee to pay in advance or demand any extra compensation.

(3) Where the entire or greater part of the crop is destroyed due to natural disaster or human calamity, fixed rent (iron rent) may be exempted or reduced.

(4) Rent arrears for many years must be canceled.

(5) The owner and tenant are both responsible for public grain and public funds according to the progressive principle. The landlord is responsible for the land tax.

(6) Where the land rent is to be paid in paper currency and a dispute arises due to its devaluation, the government must summon both parties to a meeting to settle it, and the paper currency rental, in part or in whole, may be changed to payment in kind.

(7) In areas where such reconciliation organs as rental evaluation committees have been formed, the meeting must be participated in by the peasant, the landlord, and the government, but the government has the right to make the final decision.

(8) Where there is a permanent tenancy right by contract or by usage, such right must be preserved. Where there is no such right, it must not be provided by coercion. However, both sides may be encouraged to form a relatively long-term contract, such as for 5 years or more, in order to enable the peasant to settle down and develop production.

(9) In regard to land under no permanent tenancy right or land where the contractual period has expired, the lessor has the freedom of disposal according to the contract, including transferring, mortgaging, selling, farming by himself, and hiring help to farm. Nevertheless, during the resistance war period the landlord must give consideration to the livelihood of the tenant when repossessing the land, and he must notify the tenant of his intention to repossess 3 months before the harvest. Where the tenant is extremely impoverished, the government must summon both sides to reach an accomodation, either by extending the tenancy period or by returning only a part of the tenancy land.

(10) Where the owner wishes to lease, mortgage, or sell the land upon the expiration of the tenancy contract, the original tenant has priority to lease, take the mortgage, or buy according to the terms set forth by the owner.

(11) Where the lessor sells the land under permanent tenancy right or before the contract has expired, the existing lessee has the right to continue his tenancy, and the new owner may not lease the land to anyone else before the expiration of the term.

(12) Where the lessee fails to cultivate the land for 2 years for no valid reason, or where he intentionally fails to pay rent though able to do so, the lessor has the right to repossess.

(Supplement II) On the Issue of Debts

(1) Interest reduction is a necessary policy dealing with the loan relations formed before the resistance war in answer to the demands of the debtors as well as for rallying the creditors to resist Japan. Fifteen percent should be used as the standard to compute interest. Where the interest exceeds the principal by 100 percent, the interest will be canceled and only the principal repaid. Where it exceeds the principal by 200 percent, both interest and principal will be canceled. As for the amount of interest on loans made after the beginning of the resistance war, the people must be left to handle the matter themselves according to local social and economic relations. The government must not set the interest rate too low, as it may discourage loan making and become unfavorable to the people's livelihood.

(2) The creditor may not rescind the loan contract due to interest reduction; the debtor may not refuse to pay interest after such reduction. The creditor has the right to sue for payment according to law.

(3) In regard to the loan relations formed after the beginning of the resistance war, where the debtor does not pay the interest or principal when due, the creditor has the right to dispose of the collateral according to the contract. Where there is a dispute, it will be handled by the government. Where one form of collateral is used to secure several loans, the proceeds from its sale are distributed according to the chronological order of the contracts and the ratio of the loans. Where the collateral is land (land collateral), it is similarly handled.

(4) Where the land has been mortgaged but has not yet turned into a sale, the mortgagor may redeem it by paying the amount of the existing mortgage. He cannot change the terms of sale and offer another piece of land. Where the mortgage has turned into a sale, there may be no redemption. Disputes due to paper currency devaluation at the time of mortgage redemption will be settled by the government.

(5) In regard to the loan relations formed after the beginning of the resistance war, where, due to natural disaster, human calamity, or other irresistible causes, the debtor is unable to fulfill the contract, he may apply to the government for relief, either by reducing the interest or by forgiving the interest but repaying the principal.

(6) Where a debtor repays his debt with paper currency and a dispute arises due to its devaluation, the government will settle it appropriately.

(Supplement III) On the Handling of Certain Special Land Cases

(1) The land belonging to a traitor guilty of heinous crimes must, as punishment, be confiscated, placed under government control, and leased to the peasants to farm. Where they have not participated in the traitorous activities, or where their misdeeds are minor, the family members of the traitor are not included in this provision.

(2) The land of a traitor under coercion must not be confiscated, in order to show leniency and seek his repentance. Where no one is in charge of the land, the government will take charge on behalf of the absentee owner, lease it to the peasants to farm, and restore it to the owner when he returns home and resists Japan.

(3) In case of a landlord who has fled, regardless of where he has gone, his land must not be confiscated. Where no one is in charge of the land, the government will take charge on his behalf, lease it out for cultivation, save the rental receipts, and pay the land tax and deliver the public grain on his behalf. Upon his return, the land and the rental receipts to which he is entitled will be returned to him.

(4) "Hidden" land which has never been taxed on the contract, or which has never been taxed, must not be confiscated, but the owner will be ordered to pay the tax and deliver the grain within a time limit. Where he fails to do so within the time limit. Where he fails to do so within the time limit, the government will punish him appropriately.

(5) In the case of clan or association land, the members of the clan or association will organize a management committee to manage it and use the receipts for the public welfare of the particular clan or association.

(6) School land will be preserved for educational purposes, and the government or the local residents will organize an education fund management committee to manage it.

(7) Church land (land belonging to Christian, Buddhist, Moslem, Taoist, or other religious organizations) will not be disturbed.

(8) Public wasteland will be distributed by the government to the dependents of resistance war soldiers, refugees, and poor people for reclamation, and the ownership will also be transferred to them. Tax on the land will be reduced or exempted for a specific period of time.

(9) In the case of private wasteland, regardless of whether it was never reclaimed or was left uncultivated, the owner will have the first chance to reclaim it. Where the owner is unable to do so, the government may find others to reclaim it and reduce or exempt the tax within a specific period of time. The ownership remains with the original owner, but the person reclaiming the land has a permanent tenancy right.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 6 February 1942

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Revolution," Vol 4, Chinese People's University, 1957

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COMMENTS BY YENAN OBSERVER

6 February 1942

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 6 February--How to solve the land issue in China during the resistance war has been a momentous issue arousing the concern of patriots and economists. The "Resolution on the Land Policy in Resist-Japan Bases" passed by the Chinese Communist Central on 28 January has given a satisfactory answer. The resolution starts out from three basic principles: (1) The peasants are the basic strength in resisting Japan and in production and must be given aid. (2) The majority of China's landlords are anti-Japanese, and a part of the enlightened landlords also supports democratic reform, and they should be rallied. (3) The rich peasants and the petty and national bourgeoisie are relatively progressive strengths in China today, and the rich peasant economy of a capitalist essence must be encouraged. Therefore, the resolution stresses the need for reduced rents and interest on the part of the landlords and their payment on the part of the peasants. It further provides that the government must satisfy the reasonable demands of both the peasants and the landlords, guarantee the civil, political, land, and property rights of both sides, and thoroughly realize the famous "three-thirds system" in its political power components. The land issue is the most fundamental and serious social problem in China today. The Chinese Communist Party is the political party which has solved, and is still in the process of solving, China's land issue. The resolution will be enforced in the various resist-Japan bases in North and Central China now under its control. Without doubt, it will have a tremendous influence in the political life and public opinion of all areas in the nation. A Yenan observer points out:

It is not only the policy of the Anti-Japanese National United Front advocated by the Chinese Communist Party and the embodiment of the new democracy in the economic aspect, but the first realization of Mr Sun Yat-sen's land and peasant policies on this vast land. The major newspapers and periodicals in Chungking are publishing series of articles on the land issue. The Ninth Central General Meeting of the Kuomintang in December last year decided to form a land committee. The publication of the resolution by the Chinese Communist Central at precisely this time will serve that committee as an excellent reference. A point of special interest is that, in the

supplements to its resolution, the Chinese Communist Central provides for rent reduction based on the principle of a 25 percent reduction from the rental agreed upon before the beginning of the resistance war, and this is no different from the 25 percent reduction advocated by the majority of the Kuomintang. The reduction of 37.5 percent of the total grain harvest volume promulgated by the National Government on 30 March 1930, to be enforced on 1 March 1936, and the regulations to protect tenant farmers promulgated by its Internal Affairs Ministry in 1932 were both reiterations of the same theme. Though such decrees were supported by the broad peasants, just people, and many disciples of the three principles of democracy, it is regrettable that, until after the start of the resistance war, the Chinese Communist Party has been the only one to implement them firmly. The Chinese Communist Central feels that, in order to rally all classes in the nation, launch a strategic counteroffensive, and thoroughly defeat the Japanese bandits, in addition to military and political reforms, only the adoption of a rational land policy will win the support of the peasant masses and attain the goal.

° "Resolution of the Chinese Communist Central on the Land Policy in Resist-Japan Bases"

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YENAN COMMENTATOR PREDICTS THAT JAPANESE BANDITS WILL BE SMASHED IN TWO YEARS

6 February 1942

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 6 February--According to the Hai-t'ung [3189 6639] NEWS AGENCY, the NEW SHEN PAO, Chinese-language edition of an official newspaper of the Japanese Army in Shanghai, said that there is really no need for China and Japan to fight each other and that Chiang Kai-shek is responsible for the present erroneous policy. With the exception of the Communist Party, the paper said, all circles in China consider peace the best policy. Right now, peace is the only way to save China from following in the footsteps of the Ming Dynasty, the paper added. The Yenan commentator refutes this viewpoint as follows:

With the exception of traitors, all Chinese people think that the war of resistance is the best policy. Today there is no alternative to the war of resistance to save China from perishing. The Japanese fascists know that there is a Communist Party in China now, but they should also know that there was no Communist Party in China at the end of the Ming Dynasty. At that time there was no Kuomintang, nor a Soviet Union, nor a Winston Churchill, nor a Roosevelt. That is why the Manchus were able to overrun the Ming Dynasty. The Japanese bandits can never conquer China today. As long as there is a single Communist Party member, the Japanese will never be allowed to succeed in their intrigues. After all, we have patriotic people and patriotic political parties all over China. In addition, we have the formidable Soviet Union and the powerful Great Britain and the United States as our allies. The victory of the Japanese bandits in the South Pacific is but an overture to their collapse. Accompanying their victory is the dispersion and dissipation of their strength. The short legs of the Japanese bandits have been stretched far and will be stretched even farther. The farther they are stretched, the thinner they will become. It will take only 2 years for the Japanese to be smashed. All people in China are vigilant toward the Japanese bandits' enticements to surrender. We must persist in the war of resistance for another 2 years. In 2 years, not only Japan, but also fascism as a whole will collapse.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 6 February 1942

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CELEBRATING THE 24TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RED ARMY

18 February 1942

[Text] Today, 18 February, is the 24th anniversary of the Red Army of the Soviet Union. This day reminds us of the birth of the Red Army. It was born during the German imperialist attack on Leningrad. Today the Red Army is again engaged in a life-or-death struggle against a fascist German invasion. The Red Army this year is not only many many times stronger than it was at the time of its birth, but also much stronger than it was before 22 June last year. Now the Red Army is at the greatest peak of its strength in its history. Through 8 months of combat the Red Army has proven to be strongest army in the world. When the world is divided into a fascist front and an antifascist front and the two fronts are engaged in a final decisive battle, the Red Army becomes the hope of the absolute majority of mankind. This anniversary of the Red Army is a day celebrated by all mankind. The Chinese people are more enthusiastic in celebrating this day because the Red Army has been a staunch supporter of China's national liberation since 1925. During the last 5 years of the war of resistance against Japan the Red Army has given us the greatest encouragement and assistance. China expects the Red Army to be its main helper in defeating Japan. The Red Army is now launching successful counterattacks against Hitler's invasion forces, which, although still in Soviet territory, are not far from their day of collapse. In the near future the Japanese fascists may attack the Soviet Union, and the Red Army must be prepared to fight two enemies. But we fully believe that if the Japanese fascists dare to embark on that adventure, they will certainly be defeated. On the basis of many factors, we can predict that Hitler will be defeated in 1 year and Japanese fascism in 2 years. These factors are the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States and China and all antifascist peoples of the world; the Soviet Union is the model for all these countries. The history of the Red Army tells us an indisputable truth: only an armed force united with the masses of the people is an unconquerable force. We must publicize and learn this truth and strengthen the antifascist war according to this truth so as to hasten the arrival of the antifascist victory. This is the mission of all the people of China and the people all over the world while they celebrate the 24th anniversary of the Red Army.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 23 February 1942

1004
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CENTRAL LINK IN CURRENT WORK TO HAVE BETTER TROOPS AND SIMPLER ADMINISTRATION

23 August 1942

[Text] It has been a long time since the CCP Central Committee adopted the policy of better troops and simpler administration. If we examine how this policy is carried out at various anti-Japanese bases, we will see that some areas are earnestly implementing this policy and have attained remarkable achievements. This fact proves that the Central Committee's policy is suitable to the local situations at various bases and can be carried out. At the same time, we also see that in certain areas and certain departments this policy is carried out reluctantly, passively, and, therefore, not thoroughly. A few areas still do what they used to do without making a move to implement the policy, in disregard of the Central Committee's decision. They regard their areas or departments as exceptions. The reason these areas cannot implement the policy of better troops and simpler administration and regard themselves as exceptions, we think, is a problem of understanding, or a lack of understanding of the meaning of this policy. Therefore, to insure a thorough implementation of the policy of better troops and simpler administration, it is necessary to explain the meaning of this policy.

Why should the Central Committee propose this policy?

First, 5 years of war of resistance has resulted in an irregular border between our anti-Japanese bases and enemy-occupied territory. The enemy relies on railways, highways and strategic points to surround us, while we rely on the vast rural area to surround the enemy. A situation of mutual surrounding has developed, and a see-saw battle is going on. The rapid development of guerilla warfare behind enemy lines during the early stages of the war of resistance is over. The problem from now on is how to conserve our own forces, overcome difficulties and endure hardship. Whoever survives this serious crisis will eventually win. As the enemy is currently engaged in a cruel mopping-up campaign as well as gradual encroachment, the shrinking of our bases and the attrition of our manpower and financial resources are inevitable. Therefore, we must gird ourselves and adapt to this changed situation. Only thus can we continue our war of resistance. The purpose of this necessary retrenchment is to conserve our own forces, overcome the difficulties, and, at the same time, prepare ourselves for a counterattack in the future. The present retrenchment serves great developments in the future.

Second, as fighting behind the enemy lines is frequent, the frontline is not fixed. The troops and organizations are highly mobile. Just as big organizations are not permissible under these circumstances, so too many non-combatants in armed units are not permissible because they hamper troop movements. Therefore, we must retrench to suit the needs of the war. We must understand that organizations and armed units are formed to carry out a certain task, not just for the sake of the organizations and armed forces. If the emphasis is on quantity during the development of an organization or an armed unit, then the emphasis should be on quality during the time of retrenchment. We should attach more value to quality than to quantity. If we still cling to our old practice, unwilling to change, we are genuine dogmatists!

Third, during this cruel war our military bases are shrinking in size, and we face increasing difficulties in manpower and material resources. In many economically backward villages the people's wealth is rather limited. Therefore, in each base only a certain percentage of the population can be detached from production. This percentage should not be too high. Otherwise a contradiction will occur which can be best described as "the pond is too small for the fish." The purpose of the enemy's "triple atrocity" policy toward our bases is to destroy our conditions of survival in an attempt to "drain the pond and then catch the fish." Retrenchment is directed precisely at this clever policy of the enemy.

On the basis of the three understandings stated above, the Central Committee proposed a long time ago that the number of people detached from production should not exceed 3 percent of the total local population. After proposing the policy of better troops and simpler administration, the Central Committee also proposed that the development of our main armed forces be suspended. In the future, the emphasis of military construction should be shifted to the strengthening of local armed units and the development of militia not detached from production. This is a consistent policy, a policy suitable for our bases behind the enemy. All bases must thoroughly carry out this policy.

The meaning of the policy of better troops and simpler administration and the Central Committee's persistent advocacy of this policy is still not understood by all the comrades in our bases. As a result, this policy is not being carried out thoroughly. At the same time, there are some comrades who have either incorrect or one-sided understanding. These views are also harmful to the implementation of the policy of better troops and simpler administration.

Some people say: Although our armed unit or organization is topheavy, with a large number of people at the high levels and not enough people at the lower levels, we should look forward to the future! Our armed units and organizations will develop in the future!

We think that this opinion is wrong. Future development is a matter for the future. We should put our emphasis on resolving today's problems! If we do not think of a way to overcome today's difficulty, there is no future to speak of. If we keep imagining about the future without seeing the facts before us, this kind of "farsightedness" cannot resolve any realistic problem.

Some people say: The Central Committee is right in proposing the policy of better troops and simpler administration, but the situation in our armed unit or organization is tolerable and not as serious as you estimate. Why not let us maintain the status quo? We shall resolve this problem when the situation becomes serious.Why should we rush things!

This kind of opinion is also wrong. The trend of development of the situation behind the enemy lines in the last 2 years plainly tells us that the expected serious situation will definitely come, and has already come in some areas. The change in the situation behind the enemy lines is no longer a matter of estimate but a vivid fact. If we do not alert ourselves to the changes or actively take appropriate measures to cope with the changes, we will be caught short when something suddenly happens. This kind of farsightedness, adoption of a policy in advance and always taking the initiative to reduce possible losses to the revolutionary force, is an art of Bolshevik leadership. If we do not make an effort and let everything run its natural course, we are also wrong, because this view is politically nearsighted.

Some people think: During the war of resistance we should follow the policy of Han Hsin [7281 0207]--"the more troops the better." Why should we implement the better troops policy? Of course, we sometimes need more troops to beat the enemy. But there should be a limit to "more," and the number of troops cannot be increased without limit. The crux of the problem is whether our material and financial resources are sufficient to support them. If we ignore this elementary problem of survival and keep building up the armed units, the result will be that the manpower, material and financial resources of our bases will be exhausted and our bases will be hard to defend. Therefore, we are for "quality troops" rather than "more troops." We oppose the theory of "more troops."

Some people think: The work in our military base is heavy. Bigger organizations and more cadres are needed to do a good job. As we feel that the number of cadres is insufficient everywhere, how can we talk about "simpler administration"? It is true that some areas and some departments are not adequately staffed and should be strengthened. On the other hand, is it not true that there is a "forest" of organizations with complicated systems and superfluous personnel? The central problem of simpler administration lies in adjustment of organization, adjustment of cadres, retrenchment of organizations, and reduction of superfluous personnel in order to increase working efficiency and expedite the solution of problems. Therefore, we are for "simpler administration" rather than "complicated administration." We oppose "complicated administration."

All the above views have the same old weakness of one-sidedness. If a person persists in his viewpoints without taking the overall situation into consideration, he may justify his arguments and may even sound reasonable. If we give the overall situation careful thought, these arguments are plainly inadequate.

Only the policy of better troops and simpler administration is a policy resulting from careful consideration of the overall situation, suitable for the actual situation behind the enemy lines today and capable of taking care of future developments. We are Marxists and Leninists. We must resolve problems practically. Any one-sided view toward any problem will quite likely lead to the error of subjectivism. Implementation of the policy of better troops and simpler administration, first of all, requires thorough understanding. Only after a real understanding of this policy can we earnestly, voluntarily and gladly implement this policy thoroughly.

The policy of better troops and simpler administration is indeed a central link in all the work at various bases now. Implementation of this program must be reflected in all phases of work. All administrative, military, financial and economic work should be reconsidered in light of this overall policy.

Meanwhile, implementation of the policy of "better troops" and "simpler administration" should be linked with such specific work as economy of civilian power, cultivation of civilian power, development of production, self-reliance, austerity and antiwaste.

The areas behind enemy lines are in a harsh war environment. The situation changes rapidly, and more often than not very suddenly. If the leadership organizations and cadres cannot foresee the trend of development, make instant decisions, or voluntarily change the policies, then we will be unable to cope with the situation or even suffer unexpected losses when we find ourselves in an adverse situation.

Finally, it must be pointed out again that the policy of better troops and simpler administration is a correct policy for overcoming present difficulties and striving for greater development in the future. It is a policy that takes care of the future as well as the present. It is a positive policy, not a negative policy. It is certain that Japanese imperialism will be defeated. It is also certain that we shall witness greater development in the future. During this difficult period from now until the time to counterattack, our rank and file should be streamlined and better trained so that our victory and future development will be further guaranteed.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 23 August 1942

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CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE RESOLUTION ON UNIFYING PARTY LEADERSHIP IN ANTI-JAPANESE BASES AND READJUSTING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONS

Adopted by the CCP Central Committee Politburo

1 September 1942

[Text] Since the war of resistance, the party leadership at various anti-Japanese bases has been generally unified, and the relationships among party, political, military and mass organizations have been basically united. As a result, we have sustained a situation of hard struggle for several years and coordinated well with the nation's war of resistance. However, due to the poison of subjectivism and factionalism and the lack of understanding about certain political viewpoints and organizational relationships, there is some disharmony in certain areas in the relationships among party, political, military and mass organizations (actually the relationships among party member cadres in party, political, military and mass organization systems). Such disharmonious phenomena include an insufficient spirit of unity, uncoordinated action, each unit running its own business, insufficient respect for local party and government authorities on the part of armed units, lack of distinction between party and government functions, independence of party members in government units, monopoly of mass organizations by party members, selfish departmentalism, parochialism, etc. These phenomena of disharmony jeopardize the defense and construction of anti-Japanese bases and hamper the further progress of our party toward Bolshevism. The construction of anti-Japanese bases and implementation of democracy require unity of leadership in each base. The cruelty of the mopping-up campaign of the Japanese bandits, the tightening of the blockade line, the communication difficulties between upper and lower levels, and the increasing local and guerilla warfare characteristics of the war of resistance demand more flexibility in the relationship between the upper and lower echelons in various systems. As each district (each military district or each military subdistrict) becomes more independent in its activities and unified leadership of such activities should be further broadened and strengthened, organizations in each district should closely coordinate with each other without giving the enemy any opportunity to take advantage of our weakness. The Central Committee has made the following decisions:

(1) The party is the vanguard of the proletarian class and the highest form of proletarian organization. It should lead all other organizations, such as the armed units, government and mass organizations. Unified leadership in anti-Japanese bases should be exhibited by the existence of a unified party committee (or central political bureau, branch political bureau, district party committee, and local party committee) to provide overall leadership in each base. Therefore, it is decided that the representative organization of the Central Committee (the Central Political Bureau or branch political bureau) and the party committees at various levels (district party committee or local party committee) are the highest organizations in each area to provide unified leadership over all party, government, military, and people's work. The former party, government and military committees in various areas should be abolished (the establishment of these party, government and military committees was necessary and correct during the period the anti-Japanese bases were being established). The nature and the membership of party committees must be changed. The party committee at various levels should not be just a party committee to lead local work. It should be the unified leadership organization (not just a joint conference) for all the party, government, military and mass organization activities in that particular area. Therefore, it should include essential, responsible party member cadres from the party, the government, and the armed forces (the standing committee of the party committee should also include responsible cadres from the party, the government and armed units). Such committees should not be made up entirely or mostly of party workers. The work of these party committees should cover all aspects, such as the discussion and investigation of party, government, military, and mass work. Their work should not be limited to local work only.

(2) All resolutions, decisions or directives of the representative organizations of the Central Committee, district party committees and local party committees must be unconditionally executed by lower-level party committees, same-level military and political committees for the party, youth corps and armed units, the political department of armed units, and all party and youth corps members in mass organizations. The superior and subordinate relationship among organizations in government, armed unit and mass organization systems still exists. The resolutions, directives and orders of higher-level government or military organizations and the decisions of higher-level mass organizations (before the promulgation of such resolutions, directives and orders, the important part of the document should be presented by responsible party members of such organizations to a same-level party committee for approval or should have previously been agreed upon by responsible persons of party committees, but not all documents need approval) should be unconditionally executed not only by lower-level government, armed unit and mass organizations but also by lower-level party committees. Such resolutions, directives and orders should not be violated or shelved on the excuse that no instructions were received from a higher-level party committee. If a lower-level party committee has any differing opinion on the resolution of a higher-level government, armed unit or mass organization, reports may be made to a higher-level party committee. If internal disputes occur within

party committees in resolving specific problems according to the resolution of higher-level organization, the principle of the minority obeying the majority should be followed. Even when the responsible persons of government, armed unit and mass organizations do not agree with the opinion of the majority, they must execute the decisions of same-level party committees, but they may submit their dissenting opinion to their respective superior organization.

(3) The Central Political Bureau and the branch political bureaus are designated representative organizations of the CCP Central Committee. Members of district party committees and local party committees are elected by a joint meeting of representatives from armed units and local party organizations with the approval of superior organizations. District party committees and local party committees should include cadres from local party organizations, party cadres from armed units, and responsible party and youth corps members from government organizations. Whether the main armed force should participate in the county party committee is to be decided according to local conditions. County party committees (without the participation of the main force units) and district party committees should include responsible persons from local party, armed unit and government organizations. Comrades who can administer all phases of party, government, military and civilian work should be selected to serve as secretaries of party committees at various levels. Thus, party committee secretaries should understand not only party affairs but also military and government work. Secretaries of district party committees are selected by branch political bureaus of the Central Committee and approved by the Central Committee. Secretaries of local party committees are nominated by district party committees and approved by branch political bureaus and the Central Political Bureau. In order to unify leadership over local party activities and party activities in the armed units, secretaries of branch political bureaus, district party committees, and local party committees will concurrently serve as members of political committees for military districts and subdistricts (division or brigade), and deputy secretaries will be appointed to manage party work. If the political committees of military districts or subdistricts are designated as branch political bureaus, then secretaries of district and local party committees may serve as alternate members of the political committees to manage the work in armed units only. Secretaries of branch political bureaus, district party committes, and local party committees should handle all phases of work. Aside from serving concurrently on the political committee, they should not undertake other specific work concurrently. In special cases where secretaries of party committees do not have to serve concurrently as members of political committees, or members of political committees do not have to serve concurrently as secretaries of party committees, approval must be obtained from a higher party committee or the Central Committee. The military-political committees and political departments in armed units constitute a part of the party committee on the same level (the Central Political Bureau, branch political bureaus, district party committees and local party committees). They have the same prerogatives and obligations as other departments (such as the organization department and the propaganda department). Although they

are not subordinate to other departments or committees, they are different from other departments or committees in that they maintain a leadership and subordinate relationship among themselves. Military policies (such as troop expansion, principles of army building, political work, etc.) and major policies concerning military actions (such as strategic and tactical plans to counter enemy mopping-up campaigns and postmortems on the plans) should be turned over to party committees for discussion, but specific military actions are decided by the commanding officer who is also a member of the political committee (party committee secretary). (The final decision of the commanding officer and the political committee on military actions are made according to the regulations governing political work). Unlimited democratic discussions will only lead to the failure of military actions. The appointment and release of essential personnel in armed units is administered by military organizations according to existing regulations.

(4) The main forces are armed units under the leadership of the party. They are the cornerstone for the construction of anti-Japanese bases and for sustaining the struggle. They should regard the consolidation and defense of their respective bases as their foremost task. The main forces belong to the nation, but they also belong to a locality. In the past there was some leadership disunity in some anti-Japanese bases, caused mainly by lack of an accurate and unified understanding on the part of certain leadership comrades of the main forces regarding the establishment and defense of the bases. As a consequence, some of their policies (such as the local armament and troop expansion problem in their military construction policy, and the unified revenue collection and unified expense disbursement problem in their economic and financial policy) took care of the interests of the main forces themselves only and overlooked coordination with the entire work in the respective bases; they even caused disputes with local party and government organizations. In some districts, party and government leadership organizations do not have an in-depth understanding of the principle that everything is subordinated to the needs of war. They have not fulfilled their responsibilities as they should in regard to the replenishment of manpower, the guarantee of food and material supply, care for the family members of wounded anti-Japanese soldiers, and struggle against desertions. Hence the relationship between the armed forces on the one hand and local party and government organizations on the other is strained. In the future, in implementing the unified leadership policy in each base, aside from making the local party committee the leadership party organization in various places, we must correct the ideological and policy mistakes on the party of leaders of certain main forces and leaders of certain local party and government organizations. We must carry out the Central Committee's policies concerning our bases and the military committee's directives concerning military construction. In the future, the main military force must carry out the resolutions and decisions of party committees at various levels and the decrees of government organizations at various levels. The main military force should also carry out the decisions of lower-level party committees and lower-level government organizations (such as county, district, and township government organizations) in places where the main force is stationed. If the main military force does not

agree with these decisions, reports may be submitted to higher-level party committees and higher-level government organizations. All should constantly keep in touch with and help each other. Military measures taken by main military force, such as troop movements, deployments, and martial law, should be observed by local party, government, and civilian organizations. The main military force is responsible for the protection of party, government and mass organizations. If the latter suffer any undue losses due to the negligence or indifference of the armed units, the responsible persons of the armed units should be punished. If there is any dispute in the future, solutions should be sought locally through mutual discussion, and reports on the dispute and its solution should be submitted to a higher organization. Reporting on disputes to a higher organization without trying to seek a local solution through discussion is objectionable.

(5) The political power system (political council and government) is a system of power organization. Their decrees and orders are compulsory in nature. The relationship between party committees and the political power system must be clearly defined. Monopoly of the work of the political power system by party committees, the mixing of the function of party organizations with that of government organizations, disobedience to party committee decisions, and conduct in violation of party discipline on the part of party member cadres in political power system organizations must be corrected. In order to carry out the three-thirds system, party leadership over political power system organizations should be limited to matters concerning principles, policies and general programs. The party should not interfere with or monopolize the work of political power organizations. Lower-level party committees have no authority to change or refuse to execute the decisions and decrees of higher-level political council or government organizations. Party organizations and party members should set themselves as examples for executing the decrees of political council and government organizations. The party should undertake political work to enhance the prestige of the political council and the government. Party cadres and party members who violate the laws and orders of the government should be severely punished by party organizations. Party leadership over the work of political council and government organizations may be exercised through party members and youth corps members. Party committees and party organizations have no authority to command political council or government organizations directly. Party and youth corps organizations must obey the party committee at the same level. However, the working style of the party and the youth corps must be drastically improved. These organizations should not compel people outside the party to obey. Instead, they should convince them and embark on political work. In the event the party and youth corps fail to convince the majority of the political council and the government and their suggestions are rejected, then the minority must obey the majority without violating the principle of democratic centralism. If party and youth corps comrades disagree with the opinion of the party committee at the same level and fail to firmly execute the decisions of the party committee, this constitutes conduct in violation of party discipline and should be reprimanded and punished. The party must send capable cadres to work in political councils and government, and the phenomena of overlooking political power system work and keeping cadres in party

organizations should be corrected. Under the three-thirds system, the number of party members working in the political power system should be reduced, but their quality should be improved. Party members and cadres working in the political power system must obey the resolutions, decisions, and discipline of the party committee, the party and the youth corps. They should not take advantage of their position to engage in free action. Here it should be pointed out in particular that party leadership over the political power system under the three-thirds system depends upon the consistency of the words of party member cadres in the political power system with their deeds and their absolute obedience to the party's decisions. Therefore, the tightening of party discipline among party members and party member cadres in the political power system is of great significance. Care should be exercised in transferring party members from the political power system. Before the transfer, the party member concerned should tender his resignation to the political power organization. The relationship between the armed forces and the government must be improved. Armed units should conduct educational programs to support the government. Government organizations should guarantee provisions and transportation for the armed units. Leaders of armed units should be elected to the government and political council. Armed units should be models in respecting political power organizations and in executing laws and orders. Unflawful activities of soldiers should be severely punished by military organizations. Aside from expressing their opinion to the political council and the government in their capacity as citizens, government committee members, or political council members, all soldiers and military organizations have no right to interfere with the internal work of the political council and the government. Political organizations in armed units should help the government as much as possible.

(6) Mass organizations are bodies voluntarily organized by the masses themselves. The party, government and armed units should not directly interfere with the activities of mass organizations. Party leadership over mass organizations should be exercised through party members, the party and youth corps. The loss of identity between party and mass organizations, or party monopoly of mass organizations, must be corrected. Wherever possible, more than half of the committee members of mass organizations should be nonparty members. The problem of party or youth corps members in government is the same as the problem of party or youth corps members in mass organizations. The government should respect the independence of mass organizations, give necessary help to mass organizations, and ask mass organizations to carry out government laws and orders. Mass organizations should apply for registration with the government according to the law in order to obtain their legal status. If mass organizations violate government laws, they may be punished or even suspended. Otherwise, the government should not interfere with the work of mass organizations. Mass organizations should rally the people to support the government and armed units and to help mobilization work for the war of resistance. But mass organizations are not political power organizations. They cannot take the place of the government in arresting, trying or sentencing people. Armed units and mass organizations should help each other, not interfere with each other.

(7) In guerrilla warfare areas, because of their special characteristics, unified leadership should not only be clearly defined but also established, if necessary, among party, government, military and mass organizations. Party committees and government and mass organizations in guerrilla warfare areas may be combined with the military commanding organizations or political organizations of armed units. Cadres of party, government and mass organizations should undertake definite duties in regular armed units or guerrilla units (such as serving as commanders or deputy commanders, or as members of party committees in the armed forces, or taking up work in the political department of armed units). During military engagements they should take part in the work of regular armed units or guerrilla units. Between military engagements they should carry on their work in connection with their original positions (such as party committee secretaries, county magistrates, or chairmen of labor unions).

(8) Unified leadership is reflected in the mutual relationships among party, government, and mass organizations on the same level as well as in the relationship between organizations at higher and lower levels. Strict implementation of the principle that all lower-level organizations should obey higher-level organizations and that all party organizations should obey the Central Committee is of decisive significance in the party's unified leadership system. In implementing any system or policy, leadership organizations in various bases must follow the directions of the Central Committee. In resolving new problems which concern the entire nation, the entire party or the entire armed forces, instructions must be sought from the Central Committee, and no organization should introduce new ideas, make decisions by themselves, or endanger the unity of party leadership (with the exception of problems of local nature and decisions which do not violate those of higher organizations or the Central Committee). Halfhearted execution of the resolutions, decisions, orders and instructions of the Central Committee by lower-level party, government, military and mass organizations, ostensible obedience to cover up violations, or failure to seek instructions from higher-level organizations and the Central Committee before resolving new problems which involve principles and which by their nature should not have been resolved as isolated cases are manifestations of "impurity" in party character and destruction of unified leadership.

Here we wish to again remind leadership comrades of party, government, military and mass organizations that responsible party members of party committees and various organizations should not make any public declarations, talks, or broadcasts concerning the entire country, the entire party and the entire armed forces without the permission of the Central Committee. The texts should be examined in advance by the party committee at the same level or appropriate persons of the party or youth corps. The main points of public announcements to be issued by responsible persons above the level of members of branch political bureaus or above the level of division commanders must be reported or cabled to the Central Committee in advance. No broadcasts should be made by local organizations, and all broadcasts should be made only by the HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY in Yenan. A responsible high-echelon cadre

of the party should realize how he violates the organizational principles of the party and jeopardize the unity of the party if he expresses his own political opinion in public without the concurrence of equal-level or higher-level organizations!

(9) In order to unify the leadership in our bases and improve the relationships among party, government, military and mass organizations, education programs should be conducted, the three undesirable working styles should be rectified, and the poison of subjectivism and sectarianism should be eliminated among party member cadres in party, government, military and mass organizations. According to the decision of the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's report, cadres should be educated at cadre meetings to be aware of the overriding interest and to given heed to the overall situation. Cadres should be called upon to criticize each other and to criticize themselves so that they will know the overall situation without any local or departmental bias and know the correct relationship between the entity and the locality, between higher-level and lower-level organizations, and between their locality and other localities. Educational work in party, government, military and mass organizations should be strengthened in order to enable all comrades to know the importance of unified leadership and the revolutionary orders and decrees in our bases. Here we should particularly warn the cadres in the armed units that whenever there is disharmony among party, government, military and mass organizations, it is usually the cadres from armed units who should bear a greater part of the responsibility, because they are armed and are apt to act on their own, slight party and government organizations, disregard discipline, act freely and destroy the interest of the masses. Therefore, military and political cadres in armed units must constrain their subordinates, examine themselves, and appeal to their subordinates to support the party leadership, support the government, and resolutely execute the decisions of the party and the laws of the government. Meanwhile, some viewpoints held by certain party members and cadres which are not in conformity with facts should be corrected. These persons think that only the work of party committees or party organizations is called party work. Actually, any work done by party members or party cadres, be it political, military, mass, economic, technical or cultural is party work. Work of party organizations is only a part of the party's work (party affairs work). Obedience to party leadership means obedience to the party line, party policies, resolutions, decisions instructions and discipline. Some party members give lip service to or distort the meaning of obedience to party leadership and do not seriously study or execute the party line, policy, resolution, decision, instruction and discipline. This kind of attitude is wrong.

(10) The strengthening of leadership unity in various anti-Japanese bases is for the purpose of more smoothly conducting the war against the Japanese bandits. "Everything is subordinate to the war" is the supreme principle of unified leadership. It should be explained to everybody in the party that if our armed units are weakened, and if the war is lost, then our bases will no longer be able to exist, and all party, government, military and mass organizations will collapse. Therefore, party committees, government

and mass organizations and all the people have the obligation to support the armed forces and strengthen their combat capability. The party committees and government and mass organizations have the responsibility to resolve at any time such problems as the recruitment of troops; supply and transportation of food, clothing and ammunition; provision of barracks for the troops; transportation, nursing, and care for the wounded, sick and disabled persons; and special care for the family members of anti-Japanese soldiers. Indifference to these problems is extremely wrong and harmful. Members of the armed forces should also understand that without the coordination of party, government and mass organizations, armed units cannot sustain the war of resistance even for a single day. Therefore, education should be strengthened in the armed forces so that all members of the armed forces will care for their bases, economize on manpower and material resources, respect party and government organizations, strengthen military discipline, and give party, government and mass organizations all necessary assistance. Troop recruitment, materiel replenishment, transportation, and care for the family members of anti-Japanese soldiers should be handled according to government laws and regulations. Uncoordinated action can only jeopardize the war of resistance and harm the armed units themselves.

(11) On the basis of the principle of this decision and actual local conditions, leadership organizations in various bases should establish relevant regulations in detail in the form of government laws, army regulations, party and youth corps rules, and mass organization regulations to resolve many specific problems in connection with unified leadership. These rules and regulations, once established, should be reported to the Central Committee.

° "Rectification Documents," Hong Kong New Democracy Press, 1949

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Revolution," Vol 4, Chinese People's University, 1957

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 4

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YENAN OBSERVER ON STALIN'S TALK

8 October 1942

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 8 October--Commenting on Stalin's talk with American correspondents on 4 October, the Yenan observer said:

"This talk of Stalin's is of tremendous significance. Not only will it enhance confidence in victory in the minds of all people in the allied countries, but it will also greatly benefit the unity of the allied countries and the great task of winning the war over fascism."

Concerning the second front, the observer said:

"The opening of a real second front is tantamount to a death sentence for Hitler. This is an inescapable duty of the allied countries and a priority duty more important than material aid to the Soviet Union. As far as timing is concerned, this is the most opportune moment to open the second front. If this moment is missed, it will be a great strategic blunder on the part of the allied countries. The timely opening of a second front by the allied countries is the key to victory."

The observer dismissed the rumors spread by German and Japanese news agencies following Stalin's talk as their habitual tricks and not worth commenting on. The unity of the allied countries will be further strengthened because of the defense of Stalingrad and Stalin's talk. The days of fascist arrogance are gone forever. For the aggressors, their demise is only a matter of time, the observer said.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 9 October 1942

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CCP COMMENTS ON THE 10TH PLENARY SESSION OF THE KUOMINTANG CENTRAL COMMITTEE

November 1942

[Text] Concerning the declaration issued by the 10th Plenary Session of the Kuomintang Central Committee and the report of the Ad Hoc Research Committe, a reporter of this newspaper [CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO] went to see the spokesman of the CCP Central Committee and sought his opinion. His reply is as follows:

We share the plenary session's intention to persist in the war of resistance and strengthen unity. For instance, the declaration said: "Before the final victory we must endure the most difficult and most severe battles in order to annihilate the enemy and permanently cut off the roots of all evil, adhere to the essence of the principles of self-reliance, and take into consideration the most difficult situations in our calculations." "Today we should all the more stand fast with all our loyalty and courage and concentrate all the efforts of our 450 million people on combat." "Externally, we must help and cooperate with each other in order to carry out the universal principle of equality for all mankind. Internally, we must unite with each other and demonstrate our resolution to be sincere without any disagreement." There must be a nationwide sincere unity before we can shoulder the unprecedentedly difficult mission." These words are all right. From this we can see that on the most important external and internal policies the opinions of the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party are basically the same. The 10th Plenary Session should be congratulated for this gesture. Since the beginning of the war of resistance, the Communist Party, the 8th Route Army, and the New 4th Army have always stood on the foremost front of the war in defense of their motherland. Although isolated behind the enemy lines under conditions of extreme shortages of money and equipment, suffering from hunger and blockade, and facing tremendous difficulties, they have always obeyed Generalissimo Chinag Kai-shek's order to cling to their defense line without retreating a step. Generalissimo Chiang has said: "All people, no matter whether they come from the north or the south or whether they are young or old, have the responsibility to defend their land in the war of resistance." Adhering to this instruction, Communist Party members and people behind the enemy lines organized guerrilla bands and coordinated with our main forces to resist the enemy army. They have

been able to persist in the war effort for 5 1/2 years, to keep their strength as formidable as the Great Wall, and to resist the attack of 15 enemy divisions, which is about half of all the enemy forces in China. That they are able to do so is not without reason. As to the administration of various anti-Japanese bases, they formulated many measures based entirely on Dr Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles, Generalissimo Chiang's "Outline for the War of Resistance and National Reconstruction," and the basic laws of the National Government, with special consideration for the opinions of local people. These measures have resulted in a harmonious relationship among the people, which is helpful to the war effort and to winning the war. The Chinese Communist Party issued a declaration, "To Meet the National Crisis Together," on 22 September 1937. The following four points were enumerated in that declaration: "1) Dr Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles are needed for China today, and our party is willing to struggle for their thorough implementation; 2) abolish all policies of violence and all communist movements for the overthrow of the Kuomintang regime, and stop the policy of forcibly confiscating the land of landlords; 3) abolish the existing soviet government and carry out people's rights policies in order to achieve unity in the form of government throughout the country; 4) abolish the name and identification of the Red Army and reorganize it as the People's Revolutionary Army, subject to the control of the Military Commission of the National Government and ready to take up frontline responsibilities in fighting the Japanese." We have observed what we stated 5 years ago without any infraction. Not only shall we do our best to observe these four points during the war of resistance, but we are prepared to continue to observe these four points after the conclusion of the war of resistance. This is with a view to seeking a sincere unity with the Kuomintang and other political parties and all strata of people throughout the country for fulfilling the epoch-making mission of the war of resistance and national reconstruction. The items listed in the Ad Hoc Research Committee's report are not any different in basic spirit from the four points contained in the aforementioned CCP declaration. As to the attitude toward the Communist Party, the report of the Ad Hoc Research Committee, after enumerating various demands, declared: "The Government treats everybody equally. Not only will it not discriminate against anybody, but it will safeguard the rights and freedoms to which its citizens are entitled." This pronouncement is what we have been earnestly demanding for many years. Now that we have this clear declaration, we feel greatly elated. In short, all the viewpoints taken by the Chinese Communist Party are based on the principle of the united anti-Japanese national front. Anything in the interest of unity for the war of resistance will be sincerely carried out without exception. This policy will be firmly adhered to and never changed. We sincerely hope that the Kuomintang leaders will understand our sincerity for the interest of the country and the people in order to attain further cooperation. If so, although the enemy is strong, it will be chased out of our territory, and a strong, prosperous and independent Republic of China will be successfully built before long.

° Rectification Documents, 1949

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Revolution," Vol 4, Chinese People's University, 1959

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 4

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CABLE MESSAGE OF GREETINGS FROM THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND RED ARMY COMMANDERS AND SOLDIERS IN HONOR OF THE 25TH RED ARMY DAY AND THE RED ARMY'S GREAT VICTORY

21 February 1942

[Text] Tomorrow will be the 25th anniversary of the Red Army of the Soviet Union. The Red Army's counteroffensive has gained a crushing momentum and won unprecedented victories. All antifascist people in the world rejoice in unison, and the Chinese people feel particularly elated. The Chinese Communist Party Central Committee cabled its greetings yesterday. The text of the cable follows:

On behalf of all comrades of the party and the Chinese people, the CCP Central Committee enthusiastically celebrates the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Red Army and the great victory won by the Red Army in its counteroffensive.

After 25 years of struggle, especially after 20 months of struggle against fascist invasion, Red Army Day has developed from a day of gala celebration for the international worker masses into a day of gala celebration for all of mankind. On the basis of their own experience, all peace-loving people in the five continents unanimously recognize the Red Army and the people of the Soviet Union as the bulwark against the brutal fascist force and the shock vanguard for creating a new world peace. The counteroffensive of the Red Army in the last 3 months has elicited cheers and admiration throughout the world. Everywhere in the world, people are studying the military and political lessons derived from the victory of the Red Army. The counteroffensive of the Red Army is undoubtedly unprecedented in history, and its scale and momentum are steadily increasing. The Red Army started its counteroffensive from the beseiged city on the Volga River on 19 November. Three months later the Red Army had pushed to the vicinity of the Dniepr River, 600 miles west of the Volga. It is only a matter of time until Hitler's bandit hordes are driven entirely out of Soviet territory. Since the beginning of the Red Army's war against Germany, the world situation has undergone obvious change. Now, as a result of the victory of the Red Army, the future face of the new world is clearer. All forms of fascist systems and thought have forever lost their place in the world. National freedom and political democracy have become the

unshakable principles of the new world. We Chinese people welcome the advent of this new era. We welcome the unity and effort of all antifascist forces throughout the world in striving for the advent of this new era. Along with the victory of the Red Army came the significant victories of the United Kingdom and the United States in North Africa and the United States in the Pacific. The United Kingdom and the United States are actively making preparations to fulfill their promise to open a second front on the continent of Europe. The United States and the United Kingdom have abrogated their unequal treaties with China. The foremost duty of the Chinese people in this new era is to be further united and to prepare themselves to chase out the Japanese aggressors as the Red Army did with the German aggressors. We believe that because of the unification and struggle of the Chinese people, the victory of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States, and their assistance to China, we also can turn around to launch our counteroffensive and win final victory.

Long live the Red Army and its supreme commander Stalin!

Long live the victory of the war against fascist aggressors!

Long live the unity of China, the Soviet Union , the United Kingdom and the United States!

Mao Tse-tung

CCP Central Committee

© CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 22 February 1943

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LETTER TO P'ENG TE-HUAI CRITICIZING HIS 'TALK ON DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION'

6 May 1943

[Text] We feel that your "Talk on Democratic Education" published 2 months ago is not quite proper. I wish to present my opinion as follows:

For example, you start your talk with the definition of democracy, liberty, equality and fraternity, rather than with the political needs of the present anti-Japanese struggle. For another example, you did not emphasize that democracy is for the purpose of resisting Japan. Instead, you emphasized that democracy is for the purpose of opposing feudalism. For another example, you did not say that freedom of speech and freedom of the press are for the purpose of stirring up the people's positivism in resisting Japan or of seeking and protecting the people's political and economic rights. Instead, you said that these freedoms stemmed from the principle of freedom of thought. For another example, you did not say that freedom of assembly and association is for the purpose of attaining victory over Japan and the people's political and economic rights. Instead, you said that this freedom is for the purpose of enhancing mutual unity among mankind and for the benefit of cultural and scientific development. For still another example, you did not say that the Chinese traitors and those elements who destroy the unity of the anti-Japanese front should be deprived of their freedom of domicle, movement, correspondence and all other political freedoms. Instead, you said, only in general terms, that people should not be subjected to any interference. Actually, for certain people in our various anti-Japanese bases, democracy and freedom are too broad, too excessive and too unlimited, rather than too narrow, too little or too restricted. This is why in November of last year the Central Committee issued an explanation concerning the magnanimous policy, stressing the necessity of suppressing reactionary elements. You did not adopt this policy in your talk. For example, to promote the right of referendum in our anti-Japanese bases now is not only harmful but also not feasible. For another example, you said that there should not be any unequal regulations in the law, but you did not make a distinction between revolutionaries and counterrevolutionaries. For another example, it is politically improper for you to introduce the slogan "Don't give to others what we ourselves don't want." It must be realized that our present task is to

use war and other political means to defeat the enemy and that the present social foundation is commodity economy. Both call for "giving to others what we ourselves don't want." Only after the elimination of classes can we carry out the principle "Don't give to others what we ourselves don't want," eliminate the war, and eliminate political repression and economic exploitation. Among the various classes in the country today there is a kind of mutual assistance for the sake of defeating the common enemy. But exploitation has not been abolished in our economic system. Nor has suppression (such as anticommunist activities) been abolished in our political system. We should ask for restrictions in exploitation and suppression and stress unity in the war against Japan. But we should not propose a general and absolute slogan for class mutual help ("Don't give to others what we ourselves don't want"). For still another example, you said that the democratic movement in Western Europe started with a reduction in working hours for the workers. This is not true to facts.

I have received "Life Within the Party" as you mentioned. I will tell you if I have any opinion after reading the article.

Mao Tse-tung

6 May 1943

CHAIRMAN MAO'S CRITICISM AGAINST THE P'ENG-HUANG-CHANG-CHOU ANTI-PARTY CLIQUE, 6 May 1943

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CSO: 4005

COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG DELIVERS DETAILED REPORT ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COMINTERN

26 May 1943

[Text] Comrade Mao Tse-tung was greeted with thunderous applause as he stepped to the rostrum at a cadres meeting in Yenan on the evening of 26 May. The meeting was called by the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee to transmit two historical documents concerning the dissolution of the Comintern--one from the presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern and the other from the CCP Central Committee. After Comrade Jen Pi-shih [0117 1732 2514] had explained the purpose of the meeting and Comrade Li Fu-ch'un [2621 8111 2504] had read these two documents, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a report to the meeting in his capacity as chairman of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung first pointed out:

"The dissolution of the Comintern, as reported by American news agencies, is a great 'epoch-making event.' That in the last 4 days all countries in the world, no matter whether they belong to the antifascist camp or the fascist aggressors' camp, and all political parties in the world have been paying extreme attention to this problem is sufficient to prove this point."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung asked:

"Why should the Comintern be dissolved? Did it not work for the liberation of the working class all over the world, and did it not exert itself for the antifascist war effort?"

Comrade Mao said:

"Yes, the Comintern was formed by Lenin. During the entire history of its existence it rendered extremely meritorious services in helping various countries to organize genuinely revolutionary workers parties and in the great task of organizing the antifascist war."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung particularly pointed out the meritorious services rendered by the Comintern in helping the revolution in China. He said:

"The influence of the Comintern among the Chinese people is profound. The reason is that although China is an economically backward country, it went through three great revolutionary movements in the last 22 years. And the Comintern gave great help in these three revolutionary movements: namely, the Northern Expedition, the land revolution and the war of resistance against Japan."

Comrade Mao recalled how on the eve of the Northern Expedition the Comintern helped Dr Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang under Dr Sun's leadership to reorganize the party in 1924 and subsequently concluded an agreement on CCP-Kuomintang cooperation. Recalling the historical fact that Mr Chiang Kai-shek had gone to Moscow at that time on Dr Sun Yat-sen's orders and that Kuomintang representatives had attended Comintern meetings, he said:

"This suffices to prove how great is the Comintern's help to the Chinese revolution and the Comintern's influence among the Chinese people, not to mention the subsequent land revolution and the war of resistance in recent years."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung also pointed out:

"Revolutionary movements can be neither exported nor imported. Although the Comintern provided help, the birth and development of the Chinese Communist Party can be attributed to the existence of an awakened workers class in China. The Chinese workers class created their own party--the Chinese Communist Party. Although the Chinese Communist Party has a short history of 22 years, it has embarked on three great revolutionary movements."

"Since the Comintern has rendered such great services to various countries and China, why should it be declared dissolved?"

Comrade Mao Tse-tung answered the question:

"According to Marxist-Leninist principles, the organizational form of revolution should be dictated by the need of the revolutionary struggle. If the form of organization is no longer suitable to the need of revolutionary struggle, then that form of organization should be abolished."

Comrade Mao pointed out:

"At present the Comintern, as a form of organization of revolution, is no longer suitable for the needs of struggle. If we continue to keep this form of organization, it will hamper the development of revolutionary struggle in various countries. What is needed now is to strengthen the national communist parties in various countries. This international leadership center is no longer necessary. The reasons are threefold: First, the situations within each nation and among nations are more complicated than before, and these situations change more rapidly than

before. A unified international organization is not suitable to cope with the complicated and rapidly changing situations. Correct leadership must be based on careful study of these situations. This makes it all the more necessary for the communist party of each country to study its own situation. The Comintern, remote from the scene of actual struggle in each country, was adequate when the situation was relatively simple and changes were not so rapid. It is inadequate now. Second, the fascist bandits have created a deep chasm among the nations in the fascist camp as well as among nations in the antifascist camp. Among the antifascist countries there are socialist, capitalist, colonial and semicolonial countries. Among the fascist countries and their vassal states there are also great differences in the type of countries. In addition, there are different kinds of neutral countries. To quickly and effectively organize all countries to wage an antifascist war, a central international organization has long been felt inadequate. This has become particularly obvious recently. Third, a leadership cadre has grown up in the communist party of each country. These cadres are politically mature."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung used the Chinese Communist Party as an example to explain this point.

"The Chinese Communist Party went through three revolutionary movements, and these revolutionary movements are continuous and very complicated, even more complicated than the Russian Revolution. In these revolutionary movements the Chinese Communist Party had a superb cadre of its own which had gone through numerous crucial tests. Since the seventh world meeting of the Comintern in 1935, it has not interfered in the internal affairs of the Chinese Communist Party, and the Chinese Communist Party, during the entire anti-Japanese war for national liberation [deletion]."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung summed up the comments emanating from various countries in the last few days regarding the dissolution of the Comintern. He said:

"All upright people in the allied antifascist countries applaud this action, but the reaction from the fascist countries is different. All the bloody aggressors, who had concluded an 'anti-Comintern' pact, seem to be unwilling to see the Comintern dissolved. Isn't it strange? They desperately denounce the dissolution of the Comintern. In the allied countries the stubborn elements of the social democratic party in Stockholm and London, who at one time refused to allow the communist parties in their respective countries to join their party on the ground that the communist parties acted 'on the instructions of the Comintern,' do not welcome the dissolution of the Comintern. This is a rather strange thing."

"Now the task of all antifascist countries in the world is to unify all workers movements so that the fascists will be forcefully and quickly defeated. The stubborn elements in the workers movement are unhappy because the dissolution of the Comintern deprives them of an alibi. They even say that all communist parties in various countries should also be dissolved."

Comrade Mao continued:

"This kind of opinion, which lacks all commonsense, probably has also appeared in China. Let us take a look. But I believe that the majority of [deletion] this opinion, because this kind of opinion lacks the minimum amount of commonsense."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"The dissolution of the Comintern is not intended to weaken the communist parties in various countries but to strengthen them and to make them more national in character and more suitable to the needs of the antifascist war. The rectification movement in our party in recent years to correct such undesirable things as subjectivism, sectarianism and a stereotyped party writing style is precisely for the purpose of making the Chinese Communist Party more national in character and more suitable to the needs of the war of resistance and national reconstruction."

Here, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out in a very serious tone:

"Now that the Comintern has disappeared, our sense of responsibility is increased. Each comrade should understand that he is shouldering an extremely great responsibility. Starting from this sense of responsibility, he should manifest the creativity of a Communist Party member. We are in a difficult national liberation war. The Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army are fighting an extremely strong foe behind enemy lines. We are in a very difficult situation, and the war will last a long time. But this long-term hard struggle is a good opportunity to train ourselves. Let us think carefully and not say that we are always right after only a casual reflection. Let us earnestly rid ourselves of subjectivism, sectarianism and the old stereotyped party writing style, and let us assume a completely responsible attitude and show a high degree of creative ability."

Comrade Mao emphatically pointed out the absolute necessity of the following two types of unity:

"One is unity within the party, and the other is our unity with the people. These are invaluable in overcoming difficult situations, and all comrades of the party must cherish these two treasures. First, all comrades of the party must rally around the Central Committee. Any conduct that destroys unity is a crime. As long as all Communist Party members are united with one heart and one purpose, any strong enemy and any difficult situation will surrender to us. Second, all comrades of the party should be skillful enough to unite with the people. Here I wish our comrades to emulate Comrades Ch'en Tsung-yao [7115 1350 1031] and Tso Chi [1563 7874], as recently reported by CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO. Comrade Ch'en Tsung-yao is a regimental commander of the Eighth Route Army. He walked several hundred li with his whole regiment to carry rice. Instead of riding on horseback, he carried rice on his back as the horses did. Touched by his spirit, all

commanders and fighters of his regiment were high in morale and none of them deserted. Comrade Tso Chi is a member of the political committee of this regiment. He lost a hand in the war. He was unable to lift a hoe in land reclamation work. He stayed behind in the barracks and worked as a cook. At lunchtime he carried food to the field for the fighters, who were deeply touched."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung made this appeal:

"All cadres of the party should learn from the spirit of these two comrades, mix with the broad masses, and conquer all bureaucratism divorced from the masses."

Comrade Mao said:

"We Communists do not want to be officials. We want to be revolutionaries. Every one of us should have a thorough revolutionary spirit. We should never be isolated from the masses even for a minute. As long as we are not isolated from the masses, we will certainly win the war."

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 28 May 1943

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CSO: 4005

RESOLUTION OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE PROPOSAL OF THE COMINTERN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO DISSOLVE THE COMINTERN

26 May 1943

[Text] (1) The CCP Central Committee fully agrees with the proposal of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern adopted on 15 May 1943 concerning the dissolution of the Comintern. As of today, the Chinese Communist Party is no longer under obligations arising from the constitution of the Comintern and all resolutions adopted at various Comintern conferences.

(2) The Comintern has fulfilled its historic missions. It has not only safeguarded revolutionary Marxism from being trampled by opportunism in Europe and Japan, helped progressive workers unite into genuine workers political parties, supported the socialist Soviet Union and staunchly opposed fascism and fascist war, but also used every means possible to help the liberation movement of the oppressed nations in the Orient and helped the progressive workers of oppressed nations organize their own political parties, which have become the people's vanguard in the forefront of all liberation movements. What is particularly hard for the Chinese people to forget is that the Comintern exerted all possible efforts before Dr Sun Yat-sen's death to make the CCP-Kuomintang cooperation possible in 1924 and subsequently helped China bring the Northern Expedition to a triumphant conclusion. Again, during the years from 1927 to 1937, when the Chinese revolution was in the most difficult stage, the Comintern gave moral support to the Chinese people. Recently, during the 6 years of war of resistance against Japan since 1937, it appealed to its branches and the workers in all countries to help China in its war against Japanese imperialist aggression. In short, throughout its existence the Comintern did the best within its ability to help the disaster-stricken Chinese people. Now, as the proposal of the presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern says, due to the fact that the domestic situation in each country and the international situation have become more complicated, this original form of organization is no longer suitable for the continued growth of the workers movement in various countries. The reason is that in the current war of liberation waged by the antifascist allies it has become more necessary for the communist parties in various countries to solve

their own problems independently according to their special national and historical conditions, and to strive for a broadened and fast national high tide and national mobilization so as to win complete victory. Another reason is that the communist party in each country has a well-developed and politically mature leadership cadre. Because of these reasons, the Presidium of the Comintern Executive Committee proposed to the communist parties of various countries the dissolution of the Comintern. Under present circumstances, the benefit of the dissolution of the Comintern outweighs that of its continued existence. Due to the present situation of the war, it is not possible to call an international conference to discuss the dissolution of the Comintern. Therefore, this proposal was made to the communist parties of various countries by the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The CCP Central Committee endorses the reasons stated in the proposal and approves the dissolution of the Comintern. The CCP Central Committee pointed out that after the dissolution of the First International by Marx, the workers movement in various countries went through further development. Now that the Third International is declared dissolved, victory in the worldwide antifascist war and the liberation of mankind will undoubtedly come sooner.

(3) The founding of the Chinese Communist Party is a result of the development of the workers movement in China after the 4 May movement of 1919, as well as the development of the contemporary history of China. Wherever there are proletarian and workers movements there will appear someday a political party of the workers class. If there had been no Comintern, the Chinese Communist Party would still have been born at some opportune time. This is an inevitable rule of history. Since its inception the Chinese Communist Party has, for the first time in the contemporary history of China, clearly pointed out for the Chinese people the anti-imperialism and antifeudalism road. In addition, all comrades of the party have set themselves as examples in their conduct, loyal and devoted to the liberation of their country. They shed their blood and immediately take the place of their fallen comrades. During its revolutionary struggle the Chinese Communist Party has received a great deal of assistance from the Comintern. However, the Chinese Communists have been able for a long time to determine independently their own direction, policy and action according to the special situation in their own country. Since the adoption of the resolution at the seventh conference of the Comintern in August 1935 that the Comintern shall not interfere with the communist organizations in various countries, the Comintern had always observed this resolution and had never interfered with the organization of the Chinese Communist Party. The various revolutionary forces created by the Chinese Communist Party have been the pillars of China's progress in all aspects and have been undertaking an unprecedentedly difficult struggle behind the enemy lines since the beginning of the war of resistance. These revolutionary forces were built with bare hands and bare fists by the Chinese Communist Party independently and without any external help. It may be said that this is unprecedented in China's revolutionary movement in the last few decades. Revolution can be neither exported nor imported. It can only be caused by the internal development within each country. This is a truth always expounded by

Marxists and Leninists. The practice of the Chinese Communist Party has entirely proven this truth. In this situation, the dissolution of the Comintern will all the more strengthen the confidence and creativity of Chinese Communist Party members, consolidate the link between the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, and further enhance the party's combat strength. The Chinese communists are the best sons and daughters of the Chinese nation. They will continue to stand in the forefront of the anti-Japanese war, cooperate with the Kuomintang, all anti-Japanese political parties and nonpartisans, support all the measures of the National Government in connection with the war of resistance, defeat the Japanese bandits and their German and Italian fascist allies, and fulfill the task of establishing an independent new China.

(4) The Chinese communists are Marxists-Leninists. Since Marxism-Leninism is a science, it has no international boundary. The Chinese communists must flexibly apply Marxism-Leninism according to their own national conditions so that it will serve the interest of China's war of resistance and national reconstruction. The Chinese communists are the best heirs of their nation's cultural, philosophical and moral heritage. They regard this excellent heritage as a blood relationship and will continue to make it manifest. The rectification movement conducted by the Chinese Communist Party in recent years to overcome subjectivism, sectarianism and the stereotyped party writing style is intended to bring this revolutionary science--Marxism-Leninism--into close association with the practice of the Chinese revolution, Chinese history and Chinese culture. This movement shows that the Chinese communists have as much creative ability in thinking as in revolutionary practice and that the Chinese communists can stand together with the Chinese people to accomplish various historical missions assigned to them by the Chinese people. The CCP Central Committee is deeply convinced that all comrades of our party can be united to conquer their own shortcomings and manifest their creativity and positivism. If so, although Japanese imperialism is still strong and our road to progress is still fraught with difficulties, our tasks can definitely be accomplished.

o CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 27 May 1943

* CH'UN CHUNG [Masses], (ChungKing) Vol 8, No 9, 1 June 1943.

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Revolution," Vol 4, Chinese People's University, 1957.

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 4.

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COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG SUMS UP AT 1 JULY CADRES SOIREE THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF 22 YEARS

1 July 1943

[Text] At a big soiree on 1 July, Comrade Mao Tse-tung summed up the events during the 6 years of war of resistance and during the last 22 years since the birth of the Chinese Communist Party. He was full of confidence in the victory of the war and confidence in a new China and new world. The auditorium was packed to capacity. Attending were all comrades of the CCP Central Committee, cadres and nonparty member cadres at various levels of the party organization, visiting Japan Communist Party leader Comrade Okano Susumo, and visitors from the Soviet Union and the United States. After the meeting was called to order by Comrade Li Fu-ch'un [2621 8111 2504], Comrade Mao Tse-tung stepped to the rostrum in the midst of enthusiastic applause. He began his report as follows:

"Today is the 22d anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party and the 6th anniversary of the war of resistance. At present there is only one task for all anti-Japanese forces in the world and in China, the communist parties in various countries all over the world, and the Chinese Communist Party: to defeat the common enemy of mankind--the German, Italian and Japanese fascist aggressors."

Summing up the 6 years of war of resistance, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"China's war of resistance has been going on for 6 years. As far as time is concerned, it is longer than the war in any other country."

He pointed out:

"In the last 6 years the world war situation has undergone a fundamental change. In the past, many countries in the world were under fascist attack, and the fascists were taking the initiative in attacking countries all over the world. They were even victorious in their attacks and oppressed the antifascist countries. This was the situation in the past. This is to say that the situation was unfavorable and difficult. Now the situation is fundamentally different, and a fundamental change has taken

place. This change took place during the last year. The victory of the Soviet winter offensive, the victory of the United Kingdom and the United States in North Africa, the victory of the United Kingdom and the United States in the Pacific, and the 6 years of war of resistance in China are the reasons for this fundamental change. The great victory at Stalingrad in particular played a decisive role in turning the tide. In the past the fascist aggressors ran wild. The initiative was in their hands. Now the fascist aggressors have lost the initiative, and the initiative has passed to the hands of the Allies."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said in a firm tone:

"The problem from now on is to defeat fascism. This problem should be resolved in two steps: first defeat Germany and then defeat Japan. Next year will see a decisive battle in Europe."

Comrade Mao pointed out:

"Last year we said that a decisive battle would take place in Europe in 1942. But because a second front has not yet been opened on the European continent, the decisive battle did not come to pass. The key point this year is still this second front in Europe. The sooner the second front is opened, the sooner victory will come."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung further explained:

"In the past we have pointed out tendencies and possibilities. The reason the Communist Party often does this is to enable everybody to see the bright future in the midst of difficulties. The passive position of the Allies has changed to an active position. What was deemed possible in the past will become a fact today. There is still no second front in Europe today, but this will certainly become a fact before long. This is a goal all mankind is striving for."

Concerning the theater of war in China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said;

"After the defeat of Chieftan No 1--Hitler--Chieftan No 2--Japanese imperialism--will definitely be defeated. Some people in unoccupied areas do not understand this and disagree with the strategy of defeating Hitler first. This is wrong. Now that the whole world has formed an antifascist war front, no country is at war in isolation. Therefore, in deciding our strategy we should not just look at the immediate interest of an individual country. Instead, we should see which battle should be fought first in order to obtain the best advantage for the entire antifascist front. If we look this way, we shall realize that after the defeat of Hitler the going will be smooth in defeating Japan."

After comparing the situation of our war of resistance 6 years ago and the situation today, Comrade Mao summed up:

"We are certain that the bright progress pointed out in the past is close to realization."

Continuing, Comrade Mao Tse-tung summed up the history of the Chinese Communist Party in the last 22 years. He compared the world during World War I with the world during World War II. He also compared China 22 years ago with China today. He pointed out:

"The conclusions we draw from these comparisons enable us to strengthen our confidence in a bright new world and a bright new China, and they also enable us to know whither goes the world, whither goes China, whether the world will quickly become a bright world, and whether China will quickly become a bright China."

Comrade Mao made a comparison between the two world wars and said:

"Within 30 years, two wars unprecedented in scale broke out in the world. They are the inevitable results of world economic development. World War I was correctly foreseen by Lenin. The person who foresaw World War II was Stalin. Their correct foresight proved that Marxism-Leninism is the real scientific truth."

"World War I was not a righteous war but an imperialist war. At that time there was only the Bolshevik Party in Russia, and there were very few people in other countries who were really communists. Meanwhile, the leaders of social democratic parties in various countries supported imperialist wars. Most members of the social democratic parties were not awakened. This was the situation 30 years ago."

"By the time of World War II the world had changed. Among the Allies there are socialist countries, capitalist countries, colonial countries and semi-colonial countries. The communist parties in various allied countries take part in this war. This war is a righteous war."

"It was during the third year of World War I that the Bolshevik Party of Russia established a socialist country--the Soviet Union. Twenty years later it became a principal participant in the antifacsist war of mankind. Without the Soviet Red Army, without the Soviet people and their leader Stalin, and without the battle of Stalingrad, the destiny of mankind would be in doubt. With the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, old Russia became the socialist Soviet Union. This piece of territory occupied by a socialist country affected the entire world and has now played a leading role in the antifascist war of mankind."

"As far as the world communist movement is concerned, following the victory of the October Revolution in 1917, the Comintern was established in 1919. In the Orient, the Chinese Communist Party was established in 1921, the

Japan Communist Party in 1922, and the Indian Communist Party in 1923. Twenty-two years ago the Chinese Communist Party held its first delegates meeting, and only 12 delegates attended. Now our party has become such a big party."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"In its 22 years of existence the Chinese Communist Party has gone through three big revolutionary movements. Now it is working together with the Chinese people to organize a united front for concentrating our efforts to deal with the Japanese bandits. Now we are no longer just an isolated party. All the people of the country and the world are joining us in opposing fascism. We also have the Japan Communist Party and the Indian Communist Party joining us in opposing Japanese imperialism."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung ridiculed Japanese bandit chieftan Tojo, who was fond of saying "one billion people."

"But all these one billion people are against Japanese fascism. The 450 million people of China, 400 million people of India, 100 million of Southeast and 100 million of Japan and Korea are all actually against fascism."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung voiced an enthusiastic welcome to Comrade Okano Susumo, leader of the Japan Communist Party and representative of the Japanese people. He said:

"We have been living in the mountains for a long time. We hope that Comrade Okano Susumo has something to teach us during his stay in Yenan. Now our purpose is to be united to defeat Japanese fascism. In the future our purpose is to build a new China and a new Japan."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a comparison between China today and China during World War I. He said:

"At that time there was no communist party in China. The Chinese people were not awakened to such an extent as to be able to make a distinction between two types of foreigners, the bad ones and the good ones. They were unable to divide foreigners into imperialists and good farmers and workers. At that time Marxism had been in existence for 70 years, but our people did not know it. Our school teachers did not even know the name Marx as they talked about philosophy, economics and sociology. At that time China already had old democratic culture, but not new democratic culture or new democratic art and literature. Writing in the vernacular style was not even accepted. China was one of the participants in World War I, but it only helped the imperialists. Its own semicolonial status was not changed, but worsened."

"Today's China is a China in the midst of its war of resistance. Its people are so awakened that they joined the international antifascist front to fight fascism. They have a Communist Party, and they have made progress in culture. We often take many of the progressive things right before our eyes for granted. Actually, these things represent epoch-making changes."

Comrade Mao said:

"From this we can see that not only has the war of resistance caused fundamental changes in the last 6 years, but also the world and China are entirely different compared with 30 years ago. This is great, earth-shaking progress. This kind of progress was made possible by man's own hands. This antifascist war will inevitably create a more progressive world as well as a more progressive China. The fascist attempt to drag the world backward is in vain. To advance forward is our major direction."

"Once we have a direction, we should have a policy," Comrade Mao said. Turning to policy, he said:

"Policy can be divided into two parts: one concerning the nation as a whole and the other concerning the Border Region and the anti-Japanese bases behind enemy lines."

He said:

"Concerning nationwide policy, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party made four proposals to the government in a declaration on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the war of resistance. The proposals are: "Strengthen the war of resistance,' 'Strengthen unity,' 'Improve politics,' and 'Develop production." As to what we shall do after we win the war of resistance, our party stated very clearly in its 7 July declaration that we wish to continue to cooperate with various political parties and factions for national reconstruction."

Talking about the party's policy in the Border Region and behind enemy lines, he said:

"Now we have two theaters of resistance. One is in front of the enemy and the other is behind the enemy. The struggle behind the enemy is very cruel. We of the Chinese Communist Party have done a lot of work there. In the last few years we have introduced many new measures, such as the'anti-mopping-up' measure, 'anti-encroachment' measure, 'better troops and simpler administration' program, 'support the government and cherish the people' movement, 'support the armed units' movement and the rectification movement to correct three wrong working styles."

Comrade Mao pointed out:

"As to other places, we make suggestions as we see defects. But in the Border Region and behind enemy lines the situation is different, because we can take action ourselves. Therefore, we should do a better job."

Comrade Mao divided the party's policy in the Border Region and behind enemy lines in the last 6 years into two stages:

"The first stage covers the first 4 1/2 years of the war of resistance, that is, up to the end of 1941. The second stage covers the last year and a half. During the first stage the party's attention was focused on the following problems: How to organize a national anti-Japanese united front, how to mobilize the masses, how to resist the Japanese strategic attack in cooperation with friendly forces, how to establish anti-Japanese bases behind enemy lines and how to formulate such policies as the land policy, labor policy and the three-thirds system policy. All these were urgent problems to be resolved at that time. During the last 1 1/2 years of the 4 years we were forced to [deleted]."

"During the second stage, that is, during the last 1 1/2 years, in addition to continuing the above work, we conducted a campaign to rectify three working styles, a 'better troops and simpler administration' program, a 'support the government and cherish the people' movement and a 'support the army' movement."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung talked about the rectification movement in detail and said:

"This movement assured political unity in the party's ideology and the purity of the party's organization."

Comrade Mao pointed out:

"These works should be continued without relaxation so as to insure our victory in the war of resistance. Everything is for the purpose of defeating the enemy, overcoming the difficulties and welcoming a bright future."

o CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 3 July 1943

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REPLY CABLE FROM COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG TO THE SHANTUNG PROVISIONAL ASSEMBLY OF REPRESENTATIVES

1 September 1943

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Shantung, 5 September--The Shantung Provisional Assembly of Representatives sent a telegram the other day to pay its respects to the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Comrade Mao cabled a reply on 1 September to express his congratulations. The text of Comrade Mao's telegram is as follows:

"Gentlemen of the Shantung Provisional Assembly of Representatives: Your telegram has been received. Your assembly persists in hard struggle behind enemy lines, unbending, unyielding, demonstrating the righteous spirit of the nation, and setting a good example for everybody to follow. No fellow countrymen can help but admire you. At this critical moment we wish that your assembly and all patriotic soldiers and civilians behind the enemy will be united and continue to struggle for unity and progress in the war of resistance and to oppose surrender, disunity and retreat. All patriotic countrymen are willing to help you. The current world situation is extremely unfavorable to the German, Italian and Japanese fascist bandits and to China's shameless and reactionary surrender faction, which is rebelling against and selling out the nation or is ready to do so. The iron fist of the Soviet Red Army will very soon break the back of Hitler the beast. The patriotic soldiers and civilians of our allies, the United Kingdom and the United States, are exerting efforts to deal their final blow to fascism. The great goal of defeating Japanese imperialism and the liberation of the Chinese people are drawing nearer daily.

Mao Tse-tung

o CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 15 September 1943

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ON COOPERATIVES

(A Talk to Senior Cadres in the Border Region)

October 1943

[Text] There is another revolution this year in the development of production in the Border Region, that is, using the cooperatives to organize the public and private labor force. As a result, positivism for production on the part of the masses is activated, labor efficiency is greatly upgraded, and production is greatly developed.

In the past, what restricted the production force in the Border Region from developing was feudal exploitation in the Border Region. One-half of the Border Region has gone through a land revolution which has broken up this kind of feudal bondage. The other half of the Border Region has gone through rent and interest reduction, and feudal bondage was subsequently weakened. This amounts to the destruction of feudal exploitation by more than 50 percent throughout the Border Region. This is the first revolution.

However, if we do not undertake a revolution in the method of production by shifting individual labor to collective labor, our productive force cannot be further developed. Thus, mutual help labor organizations built on the foundation of individual economy (without destroying the foundation of the private property system), such as the peasants agricultural production cooperatives, become very necessary. This is the only way to greatly increase the production forces. According to the experience in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, the labor of two general processing and packaging workers is equal to that of three workers engaged in the same type of work elsewhere. The labor of one model processing or packaging worker in this Border Region is equivalent to that of two or more similar workers elsewhere. If the labor force of all the peasants is organized into a collective mutual help unit, the productive force of the entire Border Region can be enhanced by 50-100 percent. This method can be used in all anti-Japanese bases, and in the future throughout the country. This will be an event prominently recorded in China's economic

history. In this kind of transformation there is no basic change in the means of production, and the fruits of production still belong to private individuals rather than the public, but the production relationship between people has changed. This is a revolution in the production system. This is the second revolution.

There is a total labor force of 350,000 people in the entire Border Region. This year more than 30,000 people, or 10 percent of the total force, have already been organized into processing or packaging teams for collective labor. As to temporary mutual help labor teams, as far as Yenan is concerned, about 70 percent of the labor force has participated in such teams. A higher percentage of the total labor force will be organized into such teams next year. If the labor force in various counties organized into collective labor organizations is increased from 10 to 20 or 30 percent, the number of people participating in collective labor will reach 100,000. Additionally, if all the counties can follow the example of Yenan in forming temporary mutual help labor organizations, and if all the part-time labor force also participates in mutual help organizations, this will be a very big labor army.

Production in our armed units, organizations and schools also has some characteristics similar to those of cooperatives. For instance, each company is a small cooperative, and each brigade is a big cooperative. Among the various methods of cooperative production in armed units, organizations and schools, the experience of the Yang-chia-ling transportation team is worthy of our attention. Before its reorganization this team had 8 wagons and 16 mules. Under normal conditions it should have a transportation capacity of 270,000 chin per day. But this team handled only 190,000 chin per day. This team had to be given a subsidy of 60,000 yuan per month on top of standard provisions. For both public and private benefit, this transportation team was reorganized into a cooperative this year. It issued 80 shares against 8 wagons, 16 mules (later increased to 20 mules), and other equipment, and 20 shares against the 20 transportation workers. The total number of shares was 100. Each month 20 percent of the profit goes to the transportation workers and 80 percent to the cooperative. All expenses for personnel, pack animals and equipment are paid by the cooperative. It receives payment for its services according to weight and distance. The cooperative is also responsible for improving the livelihood of the transportation workers. This arrangement was unanimously agreed upon by the transportation workers after some explanation. As a result, the transportation capacity increased from 190,000 to 389,000 chin per month, an increase of 100 percent. It exceeded the normal capacity by 30 percent. At the same time the sense of responsibility and positivism on the part of the transportation workers were greatly heightened, expenses and equipment costs were reduced and more care was given to the animals. For example, in the past, when a wheat flour bag had a big hole in it, nobody paid any attention. Now the transportation workers bring with them needles and thread, ready to mend the bags when they are torn. In the past, cheating on animal feed was an open secret. Now this kind of corrupt practice is gone. In the past, when there was any damage to the equipment, requests were made for replacement. Now they improvise. In the past they

did not pay too much attention to the animals. Now the animals are better fed. The operating expenses of the team are down by one-third after the reorganization. In the past this team had to be subsidized in the amount of 60,000 yuan a month. Now, without any subsidy, it has a profit of several tens of thousands of yuan per month.

Considerable results were achieved after this method was adopted by similar organizations. The transportation battalion of a certain management bureau had 100 pack animals and 20 wagons. Before reorganization its monthly transportation capacity was 1.2 million chin. After reorganizing into a cooperative it raised its monthly capacity to 1.85 million chin, an increase of 50 percent. Therefore, I ask everybody to give this kind of cooperative method some consideration as to whether it can be applied to publicly operated factories and farms.

These methods cannot be used by capitalist countries and the Kuomintang. Only we can do this because our purpose is not to exploit the people, and we follow the policy of taking care of both public and private interests.

In the army, for instance, the 359th Brigade made equipment with willow and elm branches. The regulation is that if public tools are used in handicraft work, 80 percent of the proceeds goes to the public and 20 percent to the individual soldiers. If no public tools are used, two-thirds of the proceeds go to the public and one-third to the soldier. This method not only provides goods needed by the public but also tends to increase the subsidy for the fighters. It also contains the idea of cooperatives.

The cooperative by nature is to serve the masses. We have to think about the interest of the masses, calculate for the masses and put the interest of the masses first. This is the difference between us and the Kuomintang. This is also the starting point as well as the end of the revolution of Communist Party members. We came from the masses and will go back to the masses. In seeking solutions for problems we start from the interest of the masses and end with the interest of the masses. Then we can do a good job in everything. Therefore, every Communist Party member should think for the people; the responsible comrades in the armed units should think for the soldiers; and the responsible comrades in organizations and schools should think for the cooks and office workers. This kind of production theory from the mass viewpoint tears down all the incorrect "theories" of the past. Only this kind of theory for the masses can enable us to do a good job in production.

I want our comrades everywhere to pay attention to the promotion of production by cooperatives. The production organization in armed units, organizations and schools is a kind of cooperative. In addition, there are other cooperatives, such as the transportation cooperative of the salt transportation team and handicraft cooperatives organized by workers for collective mutual help. Let us develop all these types of cooperatives. Then the public, the private individual and the masses will be rich, and the present difficulties at various bases behind enemy lines will be overcome.

o "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol 4, 1944

* "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol 5, 1947

CABLE TO STALIN IN CELEBRATION OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY

5 November 1943

[Text] Comrade Stalin, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and all soldiers and civilians of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

On behalf of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, I wish to congratulate you with warm enthusiasm on the occasion of the 26th anniversary of the October Revolution, the great victory of the Red Army in the antifascist war, the great success of the three-nation conference held in Moscow, and the four-nation declaration, in which China participated. The Chinese people, who have been encouraged by your victories in the last 26 years, will always march forward with you hand in hand and will always be united with you to win the final victory of the anti-Japanese war for national liberation.

Mao Tse-tung

Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

o CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 8 November 1943

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CSO: 4005

SPEECH AT A CADRES SOIREE IN YENAN IN CELEBRATION OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY

6 November 1943

[Text] Today we meet in Yenan to celebrate the 26th anniversary of the October Revolution of the Soviet Union. Last year, when we celebrated this occasion, the Red Army was defending Leningrad. But within a year the victory of the Red Army turned the situation around. The Red Army advanced from the Volga River to the Dniepr River. The forthcoming winter offensive will bring a greater victory. Without the Red Army the war situation would be unimaginable. The victory of the Red Army affects the fate of all mankind. This truth was made very clear a long time ago. At the same time, within this year the combined forces of the United Kingdom, the United States and France wiped out the enemy in North Africa, Sicily and southern Italy. The Allied air forces also launched an offensive in coordination with the Red Army. In the Orient, Chinese, British and American troops are attacking the Japanese fascists.

A week ago a three-nation conference held in Moscow by the United Kingdom, the United States and the USSR successfully accomplished its mission. This also deserves to be celebrated. This meeting resolved many military and political problems. On 1 November a three-nation communique was issued and several declarations of historical importance were signed. Among the problems discussed and resolved during this conference, according to the communique, the most important is the decision on a definite plan of military action to shorten the war. Concerning this action, preparations have been made. From this we can presume that within a short time we shall see the opening of a second front. Hitler will then be under attack from both east and west, and, consequently, the problem in Europe will be decisively resolved. Once the problem in Europe is resolved, the backbone and the right hand of fascism are broken. The remaining left hand, Japanese imperialism, will not be hard to break.

Among the resolutions adopted at the Moscow conference is the four-nation declaration in which China participated. Under the decision to carry the war of resistance to the end, the declaration provided an overall program

for safeguarding postwar peace and security. The most important provision is that the cooperation among the four nations during the war will be continued after the war. This provision shattered the intrigues of the German and Japanese fascists and the capitulationists in various countries who attempt to destroy the harmonious relationship among the United Kingdom, the United States, the USSR and China. As a result, the four countries are more closely united than ever, and postwar peace and security are thus safeguarded. The declaration also said that after the conclusion of the war a new league of nations, as an organization for safeguarding peace and security and including all big and small nations, will be created under the principle of equality and sovereignty. We can imagine that this new league of nations will differ greatly from the old League of Nations (although the Soviet Union was a member of the old League of Nations during the later stage of its existence, it was not permitted to play an important role). It will be a united organization really capable of safeguarding peace and security.

The Moscow conference made decisions on basic principles and concrete policies toward Italy. The basic principle is: "Fascism and all its evil influences and all the things created by it should be eliminated entirely, and the Italian people should be given every opportunity to establish their own government and other organizations based on democratic principles." Article 1 of the concrete policy says: "The Italian Government should accommodate the representatives of Italian people's organizations that have always been against fascism so as to make the government more democratic." Article 2 says: "Freedom of speech, religion, politics, publication and public assembly should be fully restored to the Italian people. The Italian people may establish antifascist political organizations." There are several articles concerning the elimination of the remnant vestiges of fascism. One article concerns the establishment of local democratic governments. According to these articles, the policy of eliminating all vestiges of fascism and establishing a broadly representative democratic Italy with Communist Party participation is assured. At the end of the declaration concerning Italy there is an announcement which says: "The contents of this resolution are never to be construed to deny the right of the Italian people to make the final choice of their political system." The announcement establishing this principle says, in effect, that the Italian people have the right to select a democratic system or another more progressive system. The declaration concerning Italy made at the Moscow conference sets an example which can be applied to other fascist countries in the future. This is entirely different from the results of World War I. The historical imperialist spirit of Versailles has been destroyed. The people of defeated countries are given a bright road to freedom and liberation. This is a crystallized expression of the great spirit of internationalism of the people of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and other countries.

The Moscow conference declared that Austria will be detached from Germany. At the same time it asked the Austrian people to exert efforts in the war against Hitler. This also sets an example. All countries and places gobbled up by fascism will be liberated.

At the three-nation conference a joint declaration was issued by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin. This declaration establishes the principle of severe punishment of fascist criminals, and no fascist killer can get away. At the same time the declaration warned: "All those who have not touched the blood of innocent people should never collude with those murderers, for the three nations will trace them to the corners of the earth until they are brought to justice." This warning is intended to disintegrate the fascist camp. Such a declaration with so much revolutionary significance was impossible during World War I.

In short, the success of the three-nation conference is really epoch-making. It will deeply affect the war and the lives of people in the postwar period. We can already see a ray of hope for the liberation of mankind. Those who are pessimistic about the future of the Chinese people and the people of the world and those who entertain capitulationist ideas or ideas about unprincipled compromises have been proven entirely wrong.

We celebrate the 26th anniversary of the birth of the Soviet Union. We celebrate the great victory of the Red Army of the Soviet Union. We celebrate the brilliant leadership of Marshal Stalin. We celebrate the epoch-making achievements of the Moscow three-nation conference, and we celebrate the great four-nation declaration in which China participated! We Communist Party members, our 8th Route Army, our New 4th Army and our fellow countrymen, soldiers and civilians should exert our efforts to support the four-nation declaration, end the still-existing danger of surrender and the danger of civil war, unite with all the patriotic forces in China, defeat Japanese imperialism and establish a new country with freedom and equality. In the name of this new country, we shall participate in new international cooperation and international construction. This is our hope.

o "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol 2.

* "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol 3.

* CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, (Speech Made by Comrade Mao Tse-tung at Cadres Soiree in Yenan in Celebration of October Revolution), 7 November 1943.

1004
CSO: 4005

LETTER TO YENAN PEKING OPERA ACADEMY AFTER SEEING THE SHOW 'PI SHANG LIANG SHAN'

9 January 1944

[Text] After seeing your show I wish to thank you for the good work you have done. Please also convey my thanks to the comrades who performed in the show. History is made up of people. On the stage of the old theater (all old art and literature isolated from the people), people were treated like slag. The stage was dominated by rich gentlemen, ladies, masters and misses. This was turning history upside down, and it is now up to you to right it and restore the truth to history. From now on, old drama will be given a new face. Therefore, you deserve congratulations. This beginning of yours is an epoch-making beginning for the revolution in drama. When I think about this I feel very glad. I hope you will write more, perform more and establish a tradition to be promoted throughout the entire country!

o JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 25 May 1967

1004
CSO: 4005

COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG APPEALS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY TO DEFEAT THE JAPANESE BANDITS

22 May 1944

[Text] A banquet was held on 22 May at Yang-chia-ling by the CCP Central Committee in honor of the workers delegates. Following the banquet, a reception was held at the auditorium of the Central Party School. The reception was also held to welcome Mr and Mrs (Lin Mai-k'o) from England; the deputy director of the Shansi-Chahar-Hopeh Border Region Administrative Committee, Mr Hu Jen-k'uei [5170 0088 1145], and members of the Northwest War Zone Service Corps who have just returned to Yenan from a certain area behind the enemy line. At the reception a delegate of the workers presented a banner and paid tribute to Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Commander in Chief Chu Te. Amidst thunderous applause, Chairman Mao appeared at the rostrum and spoke to the delegates.

After briefly explaining the meaning of the reception, Chairman Mao said:

"Now both foreign countries and China are struggling for a common goal: that is, to defeat fascism. The purpose of industrial construction in our Border Region, like that of other work, is to defeat Japanese imperialism. There is no other purpose. It was only 5 years ago that the Border Region began to have a little industry. At that time there were only 700 industrial workers. In 1942 there were 4,000. Today there are 12,000. Therefore, the development of industry in the Border Region has been very rapid. Although the number is small, its significance is great. Those who fail to recognize this force, which has a bright prospect for development, which is full of vitality, and which can touch off other changes, are ignorant. The goal of this meeting is to achieve, within 2 years, self-sufficiency in industrial products--first of all, cloth and iron. If we achieve complete self-sufficiency, the number of our workers will be greatly increased. All engineers, heads of factories and workers should exert efforts in that direction. Communist Party members and nonparty members should also exert efforts in that direction. People like Comrade Shen Hung [3088 7703] and Comrade Ch'en Cheng-hsia [7115 2182 1115] are not Communist Party members, but their heart is the same as that of party members, struggling hard to defeat Japanese imperialism. To defeat

Japanese imperialism we must have industry. To enable China's national independence to have a solid safeguard we must be industrialized. We of the Chinese Communist Party must exert efforts for the industrialization of China."

At this point Chairman Mao pointed out once again that the reason for China's backwardness is mainly the lack of modern industry. He said:

"The reason the Japanese imperialists dare to bully China to such an extent is that China does not have large-scale industry. They bully us because of our backwardness. Therefore, to eliminate this kind of backwardness is the mission of our entire nation. The common people support the Communist Party because we represent the demand of the nation and the people. However, if we cannot resolve economic problems, if we cannot build modern industry, and if we cannot develop productive power, then the common people will not necessarily support us. The Communist Party has been resisting and attacking 58 percent of the enemy troops and 90 percent of the puppet troops. In this respect we have experience and achievements. But as to economic work, especially industry, we don't understand it too well. Nevertheless, this field decides everything--military, political, cultural, thinking, moral and religious. It also decides social changes. Thus, all Communist Party members should learn economic work. Many of us should learn industrial technology. Our Border Region is a big school. Among the courses it offers is one called industry. This conference of workers delegates is in fact a short industrial training course. If we Communist Party members are not concerned about industry, not concerned about economics, ignorant about productive work, skilled in nothing, and know only how to perform a kind of abstract "revolutionary work," then this kind of revolutionaries has no value at all. We should oppose this kind of emptyheaded revolutionaries. They should acquire different kinds of technological knowledge to industrialize China."

After Chairman Mao's talk, the Northwest China Field Service Corps put on a show called "Focus Your Vision Farther Ahead," depicting the hard struggle behind enemy lines. The gathering ended late in the night.

o CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 26 May 1944

1004
CSO: 4005

PRESS CONFERENCE WITH CHINESE AND FOREIGN REPORTERS

12 June 1944

[Text] I am very glad to welcome you on your visit to Yenan. We have a common goal: that is, to defeat the Japanese warlords and all fascists. All China and all the world are united on this basis.

You come to Yenan at a time when a second front has been opened in Europe. We wish to express our congratulations. The opening of the second front will affect not only Europe but also the Pacific and China. China wants progress. The world wants progress. We must win the final victory.

The opening of the second front was developed over a long period. It was developed at the Moscow and Teheran conferences. It was decided at these meetings to attack the enemy from three sides--the west, east and south. Now the second front has been opened, and the plan to attack Hitler from three sides has been put into effect. We wish President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin good health!

All Chinese engaged in the war of resistance should focus their attention on their goal, work hard and coordinate with the decisive battle in Europe to defeat the Japanese warlords. The prospects for success are very good.

Concerning the domestic situation in China, you gentlemen are very much concerned. Here I must say a few words. Regarding the Kuomintang-CCP relationship, the CCP has made its attitude known in newspapers and various CCP Central Committee announcements. As you are visiting Yenan, I wish to reiterate the following: We support Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and insist on cooperation between the Kuomintang and the CCP and cooperation with the Chinese people to defeat Japanese imperialism and build an independent and democratic China. The policy of the CCP has never changed. It was so before the war of resistance. It is so during the war of resistance. It is still so today, because this policy is the policy the Chinese people want.

However, China has its defects, great defects. These defects can be summarized in one phrase: that is, lack of democracy. The Chinese people are very much in need of democracy, because only when China becomes democratic can its war of resistance be forceful, its domestic and foreign relations be conducted in a proper way, its war of resistance be won, and

a good country be built. Only democracy can enable China to continue to be united after the war. The lack of democracy in China is well known to you gentlemen. Only when China becomes democratic can she make further progress.

Questions and Answers

Questions

Mr Stein: Chairman Mao, will you please tell us something about the progress of Lin Po-chu's [2651 0130 3255] negotiations in Chungking?

Father Hsia Nan-han: Everybody is quite concerned about that question. Will you please answer that question first?

Mr Stein: In order to clarify the question, may I ask you, Mr Chairman, to make a comparison between the Kuomintang-CCP negotiations of 1936 and the negotiations today?

Mr Epstein: Is the opening of the second front bringing us to a new stage? Is the CCP Central Committee ready to issue a declaration to state its policy?

Mr Hsieh Shuang-ch'iu [6200 3642 4428]: For further unity, what does the CCP expect of others?

Mr Chao Ping-hen [6392 3521 4024]: In order to clarify the question, may I pursue it: What does the CCP wish the National Government, the Kuomintang, and other political parties to do? What is the CCP itself prepared to do?

Chairman Mao's Answer

Your questions can be summarized in three questions.

The first question concerns the Kuomintang-CCP negotiations. The negotiations have been going on for some time and are still going on today. We hope that there will be progress and results from these negotiations. Other than that, there is nothing else I can tell you today.

The second question concerns the second front. CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO has already said in an editorial that the second front represented the opening of a new stage in the war. We are not prepared to issue a declaration. The opening of the second front is a development of the cooperation among the Allies in the war. As compared with the past, the nature of this cooperation has not changed today. But the opening of the second front has a significance somewhat similar to that of the counteroffensive at Stalingrad. Before November 1942 the fascists ran wild, and the anti-fascists were beaten and retreating. Fortunately, the Soviet Union's counteroffensive brought that stage to an end and opened a new stage.

Subsequently, counteroffensives were launched in North Africa and the Pacific. This represents a great turning point for the Allies from defense to offense. The opening of the second front also represents a big step forward in the offense. Without it we cannot defeat Hitler. Now Europe has reached the stage for a decisive battle. In this sense it is a new stage, especially in the military aspect. As I said before, the effect of the opening of the second front is very broad. It directly affects Europe. In the future it will affect the Pacific and China. As far as the present is concerned, its effect on China does not seem to be very great. You may see that although the situation in foreign countries is very good the solution of China's problem relies upon the efforts of the Chinese people themselves. Just a turn for the better in the situation of foreign countries cannot resolve our problems.

The third question concerns the hope of the CCP and its own work. To defeat the common enemy and establish very good and peaceful domestic relations and very good and peaceful international relations, we wish the National Government, the Kuomintang and all other political parties to carry out democracy in all aspects. All the world is in a war of resistance. Europe is entering the stage for a decisive battle. A decisive battle in the Far East will also come soon. But China lacks the democratic system needed to further the war effort. Only democracy can make the war of resistance forceful. This has been proven by the experience of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom. China's experience in the last few decades and in the last 7 years of war of resistance also proves that point. Democracy must be carried out in all aspects--in military affairs, politics, culture, party affairs, and international relations. All these need democracy. Undoubtedly, everything needs unity, and everything must be unified. However, unity should be built on a democratic foundation. Politics must have unity. Only when politics is built on the basis of freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and association, and democratic election of the government can it be forceful. Unity is especially necessary in military affairs. But military unity should also be built on a democratic foundation. If there is no democratic life in the army, no democratic relationship between officers and men, between the army and the people, and between one army and another army, then this kind of army cannot be united to fight a war. Economic democracy means that economic systems should promote rather than hamper the production of the broad masses of the people and the development of exchange and consumption. As to cultural democracy, only democracy can help develop education, academic thinking, the press and the arts. Democracy in party affairs means that the internal relationship within the party and the mutual relationship among the parties must be democratic. In international relations, all countries should be democratic countries, and a democratic relationship should be developed among the nations. We hope all foreign countries and our foreign friends will treat us with a democratic attitude. We should also treat foreign countries and foreign friends with a democratic attitude. I repeat, we need unity very much, but only the kind of unity built on the foundation of democracy is real unity. It should be so in

domestic affairs; it should also be so in the new international alliance. Only with democratic unity can we defeat fascism and build a new China and a new world. Our endorsement of the Atlantic Charter and the resolutions of the Moscow, Cairo and Teheran conferences is based on this viewpoint. These are what we hope for from the National Government, the Kuomintang, other political parties, and people's organizations. These are also what we are doing and hope to do. Gentlemen, you have been visiting in the Border Region for more than 10 days, and you will stay in the area for some time. You can see that all the work done by the Communist Party to defeat Japanese imperialism is characterized by the spirit of democratic unity or democratic centralism. If we have not done enough, we should continue to work. If there is any defect, we must correct it. We are of the opinion that in China only a democratic system and democratic working style can defeat the enemy now and establish very good and peaceful domestic and international relations in the future. This is also what we expect of Germany, Italy and Japan after the defeat of fascism. If we look at many problems from this viewpoint, there is nothing we cannot explain, and there is nothing we cannot do successfully. It is getting late now. In the future we can exchange opinions. This is all I wish to say now.

° "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol 2.

* "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol 3.

* CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 13 June 1944.

1004
CSO: 4005

CRISIS ARISING FROM THE FALL OF CHANGSHA

24 June 1944

[Text] Changsha fell on 18 June. The Military Affairs Commission announced: "After fulfilling the mission of eliminating the enemy, our troops made a strategic deployment according to a predetermined plan." Nevertheless, following the fall of Lo-yang, another provincial capital has fallen in less than a month. The seriousness of the situation is unprecedented in the 7 years of war of resistance.

The Japanese bandits' attack in Hunan started at the end of last month. On 27 May the enemy crossed the Hsin-chiang River from Yueh-yang and advanced southward. In 10 days it reached the suburbs of Changsha. The enemy bandits temporarily bypassed the city itself and continued to pursue the Chinese troops retreating southward. The enemy took Ping-chiang, Liu-yang, Ning-hsiang, Hsiang-tan, Chu-chou, Li-ling and Hsiang-hsiang. On the 17th the enemy attacked Changsha, and the city fell the next day. As far as the battlefront is concerned, this Hunan campaign is different from the various other campaigns since the fall of Wuhan. The Japanese call these campaigns "piston" warfare, which means that they attack a place from their base in the morning and return to their base at night, or that they fall back after each attack. Like the Honan campaign, the purpose of the Hunan campaign is to eliminate our field army, seize lines of communication, and thereby force the Chinese Government to surrender. Therefore, against frontal attacks we can no longer use the same defense tactic which has been used in the last 5 1/2 years since the fall of Wuhan in dealing with "piston" warfare, in the hope that the "piston" will pull back by itself. This time the enemy's purpose is to let the "piston" stop at the end of the cylinder without pulling it back. The piston has stopped dead, and we must have a policy, a plan and the courage to fight our way out. This calls for abandoning the defensive policy as well as the theory of sole reliance on weaponry. In politics we must change the dictatorial policy and antidemocracy theories. In brief, we must make fundamental changes; otherwise we are in danger.

What is the mentality of the Chinese Government and Kuomintang rulers? Their military and political policies remain unchanged. In regard to military defeat, they say that it was due to lack of modern equipment. Government spokesman Chang P'ing-ch'un [1728 1627 5028] said at a press conference with foreign correspondents: "We decided to leave the battleground

to wait for the Allies to give us more aid in manpower and weapons..." These people shout aloud for new weapons and airplanes as soon as the enemy starts an attack. When we are routed by the enemy, these people put the responsibility on our Allies for not giving China enough new weapons. However, the Honan and Hunan campaigns speak eloquently against this argument. In Honan we deployed 400,000 troops against less than 70,000 enemy troops (or only 40,000 enemy troops, according to another estimate). The equipment of Tang En-po's [3282 1869 0130] army far surpasses that of the so-called "nondescript" units. However, it was the so-called "nondescript" units with inferior weapons (units of Liu Mou-en [0491 5399 1869], Sun Wei-ju [1327 1983 1172] and Ma Fa-wu [7456 3127 0063] that firmly resisted the enemy. The collective army corps under the command of Tang En-po collapsed without a fight. The losses were estimated at 200,000 men. What was the reason? Weapons or something else? Tang En-po is fundamentally opposed to the people of Honan. The people of Honan say: "Honan has four disasters: flood, drought, locusts and Tang." They classify Tang in the same category as locusts. Inside Tang En-po's units, officers and men are isolated from each other. The troops consist of people rounded up by force. On ordinary days they are berated and beaten, exhausted by hunger and fatigue and pale in complexion. In the face of battle they just desert and run, having no will to fight. Let us ask: What is the use of modern weapons in the hands of these troops?

As for the enemy's modern equipment, it used its Third Armored Division in Honan, but it did not use any armored division in Hunan. Hunan is crisscrossed by wet patty fields and mountains, and Hupeh has many lakes and streams where armored vehicles cannot be used effectively. CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY reports have never mentioned any activities of enemy tanks or armored units, but it is well known that our troops in the 6th and 9th war zones are equipped with superior weapons. The enemy had artillery pieces and machineguns. Our troops also had artillery pieces and machineguns. The enemy troops were occasionally supported by airplanes. Our troops were fully supported by the 14th Air Force of our Allies. Because of the forceful activities of Allied airplanes, the enemy bandits did not have any control in the air to speak of. In weaponry there was not much difference between the enemy and us. In numerical strength we had absolute superiority. In addition, the people of Hunan are traditionally brave and patriotic. Just as in Honan, if we had implemented the correct policy of mobilizing the people and relying upon the people, our strength would have been immeasurably greater. But our government and the Kuomintang rulers are unwilling to do so and unwilling to use all favorable conditions to strengthen ourselves in the war. Instead, they put all the blame on lack of modern weapons. If this kind of "weapons only" theory is followed constantly, China's battlefronts will only continue to deteriorate.

The saddest thing is that most of the Kuomintang troops, especially the central government troops, lost their will to fight. This is the evil result of the defensive policy and the antidemocracy policy maintained by the Kuomintang rulers over a long period of 5 1/2 years. Now that our

Military Affairs Commission is promoting "attrition" as a strategy, it will cause even further deterioration of morale. Anybody with eyes can see that in Honan or Hunan it was our troops which were routed without a fight, or routed as soon as they were attacked. There was no attrition of the enemy to speak of. Instead, we ourselves are suffering from attrition.

This "attrition" strategy of the Kuomintang rulers seems to say that we shall trade territory for time. In a certain sense, this strategy had some validity at the beginning of the war of resistance. The situation is entirely different now. Although our vast territory is one of the favorable conditions in the war of resistance, it is still limited. If we lose territory as fast as we did in the Honan and Hunan campaigns, the time we may gain by trading all our remaining territories cannot be too long. The fundamental question is: What is the use of time to the Kuomintang? Since the war of resistance, the time gained by using our precious national territory and the people in the territory as gambling stakes has been pretty long. Since the fall of Wuhan, is it true that the front for which the Kuomintang is responsible has been in a stalemate situation for 5 1/2 years? Let me ask: How was this time used? Is it not true that they did not do a single good thing and did a lot of bad things? Now they want to trade more territory for more time. The people will ask: What are you going to do with the time?

Every theory, be it the theory of sole reliance on weapons or the theory of attrition, is empty words. The present crisis can never be dismissed with these excuses. In a word, the real trouble is the wrong policy of the Kuomintang rulers. This policy, as we have repeatedly said before, is "a policy of merely coping with the enemy attack or watching the war as a bystander, or a policy of putting on some show of resistance when the enemy comes and putting the hands back into the pockets when the enemy is gone, while concentrating all efforts on watching the people, oppressing democracy and opposing the Communist Party." This policy has persisted for a long, long period of 5 1/2 years and has been followed by all Kuomintang party, government and military organizations. Now the enemy, in order to save itself from death, has changed its moving piston tactics to dead piston tactics. As soon as the enemy makes a relatively strong attack, the party, government and military organizations of the Kuomintang are put in a helpless position. If there is no fundamental change in the Kuomintang policy, future dangers can be foreseen. Battles will continue to be lost. Field armies will suffer more losses. The Peiping-Hankow and Canton-Hankow Railways will be entirely controlled by the enemy. Kiangsu, Anhwei, Chekiang, Fukien, Kwangtung and Kiangsi provinces will be cut off by the enemy. The bases of the war of resistance in unoccupied China will shrink. The sources of soldiers will become more and more limited. Our international position will be lower. All kinds of crises will become acute.

It is time for the Kuomintang rulers to think about their basic policy. The Chinese people have the right to urge them to make a drastic change and start anew with the people.

The present crisis lies entirely on the battlefront for which the Kuomintang is responsible. The situation in other places is quite favorable. The Allied forces have landed in Western Europe. Deployment for a three-pronged attack on Hitler from the east, west and south has already been effected. The demise of the German bandits is imminent. In the Far East, the Allied forces have not only broken the outer defense line of the Japanese bandits in the Pacific, but have also advanced to Saipan Island in the Marianas on their inner defense line. In China, the 470,000 men of the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army and the 2 million militiamen stand firm as a bulwark in their fight against the enemy and have put the enemy in a helpless position in the three big battlegrounds behind the enemy lines in North China, Central China and South China. They are coordinating their efforts with the war effort in the frontal battlegrounds, tying down the majority of the enemy force. The CCP has always insisted on unity, sincerely hoping for a better Kuomintang-CCP relationship. Under these favorable conditions, everything is ready except for a change in the policy of the Kuomintang. We hope that the Kuomintang will make a change soon. How should change be made? By changing passive resistance to active resistance. By changing the policy of solely depending upon weaponry to associating weapons with people. By changing the practice of watching and controlling the people to relying on the people. By changing suppression of people to implementation of democracy. By changing opposition to the Communist Party to strengthening Kuomintang-CCP unity. By changing reliance on external force to fight Japan to coordinating our efforts with those of our Allies and by using mainly our own hands. Only thus can we learn a lesson from the Honan and Hunan campaigns, defeat the enemy's new attacks, overcome various crises precipitated by the wrong policy of the Kuomintang, and hope to coordinate our efforts with those of the Allies in the counterattack.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO (Editorial), 24 June 1944.

1004
CSO: 4005

CHAIRMAN MAO URGES COMMANDERS AND FIGHTERS TO PERSIST IN ADVANCING THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE

18 September 1944

[Text] The office of the CCP Central Committee gave a reception in the auditorium of the Central Committee at 1400 hours on 18 September to welcome the representatives of model learners from the army corps stationed behind enemy lines and representatives of combat heroes who came to Yenan for training after their combat duties behind enemy lines. The reception was attended by members of various departments of the Central Committee, members of various departments of the Political Bureau of Northwest China, and responsible comrades of army corps stationed behind enemy lines. They met the representatives of the best fighters of the 8th Route Army stationed at various places. This is the first big meeting ever held since the founding of the 8th Route Army. Representatives of the heroic New 4th Army and people's armed units from South China were also invited.

Speeches were made by Chairman Mao, Commander in Chief Chu Te, Deputy Commander in Chief Peng Te-huai, Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i, Comrade Chou En-lai, Commander of the New 4th Army Ch'en I [7115 3015] and Commander Nieh Yung-chen [5119 2837 5271] of the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Military District. Responsible officers of the Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao dined with the representatives. During the dinner, Chairman Mao had intimate conversations with the fighters and commanders, and they toasted the final victory of the war of resistance. In the evening the representatives were entertained with Peiping opera. The performance ended late at night.

Chairman Mao met the representatives of model learners amid thunderous applause. After briefly explaining the meaning of the welcome reception, Chairman Mao said:

"You have been selected from the armed units. You represent the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army. At the same time, you represent 90 million people in your bases, and you also represent the 450 million people all over China in attending this meeting. Although you were not directly elected by them, the program you carry on and the work you do indeed represent the demand of all the people in the country--defeat Japanese imperialism and liberate the Chinese nation."

Chairman Mao continued by pointing out:

"Since the fall of Wuhan, especially in the last 2 years, a great change has taken place in the situation of China's war of resistance. Now the 8th Route Army, the New 4th Army, and the people's armed units in South China are engaging five-sixths of the puppet and enemy troops in China. The Kuomintang units are engaging only one-sixth. In the Honan and Hunan battles the enemy just walked into noman's land. This situation is very serious. The reason China did not perish is that it has us, the Communist Party, the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army to back it up. Essentially, we have butressed the war of resistance. This is the situation of China's war of resistance today."

Chairman Mao continued:

"Our armed units have made great progress, whether in fighting the enemy on the front or in defending the Border Region in the rear, in production or in training, in soldier-civilian relationships or in officer-men relationships. However, we still have defects. We have to correct our defects and seek improvement. During last year's 'support the government and cherish the people' movement we used the method of self-criticism. When we have defects we criticize each other. An armed unit must have unified leadership and discipline before it can defeat the enemy. Correct self-criticism will not weaken leadership and discipline but strengthen them. This kind of criticism [deletion] only in the Kuomintang army. This is impossible, because our armed units are genuine people's armed units. Each one of our commanders and fighters and domestic animal attendants is serving the interest of the people. Members of our armed units must mingle with the people. Our cadres must mingle with the troops. Anything that suits the interest of the people we must persist in. Anything in conflict with the people's interest we must strive to get rid of. In this way there will be no enemy we cannot conquer. Our armed units always follow two principles. First, we must be merciless toward the enemy. We must overcome the enemy and annihilate him. Second, toward our own men, people, comrades, superiors and subordinates, we should be kind and united. This is the policy of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party as well as the policy of the Political Bureau in Northwest China. This is also the policy demanded by all the people."

Finally, Chairman Mao shouted:

"Our hearts must be closely linked with the hearts of all the people of China. We must defeat Japanese imperialism and liberate the Chinese nation!"

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 23 September 1944

1004
CSO: 4005

YENAN AUTHORITIES COMMENT ON TALKS BETWEEN THE KUOMINTANG AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY, EXPLAINING THE NECESSITY TO REORGANIZE THE GOVERNMENT AND THE HIGH COMMAND TO AVERT THE CURRENT CRISIS

September 1944

[Text] It has been 4 1/2 months since Comrade Lin Po-chu [2651 0130 3255] opened negotiations with government representatives Chang Chih-chung [1728 3112 0022] and Wang Shih-chieh [3769 0013 2638] in Sian. During this long period of time, although the CCP Central Committee and its representatives are very tolerant, patient and compromising, there have been no results whatsoever because of the government side's obstinacy in its wrong policy, lack of sincerity and playing politics. There has been no solution to any concrete problem, even the most trivial ones. The proceedings of the negotiations have been reported to the National Assembly, which resolved to organize an inspection group to visit Yenan. So the 4 1/2 months of Kuomintang-CCP negotiations have come to an end. Therefore, we may make a general comment on these negotiations. When Comrade Lin Po-chu went to Chungking, the Japanese bandits' attack on the Chinese mainland was just starting. In view of the Kuomintang's wrong policies, which had placed the country in danger over the years--such as its negative and bystander's attitude toward the war and its reliance on the Allies to fight the Japanese in military affairs, its tyranny and dictatorship in politics, its monopoly in economic affairs, and its oppressive control in cultural affairs--the CCP Central Committee foresaw that China's war of resistance would encounter serious military setbacks and political and economic crises before the new Japanese offensive. To avoid the crisis, the CCP Central Committee sent Comrade Lin Po-chu to Chungking. The CCP standpoint and principles in these negotiations had already been stated in a Letter of Opinion submitted to the National Government on 5 June. The letter began: "The CCP believes that overcoming the present difficulties, defeating the Japanese attack, and earnestly preparing for a counteroffensive can be achieved only by carrying out democracy and strengthening unity. For this purpose, the CCP hopes the government will resolve a number of urgent problems." From this Letter of Opinion one can perceive the CCP's calm and clear understanding of the situation, its great sense of responsibility toward the country and the nation, and its impartial and sincere attitude. The Kuomintang government, on the contrary, saw no gravity in the current situation, entertained an unwarranted optimistic viewpoint, and showed no

inclination to blame itself for bringing the country and the nation to such a critical situation. During the negotiations the government side was arrogant and assertive in an attempt to put the interest of one party or one faction above that of the nation and to compel others to obey. Once we look at the government's proposal of 6 June we will know everything. The proposal did not mention a single word about the war of resistance (this deserves our utmost attention). Not a single word touched upon the current difficult and dangerous situation. There was no hint of any intention on the part of the government to start anew or to abandon the policy that endangered the country. This proposal wanted to "abolish by a definite date" four-fifths of the armed forces which rendered outstanding meritorious services behind enemy lines and engaged five-sixths of the enemy and puppet troops. That is to say, this proposal would permit these armed forces to be reorganized into 10 divisions with each division consisting of about 10,000 men, the same number of men for each Kuomintang division. The total number is 100,000 men. The other 370,000 regular troops must be "abolished," and "abolished" quickly. Is this not the tone of the Japanese? What the Japanese bandits fail to eliminate by all designs and cruel war will be accomplished by the gentlemen of the Kuomintang government through a piece of paper. If these troops were really abolished, wouldn't they be awarded by Emperor Hirohito with the highest order of decoration? This proposal also wanted the democratic regimes which are elected by the people in China's liberated areas through democratic methods, closely related by blood and flesh to the people behind enemy lines, sharing happiness and hardships with the people, and resolutely providing leadership in the war of resistance, to be abolished and "to be taken over without exception by officials of the respective local provincial governments." But where are these so-called "provincial governments?" Nobody knows what corner of the world they have fled to. What relationship do they really have with the people and the hard and outstanding struggle of the people. If one day we find where they are, these high officials of the provincial governments should be given fair treatment; that is, "dismissal pending investigation and punishment." In addition, there are many traitors who are hiding in these so-called provincial governments. Were Pang Ping-hsun [7894 3521 8133] and Shih Yu-san [4258 0645 0005], the two thieves who sold out their country, not those provincial governors? As to provincial government commissioners, a countless number of them either surrendered to the enemy or rebelled against their own country. In summary, this proposal is favorable only to the Japanese aggressors, reflecting the will of those who pursue their private interest and forget the interest of their country and nation. This so-called proposal is the crystallization of the despicable will of a small group of fascist elements in the Kuomintang who pursue only the private interest of their own faction without any sense of righteousness for their nation. This proposal cannot and should not be accepted by any real patriot, because accepting this kind of proposal is tantamount to giving aid to the Japanese aggressors.

As to the attitude of the two parties during the negotiations, the Communist side has always been earnest, sincere, and compromising, while the Kuomintang side has been arrogant and playing dirty tricks. Let us talk

about the Letter of Opinion offered by the CCP Central Committee. The Central Committee cabled Comrade Lin Po-chu on 21 May to make a 20-article proposal. The proposal was delivered to Chang and Wang. After reading the proposal, the two said: "The way this is written is not any different from exposing the crimes of the Kuomintang." The proposal was rejected. After learning of the rejection, the Central Committee reduced the proposal to 12 articles and instructed its negotiator to propose the other 8 articles verbally during the negotiations. On 5 June, Chang and Wang still refused to forward the proposal to the government. After many days of argument, the proposal was finally transmitted to the government. From this instance alone one can see that the CCP Central Committee, to show respect for the opinions of the other side, did not mind compromising by reducing the formal articles for the sake of the success of the negotiations. On the contrary, the government representatives fully showed their rascal-like faces, because transmittal of the opposite side's opinion to the organization they represent is the minimum duty and obligation of the representatives in any negotiations. To agree on negotiating and at the same time refuse to transmit the opinion of the opposite side is seldom seen in any negotiations. We don't know how to describe this kind of attitude except by calling it "rascal-like" or "scoundrel-like."

In addition, government representative Chang Chih-chung and Chiang Kai-shek himself declared again and again in the National Assembly: "What the Central Government demands is only unification of military command and political command" (Chang). "The Central Government has stated repeatedly that we want only unification of military command and unification of political command" (Chiang). Concerning this point, we announce the following: We resolutely support the unification of political and military command, but political command must represent the people's will, and military command must be favorable to the war of resistance. If political command leads the country toward fascist tyranny, and if military command causes defeat in the war of resistance, then patriotic and democratic fighters of China can never obey them, and such commands should never be allowed to be unified. The Chinese people solemnly despise this kind of counterrevolutionary, rotten tone of unification. The crucial point is that the Kuomintang government's political and military commands are exactly this kind of thing; political command is fascist command, and military command is defeatist command. To use this kind of political command and military command to unify the country will not only be like "climbing a tree to look for fish," but also invite great disaster that would spell death for the nation if unity were really achieved. Let us not talk about remote things. Take the events that occurred during the negotiations. For example, Chiang Ting-wen [5592 7844 2429], Tang En-po, Hu Tsung-nan [5170 1350 0589] and Hsueh Yueh [5641 1471] are so-called "loyally obedient" to the political and military commands of the Kuomintang government. The result is that they are routed without a fight, or routed as soon as they come into contact with the enemy. They most their troops and territory, played havoc among the ordinary people, and made themselves a world laughingstock. On the contrary, the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army, accused by the Kuomintang of "destroying the

unity of military and political commands," win battles every day and recover territories every day. Their actions are really beneficial to the unity of the country and the nation. This kind of clear contrast proves that the political command and military command of the Kuomintang government have no value at all. Thus, if we want to talk about unity of military and political command today, we must thoroughly change the nature of the military and political command. In order to change the nature of the military command and political command, we must thoroughly change the military, political, economic and cultural policies of the Kuomintang government, thoroughly reorganize the government and the command headquarters and chase out those capitulationists, defeatists, dictators and fascist elements, let those who can really represent the interest of the people control the political and economic commands, and make it possible for them to represent all the strength of the country and the will of the people. We must do this so that we can avert the present crisis and win the war of resistance. We must do this so that we can talk about unity of military command and political command. We must do this so that unity of military command and political command can be beneficial to the country and the nation. Concerning the reorganization of the present corrupt, incompetent Kuomintang oligarchical and dictatorial government, which has failed to devote its full effort to the war of resistance, Comrade Lin Po-chu mentioned this in his report to the National Assembly. It was really timely. Comrade Lin Po-chu's rebuttal of the Kuomintang government's proposal, contained in his letter to Wang Shih-chieh and Chang Chih-chung dated 30 August, is entirely in conformity with the principles of the war of resistance, unity and democracy. People in Yenan still hope that Chang and Wang will come to Yenan for an inspection and continued negotiations. As to the election of five assemblymen by the National Assembly for an inspection trip to Yenan, it is a very good move. We wish to express our welcome.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO [Liberation Daily], 20 September 1944.

* "Reference Materials on China's New Democratic Revolution," April 1951.

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Revolution," Vol 4, Chinese People's University, 1957.

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 4.

1004
CSO: 4005

YENAN OBSERVER ON THE WAR SITUATION IN CHINA

21 September 1944

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 21 September--The Yenan observer made the following comments concerning the war situation in China:

Recently the military situation on the two battlefronts in China sharply revealed the true nature of what the Kuomintang authorities call "unity of military command." On the battlefront entirely under the Kuomintang command, seven cities along the Hunan-Kweichow Railway--Chi-yang, Ling-ling, Tung-an, Hsin-ning, Tao-hsien, Tzu-yuan and Ch'uan-hsien--all fell to the enemy in 12 days after the enemy in Hunan took Ch'ang-ning. Kweilin on the Hunan-Kweichow Railway and Shao-yang on the flanks are in danger. Meanwhile, the enemy in Kwangtung, in a two-pronged attack from the Hsi River and Leichou Peninsula, captured six cities--Kao-ming, Sze-hui, Chao-ch'ing, K'ai-p'ing, Hsin-hsing and Lien-chiang. The enemy troops advancing southward from Tao-hsien have reached Chiang-hua and Yung-ming in the southernmost part of Hunan. The enemy advancing northward from the Hsi River have captured Huai-chi and Hsin-tu in Kwangsi. The distance between the two lines of enemy advance is less than 120 miles. This kind of shameful defeat of losing a city a day is the price of the so-called "obedience to military command." Today, when the Allies are actively making naval preparations to attack the Philippines and the China coast and are actively strengthening the Yunnan-Burma overland transportation line and bombing Japanese-occupied areas and Japan itself from the air, the corrupt and incompetent high command in Chungking is creating dangers for itself and difficulties for the Allied forces, yielding to the Japanese bandits important and strategically advantageous territories, and giving them the opportunity to delay their defeat. The seriousness of our defeat on the southwestern battlefront is not the size of our losses nor the speed with which we lost our troops and territory, but the consequence of our wrong strategy. The crisis in Kwangsi may mean that the enemy may knock on the door of Kunming or even of Chungking. The Allied air force, dreaded most by the Japanese bandits, has lost its important bases because of the fast deterioration of the situation in Hunan and Kwangsi, and it continues to feel that harm done by the poor Kuomintang military command. If the worst happens, the Japanese

may be able to seize control of the entire east-west communication line across China and cut China in two. The disadvantage created by this situation to our counteroffensive is immeasurable. In his two speeches in the National Assembly, Chiang Kai-shek did not say a single word about how to turn the tide of the current crisis or how to change the policy and personnel of the high command that created these crises. All of a sudden he stressed in vain, again and again, the lack of so-called "unity of military command" that hampered our victory in the war of resistance. One should know that the so-called "unity of military command," just as National Assemblymen Wang Yun-wu [3769 7189 0063] and Hu Lin [5170 7207] rightfully said, "is not the problem." The problem is what kind of military command should we have after the unification. If we must keep today's defeatist military command as the unified command, then it seems to me that we will not be satisfied unless all our armies follow the example of those units engaged in the Honan campaign in the past and the present Hunan-Kwangsi campaign, and then we will all perish. This kind of destructive psychology leads to nothing but giving aid and comfort to the enemy, hindrance to victory and defeat.

Let us take a look at the battlefronts behind the enemy, where the armies are accused by the Kuomintang of being "disobedient to military command." The situation there is entirely the opposite. The people's army on this battlefront won significant victories one after another in August and September. The 8th Route Army in Shantung took five cities from the second half of August to the first half of September. These five cities are Li-ching, Lo-ling and Ling-yi at the Yellow River estuary, Wen-teng at the top of the Chiao-tung Peninsula, and Yi-shui in southeastern Shantung. The battle of Yun-cheng in southwestern Shantung resulted in the liberation of more than 600 villages and towns. The countersweep campaign in coastal southeastern Shantung annihilated one brigade of puppet troops under the command of Ch'en San-k'an [7115 0005 0974]. This constitutes a sharp contrast to the sad situation of losing a city a day on the forward battlefront. Also, there have been many victories along the coast in various provinces. For example, the 8th Route Army in Hopeh captured Kao-li-ying, 16 miles north of Peiping; attacked and entered Ch'ing-yun-tien southeast of Peiping and Ch'ang-hsin-tien southwest of Peiping; entered the cities of Changchow, Hsiung-hsien and Shen-tze; and reached the city gates of I-hsien and Hsu-shui. The New 4th Army, which has been active in a triangular area bordered by Nanking, Shanghai and Ningpo, captured Lu-lang-ch'iao, 16 miles southwest of Nanking, and Shih-chuang, Chang-huang-kang, and Hsin-sheng-kang on the north bank of the Yangtze River; and attacked and entered Chang-hsing on the southwest shore of T'ai-ho, Li-shui and Li-yang between Nanking and Chang-hsing and the suburbs of Ningpo. The Tung-chiang Column in the vicinity of Canton attacked and entered Lung-yen-tung in the suburbs of Canton. The four victories at I-shui, Wen-teng, Yun-cheng and Chang-hsing alone liberated 14,000 square li, or 1,500 square miles of land. As a result of the continuous victories recently, the total population in China's liberated areas has increased from 86 million to 90 million. If the so-called military command is for the purpose of fighting the Japanese

and attaining victory, then the battlefronts behind the enemy are models in executing the orders of the high command in the war of resistance. If we have to accept the Kuomintang proposal by abolishing four-fifths of the effective anti-Japanese force and returning to the enemy and their puppets four-fifths of the recovered territory, liberated people, prisoners of war and captured weapons before we can be described as "obedient to military command," then these so-called military orders are nothing but orders against the national interest and selling out the country issued by the running dogs of His Majesty Emperor Hirohito. The Chinese people will arise to punish these thieves who sell out their country and will never allow them to be free or escape the reach of the law.

In looking at the recent situation on the two battlefronts one can see clearly that the central problem for the forward battlefront is the convening of an urgent conference on national affairs, to be attended by all political parties, all factions, all circles, all army leaders, all people's organizations, and all local anti-Japanese forces, to abrogate the oligarchical rule of the Kuomintang, to thoroughly reorganize the National Government and the command headquarters, to chase out all thieves who sell out their country, capitulationists, defeatists, dictators and fascist elements and turn them over to the people for punishment, and to let those who represent the interest of the war of resistance and the will of the people control the military command so that we can stop the enemy advance and turn the tide of the dangerous situation. As to the battlefront behind the enemy, the central problem is to strengthen its armament. Judging from the fact that the Communist Party is engaging five-sixths of the enemy and puppet troops and is winning battles every day, while the Kuomintang is engaging only one-sixth of the enemy and puppet troops and is losing battles every day, the Chinese Communist Party should receive five-sixths or more of the materiel assistance from the Allies, while the Kuomintang should receive at most one-sixth. The materiel should not be distributed by the Kuomintang, because it is not qualified to do this any more. If the government and the command headquarters are not reorganized, then our Allies should even consider whether they should give one-sixth of the materiel to the Kuomintang, because it is responsible for losing territory and hindering the victory of our Allies. If one weapon is handed over to the Kuomintang, it will eventually wind up in the hands of the enemy.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 23 September 1944.

* "Reference Materials on China's New Democratic Revolution," April 1951.

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Revolution," Vol 4, Chinese People's University, 1957.

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 4.

1004
CSO: 4005

UNITED FRONT POLICY ON THE CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL FRONTS

Speech at the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region Cultural-Educational Mass Meeting in October 1944

30 October 1944

[Text] At the Border Region Cultural-Educational Mass Meeting attended by over 1,000 people, Chairman Mao, on 30 October, announced the united front policy of the new democratic cultural movement in the liberated areas. In his speech he explained the importance of cultural work, the social foundation of China's new democratic culture, the necessity of a united cultural front, the necessity of the integration of the intellectuals and the worker-peasant masses, and the need and spontaneity of the masses, the two basic principles in work.

Chairman Mao first declared: The general goal of all our work is to smash Japanese imperialism. Like Hitler, Japanese imperialism will soon perish, but it still has its strength. The Chinese people, especially those in the liberated areas, must persevere in their effort before we can attain our goal of destroying the enemy. This effort is manifested primarily in war, next in production and thereafter in culture. Troops without production are hungry troops; troops without culture are ignorant troops, and ignorant troops cannot defeat the Japanese bandits, liberate the people and build an industrialized new China. Therefore, we must have culture. Some of the comrades once held cultural-educational work in contempt. It was wrong. After this meeting, everyone must pay proper attention to cultural-educational work.

Concerning the nature of our culture, Chairman Mao pointed out: It must be the culture of the new democracy, i.e., the culture of the masses against Japan, the traitors, and the dark feudal tradition. Its political and economic foundation is a government elected by the people, the reduction of rent and interest, and an individual economy led by plants of all sizes and cooperatives of all types. While reflecting such a social condition, the new democratic culture promotes its continuous progress.

Chairman Mao stated: China's industry is still very weak at present, especially in the liberated areas, but its future is without limit. China must overcome its own backwardness on this foundation. The economy of the liberated areas has its progressive and backward aspects, and it is the same with their culture. The liberated areas have a new culture serving as the guide to the masses, but there is also an extensive backward feudal heritage, such as the more than 1 million illerates and the 2,000 sorcerers in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region. Feudal superstition still influences the Border Region's masses in all aspects of their cultural life. It seems to be more difficult to resist the enemy inside people's minds than to fight Japanese imperialism. The tasks of the Border Region Cultural-Educational Mass Meeting, whether in education, hygiene or news reporting, are to tell th 1.5 million people in the Border Region to rise and struggle against their own customs and habits, such as feudalism, superstition, illiteracy and lack of hygiene. To wage this difficult struggle we must have an extensive united front. In education, for instance, we must have not only relatively centralized and regular middle and elementary schools, but also generally dispersed and relatively irregular rural schools and newspaper reading and literacy classes; we must not only have schools run by the people with a new content, but also utilize and reform the old village schools. In art, we must have not only modern vernacular plays, but also Yangko dances and rice-transplanting songs; we must not only have new Yangko dances and rice-transplanting songs, but also utilize and reform the old performing troupes, and especially 90 percent of the old rice-transplanting songs. It is even more so when it comes to medicine. In the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region at the present time, the infant mortality rate is as high as 60 percent and the adult mortality rate 3 percent. Last year, 7,800 cattle, 4,000 donkeys, 210,000 sheep and 2,300 mules died. The people fairly generally believe in sorcery. In such a situation, to rely only on the few Western medical doctors in the organizations and the army is impossible. It is very important to serve the organizations and the troops, and the Western physicians are more scientific than the Chinese. However, if the Western physicians, in this situation, feel no concern for the people, fail to train more Western doctors for the people in the Border Region, or make no effort to associate with and help reform the 1,000 Chinese doctors and old-type veterinarians in the Border Region, it will be equivalent to aiding the sorcerers and hastening the deaths of the people and the animals. Therefore, a united front of the new and the old is completely necessary. The two principles of the united front are completely applicable here: First is unity; second is criticism, or, educational reform. The old pattern of capitulation is erroneous, and so are rejection and scorn. Our task is to collect all usable old patterns and to rally the old-type people and help, influence and reform them. To reform them we must first unite with them, and, if we do it properly, they will welcome our help and reform.

Our culture is a mass culture. Therefore, our cultural workers in whatever aspect must be highly devoted to serving the people. On this point, Chairman Mao sincerely hopes that all the intellectuals will discard their undesirable habit of divorcing themselves from the people and will dedicate

themselves to the people and closely associate with the worker-peasant-soldier masses, while the worker-peasant cadres must respect and trust such revolutionary intellectuals. Concerning the work style of associating with the masses, Chairman Mao, at the conclusion of his speech, specifically pointed out two basic principles: The needs and the spontaneity of the masses. We start from the practical needs of the masses, not from any individual's good intentions or historical dogma. We must act according to the time and the place. For instance, the guiding principles of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region and the liberated areas are identical, but, if the concrete methods suitable in the Border Region are not suitable for other liberated areas, which are directly under a wartime environment or where the population is more dense and the culture more advanced, then they should not be forcefully introduced, and methods suitable to the local conditions should be adopted. Or, if the masses have the objective need but not the subjective awareness, the leaders and work personnel must wait patiently until their own work has made the masses acquire the awareness and the spontaneity to proceed; they must never resort to coercion and orders. In all work requiring participation of the masses, without their awareness and spontaneity it will degenerate into formalism and fail. "Haste misses the target." It is so with all work, and it is even more so when it comes to cultural-educational work to reform mass thinking.

In his speech Chairman Mao pointed out that the united cultural-educational front must pay serious attention to cultural-educational work, the integration of the intellectuals and the worker-peasant-soldier masses, and the principle of need and spontaneity. As he appropriately solved the several crucial issues in the Border Region's cultural-educational work, his statement won the serious attention of the delegates to the meeting, especially the cadres. The further development of the united cultural front in the Border Region and the cultivation of the correct workstyle in cultural work will be a response to this speech.

° "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol 6, 1947 edition.

* CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 1 November 1944.

* "The Masses," Vol 10 No 2, 10 February 1945.

6080
CSO: 4005

YENAN AUTHORITIES COMMENT ON KUOMINTANG PARTY AND GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL RESHUFFLE

22 November 1944

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 22 November--Authorities here commented on the partial reshuffle of party and government personnel by the Kuomintang Central:

After the fall of Kweilin and Liuchou, the Japanese bandits continued to sneak up on the Yunnan border, and the military crisis on the forward battlefront mounted, while the political and economic crises also intensified with the military setbacks. Public opinion among the broad masses within the country and among our Allies constantly criticized severely the erroneous policies of the Kuomintang and unanimously demanded a complete reorganization of the government and the high command and the formation of a coalition government and a coalition high command to include all resist-Japan parties and factions and troops as a starting point to save the dangerous situation, reinforce the resistance war, and strive for victory. The partial personnel reshuffle by the Kuomintang authorities this time was a reflection of the aggravation of the crisis of its regime. Today the Kuomintang authorities could not but consider the anger of the people throughout the nation and the censure of public opinion of the allied nations, and they replaced Ho Ying-ch'in, K'ung Hsiang-hsi, and Ch'en Li-fu, the targets of public attack, in order to allay the criticism from all sides. Nevertheless, when the situation is so critical, the Kuomintang authorities still cannot decide on a thorough reform, but wish to maintain the oligarchy of one-party dictatorship. Therefore, the reshuffle can only be superficial, not thorough, and it can only serve as a temporary measure of appeasement. Though stripped of their functions as the ministers of military administration, finance and education, Ho, K'ung and Ch'en still occupy crucial positions in the Kuomintang central party, government and military structures: Ho Ying-ch'in remains as chief of staff of the high command and holds great power over the army; K'ung Hsiang-hsi still serves as assistant chief of the Executive Yuan, and his influence on the finance ministry persists; Ch'en Li-fu has been transferred to serve as minister of the Kuomintang Central Organization Ministry and retains his control over the gigantic party affairs structure

of the Kuomintang. Their successors are still limited to the rightwing clique of the Kuomintang. Not only has no one from any party or faction other than the Kuomintang joined the government, but even the more liberal elements in the party, such as Sun K'o and Sung Tzu-wen, have not increased their influence in the government. Thus, the personnel reshuffle was merely a shifting of functions within the ruling clique of the Kuomintang, and it will not truly help overcome the current serious crises. There is only one way to overcome the ever aggravating military, political, financial and economic crises, strengthen the resistance war and attain victory, and it is by thoroughly reorganizing the government and the high command as long advocated by the Chinese Communist Party and the people of China, purging all antidemocratic elements, defeatists and fascists, recruiting those who can truly represent the people's interests from the various parties and factions and the military units, organizing a coalition government and a coalition high command, and thoroughly changing the government policies in all aspects. Only thus will the crises in the rear be averted. However, it is regrettable that the Kuomintang authorities have not reached a decision even today. Apparently, the government personnel reshuffle this time is still 100,000 li away from the demand of the people of the entire nation. If the Kuomintang authorities continue to procrastinate and refuse to follow the correct path pointed out by the people, then the crises will only intensify day by day until they become irremediable. It is a very clear tendency. Either permitting the crises to develop to an irremediable stage or thoroughly changing the erroneous policies are the two directions confronting the Kuomintang, and the choice is up to it.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 23 November 1944.

6080
CSO: 4005

TASKS FOR 1945

Speech to the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region Advisory Council on 15 December 1944

[Text] The year 1944 will soon draw to a close. What are our tasks in 1945? What items of work require our special attention next year? The entire antifascist war has been very successful, and the defeat of Hitler will be realized next year. Our only task is to coordinate with our Allies to smash the Japanese aggressors. Currently, America has taken Leyte Island and may land in China. Meanwhile, the Japanese aggressors have opened mainland communication lines between Tokyo and Singapore, and China has lost more territory. Will the enemy cease his attack? I feel that he will not. He may mount an offensive again in southwest and northwest China. During this period the Japanese aggressors will inevitably again resort to tricks in attempts to induce the Chinese Government to surrender through China's capitulationists. China's internal situation is still one of disunity, and there have been no results in the negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. The war on the forward battlefront has been lost at every point, while the Kuomintang authorities persist in their one-party dictatorship and defeatist policy, over which the people of the entire nation have long felt dissatisfied, and they refuse all suggestions favorable to the resistance war, unity and democracy. Only in the arduously won broad liberated areas are Mr Sun Yat-sen's three revolutionary principles of democracy, i.e., the new democracy, implemented, the people of all fields united, courageous troops trained, all enemy onslaughts smashed and large areas of lost territory recovered by our offensives. In this situation, what must we do?

We must make the people of the whole nation understand that, only by using the strength of the people and urging the Kuomintang, the Communist Party, other anti-Japanese parties and factions, and those without party or factional affiliations to hold a national affairs conference on a democratic basis and organize a coalition government will we unite all resist-Japan forces in China against the attack of the Japanese aggressors and, in coordination with our Allies, expel them from China. This issue was proposed to the People's Political Council through Comrade Lin Tsu-han and

subsequently made in writing to the Kuomintang authorities, and recently Comrade Chou En'lai made a trip to Chungking specifically for this matter, but there have been no results. At the present time it is very clear that negotiations alone will not succeed. In order to form a democratic coalition government promptly, we hope that the people of the entire nation will rise unanimously, shout in desperation, and demand that the Kuomintang authorities change their current policy. This is the general task of the people of the entire nation. Whether in the rear, the enemy occupied areas, or the liberated areas, the people of China must all fight for this goal. When a coalition central government which is able to truly implement a democratic policy and mobilize and unite all the resist-Japan strength in China appears, the victory of China's resistance war and the liberation of the Chinese people will be rapidly realized. For this goal, all of us must think of many means.

In the rear we must support the democratic patriotic movement suppressed by the reactionary authorities, mobilize all strength against enemy attacks, and guard against the conspiratorial activities of the capitulationists who desert the nation and surrender to the enemy. Among the young people and those in all fields, many must go to enemy-occupied areas to fight guerrilla warfare, and the broad masses must be prepared to resist in all areas where the enemy may appear. Meanwhile, by their own courageous combat actions and by launching new regional guerrilla warfare, the liberated areas will effectively render support to the rear. All the people and all the patriotic parties and factions in the rear have the obligation to strive for a democratic coalition. There are many parties and factions, industrialists, professors, students and even many Kuomintang members who support the proposal for a coalition government, finding it the only correct path to resist Japan and save the nation at the present time. However, their strength is still inadequate, and we must appeal to the broad masses to rise and struggle for this goal.

In the occupied areas the broad masses suffer the enemy's cruel oppression and yearn for liberation. We must help them organize so that they will be ready to stage armed uprisings when the time is ripe and, in coordination with military attacks from the outside, expel the Japanese aggressors and liberate our brothers and sisters. This task must be placed in a position of equal importance with the work of the liberated areas. It is an extremely urgent task and must be performed regardless of the difficulties. In this work the French Communist Party and the French people serve as our bright models, and we must learn from their experiences. Among the people in the occupied areas we must explain the necessity of a democratic coalition government so that they will know that, once such a government appears, their liberation is near, and we must appeal to them to rise and struggle for this goal.

The liberated areas have become the center for resisting Japan and saving the nation. By the end of November 1944 we had here 650,000 men of the 8th Route Army, the New 4th Army and other people's resist-Japan troops,

over 2 million militia, and 90 million liberated people. In 1944 we made great achievements in military affairs, politics, economy and culture. What are the tasks in 1945 requiring our special attention?

I feel that in 1945 China's liberated areas must give attention to the following:

(1) The liberated areas must be expanded. In the vicinity of, or further away from, any liberated areas there are many places occupied by the enemy or puppet troops where the defense is weak. Our troops must attack such places, wipe out the enemy or puppet troops, expand the liberated area, and reduce the enemy-occupied area. We must turn into liberated areas all enemy-occupied areas where the defense is weak and which can be taken by us under the existing conditions, forcing the enemy into the extremely narrow confines of the cities and main communication lines, tightly surrounding it, and completely expelling it when the conditions on all sides are ripe. Such attacks are completely necessary and feasible. Our troops have launched many such attacks, especially the great achievements this year, and we must continue to do the same next year. In all areas newly occupied by the enemy where no liberated area has been established, such as Honan, we must appeal to the people to organize armed ranks, resist the aggressors, and establish new liberated areas. As proven by our experience of the past several years, organizing large numbers of well-trained "armed work teams" capable of performing military and political tasks, penetrating the enemy line to launch surprise attacks on the enemy and puppet troops, organizing the people, and coordinating with the fighting on the front of the liberated areas are most effective, and all areas must follow suit.

(2) Enemy attacks will never cease, and we must be constantly vigilant and be prepared to smash them. The absence of such vigilance is incorrect. We must not feel that we have become strong and the enemy weak and that the comparative situation between the enemy and ourselves has changed. We must realize that the enemy is still strong; it will never forget to attack us. We are still weaker than the enemy, and we must make a great effort and follow the correct military and other policies before we can change the situation. Not until we occupy a position of superiority will enemy attack become impossible.

(3) We must train the existing self-defense army and militia and increase their combat power. The numbers of the self-defense army and the militia are still inadequate. Except in certain individual areas where it is impossible, all areas must expand their numbers as much as possible. Among the 90 million people, except for the old, the very young, and the sick, all citizens, men and women, must be organized into the self-defense army and, under the principle of not disengaging from production, take turns performing the tasks of defending their homeland and assisting the troops. The able-bodied in the self-defense army must be selected to organize the militia or basic self-defense army and, under the principles of "integrating combat and production," either assist the troops or take independent actions.

Among the 90 million people there must be at least 5 percent, i.e., 4.5 million, serving in the militia. In other words, the current number of militia must be doubled. Some areas have not given serious attention to this work. In these areas the militia is too small in number, short of training and inferior in quality. This situation must be changed in 1945. The self-defense army and the militia must not miss the farming seasons, absence from work must be reduced, and production must not be hampered. Here the labor exchange method is necessary. The fighting militia organization and the productive labor exchange can often be combined. The leadership organs of the self-defense army and the militia must be democratically elected. Only thus will we be able to expand the self-defense army and the militia and raise their combat power. The major means of combat of the militia is the land mine, and the land mine movement must be popularized in all rural villages. The manufacture of all types of land mines and training in the technique of detonation are critical.

(4) We must retrain the regular troops and the guerrillas. In 1945 all the troops must be retrained once by rotation. We must retrain them according to the new method and hold mass maneuvers.

(5) In the old areas the gaps in the ranks of existing troops must be refilled. In the newly developed areas, where economic conditions permit, the troops must be expanded. Whether replacement or expansion, it must be predicated on not increasing the people's burden. This point must be kept in mind. If it is violated, we will fail.

(6) The internal unity of the troops is extremely important. Our 8th Route Army and New 4th Army have always relied on the harmony between the officers and the soldiers for their glorious successes. However, the influence of warlordism in China's warlord troops still exists in our army, and it is quite serious in some units. In 1945 we must perform extensive work and fundamentally eliminate all the undesirable habits and erroneous policies in the relationship between officers and soldiers, such as beatings, scoldings, indifference to the rations, illness, and other difficulties of the soldiers, imposing punishments lightly, and even insults or executing deserters. Many units are still not paying serious attention to this work, because they do not understand that it is an extremely important political foundation of the combat power of the troops. In the annual training program starting at present, military and political training must be equally stressed, and the two must be combined. At the beginning of training the political aspect must be stressed, improving the relationships between officers and soldiers, increasing internal unity, and activating the advanced positivity of the cadre and soldier masses. Only then will military training become more easily carried out and more effective. In the performance of this work, the movement to support the cadres and cherish the soldiers must be launched in every unit, appealing to the cadres to cherish the soldiers while appealing to the soldiers to support the cadres, and openly discussing and promptly rectifying the defects and mistakes of both sides. In this way the goal of internal unity will be reached.

(7) We must strengthen our work in supporting the government and cherishing the people and in supporting the army and giving preferential treatment to the families of resistance war soldiers, and further improve military-civilian relations. Our 8th Route Army and New 4th Army have always maintained a good relationship with the people; therefore, we have been able to defeat the enemy and consolidate and develop the liberated areas. Nevertheless, the bad habits of the old troops can contaminate us, and undesirable manifestations in military-civilian relations, such as arrogance, damaging the people's interest, lack of discipline, and lack of respect for the government, often occur. Meanwhile, such defects as inadequate help to the troops by the locality and lack of success in the work of rendering preferential treatment to the families of resistance war soldiers also exist. We pointed out the importance of such tasks in 1943, but many areas have not given serious attention to them. In areas where achievements have been made, they must continue their effort and examine the results of these two aspects of work. If the officers and soldiers in all our units become united as one and reach an ironclad consolidation politically, with military technique and tactical training and the people's support added thereto, the cause of the Chinese people to resist Japan and save the nation will have a firm guarantee.

(8) The national united front is the fundamental line for the Chinese people to resist Japan and save the nation. In the liberated areas it is manifested primarily in government work under the three-thirds system whereby all classes and all parties and factions cooperate. Some areas have performed this successfully while others have not. All areas must summarize their experiences. Communist Party members must hold more discussions, forums and meetings with other parties and factions and those without party or factional affiliations in order to eliminate the lack of contact and the misunderstandings, correct the undesirable situation in their mutual relations, and together perform government work and all social undertakings. All personnel participating in the work of the People's Council (Consultative Council), in government, and in social work, regardless of their parties or factions or the absence of party or factional affiliations, must be respected, and they must all be given responsibility and authority.

(9) All areas have made achievements in rent reduction. However, the achievements of some areas are smaller, and such defects as reduction in name only and favoritism still exist. On the other hand, the reduction in some areas is excessive, or no attention is given to rent payment after reduction. Both extremes must be corrected. Upon the expiration of the lease after rent reduction, except where the landlord may repossess his land and farm it himself under the principle of considering the interests of both sides, the lease must be renewed so that the peasants will have land to cultivate. In the old areas where rent reduction is not thorough, investigations must be carried out. In the new areas where the rent has not been reduced, the reduction must be launched. It is incorrect not to reduce the rent, but excessive reduction is also incorrect. Where

landlords are in financial difficulty due to enemy destruction or other factors, the government must help them solve their difficulties and give them the opportunity to do agricultural, industrial, commercial or other work. This must be considered an item of government work in order to rally them against our common enemy. We are now located in the rural areas, and the correct solution of the land issue is a crucial link in enduring a long-term war. We hope everyone will pay attention to it.

(10) The overwhelming majority of the areas have launched the production movement this year and achieved obvious results. It is an extremely encouraging major undertaking. Nevertheless, some areas have not started, others have not made great progress, and, in still other areas, the troops have been successful while the people have not. In 1945 we must generally launch large-scale production without exception. All troops, besides their combat and training duties, must produce to supply themselves, and this also applies to organizations and schools. Only under exceptional situations will reduction of or exemption from production be permitted. We must mobilize the people and, under the principle of spontaneity, organize production mutual help organizations, such as labor exchange teams, mutual help teams and labor exchange classes. Our local work personnel must devote great energy to helping the people and organizing such mutual help organizations in order to resume and develop production on a large scale, enabling the people to have not only sufficient clothing and food but also a surplus. The slogan of "one-quarter surplus," except in areas suffering from severe enemy destruction, can be realized even in the liberated areas behind enemy lines. We must strive for self-sufficiency in the industrial products of our liberated areas, and we must seek to attain the goal of self-sufficiency in whole or in the greater part within the next few years. Through the efforts of state, private and cooperative enterprises it is possible to reach this goal. Thrift complements production, and we must reduce waste as much as possible. "Developing the economy; assuring the supply" is our immutable fiscal policy. If we do not fundamentally develop the economy, but only dwell on the secondary issues, it will be wrong. If we devote our efforts to the development of the public and private economy, we will be able to endure in the war regardless of its length, and our energy will not be exhausted. This point is extremely important, and all work personnel and the entire army and people must understand it clearly in order to organize a large-scale production movement. In the public economy the individual bonus system according to quality and level may be introduced in many units, and the principles of "consideration of both the military and the civilian" and "consideration of both the public and the private" must be observed.

(11) To defeat the Japanese aggressors, besides giving full attention to military affairs, politics, and the economy, we must also stress cultural and educational work. The absolute majority of the intellectuals in our liberated areas are good. Their defects, and even their mistakes, can be rectified in work. They are valuable assets in the people's cause and must be given serious attention. Many of them are engaged in military,

political and economic work, while many others perform cultural, educational, art and hygienic tasks. All of them must receive serious attention. The direction pointed out at the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region Cultural-Education Work Conference this year is applicable in the various areas. The absolutists benefit from the people's ignorance, but we benefit from their intelligence. We must gradually lead all the people out of their ignorant and unhygienic situation. The governments and party organizations of all areas must place newspapers, schools, the arts and hygiene, the four items of cultural-educational work, on their daily agenda.

(12) By means of mass democratic election, the superior elements among the troops, rural villages, plants and government organs must be chosen to serve as combat heroes, labor heroes and model workers and given awards and training, thereby encouraging and rallying the broad masses. As proven by the experiences of the past several years, this system is most effective in raising the combat power of the troops, increasing the production strength in agriculture and industry, and improving the efficiency of the government and all other organs. All areas must generally launch this movement.

(13) To defeat the Japanese aggressors we need large numbers of able cadres. Our current cadre ranks have been greatly increased compared with before, but they still are insufficient. Their ability has been improved but still is not adequate. This is especially true with the lower-level and basic-level cadres. Whether army or local cadres, their cultural level, comprehension of policies, and work ability are generally not high, while some of them are very low. The reason for this situation is that, too busy in their work, they have little opportunity to receive education. In 1945 all areas, in conducting cadre education, must stress the training of army (from company to squad) and local (district, township) low-level and basic-level cadres, using the rotational method in regard to those working and the school method in regard to those not working and systematically improving them.

(14) One major shortcoming in our workstyle is the habit of some personnel of making decisions and carrying them out on their own, their lack of skill in inducing the people to criticize and discuss, and their lack of the democratic workstyle. Naturally, we are comparing the different workstyles in the liberated areas, not those between our liberated and the Kuomintang areas. Ours are democratic areas, while those under the Kuomintang are feudal ones, and a fundamental distinction exists between the two. Nevertheless, many in our ranks have not learned the democratic workstyle, and the bureaucratic style from the old society still exists. No one may express a different opinion, and one is displeased over any dissent. One only likes to hear flattery, not criticism. For fear of being snubbed, attacked or retaliated against, others do not have the courage to express their opinions. This is a very undesirable workstyle. It blocks the progress of our cause and the improvement of the work personnel. I suggest that all areas conduct education on this point, vigorously promoting the democratic workstyle inside and outside the party. Regardless of who they are, as long as they are not hostile elements and do not launch malicious attacks, everyone must

be permitted to speak, and it does not matter even if they say the wrong things. The leading personnel of all levels have the duty to listen to what others have to say. Two principles must be followed: (i) One must say what one knows; one must say all; (ii) the one who speaks is blameless; the one who listens must take heed. Without "the blamelessness of the one who speaks," and it being truly so, it will be impossible to produce the effect of "saying what one knows and saying all." Ever since the conduct rectification movement our workstyle has greatly improved, and it has won the approval of all good people. It is very glorious. But we still have a serious defect. Many of us still lack the democratic workstyle, and we must correct it. All our work cadres, regardless of their high or low positions, are the people's orderlies, and everything we do is to serve the people. So, what are the undesirable things in us which we hesitate to discard? If we correct this defect, we will rally the people even more extensively, and our cause will show a greater and faster development.

(15) Besides what has been enumerated above, one extremely important task before the people of the liberated areas is to devise all kinds of means to promote a coalition government. Continuing our negotiations with the Kuomintang and other parties and factions is one means, appeal by the people of the entire nation is another, but there may be other means, too. In sum, we must strive from all sides to form, as promptly as possible, a democratic coalition government compatible with the demands of the national resistance war.

Naturally, there is still much more work which our liberated areas have performed or must perform, but I feel that the above 15 items are what require our special attention at the present time, and I have omitted the rest. As the conditions and steps of the various liberated areas are different on many points, all areas must arrange the work according to their own particular situation in order to complete the tasks appropriately.

The year 1945 must be one of a greater development of the Chinese people's resistance war. The people of the entire nation hope that our liberated areas will save China, and we also have such determination and courage. I hope that all the soldiers and people of our liberated areas will strive together, rally all the Communist Party members and nonmembers, and struggle to reinforce the resist-Japan work of the liberated areas, organize the people of the enemy-occupied areas, render aid to the people of our rear, and form a democratic coalition government.

° "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol 3, 1947 edition.

* CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 16 December 1944.

6080
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NEW YEAR MESSAGE--STRIVE FOR EARLY VICTORY

1 January 1945

[Text] The year 1944 has passed. It was a year of decisive changes in the antifascist war. On the European front there were the following brilliant accomplishments: The complete recovery of Soviet territory, the opening of a second front in Western Europe by the Allies, the surrender of the dependent Axis [countries] of Finland, Bulgaria and Romania, the tremendous growth of the people's liberation movement in France, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Greece and Poland, and the liberation of their territories in whole or in greater part. In 1944 the strategic plan to surround and attack the German bandits from the east, west and south was completed, and the war is currently being fought on the borders of the Nazi imperialists. Soviet artillery is shelling the defenses of East Prussia, while the great armies of America and England are attacking the western wall of the German bandits. Regardless of how desperately the German bandits struggle, or even attempt a partial counteroffensive, Hitler is destined to lose the war. All the struggles of the German bandits will only prolong the war for a certain period, and it is impossible for them to resist the final joint offensive of the Allies in 1945. The year 1945 will be the year of Nazi Germany's final destruction.

In the Pacific, the American forces launched a large-scale offensive against the Japanese bandits in 1944, successively broke through their internal and external defense lines, from the Marshalls, New Guinea, via the Marianas and Borneo to the Philippines, and placed Japan proper under the strategic bombing of the U.S. Air Force. In the past year the Japanese bandits lost much territory and men in the ocean and were placed on the defensive completely. However, they still maintain their main naval force; their army has not suffered any major loss, and it even made tremendous progress on the Chinese Kuomintang front. Therefore, the Far East front in 1945 will see even more cruel battles than in 1944. The speed of the victory of the war in the Far East will depend to a large extent on China's war effort and on the joint counteroffensive of the Allies on land and sea in the Far East. To increase China's war effort and to prepare and carry out the counteroffensive on China's battlefront, we must overcome the military, political and economic crises created by the fascist

and defeatist policies of the Kuomintang authorities. The only way to overcome such crises is by abolishing the corrupt one-party dictatorship of the Kuomintang, reorganizing the National Government and the high command, and forming a coalition government and a coalition high command.

The year 1944 was a year of tremendous changes on the battlefront of China. The period of 1939 to April 1944, stretching over 5 years and 4 months, constituted a stage in China's battlefront. During this stage the Japanese bandits ceased their frontal attacks and concentrated on the liberated areas behind their lines. The Kuomintang rulers were superficial in their resistance war effort but extremely active in resisting the communists and the people. Therefore, the soldiers and civilians in the liberated areas behind enemy lines were placed in an extremely difficult situation, burdened with the entire responsibility of persevering in the resistance war on China's battlefront. During this period of 5-odd years it was commonplace for the cities and villages in the liberated areas behind enemy lines to undergo more than 10 burnings and massacres by the enemy bandits; the outlying areas suffered such burnings and massacres 60 or 70 times. Under such unheard-of severe destruction, the people's savings were completely wiped out, yet, as a result of the 10 great policies of the Chinese Communist Central, their unity became even more consolidated, and they became even more tenacious in fighting. From the second half of 1942 on, the liberated areas, far from diminishing, became ever more expanded. We defeated Neiji Okamura, smashed the three anticommunist campaigns launched by the reactionaries in the Kuomintang, and created rare miracles in history. On the Kuomintang battlefront, the enemy did not launch any major offensive in 5 1/2 years, and the Kuomintang troops adopted the policy of passive avoidance, withdrawing upon the approach of the enemy, losing all morale, and collapsing on sight of the enemy. Meanwhile, in the rear under Kuomintang control, it was tyranny and dictatorship, corruption and lawlessness. The party, government, soldiers and people were disunited, and the bureaucratic structure became intolerably corrupt. The Japanese bandits regarded the Chinese people as "ferocious tigers" and the Kuomintang government as the "tiger cage," and they even declared that they "did not consider the Chungking army an enemy." Nevertheless, since April last year, due to the unfavorable situation created by the Pacific counteroffensive of the U.S. forces, besides maintaining a gigantic military force in its rear, the enemy was forced to attack the "tiger cage" which was "not considered an enemy" with a part of its force in order to open up mainland communication lines and oust the air bases of the U.S. forces. Since the Japanese bandits resumed their offensive against the Kuomintang's front in April last year, the Kuomintang troops disintegrated on contact. Honan, Hunan and Kwangsi fell one after another, and the Japanese bandits attained their goal of opening the mainland communication lines in less than 6 months. Yet, during the same period, China's liberated areas won victories at every point and liberated 80,000 square kilometers of territory and 12 million countrymen. The changes on China's battlefront in the past year clearly reflected the contrast between two kinds of policies, two lines and two sets of methods: The policy of negative resistance, waiting for victory,

conserving strength, and rejecting the dissenters led to collapse and crisis, while the policy of positive resistance under the new democracy channeled the resistance war to tremendous victories.

The military failure resulting from the erroneous policies of the Kuomintang placed the battlefront in a grave situation. If it continues to permit the Japanese bandits to penetrate the national territory, then they will be able to relatively and temporarily avert their decline, prolong the war and increase the misery and sacrifice of the Chinese people and those of the Allies. Refusing to admit this point, or failing to stress its gravity, is irresponsibility toward the people of China and our Allies. In fact, the collapse of the Kuomintang battlefront has already helped the Japanese bandits to more or less avert their strategic decline, prolonged the war and increased the misery and sacrifice of the people. This responsibility must be borne by the reactionaries in the Kuomintang.

In this situation, the task of our countrymen in the entire nation is, on the one hand, to launch counterattacks wherever possible and prepare for them wherever they are called for and, on the other hand, to block the enemy bandits from advancing toward our rear. Our work, in Comrade Mao Tse-tung's "Tasks for 1945," has been summarized in four slogans: "Reinforce the resistance work of the liberated areas," "Organize the people of the enemy-occupied areas," "Render aid to the people of our rear," and "Form a democratic coalition government."

Among the four slogans, the most crucial one is to form a democratic coalition government. It is a task requiring the unanimous efforts of the Chinese people in three different situations (liberated areas, our rear and the enemy-occupied areas), because, as clearly indicated by our experiences in 1944, if we do not thoroughly abolish the erroneous policies of the Kuomintang rulers and adopt new military, political, economic and cultural policies commensurate with the resistance war, democracy, and unity, and if we do not oust the defeatist and fascist elements and corrupt officials in the government and the local tyrants and undesirable gentry and replace them with new figures capable of representing the people's will and strength and of leading China toward victory and freedom, then it will be impossible to stop the Japanese bandits from continuous penetration, let alone coordinate with our Allies to carry out a joint land and sea offensive on the Far East battlefront. Only a democratic coalition government will avert the crisis on China's forward battlefront; only such a government will shorten the war and attain an early victory!

Today the resistance war has entered its 9th year. In these long months and years our countrymen of the entire nation have tasted all the miseries caused by the war, and we eagerly hope for an early victory. Meanwhile, the Japanese bandits favor a prolonged war, and the reactionaries inside the Kuomintang help them postpone China's victory with their erroneous policies and intensify the suffering of the people. On this New Year's Day

we hope that our countrymen of the entire nation will, with a solemn attitude and concrete work, strive for the early victory of the resistance war. We must especially seek the realization of the prerequisite of victory--a democratic coalition government.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 1 January 1945

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 4.

6080
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YENAN AUTHORITIES ON CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S NEW YEAR RADIO SPEECH

3 January 1945

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 3 January--Yenan authorities published their comment on Chaing Kai-shek's New Year radio speech:

In his broadcast Chiang Kai-shek began by saying: "In the 8 years of the resistance war, last year was the one of the gravest danger and deepest concern." His statement clearly reflected the intensity of the crisis resulting from the defeatist and fascist policies of the Kuomintang. In regard to the reason the nation was led to such a dangerous situation, Chiang asked for "a thorough introspection and unanimous awareness of the whole country, from top to bottom." Yet Chiang himself neither introspected nor became aware. He said: "Concerning the existence of such weaknesses and mistakes in the past, both the government and society have their responsibilities. In regard to the government, on the one hand, its wartime administration was not sufficiently positive or thorough; on the other hand, feeling compassion for the people and their difficulties, it was reluctant to increase their burden.... As a result, the fighting spirit was affected, military discipline and morale were affected, and, finally, military affairs were affected." When the people's burden consisted of some 80 percent of their income in areas under his control, he actually made such statements as being "reluctant to increase their burden." It required a very thick skin to utter such words. Not only did he refuse to admit that the fascist and defeatist oligarchy of himself and his clique was the main source of all failures in war and deterioration in national affairs, but he turned around to blame "society" for the responsibility. On this point, it was because the people's bitter hatred of his fascist and defeatist oligarchy had reached unprecedented heights, and they expressed their anger by cursing and vilifying it every day. To calm the people's anger, he had to skim over his government work and used the words "not sufficiently." But immediately he brought out "society" and said that "society also had its responsibility" in order to hoodwink those whose political level was not high. Nevertheless, all those who cannot even breathe under his oppression have gradually awakened. They know that the oppressed people cannot be saddled with such responsibility and that the only ones responsible are Chiang and his clique,

with their oligarchic dictatorship and fascist and defeatist lines. Since the only responsibility of the government was being "not sufficiently positive," and since there was also the benevolence of "feeling compassion for the people and their difficulties," then such a government deserves to exist forever. Yet Chiang does not find it so. He also said: "I feel that it is not necessary to wait until the conclusion of the war before calling a people's congress.... I now plan to suggest to the Central that, when our military situation is stabilized, the foundation of a counteroffensive is established, and we acquire greater confidence in our final victory, we will promptly call a people's congress, promulgate a constitution ... and return the power of the government to the people of the entire country." Isn't it strange? But it is not in the least bit strange. The extremely tense situation in the recent several months forced him to fill in a date, which seems to be attainable in the not too distant furure but actually is indefinite, on the uncashable paper currency he issued long ago. However, his announcement will not have any positive influence, because he banked on the short memory of the Chinese people. Yet the Chinese people have a long memory. They remember that the Kuomintang government has drawn many checks. Please look at the following: "10 October 1934 is the day to begin a constitutional government"; "a people's congress will be held in April 1935 to start a constitutional government"; "a people's congress will be held on 12 November 1936"; "a people's congress will be convened in November 1937 at the latest"; "a people's congress will be convened not later than 12 November 1940"; "a people's congress will be convened 1 year after the conclusion of the resistance war to formulate and promulgate a constitution." Mr Chiang Kai-shek, we wish to ask you, have you not filled in many dates for the cashing of your checks? The first one was "10 October 1934," the second "April 1935," and the third "12 November 1936," all prior to the "7 July" resistance war. In those days it was not "a tense military situation, making it difficult to call a people's congress," but how come not one of these promises was ever kept? In the 7 1/2 years of resistance war the "tense military situation" of any year was better than now, but how come the promises were not kept? You have now drawn another check, promising to cash it "when our military situation is stabilized," but if your oligarchic dictatorship and defeatist line are not changed, can your "military situation" be stabilized? "When the foundation of a counteroffensive is established," but under your oligarchic dictatorship and defeatist line, can the foundation of a counteroffensive be established? "When we acquire greater confidence in our final victory," but when will you "acquire greater confidence?" Have you not always claimed "absolute confidence?" How come you suddenly feel a lack of it? You have always oppressed the people, monopolized the resistance war, acted self-opinionated, and done whatever you wished. Yet on New Year's Day 1945 you suddenly proclaimed your lack of confidence. Please tell us how you and your clique should be indicted? What qualifications do you have to discuss a people's congress? In 1925 Mr Sun Yat-sen, on his deathbed, urged a "people's congress" in his Testament. You have disobeyed him, seized political power from the hands of the people, and built your bloody oligarchic dictatorship.

When the people refused to support you and your foundation became shaky, you made the empty promise of a people's congress time and time again to hoodwink the people. There were definite dates in the past, but now there is none, and not even confidence in the victory of the resistance war. How should you be indicted? Let us analyze your words. If a people's congress is convened during the resistance war period, will it be a "people's congress" consisting of members who were elected by bribery before the war and most of whom followed renegade Wang after the start of the war, or will there be a new election? If the former, who will want that dead, foul and rotten "people's congress?" If the latter, how will it be elected? Who will carry out the election law? Who will supervise it? If the oligarchic dictatorship is not first eliminated, the current Kuomintang government thoroughly reorganized, replacing it with a democratic coalition government, and the secret service organ disbanded, giving the people freedom of speech, meeting and association, will there be a congress elected by the people? Yuan Shih-k'ai once held a Hung-hsien congress, and Ts'ao K'un called a piglet congress. Will there be a tyrant and public enemy today with the nerve to call a Chiang's people's congress, or a piglet people's congress? Exposing Chiang's shameless fraud in calling a people's congress, the Yenan authorities concluded: To resist the prompt formation of a coalition government desired by the people of the whole nation, Chiang held out a shield. Yet the so-called "people's congress" of Chiang and his clique has long been notorious. If left unmentioned, maybe no one will notice it, but every time it is mentioned its stench permeates the air. Mencius said: "When Hsi-tzu became soiled, everyone covered his nose when passing." Hsi-tzu was a beauty, yet, when soiled, everyone covered his nose. When a lone tyrant is soaked in the manure vat, how can one tell the Chinese people not to cover their nose and run? If you do not want the people to cover their nose, the only way is to wash off the manure.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 4 November 1945.

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Revolution," Vol 4, Chinese People's University, 1957.

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CSO: 4005

YENAN AUTHORITIES REFUTE WEI TAO-MING'S LIES

4 February 1945

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 4 February--Yenan authorities commented on the statement of Wei Tao-ming, Kuomintang ambassador to the United States, at a Washington press conference on 2 February. The comment is as follows:

Wei's statement on the distribution of lend-lease resources consisted of rumors and lies. He said: "Among the lend-lease supplies shipped to the Central Government for use against Japan, a considerably large portion has been distributed to the Communist Party for use in the same cause." It was truly a groundless lie. Unless in his unique mathematics zero equals "a considerably large portion," such a statement runs completely against the facts and is a shameless lie. Since the southern Anhwei incident in January 1941, the Kuomintang government declared the New 4th Army a "rebel army" and completely cut off all supplies to the 8th Route Army. Not only did it not distribute even one gun, one bullet, one pill, or one penny to the Communist Party, but it blockaded and surrounded the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region and the liberated areas behind enemy lines with several hundred thousand troops and confiscated all resources entering the Border Region, including several tons of medical supplies solicited by the China Defense Alliance from England and America. Until now this situation has not changed in the least bit. The only contact between the Chinese Communist Party and the lend-lease supplies is the anticommunist Kuomintang troops armed with "a considerably large portion" of lend-lease supplies besieging the Border Region. Therefore, Wei's words should be changed to fit the facts: "Among the lend-lease supplies shipped to the Central Government for use against Japan, a considerably large portion has been distributed to the anticommunist troops for another use."

As for why Wei would tell such a shameless lie, it is not hard to understand. It was because public opinion in America and England and the responsible officials of their governments had shown great concern over the relations between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and over the use of the lend-lease supplies by the Kuomintang government. Recently, U.S. Under Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew and Leader of the British House of Lords and Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs Viscount Craneborne both openly

indicated that they hoped for China's unity and would "render aid to the Chinese Government and the communist government in Yenan regardless of their differences." (K'o-lan-po-en's words). Agitated, the Kuomintang absolutists ordered their ambassador, at whatever cost, to tell lies in public, making such statements as "the National Government has made many compromises with the Communist Party" and "a considerably large portion has been distributed to the Communist Party" for the purpose of hoodwinking international public opinion and in order to preserve their fascist regime of one-party dictatorship. Nevertheless, the international public opinion and foreign statesmen, like the people of China, are not easily deceived by lies. We advise the Kuomintang authorities to show a modicum of national integrity and not let their foreign ambassadors forever be regarded as swindlers and liars.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 5 February 1945.

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CHAIRMAN MAO'S EULOGY FOR COMRADE P'ENG HSUEH-FENG

7 February 1945

[Text] In his eulogy for Comrade P'eng Hsueh-feng, Chairman Mao wrote:

Comrade Hsueh-feng sacrificed himself in the struggle against the enemy, and the entire nation and entire party mourn the loss. To compensate for the loss, we must emulate his courageous spirit, devote greater efforts to the expansion of the liberated areas and the 8th Route Army and New 4th Army, and strive for the formation of a coalition government and a coalition high command, so that the Japanese aggressors will be destroyed under an effective joint assault and an independent and democratic new China will be realized at an early date.

° "Eulogies of Chairman Mao and Commander in Chief Chu," CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 8 February 1945.

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RESPONSIBLE PERSONS OF CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITEEE ANNOUNCE THEY WILL NOT ATTEND THE CURRENT SESSION OF THE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL COUNCIL

6 June 1945

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 16 June--When asked by a HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY reporter whether Chinese Communist Party members would attend the new session of the People's Political Council to be convened on 7 July by the Kuomintang government, responsible persons of the Chinese Communist Central answered as follows:

In regard to the so-called People's Political Council to be convened on 7 July by the Kuomintang government, no one from the Chinese Communist Party will attend, for the following reasons: (1) Since last September the Chinese Communist Party and the Democratic Alliance of China and other broad democratic groups have been unanimously requesting that the Kuomintang government promptly abolish the one-party dictatorship, call a meeting of delegates of all parties and factions and those without party or factional affiliations, form a provisional democratic coalition government, promulgate a democratic program, and realize democratic reforms in order to mobilize and unite all the resist-Japan forces of the Chinese people, effectively coordinate with the Allies to defeat the Japanese aggressors, and, by means of such a coalition government and in accordance with democratic principles, after the liberation of the entire nation, introduce a free and unrestricted popular election, hold a national people's congress, draw up a constitution, and elect an official government. This request actually reflects the opinion of the majority of the Chinese people. However, after several discussions between representatives of this party and the Kuomintang government, the request was rejected by the Kuomintang government. As for the minimum conditions to recover unity and form a coalition government, such as abolishing the decrees suppressing the people's freedom, disbanding the secret service, releasing jailed Communist Party members and all patriotic elements, recognizing the legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party and other democratic parties and factions, recognizing the liberated areas of China, and withdrawing the troops besieging and attacking the liberated areas, not only has the Kuomintang been unwilling to accede to a single item, but it has reinforced its reactionary measures to destroy unity and sabotage the

resistance war. (2) In regard to the holding of a so-called new People's Political Council at this time, the Kuomintang government did not consult this party in advance or any other democratic parties and factions. As in the case of past sessions, it has been handled exclusively by the Kuomintang. According to the decrees of the Kuomintang government, the Chinese Communist Party and other democratic parties and factions are not legitimate even today. Even the Chinese Communist Party members of the People's Political Council were designated by the Kuomintang authorities, not selected by the Chinese Communist Party itself. Meanwhile, the resist-Japan forces led by the Chinese Communist Party have become the nucleus for defeating the national enemy and liberating the Chinese people. The attitude of the Kuomintang government toward the Chinese Communist Party is not only contrary to democratic principles but also incompatible with the latter's position in the resistance war. (3) What is even more important is that the Sixth Kuomintang National Party Congress, disregarding the opposition of the Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party and other democratic parties and factions, arbitrarily decided to call, on 12 November this year, a so-called people's congress for the purpose of splitting the people and preparing for a civil war, and the Kuomintang will force the forthcoming session of the People's Political Council to pass many concrete measures in order to carry out its reactionary resolutions. If such is the case, it will be a grave mistake, and a large-scale civil war against the nation, the people and democracy will break out. Obviously this will result only in benefiting the Japanese aggressors. In view of these reasons, the Chinese Communist Party has decided not to attend this session of the People's Political Council in order to express its protest.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 17 June 1945.

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Revolution," Vol 4, Chinese People's University, 1957.

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SPEECH AT MEMORIAL MEETING FOR CHINA'S REVOLUTIONARY MARTYRS

17 June 1945

[Text] After the public offering of sacrifice, Chairman Mao presented his eulogy, which briefly is as follows:

In the past 100 years, especially since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party 24 years ago, the Chinese people, Chinese democrats and the communists, in order to resist the double oppression of foreign imperialism and domestic feudal power and build China into an independent, free, democratic, united and strong new nation, have been waging an incessant and powerful struggle, and innumerable revolutionary patriots have sacrificed themselves in this great struggle. The reactionaries attempt to quell the revolution by means of massacres. They feel that the greater the number of people killed, the smaller will be the revolution. However, it has turned out to be otherwise. Actually, the more people the reactionaries kill, the greater is the revolutionary strength and the larger the number of reactionaries who will perish. This is an irresistible principle. Hitler and Mussolini of foreign countries, the fascism of Japan and the Manchurian government and Pei-yang warlords of China have all proved this point. Though hundreds of thousands and millions of China's revolutionary people have been slaughtered, hundreds of thousands and millions more will rise and continue the revolution, and no one can subjugate them. Today the resist-Japan democratic movement of China's broad masses, the liberated areas of 100 million people, the people's resistance troops of 1 million, the 1.21 million Communist Party members, and the program for China's revolution decided on by the Seventh CCP Congress have all been created by the bloody sacrifices of the several million democrats and several hundred thousand communists and their decades of struggle. Now the Chinese people understand how to unite and how to struggle. China will belong to the people, and China will defeat the Japanese aggressors and their running dogs and build an independent, free, democratic, united and powerful new China. The desire of all the revolutionary martyrs of the past 100 years, especially the recent 24 years, will be successfully realized.

° "The Seventh Chinese Communist Party Congress and Representatives of All Fields in Yenan Held a Memorial Mass Meeting for China's Revolutionary Patriots 2 Days Ago," CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 19 June 1945.

CHAIRMAN MAO'S CABLED REPLY TO SEVEN POLITICAL COUNCIL MEMBERS WELCOMING THEM TO YENAN TO DISCUSS NATIONAL AFFAIRS

18 June 1945

[Text] Chu Fu-ch'eng, Huang Yen-p'ei, Leng Yu, Wang Yun-wu, Fu Szu-nien, Tso Shun-sheng and Chang Po-chun, seven Political Council members, wired Comrades Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai on 2 June expressing the hope for continued discussions on domestic unity. Chairman Mao and Comrade Chou En-lai replied by wire on 18 June welcoming them to Yenan to discuss national affairs. The full text of the reply is as follows:

Messrs Chu Hui-seng, Huang Jen-chih, Leng Yu-ch'iu, Wang Yun-wu, Fu Meng-chen, Tso Shun-sheng and Chang Po-chun:

Your wire has been received. Your concern for unity is most admirable. Due to the rejection by the Kuomintang authorities of a meeting of all parties and factions, a coalition government and any other preliminary democratic reform, and their threat to hold a people's congress under one-party manipulation to create a split and prepare for a civil war, a grave national crisis has arisen, and it will intensify. It is most regrettable. If, due to the people's eager desire for unity and your fervant appeals, the authorities will wake up, relinquish their one-party dictatorship, hold a meeting of all parties and factions, discuss the organization of a coalition government, and immediately introduce the most urgent democratic reforms, then our party will be most happy to negotiate. We welcome you to come to Yenan. Please wire us the date of your departure in advance, and we will await you respectfully.

Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, 18 June.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 30 June 1945.

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COMMENTS ON CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S SPEECH ON 7 JULY

8 July 1945

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 8 July--A HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY reporter writes:

Vacuous and lacking in substance were the characteristic features of Chiang Kai-shek's speech yesterday. What was slightly different was that he suddenly mentioned "tolerance." However, we remember that, in October 1933, he told his officers: "Everyone must work with the spirit, method and talent of cutting the Gordian knot with a sharp knife and wipe out the bandits with a tough, rapid and resolute spirit.... Since you are under my command ... you must possess the spirit and ability to cut the Gordian knot with a sharp knife. As the superior officer I must be a superior officer with the ability to cut the Gordian knot with a sharp knife; as subordinates you must be subordinates with the ability to cut the Gordian knot with a sharp knife. I am a commanding general with the ability to cut the Gordian knot with a sharp knife, and I am now looking for a group of officers with similar abilities. We must proceed courageously and perform powerfully. You must know that there is not much to the revolution!" He did not talk about "tolerance" then, but only repeated "cutting the Gordian knot with a sharp knife" eight times. But yesterday he mentioned "tolerance" four times, and that was where the difference lay. Nevertheless, has he truly become suddenly "tolerant" toward the Chinese people? The facts are the best evidence. Last year at this time the troops he used to attack China's liberated areas numbered 600,000, but today they have grown to almost 1 million. The entire Kuomintang army, including those troops under the local system, totals not more than 1.5 million, and almost two-thirds of them are used to besiege and attack the liberated areas. This is what Chiang Kai-shek calls tolerance! In the area he controls, not one political prisoner has been released, the people have not the least bit of freedom, secret service agents are everywhere and corruption is widespread. Such is Chiang Kai-shek's tolerance! Such emissaries of the Japanese bandits as Wu K-ai-hsien and Fang Hsien-chueh are sheltered, and such renegade generals as P'ang Ping-hsun and Sun Tien-ying are protected in large numbers. Such is Chiang Kai-shek's tolerance! The broad Kuomintang membership has expressed its dissatisfaction

with this situation. That over 200 of the 600 delegates to the Sixth Kuomintang Congress in May submitted their resignation from the party because of their hatred for Chiang Kai-shek's despotic conduct was clear proof. In his speech yesterday he bragged about the accuracy of his predictions. Yet, on 15 October 1931 he said to the demonstrating students at the Nanking Central Military Academy: "If, 3 years from now, the lost territory is not recovered, you can chop off my head as my apology." In July 1934, when giving the "Speech of the Spirit" to the Lu-shan officers training corps, he said that, in regard to the Japanese, "they only have to issue one order and they will, within 3 days, occupy all the crucial areas and destroy China." Have those words come true? Yesterday he said such things as "the coming year will be a year of war results." The method of operation of Chiang Kai-shek and his clique is to rely on America for everything. Thus, several years from now the Chinese people will see that China under Chiang Kai-shek's control will be dragged into a colonial position, and this will be a concrete "war result." America's imperialist elements such as Hurley and China's feudal compradore fascist elements such as Chiang Kai-shek have become sweet partners. Chiang Kai-shek has been equipped with large stocks of arms, topped with gold, reportedly for the purpose of fighting Japan. Nevertheless, the clear-sighted have long ago seen that these are for nothing else than to create a civil war in China. This is because America's imperialist elements, those like Hurley, desperately wish to preserve Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorial system and regard the democratic strength of the Chinese people as a thorn in their side. If this reactionary policy is not changed, China's civil war will be inevitable.

Currently, the focus of all Chiang Kai'shek's military arrangements is on a civil war. "Tolerance" is merely a word to prepare for a civil war. Once a civil war breaks out, can China under Chiang Kai-shek's control escape the destiny of a colony? True, besides preserving Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorial system and attempting to turn China into an American colony, some of America's ruling figures actually want to defeat the Japanese aggressors. On this point we have no quarrel with the American Government. However, in the past 6 months the American policy of supporting Chiang and resisting the communists is, in essence, a policy of helping Chiang fight a civil war. We hope that all good American people and enlightened figures in the American Government will give full attention to this point and promptly rectify it. Otherwise, the result created by the Americans will be detrimental to the American people as well as to the Chinese. When it comes to the attitude of the Chinese people toward Chiang Kai-shek, one can say that it has reached the limits of tolerance. As of now the Chinese people still agree to let him have a position in the coalition government, so that he will have a chance to reform himself completely and compensate for his mistakes by merits. Nevertheless, he has, as a matter of fact, long lost all qualifications as a national leader. Except for a small group of Chinese and foreigners who still support him, the broad masses have long ago deserted him, calling him "Chiang Who Ought To Be Killed." Even so, the Chinese people are still willing to give him a chance to reform, which is an attitude of extreme tolerance. In China, only this

kind of tolerance is genuine, while Chiang Kai-shek's so-called "tolerance" is merely another name for preparing a civil war. The Chinese people must heighten their vigilance, oppose the association of foreign and Chinese reactionaries to create a civil war against the nation, democracy and the people, and use all means to block it. In order to smash the Japanese aggressors and liberate the Chinese people, such vigilance is indispensable.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 9 July 1945

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CHAIRMAN MAO'S CABLED REPLY TO CHIANG KAI-SHEK

16 August 1945

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 17 August--Chairman Chiang Kai-shek of the Chinese Kuomintang government sent a cable on the 14th to Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee inviting him to Chungking to discuss national affairs, without mentioning the scope and content of the discussion. Chairman Mao replied by cable on the 16th asking Chiang to express his opinion on the concrete suggestions of Commander in Chief Chu in his cable to Chiang before Chairman Mao would consider the subject of a meeting. The text of Chairman Mao's cable is as follows:

To Committee Chairman Chiang, Chungking: Your cable has been received. Commander in Chief Chu Te will cable you today to express the views of our side. After you have expressed your opinion we will consider the subject of a meeting with you.

Mao Tse-tung

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 17 August 1945

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CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE DECIDES TO SEND COMRADE CHOU EN-LAI TO CHUNGKING TO DISCUSS UNITY

22 August 1945

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 23 August--The Chinese Communist Central Committee has decided to send Comrade Chou En-lai to Chungking to discuss unity. Chairman Mao cabled Committee Chairman Chiang on the 22d. The text of the cable is as follows:

To Committee Chairman Chiang, Chungking: We read your reply in the CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY wire of the 20th. For the sake of unity, we are sending Comrade Chou En-lai to call on you, and we hope you will negotiate with him after his arrival.

Mao Tse-tung, Yenan.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 23 August 1945.

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CSO: 4005

CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE DECLARATION ON THE CURRENT SITUATION

25 August 1945

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 26 August--On the 25th the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee published a declaration on the current situation. The full text is as follows:

Countrymen of the whole nation!

With Japan's surrender the sacred resistance war waged by our entire nation in the past 8 years has ended successfully! The antifascist war of the whole world has also ended successfully! Throughout China and the whole world a new period--a period of peaceful reconstruction--has arrived!

The Chinese Communist Party feels that, in this new historical period, the momentous task confronting our entire nation is: Consolidate domestic unity, assure domestic peace, introduce democracy, and improve the people's living in order to realize national unification, build an independent, free, and powerful new China on the foundation of peace, democracy and unity, and consolidate, together with England, America, the Soviet Union and all allied nations, a permanent international peace.

Countrymen of the whole nation! The successful conclusion of the war against Japan, the final destruction of fascist tyranny, enslavement, and aggression, and the future of peaceful development unfolding before all mankind are the outcome of the joint efforts of England, America, the Soviet Union and China, the four great allied nations, and of the joint efforts of all the soldiers and civilians of China. We believe that our countrymen throughout the nation will shift the courageous struggle and dauntless spirit they manifested in the resistance war to the great cause of national reconstruction. That the 100 million people of China's liberated areas made the maximum effort and sacrifices in the resistance war is publicly recognized here and abroad. In the period of peaceful reconstruction hereafter, they must continue to serve as the models of democratic construction and the backbone of peaceful unity in the entire nation and perform their great obligations.

However, the road of struggle for an independent, free and powerful new China is not without obstacles, difficulties and hardships. The Japanese imperialist aggressors have not yet implemented the Potsdam Agreement or relinquished their attempt to revive aggressive militarism; they are still recklessly carrying out their conspiracy to provoke, split and enslave China. Their running dogs in China, in accordance with the instructions of their masters, have acquired a protective coloring with one shake of their body in order to continue their provocation of a civil war, sabotage unity, and block democracy. Their attempt has not met with discouragement, nor have they been punished for their criminal acts. On the contrary, they have received encouragement and are becoming ever more arrogant. Therefore, the many dangerous activities of China's puppets and other reactionaries seriously threaten China's peace, democracy and unity.

The Chinese people must be extremely vigilant and smash the enemy's conspiracies.

The Chinese Communist Party feels that, currently, we must ask the National Government to immediately introduce a certain number of emergency measures in order to lay the foundation for peaceful reconstruction. These emergency measures are:

(1) Recognize the government elected by the people and the resist-Japan troops in China's liberated areas, and withdraw the troops besieging and attacking the liberated areas in order to realize peace immediately and avoid a civil war.

(2) Designate the areas for accepting the surrender of the Japanese troops by the 8th Route Army, the New 4th Army, and the South China Resist-Japan Column and, in order to show fairness, grant them the right to participate in all work connected with the handling of Japan.

(3) Severely punish the traitors; disband the puppet troops.

(4) Reorganize the troops and handle demobilization fairly and rationally; give relief to the refugees and reduce taxes in order to lessen the burden of the people.

(5) Recognize the legitimacy of the parties and factions; abolish all decrees blocking the people's freedom of meeting, association, speech and publication; abolish the secret service organ; release patriotic political prisoners.

(6) Immediately call a meeting of all parties and factions and those without party or factional affiliations to discuss the major postwar issues, formulate a democratic political program, end political tutelage, form a democratic coalition government supported by the entire nation, and prepare for a free and unrestricted general election to elect a people's congress.

The Chinese Communist Party declares that it is willing to strive for an agreement with the Chinese Kuomintang and the democratic parties and factions in order to promptly solve all the emergency issues, attain permanent unity and thoroughly implement Dr Sun Yat-sen's three principles of democracy.

Countrymen!

The resistance war has been won! A new period of peaceful reconstruction has begun! We must adhere to peace, democracy and unity and struggle for an independent, free and powerful new China!

Chinese Communist Party Central Committee

25 August 1945

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 27 August 1945.

* "Struggle for Peace," HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO, November 1945.

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CSO: 4005

CHAIRMAN MAO'S SPEECH UPON ARRIVAL IN CHUNGKING

28 August 1945

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 30 August--After arriving and deplaning in Chungking on the 28th, Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Chairman Comrade Mao Tse-tung made the following statement:

My trip to Chungking is upon the invitation of National Government Chairman Mr Chiang Kai-shek to discuss the great issues of unity and national reconstruction. With the successful conclusion of the resistance war, China will soon enter the period of peaceful reconstruction. The current opportunity is most important, and the most urgent issues are to assure domestic peace, introduce democratic politics, and consolidate domestic unity. All existing urgent political and military issues within the country must be rationally solved on the foundation of peace, democracy and unity in order to realize national unification and build an independent, free and powerful new China. It is hoped that all resist-Japan political parties and patriots in China will unite and struggle together for the realization of the above goals. I wish to thank Mr Chiang Kai-shek for his invitation.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 30 August 1945.

* "Struggle for Peace--statement at the Chungking Airport," HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO, November 1945.

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INTERVIEW WITH 'TA KUNG PAO' CORRESPONDENT

5 September 1945

[Text] TA KUNG PAO on 6 September published an interview with Comrade Mao Tse-tung. When receiving a reporter of this paper yesterday afternoon, Mao Tse-tung stated:

After having been in Chungking for 5 days and discussing the issue of unity with the Central Government, I have no concrete results to report to my countrymen as yet. The only thing which can be said is that a civil war will definitely be avoided. If China's political and military commands remain disunited, this will be an impossible situation. Yet, unity in political and military commands must be founded on democratic politics. Only a political conference including the representatives of all parties and factions and those without party or factional affiliations will solve the current national issues, and only a democratic and united coalition government will bring happiness to the people. Democracy means power for the people. The situation in the Border Region and liberated areas is different from that in other areas. We have a government elected by the people and a self-defense army, but no tithing chiefs. Tithing chiefs control the people and are most undesirable. Another result of our discussions is the postponement of a people's congress; no accord has been reached on the issue of delegates. The Chinese Communist Party does not wish to retain the old delegates; it advocates, in principle, a general election.

Finally, commenting on the Sino-Soviet treaty, Mao Tse-tung said: This treaty is a safeguard for peace in the Far East. Some people find it unfavorable to China's democratic movement, but actually the opposite is true. We can wait and see with our eyes peeled. Others are amazed that the Soviet Union considers the National Government the objective, but actually there is no other objective than the National Government. Nevertheless, the treaty does not restrict the right of the Soviet Union to criticize China's politics, and it may still express its opinion publicly. A few days ago an article in the Soviet RED STAR stated that China should proceed toward democratic politics, and it eagerly hoped for unity between China's two parties. China is fortunate to have a powerful ally. We should not suspect aggression by another nation. Mao Tse-tung then expressed his hope that the discussions would produce early results.

° "Struggle for Peace," HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO, November 1945.

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CHAIRMAN MAO ISSUES STATEMENT IN CHUNGKING HOPING FOR GOOD RESULTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS

13 September 1945

[Text] UNITED PRESS, Chungking, 13 September--Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung stated this afternoon:

The policy of the Communist Party is to establish peace and democracy in China. It is the reason for my trip to Chungking. In regard to the two-party negotiations, he said that he could not comment on the progress of the negotiations with the Kuomintang leaders. He said: "The most important thing for China is peace." He said that the Communist Party hoped for favorable results. "Then China will pass from the stage of resistance war to the period of peaceful construction. I believe this is the hope of the whole world as well as of the people throughout China." He declared that the Communist Party would devote all its efforts toward the above goal.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 14 September 1945.

* "Struggle for Peace," HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO, November 1945.

REUTER, Chungking, 13 September--For the first time since the beginning of negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party 2 weeks ago, Communist Party leader Gen Mao Tse-tung made a public statement today:

As the people of the entire nation hope for peace, I have come to Chungking to devote all my efforts toward that end. We Communist Party members hope for favorable results from the negotiations so that China will shift from the resistance war to peaceful construction. The progress of the negotiations will not be made public. Nevertheless, he hoped that the negotiations would be successful. He also said: I hope that, while the negotiations are in progress, no conflict will arise between the troops of the Communist Party and the Kuomintang. The Communist Party troops would rather withdraw than to clash with the Kuomintang troops, but they will continue to fight the enemy and puppet troops.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 14 September 1945.

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SPEECH AT A POLITICAL COUNCIL TEA

18 September 1945

[Text] The members of the People's Political Council in Chungking gave a tea on 18 September to welcome Comrade Mao Tse-tung. At the tea, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a statement, which briefly is as follows:

Today is the anniversary of 18 September, and first we must celebrate our victory. After 8 years of resistance war, victory has finally arrived, especially in the Northeast, which, after 14 years of enemy occupation since the 18 September Incident, has now been successfully liberated. On this day I feel doubly excited. I am most honored to be able to see you gentlemen, my friends and my elders during this period. I recall the extreme hardships during the resistance war. However, as a result of the unanimous effort of the entire country, we have safely weathered them. I am most grateful to Chairman Chiang for his invitation to come to Chungking to discuss national affairs together. The future must be a new era of peaceful development and national reconstruction, and we must unite and firmly avoid a civil war. Any other policy would be wrong. Therefore, all parties and factions must, under the above policy, unite as one and thoroughly implement the three principles of democracy in order to build a modern new China.

° "Struggle for Peace," HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO, November 1945.

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ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY REUTER CORRESPONDENT CAMPBELL

Published by HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO, Chungking, 27 September 1945

[Text] Editor's Note: During the period of Chairman Mao's visit to Chungking between 28 August and 11 October 1945 to attend the negotiations upon invitation, British REUTER correspondent Mr Campbell submitted 12 written questions, and Chairman Mao answered them one by one. The original text was published in the Chungking HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO on 27 September.

(1) Question: Is it possible to avoid a civil war by means of an agreement instead of by force?

Answer: It is possible, because it will be compatible with the interests of the Chinese people and of China's party in power. Currently, China only needs the policy of peaceful national reconstruction and nothing else; therefore, a civil war must be firmly avoided.

(2) Question: What concessions are the Chinese Communist Party ready to make in order to reach an agreement?

Answer: On the condition of realizing national peace, democracy, and unity, the Chinese Communist Party is ready to make important concessions, including reducing the liberated areas and the troops.

(3) Question: What compromises or concessions must the Central Government make before it can satisfy the Chinese Communist Party?

Answer: The views of the Chinese Communist Party were expressed in the recent declaration of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. It requests that the Kuomintang government recognize the government of the liberated areas elected by the people and the people's army, permit them to participate in accepting Japan's surrender, severely punish the traitors and puppet troops, reorganize the troops fairly and rationally, protect the people's freedoms and rights, and form a democratic coalition government.

(4) Question: Are you hopeful that the negotiations will produce an agreement, or even a temporary agreement?

Answer: I have full confidence in the results of the negotiations, feeling that, with the common effort and mutual compromise of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, the negotiations will produce not just a temporary agreement but one which will guarantee a long-term peaceful reconstruction.

(5) Question: If the negotiations should break down, would it be possible to solve the Kuomintang-Communist Party issue without bloodshed?

Answer: I don't believe the negotiations will break down. In any situation the Chinese Communist Party will adhere to the policy of avoiding a civil war. There may be difficulties, but it is possible to overcome them.

(6) Question: What is the attitude of the Communist Party toward the Sino-Soviet treaty?

Answer: We fully support the Sino-Soviet treaty and hope for its early realization, because it will benefit the people of the two nations and world peace, especially peace in the Far East.

(7) Question: After Japan's surrender, do you plan to continue occupying the areas you now occupy?

Answer: The Communist Party requests that the Central Government recognize the government of the liberated areas elected by the people and the people's troops. It is only asking the government to introduce local self-government long promised by the Kuomintang in order to safeguard the local democratic reforms in the political, military, economic and educational spheres carried out by the people during the war. All the reforms are compatible with the ideals of Dr Sun Yat-sen, the creator of the Kuomintang.

(8) Question: If a coalition government is formed, to what extent are you prepared to cooperate with Chiang Kai-shek?

Answer: If a coalition government is formed, the Communist Party will do its utmost to cooperate with Chairman Chiang in order to build an independent, free, and powerful new China and thoroughly implement Dr Sun Yat-sen's three principles of democracy.

(9) Question: (i) How many Communist Party members in North China will be influenced by your action and decision? (ii) How many of them are armed? (iii) In what other areas are Chinese Communist Party members active?

Answer: The policy for Communist Party members is decided by the party's Central Committee. The Chinese Communist Party now has over 1.2 million members, and the number of people who have acquired a democratic life under the party's leadership far exceeds 100 million. According to the principle

of spontaneity, they have organized over 1.2 million troops and over 2.2 million militia. Besides the North China provinces and the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region in the Northwest, they are distributed in Kiangsu, Anhwei, Chekiang, Fukien, Honan, Hupeh, Hunan and Kwangtung. Chinese Communist Party members are distributed throughout all provinces in the nation.

(10) What are the concept and definition of a free and democratic China according to the Chinese Communist Party?

Answer: A free and democratic China will be this kind of nation: All levels of government, including the central government, are created by general and equal secret balloting and are responsible to the people who elected them. It will implement Dr Sun Yat-sen's three principles of democracy, Lincoln's principle of "of the people, by the people, and for the people," and Roosevelt's Atlantic Charter. It will assure the independence and unity of the nation and cooperate with all democratic powers.

(11) Question: In the coalition government of all parties and factions, what are the reconstruction and recovery policies of the Chinese Communist Party?

Answer: Besides the democratic reform of military affairs and politics, the Chinese Communist Party will propose to the government the introduction of an economic and cultural construction program. The goal of the program is mainly to reduce the people's burden, improve the people's life, implement land reform and industrialization, encourage private enterprise (except those units of a monopolistic nature which must be operated by the democratic government), welcome foreign investment and develop international trade under the principle of equality and mutual benefit, popularize mass education, and wipe out illiteracy. All these are compatible with Dr Sun Yat-sen's instructions.

(12) Question: Do you support nationalizing the troops and abolishing private forces?

Answer: We fully support nationalizing the troops and abolishing private forces, and the common prerequisite of the two matters is democratization of the state. What is commonly known as the "Communist Party army" has actually been voluntarily organized by the Chinese people during the war, and its only duty is to defend the nation. It is a new-model army, completely different from the old-type troops of the past in China belonging to private individuals. Its democratic essence will furnish valuable experience for the true nationalization of China's troops and serve as a reference for the improvement of its other military units.

° "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol 3, 1947 edition.

* CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 8 October 1945.

* "Struggle for Peace," HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO, November 1945.

Δ HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO, 27 September 1945.

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SPEECH AT A RECEPTION IN THE MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMISSION AUDITORIUM

8 October 1945

[Text] Mr Chang Chih-chung gave a big reception on the evening of 8 October in the Military Affairs Commission auditorium for Comrade Mao Tse-tung. At the start of the reception Minister Chang, as the host, first made a statement. (Middle portion omitted--Editor) Immediately thereafter Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a statement. He said:

For my trip to Chungking this time I must thank Mr Chiang for his invitation and for his hospitality of more than 40 days. I thank Mr Chang Wen-pai, the host tonight, for such a big banquet, and I also thank the people of all fields attending the reception.

The people of the whole nation, our friends of the whole world, and the governments of our Allies are interested in the negotiations, because they concern not just the two parties but are linked with the interests of the people of the whole nation. The progress of the negotiations, as mentioned by Mr Chang, makes us optimistic. After the defeat of fascism in the East and the West, the world has become a bright world, and China has become a bright China. In the last 30 years the world has undergone two great wars. The nature of the second war was different from the first one. During the war this time the world and China both made rapid progress. The goal of the current negotiations is to realize peaceful national reconstruction. Today China has only one path--peace. Peace is supreme, and anything else is wrong. (Applause) The negotiations are being conducted in a friendly atmosphere. As regards those issues on which no accord has been reached, we have agreed to solve them by continued negotiations, and not by any other means. The policy of realizing unification on the foundation of peaceful and democratic unity is compatible with the demand of the people of the whole nation and with that of the people of the whole world and the allied governments. Peace and cooperation must be long-term. All of us must, with one mind, refrain from making other calculations and form a plan of long-term cooperation. (Applause) The people of the whole country and all parties and factions must strive unanimously for several decades and, under the leadership of Chairman Chiang, thoroughly realize the three principles of democracy and build an independent, free and powerful new China!

That there will be difficulties must not be denied; it will be detrimental if this point is not brought to our attention. The Chinese people are now faced with difficulties, and there will be many more difficulties in the future. But the Chinese people do not fear difficulties. When the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and all parties and factions are united, we will not fear difficulties. Regardless of how great the difficulties, under the policy of peace, democracy and unification, under the leadership of Chairman Chiang, and under the policy of thoroughly implementing the three principles of democracy, all difficulties will be surmounted. (Loud applause) Long live the new China! Long live Chairman Chiang! (Sustained applause)

° "Struggle for Peace," HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO, November 1945.

"People of All Fields in Chungking Held a Farewell Party Last Night for Chairman Mao Upon His Approaching Return to Yenan," CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 9 October 1945.

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PEOPLE OF CHINA AND AMERICA: ARISE TO STOP THE EXPANSION OF THE CHINESE CIVIL WAR

15 November 1945

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 15 November--In view of the extremely tense situation in the Shanhaikuan area, a HSIN-HUA reporter made an urgent appeal to the people of China and America:

Just when the Kuomintang promises to call a political conference and pretends to seek peace by negotiations, the biggest battle in the undeclared civil war has flared up in the Shanhaikuan area. One special feature of this battle is that the Kuomintang is mustering all its crack troops in this area. It has already transferred, or is preparing to transfer, as many as six armies, i.e., the 13th, 92d, 94th, 16th, 52d (and another army whose number will be ascertained), using five of them to attack the Shanhaikuan line and the 92d against Jehol in coordination. The second special feature of this battle is most brazenly manifested in the armed intervention in China's internal affairs by American troops stationed in China. All the Kuomintang troops are aided by American troops and transported by American ships and planes. Ch'inhuangtao, the base of the Kuomintang troops south of Shanhaikuan, has been set up singlehandedly by the American troops, and currently American troops are still stationed there to defend it. All these Kuomintang troops have been, under the excuse of "preparing to launch a counteroffensive against Japan," equipped with American arms and trained by American officers. All are currently under the "assistant" direction of American officers. In some units every regiment has 10 American officers and every battalion 1. American troops supply the Kuomintang troops with heavy arms--artillery, tanks, planes, etc. The ammunition, provisions, and gasoline of the Kuomintang troops have all been transported by American ships and planes. Even the coal for the Kuomintang troops is produced by mines "protected" by American troops and shipped on railways "protected" by American troops. Without such conduct of "noninterference in China's internal affairs," such conduct of "not getting involved in China's civil war," such conduct of "not hoping for China's domestic disputes," and such conduct of "not helping the Central army in the anticommunist war" on the part of the American troops stationed in China, how could the Shanhaikuan battle of such unprecedented magnitude have been started?

Is such conduct by the American troops for the purpose of disarming and repatriating the Japanese? Isn't it 10,000 li from the subject matter? Isn't it a case of the cart in the south and the tracks in the north?

Wedermeyer repeats over and over again the phrase "protection of American life and property," while at the same time he puts many Americans among the Kuomintang troops, on the battlefield, and under cannonfire where death stalks constantly. Are these the means to "protect American life?" For the American soldiers to die in a reactionary civil war blocking the independence and freedom of the Chinese people, instead of in the just war against Japan, what is the signifance and what the value?

The HSIN-HUA reporter appealed to all the people of China and America for their attention:

An unprecedented massacre will take place in the Shanhaikuan area. It will be a dirty massacre. In its actual significance it is not only China's civil war but a war of the American troops stationed in China against the Chinese people. It must be stopped immediately! The people of China and America in all fields must immediately send their investigation teams there, rise unanimously, and stop the massacre by all possible means.

Take prompt action, stop the imminent big battle in the Shanhaikuan area, and save the thousands and tens of thousands of sons of the Chinese and American people! Oppose the Kuomintang's attack against the liberated areas! Oppose armed intervention in China's internal affairs!

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 16 November 1945.

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YENAN AUTHORITIES COMMENT ON THE ISSUE OF CALLING A PEOPLE'S CONGRESS, SAYING THAT THE KUOMINTANG'S UNILATERAL ACTION INDICATES ITS DECISION TO START A LARGE-SCALE CIVIL WAR

16 November 1945

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 16 November--According to a report disseminated by REUTER and the U.S. Information Office, the National Government on the 12th of this month declared that a people's congress would be called on 5 May next year. No further details have been learned. Nevertheless, Yenan is paying serious attention to the report, feeling that the Kuomintang and the National Government have betrayed, once again, the "Double-Ten Agreement." The full text on the people's congress in the "Synopsis of the Kuomintang-Communist Negotiations" published on the 12th of last month is as follows: "3. Concerning the issue of a people's congress, the Chinese Communist Party proposes three items: Reelect the delegates to the people's congress; postpone the holding of a people's congress; revise the organization and election laws of the people's congress and the 5 May draft constitution. The government expressed the following opinion: The credentials of the delegates already elected to the people's congress must remain valid, and their number would be rationally increased and legitimately solved; the people of the various fields had been activated to study and discuss the 5 May draft constitution and express their views on revisions. Therefore, no accord was reached between the two sides. Nevertheless, the Communist Party declared that it would not let the dispute over this issue break up the unity. Both sides agreed to submit the issue to the Political Conference for solution." In the "Synopsis" it was provided that "conferring on national affairs and discussing the program of peaceful reconstruction and the various issues of the people's congress" constituted the main topics of the Political Conference. Barely 1 month after the publication of the "Synopsis" and before the holding of the Political Conference, the National Government, by its unilateral action, actually announced the date for the holding of a people's congress. This proves that, in regard to any major political issue, the Kuomintang has no sincere intention to resort to political means and solve the issues by consulting with all the parties and factions. It also shows that the Kuomintang government has made the decision to split domestic unity and

launch a large-scale civil war. The same authorities indicate that, given such an arbitrary unilateral action on the part of the National Government, whether the Political Conference, with the discussion of issues concerning the people's congress as one of its major topics, still has any significance is highly questionable. Furthermore, even after the start of the Political Conference, who can guarantee that the Kuomintang will not again break its promise and tear up any agreement reached at the conference?

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 17 November 1945.

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CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S NEW YEAR SPEECH AND THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

7 January 1946

[Text] It is reported that the Political Consultative Conference, postponed time and again by the Kuomintang, will convene on the 10th of this month. Though the Kuomintang government agreed to call the conference last October, it is reported that even today, some 3 months later, the Kuomintang has not made "preparations" or given any constructive indications. The Chungking press has long indicated that the Kuomintang takes a superficial attitude toward this conference, which has the unanimous serious attention of all fields here and abroad, and that it does not intend to solve any issue by it. This attitude has been completely verified in the New Year broadcast of National Government chairman and Kuomintang director general Chiang Kai-shek.

Why do all of China and the whole world pay serious attention to the Political Consultative Conference? In a word, they hope that it will find a solution for China's current dangerous political situation, i.e., stopping the civil war, and make decisive reforms in the dictatorial system, which is the source of the civil war. The one-party, military, and personal dictatorship of the National Government should have been abolished long ago. As early as in the fall of the year before last, public opinion of China and foreign countries (primarily America) proposed the formation of a coalition government and a coalition command headquarters. Immediately thereafter the Chinese Communist Party, based on this proposal, made a formal written suggestion to the Kuomintang authorities which won the support of President Roosevelt. Thereafter, though, as President Roosevelt stated, "everything now seems to be hopeless, because the Kuomintang expressed entirely fallacious opposition to the revisions proposed by Yenan" (Snow: "The Model of Soviet Political Power," Ch 8), and China's democratic parties and factions not only did not abandon the proposal but demanded that a conference of delegates of all parties and factions and democratic elements without party or factional affiliations be held first, so that a coalition government and a coalition command headquarters could be realized through the conference. At the end of last August, when Comrade Mao Tse-tung, upon Chiang Kai-shek's invitation, went to Chungking to discuss national affairs, he

again brought up the issue of calling such a conference. As the arrogant Kuomintang authorities adamantly refused to accept such designations as "party and factional conference" or "political conference," while the Communist Party delegates, striving for unity, did not wish to argue endlessly on the subject, the designation was recorded in the "Synopsis of Negotiations" as the Political Consultative Conference. But its tasks were still described as "ending political tutelage; introducing constitutional politics ... discussing the issues of national affairs, peaceful national construction, and the National Congress." What is the meaning of discussing national affairs and the National Congress? Obviously, the fundamental issue of national affairs today, aside from stopping the civil war, is to end the so-called "political tutelage" of one-party, military, and personal dictatorship. As the Kuomintang "National Congress," exclusively created by the Kuomintang "political tutelage" authorities, opposes democracy, strengthens dictatorship, sabotages unity, aggravates division, and attempts to legalize the one-party dictatorship and extend it indefinitely, in order to end the Kuomintang's one-party dictatorship the National Congress exclusively handled by one party must be simultaneously ended, a coalition government and a coalition command headquarters created, a true National Congress prepared and convened by the coalition government, and democratic constitutional politics introduced. The fundamental crux of China's national affairs was clearly expressed in U.S. President Truman's announcement of 15 December last year. President Truman demanded that "the National Government and the Chinese Communist Party and China's other dissident armed units negotiate and cease hostile actions" and that "a conference of delegates of the najor political factions in the entire nation be convened in order to solve the current internal dispute promptly and hasten China's unification." Meanwhile, to solve the internal dispute and hasten unification, the delegates conference must possess the power to end the one-party dictatorship and reorganize the National Government. President Truman said: "The United States well knows that the current Chinese National Government is a one-party government and believes that, if the foundation of this government is enlarged to include other domestic parties and factions, it will promote China's peace, unity, and democracy. Therefore, the United States strongly advocates that the delegates of all China's major political elements hold a national conference and decide on the means to enable them to enjoy fair and effective representation in the Chinese National Government. The United States Government feels that it will require the revision of the one-party political tutelage system created by Dr Sun Yat-sen, the father of the Republic of China, as a temporary measure during the nation's advance toward democracy." President Truman affirmed that political democratization is the prerequisite for the nationalization of the armed forces. He said: "Once an extensive parliamentary representative government is formed ... the autonomous military forces and all armed units in China must be effectively combined into a Chinese national army." On 27 December the official report of the Moscow three-nation foreign ministers conference reiterated the necessity for the democratization of the National Government, and its language was

even clearer: "All the democratic elements in the nation must be widely absorbed into all (or all levels of) the structures of the National Government." On 30 December U.S. Secretary of State Byrnes in his broadcast also repeated this theme and clearly pointed out that unity could be attained only through peace and democracy: "To assure a united, peaceful, and democratic China under the National Government, the civil war must be stopped and the democratic elements must be permitted broad participation in the National Government." Now the facts are clear: The tasks of the Political Consultative Conference are to realize unconditional cessation of the civil war, to end the one-party dictatorship, to reorganize the National Government, to form a democratic coalition government, and to provide extensive, fair, and effective representation of all democratic elements in all structures of the entire democratic coalition National Government. Since this democratic coalition government must unconditionally and effectively end the one-party political tutelage system, it naturally must unconditionally and effectively end the one-party National Congress, the bastard of one-party political tutelage; naturally the 5 May "transfer of power" arranged by the Kuomintang authorities to the mysterious bastard, which is not recognized by any democratic element, prior to the formation of an "effective" democratic government (which is entirely possible), making China more dictatorial and divided and embellishing such a "transfer" as "constitutional politics" in order to hoodwink our countrymen, must not be permitted. The Political Consultative Conference, hoped for and closely watched by all of China and the whole world, is a plenary conference with the power to stop the civil war and end the one-party dictatorship unconditionally. On this point there is no room for any distortion or evasion.

The Kuomintang authorities expressed their consent to President Truman's announcement and the official report of the three-nation foreign ministers conference. Chiang Kai-shek even said that "President Truman's announcement and mine are identical; his views are my views"; therefore, the people entertained high hopes regarding the meeting date of the Political Consultative Conference he announced and his simultaneous broadcast speech. The people hoped that they would hear, in his speech, his views on the conference which would begin 10 days later and which would determine China's historical direction hereafter. Unfortunately, though lavishly embellished with phrases about peace and democracy, Chiang Kai-shek in his 5,000-word speech purposely refrained from mentioning the Political Consultative Conference or the announcements of President Truman and the three foreign ministers. What is even more regrettable is that he has, in fact, absolutely rejected their suggestions on China and absolutely refused to confer any power on the Political Consultative Conference, not even the power to discuss the holding of the National Congress. The Kuomintang authorities, without going through any discussions, declared last November that the National Congress would be convened on 5 May, and Chiang's speech also confirmed it over and over again, though still maintaining that it was in response to the opinions of the various parties and factions. In his

speech Chiang, without naming names, fiercely censured and maligned the Communist Party, blaming it for the civil war and all the destruction resulting from it. But we do not wish to argue excessively, because in the past few months the Kuomintang (especially the HO-P'ING JIH PAO of the Political Department of the Kuomintang Military Affairs Commission) has consistently propagandized that "the Communist Party is anti-civil war" while the Kuomintang is "anti-anti-civil war." Just this one thing alone is sufficient to explain everything. Our concern is Chiang's view of China's political future, as it is directly linked with the destiny of 450 million people. Chiang has firmly declared that "the only prerequisite for the solution of the current dispute and unrest" is not peace and democracy but "the unification of military and political commands," regardless of whether such military and political commands are against the interests of the state and the nation or whether they are against the people's fundamental rights and universal desire. He also maintains that it is possible to end the civil war, (which he fastidiously refers to as "concluding military actions"; though the whole world is discussing China's civil war, China's Military Affairs Commission chairman has refused, even now, to admit its existence in China), but not without conditions. "Communications must first be restored," i.e., the means for him to escalate the civil war must first be restored. He says that the National Government can be enlarged, but not before the unification of the armed forces. On the contrary, before the democratization of the government, the 8th Route Army and New 4th Army must first be handed over to the Kuomintang, i.e., to him. In other words, the means for expanding his dictatorship must first be assured. He says that democracy can be realized, but not by means of a coalition government. It must be accomplished by first convening, 4 months hence, a so-called National Congress, or a dictatorial congress exclusively handled by one party, as "the fundamental laws cannot be changed," i.e., the dictatorial laws cannot be changed. Chiang's interpretations are clearly opposed to the views of all the democratic elements in China and of President Truman and the foreign ministers of the three nations. According to his interpretations, there is no need to hold the Political Consultative Conference. Therefore, before the inauguration of the conference we must first look straight at, examine, and solve this fundamental division: On the one hand are the demands of all the democratic parties, factions and democratic figures and the entire population of China, as well as the desires of the people of America, the Soviet Union, and England as expressed by President Truman and the three foreign ministers--the unconditional cessation of the civil war, the ending of dictatorship, and the creation of a democratic coalition government via the Political Consultative Conference, thereby realizing the unification of China; on the other hand are the attempts of Chiang Kai-shek and the few military, party, and financial overlords in the Kuomintang--forbidding the Political Consultative Conference from solving any issue, continuing the dictatorship, and backing up the continued dictatorship by means of continuing the civil war. The former has the support of all of China and the entire world and, until the publication of Chiang's speech,

the verbal support of the Kuomintang authorities. But now Chiang has begun to attack these views, and the division has come to the surface. Over a long period of time this paper has not taken notice of the despicable rumors and vilifications of the Kuomintang papers and the Kuomintang CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY, but when it comes to a division linked with the future of the state and the nation created by Chiang's speech, we, on the eve of the Political Consultative Conference, have no choice but to express our opinions. Solving this division will involve a serious and complex process of struggle. However, it will greatly educate the Chinese people and afford them every opportunity to discern the right and wrong, recognize the political theories of each and every party and faction, newspaper, and individual, and determine their stand--whether they support or oppose the people.

When criticizing Chiang's speech, the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE asked, "How can peace in China be attained by repeating the old tunes?" Though the views expressed in the speech are tedious repetitions of old tunes long rejected by the people of the entire nation and clearly opposed to the views of the democratic elements in China and the democratic nations in the world, for the sake of being careful we will make a patient and objective examination of them and see whether they contain certain partial truths. Chiang's fundamental view, similar to what the Kuomintang papers have been propagandizing in recent days, is that all Chinese affairs should be handed over to him and the small group around him for their dictatorial decisions; as long as the people relinquish all their fundamental democratic rights and unconditionally obey all the military and political orders of the dictatorial group, then China will be unified and, after unification under the dictatorial group, the people will naturally be granted the opportunity for peaceful construction, democratic politics, and improvement of their lives. However, if Chiang's dictatorial plans are not accepted, China will never be unified; it will always suffer from civil war, dictatorship, poverty, and aggression. Therefore, we wish to ask two questions according to the facts: First, will China be able to attain democracy by means of such dictatorial unification? Next, will China be able to attain unification by means of such a dictatorial method?

The answer to the first question is in the negative. In foreign countries, Hitler, Mussolini, and Japan's emperor all practiced such dictatorial unification. However, under their unification they did not attain peace, democracy, or prosperity. They claimed that national defense was consolidated, but the result was the destruction of their own nations. As for China, the Chinese people have had much experience in such unification. China has had a history of unification for several thousand years, and the unification was accomplished by dictatorial, or "political tutelage," means (Chiang on innumerable occasions extolled the "democracy" in China's era of tyranny and criticized the "excessive freedom" of the people at that time), but after several thousand years of tutelage" no democracy was created as a result. Since the founding of the republic,

each and every warlord practicing military or personal tyranny declared that there would be peace and democracy under his unification. But in all those 35 years no one has yet honored his promise. Are there differences between Chiang Kai-shek and his warlord forebears? There are. First, he has a nationwide one-party gestapo dictatorship which is a tool of terror undreamed of by the warlords of the past. Next, his military tyranny is much more powerful than theirs, because he possesses an unprecedentedly huge, private, and secret service-type army on a scale also undreamed of by the warlords of the past. Finally, the extent to which his personal power is concentrated also far exceeds that of any warlord of the past. Whether in the party, army, or government, he reigns supreme. His personal "hand orders" can change the decision of any government or military organ. Therefore, aside from resistance by the people, there is no power which can restrict his activities. Does Chiang have a greater "democratic" ideal than the warlords of the past? Absolutely not. Chiang claims that he is unable to introduce democracy at present because of the lack of unification. Such logic will not stand. He has at least "unified" most of China over a period of 18 years, but when and where has he introduced the least bit of democracy or improved in the least bit the people's living conditions? The "unification" of Chiang's area of control in the past 18 years has expanded year after year, while democracy has diminished year after year, because his secret service organ and secret service-type army have developed year after year. The poverty of the people and the economic crisis of the state have been aggravated year after year, because the control of his bureaucratic capital and corrupt and tyrannous group has grown year after year. Though his troops and military budget have swelled year after year, facts since the 18 September incident, and especially since the 7 July incident, have proved that the national defense strength of his army has dropped alarmingly, because his army is intended only for the purpose of fighting civil wars and can only fight civil wars, and civil wars, which are destructive of the national defense strength in both the spiritual and material aspects, have never ceased in the past 18 years. The saying "expert in civil war, amateur in foreign war" is an accurate evaluation by the people of his military leadership. He wishes to blame everything on the lack of unification, but don't the facts contradict this, and aren't they all the results of his dictatorial "unification"? Let us look at it another way: It is true that he has not "unified" the entire country, but compared with him the Communist Party has "unified" the country even less. Chiang possesses the political power of the Central Government and the greater part of China, while the Communist Party can only exert leadership over a small part of China. Yet why is it that the Communist Party, in areas under its leadership, whether provinces, countries, districts, or towns, can introduce popular elections, reduce rent and interest, and develop production? The equipment and supplies of the troops led by the Communist Party were not good, yet they could persevere for 7 years on the frontline and repel the greater part of the enemy army and almost the entire puppet army. It is because the Communist Party has "unified" the entire country while Chiang has not? Chiang says that the troops led by

the Communist Party are "a tremendous disgrace and loss to the state." Does he mean that resisting the enemy and puppet troops was a tremendous disgrace and loss, while the army which disintegrated on contact, covered 1,000 li in one retreat, watched and avoided battles, tried to save the nation in a roundabout way, created a 1-million-man puppet army, and even now coexists peacefully with the enemy and puppet troops and joins with them in resisting the communists is a tremendous glory and asset? In his speech Chiang censures the Communist Party for obstructing construction and preventing the people from living in peace and being content in their occupations, but why does he not permit the people to travel freely and compare and decide for themselves whether Yenan or Chungking, Peiping or Kalgan, are the areas in which the people can live in peace and be content in their occupations and pursue construction? The Communist Party vigorously strives to restore communications in peaceful areas, while Chiang, by means of the civil war, not only forces the Communist Party to destroy military communications in belligerent areas, but also disrupts the peaceful communications of nonbelligerent areas by blockading the Liberated Areas, of areas under his control by transporting troops, and of the Liberated Areas by bombing. Then who is guilty of destroying communications? Do not all these facts indicate that Chiang's defense of his own crimes on the grounds of lack of "unification" is completely uncreditable? Moreover, in areas which were once liberated by the Communist Party but which have been occupied by the Kuomintang authorities, areas which, according to Chiang's view, have been "unified," the original political, economic, and military reforms have been cruelly destroyed under the "unified" control of his military and political commands and his corrupt officials, secret service agents, and evil unsurpers. This situation is also common knowledge throughout the world. Does it not indicate that all areas "unified" by Chiang and in which his followers faithfully implement his military and political commands are precisely the areas where no political, economic, or military reform can exist? To put it candidly, not only can the areas "unified" by Chiang not compare with the democratic autonomous areas built under the leadership of the Communist Party, but they are even inferior to areas under the control of those whom he has accused of being warlords. On the grounds that Lung Yun was a warlord, Chiang expelled him from Yunnan by force in order to realize the "unification" of his military and political commands. But look: What was the difference between Lung Yun's and Tu Yu-ming's Yunnan? Didn't Chiang have to summarily dismiss Tu Yu-ming by way of apology? After Tu was gone, Kuan Ling-cheng took his place. How did Kuan do in Yunnan? Didn't Chiang again have to summarily dismiss Kuan by way of apology? Even so, Lung Yun was not restored to his former position, while Tu Yu-ming, upon leaving Yunnan, immediately proceeded to Liaoning and Jehol to "unify" the military and political commands in these areas. Due to the bloody tragedy, unprecedented since the beginning of the Republic, which resulted from sending troops and police into the school, Kuan Ling-cheng had to temporarily lie low. Not only did he escape punishment according to the law, but he was awarded a "loyalty medal." The conse-

quences of Chiang's military and political command in the so-called recovered areas under "unification" furnish a particularly chilling lesson to the Chinese people. Chiang's "unification," in certain aspects, is not much different from the "unification" of the enemy and puppet troops, the people's living conditions are even harder than before, and even TA KUNG PAO, which is famous for supporting Chiang, has been forced to appeal loudly against "losing all public support." Do these facts not indicate that, under Chiang's present methods, the greater the "unification," the more tragic become democracy and the people's living conditions? These are the past and current conditions of the Chiang-style "unification." What about the future? Even according to Chiang's speech this time, the outcome will be merely one of calling a one-party National Congress, a dictatorial congress. All the "delegates" will be elected by coercion, bribery, proxy, or appointment, and it will be the ugliest congress in the history of the world and the Republic. Through this dictatorial congress and through such a dictatorial constitution, Chiang promises an antiliberal and anticommunist "popular government" emulated by the world's fascists and copied by "China's Destiny," the fascist classic of China. Such will be the Chiang-style "democracy" after the Chiang-style "unification." Can the Chinese people accept such "unification" and such "democracy?" Like the people of foreign countries, the Chinese people naturally desire national unification. But the unification desired by the Chinese people is unification which will protect the state and the people, a democratic unification. Can such unification and Chiang's "unification" be discussed on the same level?

The answer to the second question, whether China will be able to attain unification by means of this dictatorial method, is also in the negative. Whether in foreign countries or in China, there was a historical period when "unification" of this kind could be accomplished, but that period has gone forever. In China it has been at least 50, if not 100, years since such "unification" could be accomplished. For the past 50 years the Chinese people, desiring freedom and independence, peace and prosperity, have always hoped for China's unification--a firm unification on the foundation of democracy. Yet China's dictators invariably rejected it. To perserve their dictatorship they always split with the people, though they then turned around and blamed the people for destroying "unity." Since the time when the emperor in the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty blamed the "autonomous troops" organized by Dr Sun Yat-sen for destroying his "unification of military and political commands" and attempted to perserve by force his own "unification," the situation of division has never been fundamentally changed. In his speech Chiang Kai-shek asks the people not to "sit on the sidelines and watch the nation repeat the mistakes of the early years of the Republic and sink into the desperate situation of division and collapse in the early years of the Republic? Even Chiang himself admitted that "Yuan's usurpation of the nation, the dangers of the Republic, and the inability of the citizenry to truly express its free will and demonstrate its strength created the

balkanization of the country by the warlords, resulting in the revolution since 1913, the 2d year of the Republic." In other words, the one who caused the division and collapse of the nation was none other than usurper warlord Yuan Shih-k'ai, who won the recognition of the nations of the world and who, sitting in the Central Government, vociferously advocated "unification of military and political commands." Naturally, Yuan Shih-k'ai would not admit his own act of warlord balkanization but blamed Dr Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang military governors for it. His only charm to ward off the 1913 revolution was "unification." He said: "Today it is not the issue of reconciling the north and the south but the issue of the local areas' refusing to obey the Central Government and how the latter must accomplish unification.... In the administrative system the Central Government must find the means of unification." But today, after the dust has settled, though Dr Sun (and Chiang, a subordinate of Dr Sun) organized an "autonomous army" and was blamed for destroying the unity of military and political commands and for sabotaging communications, he could be considered, after all, antiwarlord, revolutionary, democratic, and unity-minded. In his late years Dr Sun went north and negotiated for peace and unity with another usurper warlord, Tuan Ch'i-jui, hoping that Tuan would introduce democracy. This was the source of the slogan, "Save China by peaceful struggle," cited by Chiang in his speech. Tuan Ch'i-jui, intoxicated with dictatorship, refused to negotiate with Dr Sun and forced the outbreak of China's great revolution. China originally had hopes of accomplishing unification in the great revolution, but, unexpectedly, Chiang's usurpation of the nation, the dangers of the Republic, and the inability of the citizenry to truly express its free will and demonstrate its strength created the balkanization of the country by the warlords, resulting since 1927 in the armed self-defense and democratic movement of the Communist Party and the revolutionary people of the entire nation against Chiang's extreme White terror. Under his dictatorship and civil war policy the 18 September Incident occurred. Putting aside the old grudges and following the spirit of "saving the nation by peaceful struggle," the Communist Party appealed for the cessation of the civil war and the united resistance against Japan. This appeal did not begin to be realized until after the peaceful solution of the Sian Incident in 1936, but Generals Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-ch'eng, who were instrumental in the peaceful solution, have not, even today, regained their freedom, while Chiang since 1939 has never, even for a day, stopped his armed attacks on the Communist Party. After the conclusion of the resistance war, the Communist Party still followed the spirit of "saving the nation by peaceful struggle" and appealed for the cessation of the civil war and the united construction of the nation, but since the publication of the "Synopsis of the Kuomintang-Communist Negotiations" last October Chiang has become more adamant than ever, secretly ordering "suppression of the bandits," sending 2 million troops, which had been transferred to the far rear, to the Northeast and to East, Central, and South China to fight a civil war of an unprecedented scale, while vociferously announcing "demobilization" and plunging the entire country into discord

and unrest. China's history of the past 50 years is thus filled with such civil wars created by the dictators. But look: Has China been "unified" in the hands of the dictators? Or has it been divided? Are not all the divisions the outcome of the "unification" policy of the dictators? Dictatorial "unification" can only produce division. Only be uniting with the democratic forces will unification be truly accomplished. Had Tuan Ch'i-jui accepted Dr Sun Yat-sen's demands, or had Chiang Kai-shek accepted the demands of the Communist Party, other democratic factions, and the people of the entire country, China's unification would have long been accomplished. Chiang and his faction claim that the local autonomy of the Liberated Areas hampers unification, but isn't the people's election of their own government the fundamental law of all democratic nations in the world? Chiang himself declares that the political power will be returned to the people, but why does he wish to seize the power from the people in areas where the political power has been returned to them? When the people decide their own political orders on a local leve, why are such orders considered not unified? Does it mean that only when all 450 million people except one are deprived of their freedom of action will the political command be considered unified? Due to their refusal to recognize the people's commonplace rights to elect local governments and decide on local laws, Chiang and his faction have created the political division in China today. They delude themselves with the idea of solving the political division by means of armed unification. As a result, instead of armed unification, what they get is armed division. Why is it an armed division? Because in the past 50 years the political strife between dictatorship and democracy has often led to military strife between the two. Political dictators always rely on private, dictatorial armies to eliminate the democratic elements, forcing the politically democratic faction to create true national, or popular, armies. As they are compatible with the needs of history and the people, the national, or popular, armies, instead of being eliminated by the dictator, become ever more powerful. Their main body today is the 8th Route Army and New 4th Army. The Chinese people do not utilize these armies to seek division. On the contrary, they utilize them to seek democratic unification. Therefore, when the resistance war broke out, these troops became a part of the unified National Revolutionary Army. Nevertheless, Chiang-Kai-shek, insisting on a private, dictatorial army, was unwilling to nationalize and popularize his own troops by following the example of these troops. On the contrary, he refused to recognize the 8th Route Army and New 4th Army in fact and in law, maligning them as "disloyal troops" and "bandit troops" making all-out efforts to "encircle and exterminate" them, thus creating today's armed division. Since Chiang, by his own action, has proved that he follows the policy of division, proved that his armies are completely factional, private, and dictatorial, and refused to tolerate any national and popular troops, then, to assure the nationalization and popularization of China's troops, naturally, in the absence of a democratic coalition and a coalition command headquarters, the 8th Route Army and New 4th Army, as the nucleus of China's military reform, cannot be delivered to the dictatorship for extermination.

Such an action would be not only a reckless risk but also a crime--a crime against China's military reform and democratic unification. Since the Chinese people have firmly struggled for democratic unification for 50 years, and since they did not accept the dictatorial unification of the Manchus, or that of Yuan Shih-k'ai and Tuan Ch'i-jui, or that of Chiang Kai-shek in the past 18 years, then if Chiang does not abandon his dictatorial policy today, even if he threatens continued civil war, such threats will not produce any "unification." Therefore, not just politically, but also militarily, the history of the past 50 years has proved that China's unification can be accomplished only by walking the path of democratic unity, never the path of dictatorship.

In view of the above, Chiang's views cannot withstand the test of facts; they contain no truth. His "unification" will bring neither democracy nor unity to China. On the contrary, only be acceding to the demands of the democratic parties and factions of China and the democratic powers of the world, calling a plenary Political Consultative Conference, stopping the civil war unconditionally, ending Chiang's one-party, military, and personal dictatorship, and reorganizing the National Government into a democratic coalition government in which all democratic elements will enjoy extensive, fair, and effective representation will China attain democracy and unification. Democracy is the cause and unification the effect; stopping the civil war is the cause and restoring communications the effect; political democratization is the cause and army nationalization the effect; forming a democratic coalition government is the cause and creating a true National Congress the effect. Is it conceivable that Chiang fails to understand such simple relations between cause and effect? Naturally he understands them. That he intentionally reverses the cause and effect is merely for the purpose of seeking an excuse to preserve his dictatorship. Actually, the Chinese people, like the world's democratic powers, have, since the peaceful solution of the Sian Incident, recognized the National Government as a convenient instrument for realizing democratic unification. They never intended to overthrow this government and start something new. Therefore, Chiang will retain a definite position, though absolutely not dictatorial position, in the reorganized National Government. Chiang says that he "cannot abandon his revolutionary responsibilities." We feel that sacrificing the personal and obeying the people, sacrificing dictatorship and obeying democracy, constitute his greatest responsibility toward the revolution. His persistence in the policy of civil war after the end of the resistance war, as he himself stated, has actually led to the "instant drop in the position of the state and the national glory gained through 8 years of bloody sacrifices" and the danger of "China becoming a scorned international straggler." Therefore, Byrnes, in his broadcast of 30 December, openly declared: "China, divided by civil war, will not be able to take its proper position among the allies or efficiently perform its international obligations." Unfortunately, Chiang has, in his New Year speech, repeated his own past mistakes. Nevertheless, the

direction of history has been determined. No matter how much he and his faction resist, peace and democracy in China, with the firm struggle of the Chinese people and the sympathetic support of friendly democracies, will gain a decisive victory. What we hope for are unity and unification. Therefore, we still hope that Chiang and his faction will make good use of the opportunity, abandon their preconceived ideas, fully cooperate with all the democratic elements in China, and make the Political Consultative Conference successful, thereby enabling China to advance promptly on the bright highway of peaceful construction and regain its proper international position.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH PAO (Editorial), 7 January 1946

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 5

+ "Collection of Military Affairs Documents on the Chinese People's Liberation War" (1)

6080
CSO: 4005

NOTICE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON STOPPING MILITARY CONFLICT IN CHINA

10 January 1946

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 10 Jan--The Chinese Communist Party Central Committee today issued an announcement on stopping domestic military conflict:

Chinese Communist Party committees of all levels, leaders of all military units of China's Liberated Areas, and government comrades of all levels:

The delegates of this party and the National Government have concluded an agreement on the method of, and the order and declaration on stopping the domestic military conflict, and the agreement was promulgated today. All units under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, including regular troops, militia, irregular troops, and guerrillas, and the governments and Communist Party committees of all levels in the Liberated Areas must strictly observe the agreement, without any violation.

The efforts of the people of China, after defeating the Japanese aggressors, to create a peaceful situation inside the country have now produced an important result. Henceforth China's new stage of peace and democracy will begin. It is hoped that the comrades of the entire party and the people of the entire nation will cooperate closely, continue their efforts, and struggle to consolidate domestic peace, realize democratic refors, and build an independent, free, and powerful new China.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman, Chinese Communist Party Central Committee

10 January 1946

° "Agreement Reached in Peace Negotiations; Kuomintang-Communist Joint Cease-fire Order Issued," 11 January 1946

* "Dawn of the New China," June 1946

+ "Chairman Mao Issues Cease-fire Orders," "History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 5

6080
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YENAN AUTHORITIES COMMENT ON THE GREAT SUCCESS OF THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

1 February 1946

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 1 Feb--The Political Consultative Conference closed successfully yesterday. Yenan authorities commented:

The results gained by the Political Consultative Conference are very important. The peaceful national construction program represents the common political program of the National Government after its reorganization and the general direction of democratic reforms to be followed by the entire nation in the transitional period. The principle for revising the draft constitution determines the basic principle for the democratization of China's national political system hereafter, and the resolution on army reorganization provides the basic principle for the nationalization of all the nation's armed forces, while the resolution on reorganizing the government and increasing the components of the National Congress constitutes the condition for safeguarding the implementation of the common program and the successful formulation and implementation of these resolutions, China will soon, on a nationwide scale, begin to leave the one-party dictatorship of the state system. Though all the resolutions still have to be implemented and, even after their implementation, a long-term, tortuous process of struggle still has to be undergone before thorough democratization can be achieved, in order to overcome all kinds of difficulties and obstacles, China undoubtedly will hereafter enter the new stage of peaceful democratic construction. It is a great historical victory of China's democratic revolution. This victory is the result of the Chinese people's indomitable struggle in the past century and of the common efforts of the parties and factions and the substantial concessions they made. The authorities point out that the excellent resolutions are merely the inception and that everything hinges on their concrete and faithful implementation. Always faithful to its promises, the Chinese Communist Party will thoroughly implement all the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference in the Liberated Areas and among the troops in these areas with the most sincere attitude. All members of the Chinese Communist Party will devote their efforts to

peaceful and legitimate struggle throughout the nation for the thorough democratization of the state and the construction of an independent, free, and powerful new China. The Chinese Communist Party welcomes Chairman Chiang's promise to implement the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference and the program of peaceful national construction, and it hopes that the Kuomintang will follow this spirit and pursue long-term cooperation with the people of the entire nation and the parties and factions, so that all the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference will be completely realized.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 1 February 1946

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STATEMENT OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE SPOKESMAN OF 17 MARCH

17 March 1946

[Text] Many influential persons in the Kuomintang are currently attempting to revise certain fundamental resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference, especially the one of the principle of the constitution. They will not have the consent of the Chinese Communist Party, other democratic parties and factions, and the broad masses for their action. The resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference are the result of the joint discussions and unanimous agreement of the plenary representatives of the various parties and factions. Everything they decided is compatible with the needs of the state and the hopes of the people. The resolution on the principle of the constitution, in particular, has won the support of international and domestic public opinion, which sees it as the only way to lay the foundation for democratization of the state. National Government Chairman Chiang personally served as chairman of the Political Consultative Conference. In his closing speech on 31 January, he declared solemnly that "as regards the resolutions adopted by the Political Consultative Conference, although I was unable to participate in them, I constantly studied them and gave them my attention, and I found that their entire contents were the crystallization of the sincere discussions of everyone concerned. On behalf of the government I wish to announce in advance that the government will respect the resolutions. As soon as the procedures are formulated, they will be implemented as decided." That the Kuomintang should suddenly propose revisions of the resolutions, including the principle of the constitution, just barely 1 1/2 months after the close of the conference is truly surprising. The Chinese Communist Party pays serious attention to the promises of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang and feels that the political honor of the various political parties and the long-range plan of the state are linked with the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference. Therefore, it will never waver but will adhere to all the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference, especially the resolution on the principle of the constitution, which must be implemented 100 percent. It opposes any

revision and appeals to all the democratic figures and the people of the entire nation to be ready to wage a solemn struggle for this sacred task.

° "Documents of the Political Consultative Conference," Historical Documents Press, July 1946

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REFUTE CHIANG KAI-SHEK

6 April 1946

[Text[On 1 April National Government Chairman Chiang Kai-shek made a long political report to the People's Political Council, which was organized exclusively by the fascists in the Kuomintang and which the Chinese Communist Party refused to attend. The CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY on 3 and 4 April distributed the "essential points" of the 6,000-word report. According to the CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY, there are two genuine "essential points" in Chiang Kai-shek's report: One is to tear up the Northeast cease-fire and again declare a large-scale civil war to the whole nation; the other is to tear up the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference and again declare dictatorship to the whole nation and attempt to gain constitutional sanction by means of the National Congress.

Concerning the first point, Chiang Kai-shek said: "Until the assumption of sovereignty over the nine Northeast provinces is completed, there is no internal political issue to speak of." He also said: "The handling of military conflicts will be carried out on the premise that it does not affect the assumption of sovereignty and the exercise of state administrative power by the government." Here he successively tears up two promises: First, he calls the action of his army in allying with the enemy and the puppets, attacking the Northeast democratic allied army, and slaughtering the people of the Northeast, not military conflict, but "assuming sovereignty and exercising state administrative power," thereby tearing up his promise in the Northeast cease-fire agreement that the executive team must "proceed to the point of conflict or close contact between the government and the Chinese Communist armies, stop the conflict, and make the necessary and fair adjustment and disposal." Next, after overthrowing the local autonomous government of the people of the Northeast and spreading his terrorist fascist control, he said that "there is no internal political issue to speak of," thereby tearing up his promise in the Northeast cease-fire agreement that "the political issues will be discussed separately and solved promptly." Here Chiang Kai-shek reveals his ferocious bloodthirsty features, making a sickening hypocrisy of his statement that "in view of the miseries suffered by the area, it is hoped

that the Military Mediation Executive Department will carefully select and send an executive team to the Northeast to stop the military conflicts." As the whole world knows, the Chinese Communist Party was the one which persistently demanded that the Military Mediation Executive Department stop the military conflict in the Northeast. Chiang Kai-shek and his group vigorously opposed the Northeast cease-fire and announced time and again that the Northeast was not within the scope of military mediation. At the press conference for foreign correspondents on 20 February his spokesman unequivocally answered the question of a foreign reporter: "Question: Is the Northeast included in the functional scope of the Peiping Military Mediation Executive Department? Answer: No. The Northeast is not included." This was officially published by the CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY in its 20 February dispatch from Chungking and cannot be changed by any lie. Only after the Chinese Communist Party, based on the clear provision in the cease-fire agreement that all military conflicts must cease in the entire nation, urged Chiang Kai-shek time and again to recognize the cease-fire did he accept, on 27 March, with utmost insincerity, the Northeast cease-fire agreement. Yet, barely 5 days later, in his speech of 1 April, he promptly and openly tore it up. He called the vicious civil war waged by him in the Northeast with foreign rockets and tanks against our countrymen "assuming sovereignty and exercising state administrative power." Naturally, it will not earn the forgiveness of the people of the Northeast, because no matter how ingenious the slogan of the executioner, it will not help them escape death from the foreign rockets and tanks. Furthermore, the Chinese people well remember that Chiang Kai-shek, in regard to the civil war in any area, always declared that it was for the purpose of "assuming sovereignty" and "exercising state administrative power," and in regard to any local government organized by the Chinese people after recovering state sovereignty from the Japanese aggressors, he announced that "the assumption of sovereignyt has not been completed." According to him, the sovereignty of the Republic of China does not belong to the people but to him and his group. Therefore, only his dictatorial political regime can assume the sovereignty, while the people and all democratic parties and factions have absolutely nothing to say. If they do, it is called "threatening peace in the Far East and world security," as if the Far East and the world were his private property and the friendly nations his private retainers. The Chinese people also well remember that, when Japan occupied the Northeast and large areas of North, Central, and South China, Chiang Kai-shek was never in a hurry to defend the state sovereignty against the Japanese. What he did in the 14 years from the 18 September Incident to Japan's surrender can be summer up in one phrase: Retreating from Heilungkiang to Kweichow Province. During those difficult and dangerous months and years, the troops under his command were like a compass, always running south. He ran for far south that even today he is still sending large numbers of troops from Vietnam, Yunna, Kweichow, Kwangsi, and Kwangtung northward, while criticizing the Communist Party, which persevered in the resistance war in the Northeast and North China, for confronting him. What is especially shameful is that he has completely

disregarded his reputation and fabricated the ridiculous "history" of the Kuomintang's perseverance in the resistance war in the Northeast. Feigning forgetfulness, he acts as though he had never adhered to the principle of nonresistance to Japan or subscribed to Sino-Japanese amity from the time of the 18 September Incident until he was detained by Chang Hsueh-liang, who is himself under detention to this day. To refresh his memory, we urge him to review his past performance, and we will cite a few foul instances here. On 7 April 1933, in his speech entitled "A Study of the Most Recent Bandit Exterminating Tactics" to high-level officers of the Middle Route Army of the "Bandit Extermination Army" in Kiangsi's Fu-chou, he said: "The enemy of our revolution is not the Japanese bandits but the native bandits. The Three Eastern Provinces and Jehol were lost. Naturally, as they were lost under the nominally unified government, we must take the responsibility. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of the revolution, the loss was not very important. The revolutionary party cannot be responsible for Japan's occupation of the Three Eastern Provinces and Jehol. Their loss is not detrimental to the revolution. If at this time we concentrate on the high and the distant and brag about resisting Japan, while failing to seek the truth through the facts and to eliminate the bandits, it will amount to speculation and taking the easy way out, and we will lose the essence of revolutionary soldiers." This passage appears on pages 75-77 of "Theory and Practice of Bandit Extermination," published in July 1935 by the Propaganda Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang Central Executive Committee. In his speech in July 1934 entitled "resisting Foreign Aggression and Rebuilding the Nation," delivered to the Lu-shan Officers Training Corps, Chiang Kai-shek said: "By what means can we resist the enemy and rebuild the nation? Will we be able to fight the enemy by concentrating all our efforts on national defense and the manufacture of airplanes and cannons? The officers must know that not only is it already too late for us to acquire weapons and reorganize national defense and impossible to resist the enemy, but even if we all concentrate on these tasks for the next 30 years the effort will be inadequate. Then by what means can we reorganize the national defense? By what means can we truly fight the enemy? There is no such time! No such possibility! We must stop dreaming! We can say that the life of our state and the life of our nation are now in the hands of the Japanese, and there is no room for any free action!" This speech was printed as a monograph, published in 1938 in all the Kuomintang papers in the country, and included in the "Selections of Committee Chairman Chiang's Instructions" (pages 431-432, Volume 1) edited by the office of his aides. In September 1935 Chiang Kai-shek published an article entitled "Changes in Sino-Japanese Relations" in the Japanese magazine KEIZAI ORAI. He said: "Viewed from whatever aspect, China and Japan must help each other and cooperate in order to promote prosperity in Asia. Though we are in the midst of serious difficulties today, we think of the long history of Sino-Japanese relations in the past and firmly believe that the current disputes will be solved by the sincerity and efforts of the people of the two nations and that true cooperation and amity, which are our constant ideal, will be realized." This passage appears on pages 69-70 of the third

edition of "Complete Works of Committee Chairman Chiang" published by the Shanghai Kuo-t'ai Bookstore. After the start of the resistance war, Chiang Kai-shek, on 18 November 1939, gave a speech entitled "China's Resistance War and the International Situation" at the sixth meeting of the sixth central plenum of the fifth session of the Kuomintang. He said: "Just what do we mean by resisting to the end? I explained at the fifth central plenum that resisting to the end and recovering the status quo prior to the 7 July Incident were based on China as the criterion." These words are found on page 16, Volume 5, of "Selections of Committee Chairman Chiang's Instructions" edited by the office of his aides. Just these random data alone are sufficient to prove that Chiang and his accomplices were guilty of losing the Northeast and had no merit in its recovery. Naturally, one day Chiang Kai-shek will destroy or revise these masterpieces of his so that even kindergarten children will believe that the fable in his 1 April speech is true, that he never ordered nonresistance or Sino-Japanese amity after the 18 September Incident, that he never signed the Shanghai Agreement, the T'ang-ku Agreement, the China-Manchuria Traffic and Postal Agreement, or the Ho-Umezu Agreement, that he never pursued any diplomatic activities to betray the Northeast and seek surrender and compromise after the start of the resistance war, and that he never charged the puppet army in the Northeast and the Japanese fascist remnants with "assuming sovereignty over the Northeast." Unfortunately, he has not yet had time to accomplish all these. He created the rumor that no Chinese Communist troops were present in the Northeast before Japan's surrender. It has only served to prove the absence of any national concept in him, because no Chinese with any national concept will be so callous as to obliterate the more than a decade of courageous history of the world-famous Northeast resist-Japan allied army, or the 8 years of courageous history of the world-famous Hopeh-Jehol-Liaoning Border Region, or the courageous history of the units of Li Yun-ch'ang, Lu Cheng-ts'ao, Wan Yi, and Chang Hsueh-shih, part of the 8th Route Army, which entered the Northeast under orders of 11 August before Japan's surrender, reinforced the anti-Japanese allied army and the Hopeh-Jehol-Liaoning Border Region, aided the Soviet Red Army to eliminate the enemy and puppet troops in the Northeast, liberated the people of the Northeast, and recovered national sovereignty. That Chiang Kai-shek, as chairman of the National Government, did not hesitate to create rumors for the selfish purpose of one party, one faction, and one individual has truly embarrassed the Chinese people.

In regard to the other goal of his speech--the goal of maintaining dictatorship--Chiang Kai-shek said: "The Political Consultative Conference, in essence, is not a conference to formulate the sonstitution. Its resolutions on government organization, in essence, cannot replace the Provisional Constitution.... If it truly becomes a conference of this sort, our government and the people (?) of the entire nation will never recognize it." As we all know, the functions of the Political Consultative Conference, according to the provisions in the "Synopsis of Kuomintang-Communist Negotiations," are to "end political tutelage and introduce constitutional

politics." According to Truman's declaration, it is "a national conference held by the delegates of all the major political factions in China, who will discuss and decide on the method for them to enjoy fair and effective representation in the National Government of China. The American Government feels that it is necessary to revise, by this means, the one-party political uttelage system established by Dr Sun Yat-sen, the father of the Republic of China, as a temporary measure for the state to advance toward democracy." If the Political Consultative Conference is not for the purpose of ending, or still cannot end, the so-called political tutelage of the one-party dictatorship and the so-called Provisional Constitution of the political tutelage period and the National Government Organization Law, then why is the conference needed? What is its significance? The so-called Provisional Constitution of the political tutelage period was a creation of Chiang Kai-shek's puppet conference (National Conference) of May 1931. In the opening statement of this puppet conference, Chiang Kai-shek openly advocated fascism and opposed democracy. He said: "The political theory of fascism follows the spirit of transcendentalism, is based on the theory of the structure of the state, adopts the syndicalist organization, and considers the state the supreme being. The state may demand any sacrifice from the people. Current welfare is not the criterion for the continuation of national life. The ruling power coexists with society, without any order of precedence. Those in control are the most efficient in ruling in the evolutionary stage.... The political theory of free democracy starts from individualism, subscribes to the principle of the natural rights of man, advocates the view that sovereignty belongs to the entire people, and always stresses individual freedom. Though at times there is an inevitable feeling of sluggishness in efficiency, the democracy of England and America, in view of its long evolutionary history and the people's habitual exercise of their civil rights, can still be practiced, but when it comes to those nations without such a historical and social background, the confusion in Italy before the Fascist Party came to power can serve as an example. The weaknesses of parliamentary politics in other nations have been fully revealed, making it doubtful and difficult for the observers. Freedom must be coupled with responsibility before it can have significance; otherwise, when everyone speaks his mind, who will be responsible for the consequences? This is the most distressing aspect of the matter.... When averting a national danger too urgent to permit delay and leading a nation which has never had any political experience, one must rely on a relatively more efficient power control. Furthermore, since it has been clearly provided that fascism is only a transitional stage, it must be differentiated from the fascist theory itself." In other words, China must clearly provide that fascism is a transitional stage. Its differentiation from the fascist theory itself is that China will progress from the fascist Chiang Kai-shek's political tutelage to a sort of Chiang Kai-shek constitutional politics. Such constitutional politics is at least not the "sluggish" and "most distressing" "democracy of England and America," i.e., "parliamentary politics." The Provisional Constitution of the political tutelage period created under the guidance of this fascism has deprived,

"according to law," the people of all freedoms (Articles 8-10, 12-16, 18, and 27 of the Provisional Constitution) on the one hand, and, on the other hand, brazenly decided on a one-party dictatorship by announcing that "in the political tutelage period the Chinese Kuomintang National Party Congress will exercise the ruling power of the Central Government on behalf of the National Congress," and that "when the Chinese Kuomintang National Party Congress is not in session, its functions will be performed by the Chinese Kuomintang Central Executive Committee" (Article 30 of the Provisional Constitution). Article 15 of the Organization Law of the National Government formulated under the Provisional Constitution provides: "The presidents and vice presidents of the five yuan of the National Government will be nominated by the chairman of the National Government from among the National Government Committee members for selection and appointment by the Chinese Kuomintang Central Executive Committee. The National Government chairman will be responsible to the Chinese Kuomintang Central Executive Committee, and the presidents of the five yuan to the National Government chairman." Here the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee is the only supreme organ of power of the state, and each of its members, according to the decision of the first central plenum of the sixth session of the Kuomintang, must swear that he "will obey the orders of the director general with the utmost sincerity and will be willing to suffer the most severe punishment of the party if the oath is violated." Thus, the so-called "fundamental law of the state" is: The people of the whole country must, "according to law," obey the National Government, the National Government must obey its chairman, Chiang Kai-shek, the chairman must obey the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee, and every member of the committee must swear to obey Chairman Chiang Kai-shek with the utmost sincerity. In other words, the people of the whole country must serve as fourth-class slaves of Chiang Kai-shek's personal dictatorship! Chiang Kai-shek, in his speech of 1 April, asks the people of the whole country to continue to recognize the inviolable Provisional Constitution of the political tutelage period and the Organization Law of the National Government, and he asks the democratic parties and factions to join his National Government on this basis, so that the "transitional stage" of the "most efficient" fascist political tutelage will "transit" to his fascist constitutional politics; otherwise, his government "absolutely will not recognize" the Political Consultative Conference, because, in his view, without fascism "the country will sink into an anarchic state!" His insistence on maintaining the fascist dictatorship at present naturally is not merely for the 1 month of legal control before 5 May, but for the continued preservation of this dictatorship into the distant future. This conspiracy has been clearly expressed in his theory on the constitutional issue. He and his group insist on overthrowing the resolution of the Political Consultative Conference on the principle of the draft constitution, describing the resolution as a "reference" document without any binding force on Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang, which unanimously rose and voted for its passage at the Political Consultative Conference. Chiang Kai-shek and his group violate the resolution of the conference, insist that the constitution

must take the national construction program as "the most fundamental basis," firmly oppose a congress as the supreme organ of power, insist that the congress (Legislative Yuan) must possess no powers of consent and nonconfidence in the cabinet (Executive Yuan), insist that neither must the Supervisory Yuan have the power of consent, and insist that the provinces have no need to formulate provincial constitutions as advocated by Dr Sun Yat-sen. Yet he maintains that these stands reflect his "determination to sincerely abide by and vigorously carry out" the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference and his "assiduity in being tolerant and yielding and doing the best possible under the circumstances." His dictionary is so different from ordinary ones! The five principles of the second central plenum of the Kuomintang he firmly follows are apparently all for the purpose of opposing the "most distressing" parliamentary politics, so that, by means of the unlimited concentration of power in the Executive Yuan and the meaningless ornament of the National Congress, he will not be restricted by the Legislative Yuan and the Supervisory Yuan or by the provinces, but will forever maintain the fascist dictatorship, "the most efficient in ruling in the evolutionary stage." There is no other significance.

Right from the start the fascist reactionaries in the Kuomintang opposed the cease-fire agreement, the Political Consultative Conference, and the army reorganization plan, yet these achievements were all won by overcoming the fascist reactionaries. Therefore, the vigorous attempt of the fascist reactionaries to subsequently overthrow the agreements is not in the least bit surprising. What is worthy of attention is that Chiang Kai-shek, during one period in the past, expressed his support of these agreements, yet now he personally takes the standpoint of the fascist reactionaries to attack and tear them up. The fascist reactionaries feel that this reaction may win certain international aid; therefore, they send large numbers of troop reinforcements to the Northeast, recklessly expand the war, and launch serious provocations in other areas of the nation, such as central Hopeh, northern Kiangsu, Shansi, and northern Honan, not only not restoring communications but openly building fortresses, not only disbanding the puppet army but openly continuing to recruit puppet troops. They continue to use armed enemy troops in Shansi, not only not demoblizing them but openly declaring that "demoblization is the beginning of moblization," announcing that a nationwide civil war will be launched in the next few months, and completely ignoring the Peiping Executive Department and the three-man committee. In politics they recklessly destroy all resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference, continue to spread terror throughout the nation, conspire to murder important political prisoners, openly commend the "abundant merits and great achievements" of the vicious secret service organ, and especially openly demand the passage of the dictatorial constitution by the National Congress, so that China will return to the status prior to January this year. This situation cannot but arouse the vigorous vigilance of the people of the entire nation. The Chinese people cannot but warn Chiang Kai-shek and the fascist reactionaries at this critical moment: You feel that you were forced by

international pressure to accept the cease-fire agreement and the resolutions and army reorganization plan of the Political Consultative Conference and that, with the temporary relaxation of this pressure, you can resume your old ways. You are wrong, not only because you have not truly recognized the international situation, but also because you have not made an adequate assessment of the people's power. To resist troop reinforcements in the Northeast, to stop the civil war in the Northeast and other areas, to preserve the democratic rights of the people of the Northeast and the entire nation, to end the dictatorial political tutelage, i.e., the one-party dictatorship of the Kuomintang, to seek full implementation of the Political Consultative Conference resolutions, to insist on a democratic constitution, i.e., the plenary powers of the congress, the consent and nonconfidence powers of the Legislative Yuan over the Executive Yuan, the consent power of the Supervisory Yuan, and the right of the provinces to formulate their own constitutions which do not conflict with the national constitution and cannot be changed by the laws of the Central Government, and to insist on the thorough reduction and nationalization of the Kuomintang troops, the Chinese people have determined to launch an indomitable struggle. All these goals are linked with the Chinese people's fundamental interests, and the people will absolutely refuse to yield. Peace and democracy in China have been basically won by the struggles of the Chinese people and are not a gift from any Chinese or foreigners, while the things won through struggle can only, and will definitely, be preserved and consolidated by continuous struggles. If the fascist reactionaries persist in their reactionism to the bitter end, then the Chinese people know how to handle the matter correctly.

(6 April 1946)

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO (Editorial), 7 April 1946

* "Documents of the Political Consultative Conference," Historical Documents Press, July 1946

* "Struggle for Peace and Democracy in the Northeast," Mass Cultural Cooperative, 1946

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 5

6080
CSO: 4005

EULOGY FOR MARTYRS OF '8 APRIL' INCIDENT

19 April 1946

[Text] Dear comrades-in-arms, immortal courageous soldiers:

For decades you performed magnificent tasks in the people's cause. Today you died in the people's cause. Your death was glorious!

Your death serves as an appeal. It will intensify the Chinese people's understanding of the Chinese Communist Party and reinforce their determination to persevere in the cause of peace, democracy, and unity!

Your death serves as an appeal. It will appeal to the entire party membership and to all the people to unite and struggle to the end for a peaceful, democratic, and united new China!

The entire party membership and all the people will continue your wishes and persevere in the struggle until victory, never slackening and never retreating!

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 20 April 1946

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YENAN AUTHORITIES OPPOSE JAMES BYRNES' AID-CHIANG BILL

16 June 1946

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 16 Jun--Certain American authorities have ignored the appeal of the Chinese people and the democratic parties and factions to stop fostering China's civil war and have decided to render military aid to its instigators--the Chiang Kai-shek government. According to a Washington dispatch of a U.S. news service dated the 14th, "U.S. Secretary of State Byrnes today (14th) submitted a bill to the Senate for its approval providing for military training and technical aid to China. In a letter accompanying the bill, Byrnes pointed out that 'uninterrupted military aid to China is extremely important.' He said: 'China asked the United States to send a military mission to China of the same nature as the American military delegation sent to Latin America.' The bill for military aid to China was jointly prepared by the departments of the army, navy, and state. Byrnes felt that the national interest (including the U.S. interest in reconstruction and in maintaining peace and security in Asia) requires that America render aid to China and organize and maintain a suitable number of modern troops, so that China will make its contribution to such peace and security." The people here feel that, just when the Chinese Communist delegates in Nanking, through Marshall, are negotiating and striving for a general and long-term peace in China with the Kuomintang government, while the latter openly advocates a general long-term civil war, this bill encouraging China's civil war proposed by the U.S. Government is truly an unfriendly gesture toward the Chinese people in their desire for peace. The facts and Byrnes' inferences are completely contradictory. If this bill is passed, China will sink into a serious situation of discord and insecurity, while the interests of the American people and the prestige of the American nation will suffer a tremendous loss. As Chinese and world public opinion has pointed out time and again, America's huge military aid to the warmongering dictatorial government of the Chinese Kuomintang is the only fundamental cause of the inception, expansion, and unrestraint of China's civil war today. The Chinese people do not understand what right the American government has to forcefully impose civil war and dictatorship on China and to demand that China, like Latin America, be degraded to a part of the American sphere of influence or its "national

interest." Nor do they understand what right the American government has to destroy President Truman's declaration of last December about "not influencing the process of any internal dispute in China by military intervention" and the principles contained in the official report on the China issue of the Moscow three-nation foreign ministers conference last December. The Yenan authorities indicate that peace and democracy in China are sacred rights of the Chinese people which no one may interfere with or alienate and that, if the reactionaries of China rely on foreign aid, persist in civil war and dictatorship, directly turn the present Kuomintang government into a Ch'in Kuai, Chang Pang-ch'ang, or Liu Yu government, and make the present National Government chairman a subservient emperor paying homage to foreign countries, we can definitely say that the Chinese people will resist to the last drop of their blood.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 17 June 1946

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STATEMENT ON U.S. CHINA-AID BILL

22 June 1946

[Text] The bill providing continued military aid to China submitted by the U.S. secretary of state on the 14th is most favorable to the peace, security, independence and democracy of China. Therefore, the Chinese Communist Party firmly opposes it. This view is supported by the broad democratic masses of China. In the war to resist Japan, when America rendered military aid to China and sent troops to Chinese territory to coordinate with China in combat, the goal was to defeat the common enemy of China and America--Japanese imperialism. However, even at that time, since America erroneously rendered aid only to the Kuomintang warlords, such aid did not effectively reinforce China's resistance. On the contrary, it was used by the Kuomintang warlords to reinforce their attack on and blockade of the Chinese Communist Party and the Liberated Areas which actively resisted Japan. After Japan surrendered, America, instead of discontinuing, greatly strengthened all types of military aid to the Chinese Kuomintang government and, with this precise goal, send hordes of troops to be stationed on China's territorial land and seas. Its action has been proved to be the fundamental cause of the outbreak and continuous escalation of China's civil war. Only on the premise of the U.S. government's assertion that it would abide by the restrictions on the China issue contained in the official report of the Moscow three-nation foreign ministers conference of December 1945 and the Chinese Kuomintang's declaration that it would stop the civil war and implement the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference on state democratization did the Chinese Communist Party agree on certain kinds of U.S. military aid to China. However, now that this premise has been seriously damaged, the so-called military aid rendered by America is actually only armed intervention in China's internal affairs; it represents only vigorous support of the Kuomintang dictatorial government and an effort to keep China in a situation of civil war, division, chaos, terror, and poverty; it is intended only to prevent China from implementing army reorganization and demobilization and performing its obligations to the United Nations; it is intended only to endanger China's national security and independence and its territorial sovereignty; it is designed only to destroy the

glorious friendship between the two great nations of China and America and the future of their trade. What the Chinese people urgently need today is not American guns and cannons or American garrisons on Chinese territory. On the contrary, the Chinese people deeply feel that the ammunition shipped by America to China is excessive, that the American forces stationed in China are too large, and that they have created a tremendous threat to the peace and security of China and the survival and freedom of the Chinese people. In these realistic conditions, the Chinese Communist Party cannot but firmly oppose the American Government's continued delivery of arms to the Kuomintang government of China in the form of sales, lease, gifts, or assignment; it firmly opposes the sending of an American military advisory mission to China and firmly demands that America immediately cease and recover all the so-called military aid to China and immediately withdraw all its troops from China.

° "Selections of Mao Tse-tung," Vol 3, 1947 edition

* "Chairman Mao Publishes Announcement Opposing U.S. Military Aid to China Bill," CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 23 June 1946

* CH'UN CHUNG (Chungking), No 9, Vol 11, 30 June 1946

* "Struggle for Independence, Peace, and Democracy," Shansi-Chahar-Hopeh Publishing House, August 1946

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CONGRATULATORY CABLE TO MARSHAL STALIN ON THE 29TH NATIONAL DAY OF THE SOVIET UNION

6 November 1946

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 6 Nov--Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Chairman Mao and Commander in Chief Chu, on the eve of the National Day of the Soviet Union, sent a congratulatory cable to Marshal Stalin. The text is as follows:

To Marshal Stalin of the Soviet Union:

We respectfully congratulate you on your nation's 29th National Day. In the past 29 years the Soviet Union has consistently sympathized with China's cause of national independence and people's liberation, and the people of China, beginning with Dr Sun Yat-sen, have also consistently sympathized with the Soviet Union's contributions to the peace and progress of mankind. We wish our friendship to continue forever.

Mao Tse-tung
Chu Te

6 November

° "Chairman Mao and Commander in Chief Chu Send Congratulatory Cable to Marshal Stalin: Forever Consolidate the Friendship between the Peoples of China and the Soviet Union," CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 7 November 1946

CH'UN-CHUNG (Shanghai), Vol 13, No 4, 11 November 1946

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NEW YEAR MESSAGE

1 January 1947

[Text] In 1946 the bright side of the postwar world waged a successful struggle against its dark side, and the bright side of postwar China also waged a successful struggle against its dark side. A large-scale people's movement for peace, democracy, and freedom has developed in both the postwar world and postwar China. This movement will inevitably march toward victory, and no force can resist it. Nevertheless, the reactionaries will always attempt to block it. The task of the whole world and all of China is to rally all forces and smash the resistance of the reactionaries. In 1947 the world united front of the people of all nations in the world, including China, against America's policy of aggression will develop rapidly, while the movement of the Chinese people for democracy and freedom will gain greater victories than in 1946. As a result, changes will occur in the situation in China which are favorable to the resumption of peace and the independence of the nation.

Even during the resistance war period our Communist Party members strove for the postwar cooperation of all the parties and factions. However, we also issued a warning: "The major ruling group of the Kuomintang, under the camouflage of the 'National Congress' and 'political solution,' is now surreptitiously preparing for a civil war. If our countrymen do not pay attention, expose its conspiracy, and block its preparations, they will wake up one morning and hear the artillery fire of the civil war." After the conclusion of the resistance war, together with the people of the whole nation, we exhausted all our patience and efforts to stop the outbreak and escalation of a civil war. Unfortunately, these efforts were destroyed by the general attack launched by the reactionaries and the "National Congress" controlled exclusively by the Kuomintang. However, the Chinese people continue to seek peace through two kinds of effort--the arduous and outstanding struggle of the people of all classes and strata in the Liberated Areas against the reactionary attacks, and the ever-rising mass movement of the people of all classes and strata in the areas under Kuomintang control for democracy and freedom. This combined desire of the Chinese people will definitely overpower that of any reactionary element,

thereby making possible sincere discussions for peace among all the parties and factions and a genuine peaceful life throughout the nation. Currently the Kuomintang authorities are not showing the least bit of interest in peace. Instigated by the American Government, they are busily adorning themselves with the divided "National Congress" and the dictatorial "constitution" in order to "legalize" their war and American aid. Nevertheless, as long as the people of the whole nation unite and persevere in an indomitable struggle, the sunlight of freedom will, in the near future, shine on the great land of our mother country, and an independent, peaceful, and democratic new China will have a firm foundation.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 1 January 1947

* CH'UN-CHUNG (Shanghai), Vol 14, No 2, 13 January 1947

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 5

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CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY AUTHORITIES ON CURRENT SITUATION

30 May 1947

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, North Shensi, 30 May--Chinese Communist Party authorities expressed their views on the current situation to HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY reporters. They said:

The Chiang Kai-shek government, the enemy of the people, has now discovered that it is besieged by the entire population. Whether on the military or the political front, it has suffered defeats, is besieged by the might of the people, whom it has declared an enemy, and can find no way of escape. Chiang Kai-shek's traitorous group and its master, American imperialism, have made a wrong assessment of the situation. They overestimated their own strength and underestimated the people's strength. They regarded postwar China and the world as the same as in the past, not permitting changes in the pattern of anything and not permitting anyone to disobey their will. After Japan's surrender they were determined to restore China to the old order. Gaining time by means of such deceptions as the Political Consultative Conference and military mediation, Chiang Kai-shek's traitorous government mobilized 2 million troops and launched a general attack. The Chinese Communist authorities said that the war between Chiang Kai-shek's aggressive army and the People's Liberation Army is the first front, and now a second front has appeared--the sharp struggle between the great and just student movement and Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary government. The slogan of the student movement is food, peace, and freedom, i.e., against starvation, against civil war, and against oppression. Chiang Kai-shek has promulgated a provisional method to maintain social order. His army, police, military police, and secret service clash with the student masses everywhere. He handles the empty-handed students by such forceful means as arrests, imprisonment, beatings, and slaughtering, yet the student movement spreads daily. All social sympathy is on the side of the students, while Chiang Kai-shek's ferocious features have been starkly revealed. The student movement is part of the people's movement and its organizer. The rise of the student movement will inevitably lead to the rise of the entire people's movement. This has been pointed out in the historical experiences of the 4 May and 29 January movements of the past. As American imperialism

and its running dog Chiang Kai-shek have replaced Japanese imperialism and its running dog Wang Ching-wei and adopted the policies of turning China into an American colony, launching a civil war, and reinforcing the fascist dictatorial control, they have declared war against the people of the entire nation and pushed the people of all classes and strata to the verge of starvation and death. Therefore, they have forced the people to unite and wage a life-and-death struggle against Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary government and to make this struggle develop rapidly. There is no other way out. The people of all classes and strata in China, including workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie, the enlightened gentry, other patriotic elements, minorities, and Overseas Chinese, oppressed by the reactionary policies of the Chiang Kai-shek government and finding themselves in a situation calling for unity and self-help, constitute an extremely large national united front. The Chinese Communist authorities said that the reactionary financial and economic policies long followed by the Chiang Kai-shek government have now been reinforced by an unprecedented traitorous treaty--the Sino-American trade treaty. On the foundation of this treaty, America's monopolistic capital will closely associate with Chiang Kai-shek's bureaucratic compradore capital and control the economic life of the entire nation. As a result, it will cause extreme currency inflation, unprecedented commodity price increases, growing bankruptcy or national industry and commerce, and ever-deteriorating living standards of the laboring masses and public and educational personnel. This situation has forced the people of all classes and strata to unite and struggle for their lives. The Chinese Communist authorities pointed out that military suppression and political deception are the two main tools employed by Chiang Kai-shek to preserve his reactionary control. Now the people have realized the rapid advance of these tools toward bankruptcy. Chiang Kai-shek's troops have suffered defeats everywhere since last July. Over 90 brigades of his regular troops alone have been wiped out. Not only do they no longer have the vitality they demonstrated when they captured Ch'ang-ch'un, Ch'eng-te, Kalgan, Ko-tse, Huai-yin, and An-tung last year, but not even that of the time when they occupied Lin-i and Yenan this year. Chiang Kai-shek and Ch'en Ch'eng erroneously estimated the strength and the operational methods of the People's Liberation Army, taking withdrawal as cowardice and the abandonment of cities as failure. They wishfully thought to solve the problem inside the pass in 3 to 6 months before solving the Northeast issue. But 10 months later Chiang Kai-shek's entire aggressive army has fallen into a desperate situation, facing waves of attack by the people and the People's Liberation Army of the Liberated Areas and finding it difficult to escape. More and more reports of the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek's troops on the frontline arrive at the rear, and the broad masses, suffocating under the oppression of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary government, feel ever more hopeful about a change in their fate. Precisely at this time, all of Chiang Kai-shek's political deceptions are rapidly going bankrupt. Everything has turned out contrary to the expectations of the reactionaries, such as calling a National Congress to formulate a constitution, reorganizing the one-party

government into a multiparty government, etc. Their goal was to isolate the Chinese Communist Party and all democratic forces, but the result has been otherwise. Rather than the Chinese Communist Party or the democratic forces, the reactionaries themselves have been isolated. Henceforth the Chinese people know, from their own experience, the truth of Chiang Kai-shek's National Congress, his constitution, and his multiparty government. Until now many Chinese people, mainly the middle classes and strata, entertained some illusions about Chiang Kai-shek's sleights of hand and his talk of peace. After he had torn to shreds several solemn cease-fire agreements, and after bayonets had been pointed at the student masses demanding peace and resisting the civil war, with the exception of those who intentionally wish to deceive or those without the least bit of political experience, no one will believe his peace talk. The Chinese Communist authorities said: All the changes have proved the accuracy of our assessment. We have constantly pointed out to the people that the Chiang Kai-shek government is nothing but a government of treachery, civil war, and dictatorship. It wishes to smash the Chinese Communist Party and all democratic forces by means of a civil war in order to attain its goal of turning China into an American colony and preserving its dictatorial control. Nevertheless, because of these reactionary policies it has lost all its political prestige and strength. The power of the Chiang Kai-shek government is merely temporary and superficial. Actually, it is a government with a powerful exterior and an empty interior. Regardless of the area and the front, its attacks can be repelled. In the future it will inevitably lose all its supporters and its entire army. All the changes have proved, and will continue to prove, the accuracy of our assessments. The Chinese Communist authorities said: The development of the changes in China has been more rapid than anticipated. The speed of the victories of the People's Liberation Army on the one had and the progress of the people's struggle in areas under Chiang's control on the other have been very rapid. To realize a peaceful, democratic, and independent new China, the Chinese people must prepare all the required conditions.

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 1 June 1947

* CH'UN-CHUNG (Hong Kong), Vol 1, No 19, 5 June 1947

* "Collection of Important Documents of the Chinese Communist Party Since 1947," New Democracy Publishing House (Hong Kong), February 1949

* "The Current Situation and Our Tasks," Hsin-hua Bookstore, June 1949

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 5

6080
CSO: 4005

TRAITOR CHIANG KAI-SHEK DESERVES TO BE KILLED BY ANY CHINESE FOR TREASON AND TORMENTING THE PEOPLE

HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY reporter on current situation in China

13 July 1947

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, North Shensi, 13 Jul--A HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY reporter commented on tne current situation:

On the 4th of this month Chiang Kai-shek personally proposed to what the Kuomintang calls the "three-party government" the so-called general mobilization resolution, and it was passed. This resolution has proved two things to the people of the whole country for the last time: First, the ringleader of the civil war is Chiang Kai-shek. Second, since the Chungking Parade Ground tragedy last year, the series of violent fascist outrages by the Kuomintang secret service agents, the violation of the cease-fire agreement of 10 Jaunary 1946, the civil war, the treacherous Sino-American trade treaty, the massacre of our countrymen with American weapons, the recruitment of Japanese war criminal Okamura Neiji to participate in the civil war, the coercive conscription, the grain levy and fund collections everywhere, the violation of the Political Consultative Conference resolutions, the counterfeit National Congress, the counterfeit constitution, the ousting of Chinese Communist delegates, the occupation of Yenan, and the arrests and massacres of students, reporters, and democratic figures who are against the civil war, starvation, dictatorship, and betrayal have all been initiated by Chiang Kai-shek. All his perversions are in the interest of American imperialism and China's reactionaries, bringing calamity and death to the Chinese people. His general mobilization is his general collapse. The general mobilization will not avert his military, economic, and political crises; on the contrary, it will only aggravate them. His collapse is unavoidable. Due to his general mobilization, the people of the whole country are faced with greater and deeper calamities, and they realize ever more clearly that Chiang Kai-shek is the source of the calamities. As long as Ch'ing-fu existed, the calamities of Lu would not cease. As long as traitor Chiang is not eliminated, the

country will have no peace. To avoid the calamities, any Chinese has the right to punish this civil war ringleader and traitor. The faithful disciples of Sun Yat-sen in the Kuomintang must unite and, together with the people, punish the renegade. If they have the least bit of conscience, those in power in the Kuomintang must arrest him, denounce his crimes of betraying the country and showering calamities on the people, and bring him to trial by the people.

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 15 July 1947

6080
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COMMENTS BY 'HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY' REPORTER ON U.S. CRIME TO RUIN CHINA AND THE DUET SUNG BY PROCURESS AND PROSTITUTE

30 August 1947

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, North Shensi, 30 Aug--A HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY reporter commented:

After Wedemeyer's announcement, the little court of the House of Chiang has been putting on all kinds of performances on successive days, indicating that America and Chiang are singing a duet like the act performed by Lu Ch'i-ch'i and Chang Hsi-hsi, the clowns of Shanghai's Ta-shih-chieh amusement park. Knowing well that "corruption" and "inefficiency" are fundamentally inseparable from the Chiang group, American imperialism wants this Chiang Kai-shek, who is covered with sores head to foot, to "reform." It is like leading a camel through the neddle's eye. Then why does Uncle Sam insist that his child perform something absolutely impossible? There are two goals: On the one hand it will create excuses for the American imperialist authorities, so that, after whitewashing the toliet cover of the Chiang Kai-shek group, they can openly dump arms and loans into Chiang Kai-shek's bottomless pit. On the other hand Wedemeyer's fancy words, such as "strictness," "fairness," and "the Chinese people's yearning for peace," are for the purpose of calming the anger of the Chinese and American people toward American imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek's rotten regime. The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR of the 27th leaked the hidden plans: "Wedemeyer announced that the door to aid Chiang and resist communism had not been closed." Meanwhile, the NEW YORK TIMES openly stated: "Many able 'authorities' and officials under 'Chairman' Chiang are 'absolutely' capable of reform." The truth is revealed. Chiang Kai-shek and the four big families are good and "authoritative," and the bad ones are only the generally "inefficient" low-level staff and the "local government structure" personnel who need some "reform."

After the procuress had sung for a while, the prostitutes ascended the stage, led by Sun K'o and Wu T'ieh-ch'eng, vigorously acting out the modern drama of prostitution. The titles of the programs were "Purging Corruption" and "Strict Enforcement of Regulations on Punishing Corruption." Here there

were several implied "benefits": The various groups could make use of the opportunity to vent their anger against the thorns in their flesh. Meanwhile, "purging corruption" was "very successful." Hereafter we will see many farces, such as the Huang-p'u faction prosecuting the CC faction or the political study faction hauling out the K'ung-Soon clique. Afterward, the procuress returned unsatisfied and sang again. Following her we will probably see the performers exchanging their roles, the so-called "reorganization." According to a U.S. UNITED PRESS report on the 27th, "Wedemeyer's criticisms will be thoroughly digested by the members of the Kuomintang Central Committee. They will hold a meeting in the near future to partly reorganize the 'coalition government' controlled by the Kuomintang." Sun K'o became more active. He gave an interview to a CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY reporter in Canton: "Sun has cleared up all the misunderstandings of outsiders concerning Wedemeyer's announcement. All American suspicions about aiding China (Chiang) will be completely allayed. He stresses that the major task of the 'special envoy' is to determine how America should render aid to China." Thus, Wu T'ieh-ch'eng was moved to tears by his gratitude: "General Wedemeyer's words were frank and sincere." Thus, what Wedemeyer directed was merely a duet.

Nevertheless, the highlight of the duet was still Sun K'o. Though the main goal of Wedemeyer's vociferous advocation of "peace" is to play for time and give Chiang Kai-shek an opportunity to reorganize and equip his troops and reinforce the offensive, Wedemeyer knows that this is extremely difficult to accomplish. Therefore, he resigns himself to the second best: 1. Aid to Chiang and the civil war are inseparably linked and so are the civil war and the amount of aid. However, there must be an excuse in order to convince the financial bosses in America who balk at the bottomless pit. 2. To preserve the status of Uncle Sam, there has to be some lecturing. But if the wording is too severe, it may produce the side effects of "contemptible defeatism" and internal demoralization among the children. Therefore, a brilliant performance is required in order to convince the bosses above and energize the rank and file below. Thus, it is necessary to speak in a different tone, slightly different from the CC and Huang-p'u factions. As the highlight of the program in the modern zoo is the joint performance of the foreigners and the animals, Sun K'o, after playing the prostitute, emerged as a monkey. Backstage, Wedemeyer sang: "Let them make peace!" Sun K'o, turning somersaults on stage: "Fight! Fight! The Communist Party must be wiped out by force!" The "fight to the finish" sung by the openly fascist chief Chiang Kai-shek will be somewhat different from the "fight to the end" sung by Sun K'o, who prostitutes as a "liberalist." We can expect the third appearance of the procuress on stage, followed by a display of coppers and firearms.

The reporter pointed out in conclusion: The bankruptcy of Wedemeyer's reputation and the bankruptcy of the court of the House of Chiang in all aspects constitute the final declaration of bankruptcy of the prostitutes and monkeys such as Sun K'o. The people are pushing them from total bankruptcy to a permanent grave.

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 3 September 1947

6080
CSO: 4005

CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY SPOKESMAN SOLEMNLY EXPOSES U.S. AND CHIANG COLLUSION TO MURDER AND PERSECUTE DEMOCRATIC FIGURES

12 October 1947

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, North Shensi, 12 Oct--A Chinese Communist spokesman today points out to the reporter that the murder of Mr Tu Pin-ch'eng, a famous educator in the Northwest, indicates that Chiang Kai-shek's bandit gang wants to maintain its shaky control by expanding the slaughter of democratic figures. The spokesman states:

In murdering democratic figures, Chiang Kai-shek shamelessly claims that they are Communist Party members. When his bandits shot and killed Mr Tu Pin-ch'eng in Sian, they declared that he was a responsible person of the Communist Party committee of Kuanchung District. Actually, he was a responsible person of the Democratic League in the Northwest. He waged a lifelong struggle for the democratic cause and won the admiration of the people of the Northwest. He was not a Communist Party member. The spokesman says: To suppress the workers' strikes and to arrest and slaughter the strikers in Shanghai, Chiang Kai-shek's bandits forged the so-called Chinese Communist documents and claimed that the Chinese Communist Party wanted to destroy the Shanghai power plant. To persecute the Democratic League, the bandits spread rumors that it had accepted underground work for the Communist Party. In Peiping they arrested many disaffected persons, including a number of high-level officials. In the past and at present, a number of officials of the American Government and its secret service organ have been serving as spies for Chiang Kai-shek, identifying to his bandits the democratic and disaffected figures for arrest and slaughter. Many of those persecuted have clearly expressed their views to such bloody butchers as Wedemeyer and certain American officials showing a false sympathy for China's democratic movement. The spokesman says that the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang is currently launching a large-scale cruel persecution of the democratic movement in areas under Chiang's control, indicating a loss of confidence in its control. As the People's Liberation Army has taken the offensive on all fronts, including the Shantung battlefield, the bandits are alarmed; therefore, they hastily seek excuses to commit murders in order to frighten the people into

submission. Nevertheless, killing will only expand the anti-Chiang movement. The more insanely the dictator kills people, the closer he approaches perdition. This truth has been proved thousands of times in the histories of China and foreign countries.

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 14 October 1947

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CSO: 4005

CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE SPOKESMAN SEVERELY CONDEMNS CHIANG-U.S. DIRTY DEALS

2 December 1947

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, North Shensi, 2 Dec--A Chinese Communist Party Central Committee spokesman states:

The Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang and American imperialism recently again agreed on a dirty deal. Chiang consented to American imperialism's demand that China's customs be turned over as collateral for loans. Ever since bloody butcher Wedemeyer's observation trip to China, American imperialism has, through the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang, seized many items of China's national sovereignty. During Wedemeyer's stay in China, the items sold by the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang included 8 military bases, 1 naval base, 3 air bases, 3 base networks, and the right to invest $350 million in Kwangtung and Kwangsi. On 6 September Owen D. Young, an American, was appointed advisor to the Stabilization Fund Committee. He and the group of Americans he brought with him exercise supervisory power over the finances of the Chiang government. On 17 October the Foreign Ministry of the Chiang government granted official permission to America to station its troops in China, thus formally giving American imperialism the right to station troops. By the so-called Sino-American relief agreement signed on 27 October, Chiang's government gave American imperialism supervisory power over relief resources and similar resources produced in China or imported from abroad. By the so-called educational fund agreement signed on 10 November, the Chiang government gave American imperialism supervisory power over culture and education. In addition, American imperialism has obtained ever-increasing privileges in the training of Chiang's army and is attempting to organize a joint staff under American control, similar to the one in Greece, in order to gain command over Chiang's army. Now the Chiang bandit gang has sold China's sovereignty over its customs. After selling so many items of national sovereignty since last July, what bandit Chiang has received in U.S. loans has been only $27.7 million of so-called "grain relief." What he has not yet received, but may possibly receive, involves merely $67 million in a U.S. cotton loan signed on 12 September last year, $300 million announced by Marshall on 11 November, and $60

million in "temporary aid" proposed by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives. Since the People's Liberation Army launched a counteroffensive, American reactionaries have realized that the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang, in resisting the struggle of the Chinese people, is a "mangy dog which cannot be propped up" and that no aid can avert its perdition. The American imperialists intensely hate the Chinese people. Nevertheless, since the Chinese people have proved that they cannot be vanquished, the China policy of American imperialism is to give the mangy dog enough "aid" to keep it from starvation, but not enough to satisfy it, in order to prolong its life, China's civil war, and the people's misery. Yet American imperialism will never slacken its aggression against China's sacred sovereignty. When the situation of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang becomes more critical, the greedy yet miserly money imperialism will propose ever more harsh conditions and make the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang sell more of the national sovereignty for less money. Whenever they feel like it, anyone among the American imperialists--Tom, Dick, or Harry--will give mangy dog Chiang Kai-shek a lecture. Afraid to make a sound, bandit Chiang has to bow in acquiescence.

The Chinese Communist Party Central Committee spokesman states:

To recover China's sacred and inviolable sovereignty, all patriotic countrymen must carry out the contents of the People's Liberation Army declaration of the Double Ten Festival this year and accelerate the overthrow of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang. The day of final reckoning for the usurper of the nation is not far off. The Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang and American imperialism must take full responsibility for all the grave consequences of their criminal deals.

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 4 December 1947

6080
CSO: 4005

HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY'REPORTER COMMENTS ON GREAT PLA VICTORY ON SOUTHERN FRONT

24 December 1947

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, North Shensi, 23 Dec--Commenting on the recent great victories in the Central Plain, a reporter of this news agency points out:

The complete destruction of the southern section of the Peiping-Hankow railway and the eastern section of the Lung-Hai railway has smashed Chiang's operations in the Central Plain, the major battlefield of his civil war, while Honan-Hupeh-Anhwei, Kiangsu-Shantung-Honan-Anhwei, and Honan-Shensi-Hupeh, the three large newly liberated areas, have merged into one vast area. This situation has created extremely favorable conditions for the PLA to wipe out the enemy in large numbers hereafter, forecasting more and greater victories in 1948. In the past month or more our counterattacking army, marching south in three sectors, devoted its entire force to mopping up the bandit and puppet troops in the new areas and helped the local people emancipate themselves; therefore, the war situation was quite for a time. Bandit Chiang was alarmed and frightened. As the destruction of the section east of K'ai-feng on the Lung-Hai line was already a heavy blow, he wishfully attempted to muster large numbers of troops to defend the southern section of the Peiping-Hankow line, the only remaining railway in the Central Plain. Nevertheless, with the power of thunder and the speed of lightning, the three sectors of our great army separately launched gigantic offensives on the 13th and 14th. In just 3 days the southern section of the Peiping-Hankow line between Cheng-chou and Hsin-yang and the eastern section of the Lung-Hai line between K'ai-feng and Cheng-chou, a total of 840 li of railway line, were destroyed; Hsu-ch'ang, Lan-feng, Min-ch'uan, Hsin-chung-mou, Ch'en-liu, Wei-shih, Wei-chou, Ch'ang-ko, Yen-ling, Fu-kou, Hsin-cheng, Hsi-hsien, Shang-ts'ai, Ch'ueh-shan, Hsi-p'ing, Sui-p'ing, Lin-ying, T'ung-po, Pi-yang, Wu-yang, Yeh-hsien, Hsiang-ch'eng, and Tsao-yang, a total of 23 cities, were captured; over 20,000 of Chiang's bandit troops were wiped out. T'a-ho and Chu-ma-tien, strategic towns in the Central Plain in the civil wars of the past, were also liberated by our army.

the reporter points out:

This great battle is still in the process of escalating. The destruction of the southern section of the Peiping-Hankow line and the eastern section of the Lung-Hai line has not only smashed bandit Chiang's operations in the Central Plain but also nullified his railway mobility. Meanwhile, the development of the war will further reveal his inability to cover all fronts due to the shortage of troops, thereby creating favorable conditions for our mobile, flexible, and seasoned field army to wipe out the enemy on a large scale. Currently, Cheng-chou, the site of the command post of bandit Chiang's army general headquarters, and such key points as K'ai-feng, Lo-yang, and Shang-ch'iu have become isolated. Hsin-yang, another important military key point of bandit Chiang, is exposed and in imminent danger. The vast Central Plain is almost entirely under our control. Hereafter, the PLA may proceed wherever it pleases, either east to the Ching-p'u line, or west to Hsiang-fan, or south across the Yangtze, making bandit Chiang, who follows the "hollow-center perimeter defense tactics," unable to collect himself.

Here the reporter comments optimistically:

The tens of millions of people in the Central Plain rising in self-defense and their close cooperation with the PLA have vastly reinforced our great counteroffensive army. Meanwhile, the close coordination of the three sectors of our great army will deal the proper punishment to the isolated Chiang troops. The great victory on the southern section of the Peiping-Hankow line was merely the beginning of a series of greater victories hereafter.

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 27 December 1947

6080
CSO: 4005

SPEECH AT MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR MR LI TING-MING

25 February 1948

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Northwest, 3 Feb--At the memorial service for Mr Li Ting-ming, vice chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Chairman Mao and all the liberated areas sent eulogies and condolences.

The eulogy of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee states: "In his work in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Mr Li Ting-ming made beneficial contributions to the people, and the people will never forget his merits and achievements."

Chairman Mao's eulogy reads:

In the difficult period of the national and democratic struggles of the Chinese people, in the period when the Japanese imperialists attacked China, in the period of the counterrevolutionary civil war launched by the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang aided by the American imperialists, Mr Li Ting-ming and many enlightened gentry like him, with righteousness in their hearts, resolutely cooperated with the Chinese Communist Party. All true patriotic and democratic enlightened gentry who oppose imperialist aggression and Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorship, support the people's revolutionary war, and sympathize with the elimination of feudalism and the realization of land reform, whether in the past or at present, are a part of the national revolutionary united front of China, and they all wish to express their sorrow over the death of Mr Li Ting-ming.

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 5 March 1948

6080
CSO: 4005

FOREWORD TO 'HOW SHANSI'S KUO COUNTY CARRIES OUT LAND REFORM'

12 March 1948

[Text] This is a communication from Shansi's Kuo County. It indicates that the mass struggle there has been launched, that the masses have been aroused, and that all preparations for land division were being completed at a meeting of peasant delegates. In the process of class classification, many people were erroneously classified, but it was decided, through open and clear discussions at a delegates meeting, that the mistakes will be corrected. Such errors as failing to provide the landowners with the necessary way to make a living, failing to distinguish between the landlords and the rich peasants, and encroaching upon the interests of the middle peasants were criticized. In sum, the line demonstrated at the two district peasant delegates meetings described in the communication is completely correct. At the time the communication was written, Kuo County had not yet divided the land; therefore, the experience in this aspect is incomplete. We hope that the area, after completing the tasks of correcting the mistakes in class classification (a major matter), dividing the land, organizing production, and reforming the political power, will send another communication describing the entire process. As for how to perform the work of party rectification, we have the typical experience of P'ing-shan County of the Shansi-Chahar-Hopeh Border Region (summarized by Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i). As for how to perform the work of readjusting the land, not dividing the land (because it had already been divided), we have the typical experience of Huang-chia-ch'uan, Sui-te County, Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region. Now we also have the land division experience (Though incomplete) of Kuo county in the Shansi-Suiyuan region. It will be worthwhile to compile these three experiences into a pamphlet for distribution to each and every rural work cadre. Such a pamphlet describing typical experiences will be more vivid and fruitful than the resolutions and directives of our leadership organs. It will furnish the inexperienced comrades with the means to start work and to effectively smash the serious anti-Marxist commandism and tailism existing in the party. After issuing resolutions or directives on all items of important work under their jurisdiction, the leadership comrades of all central bureaus, central branch bureaus, and frontline committees must collect and spread selected

typical experiences and make the mass movements under their guidance develop along the correct line. Currently, when hundreds of millions of people are launching an attack on the reactionary feudal and compradore system according to the direction pointed out by the party, the responsibility of the leader is not only to point out the direction of struggle and determine the struggle tasks, but also to summarize the concrete experiences and promptly spread them among the people, so that the correct matters will be popularized and the mistakes will not be repeated.

Mao Tse-tung

12 March 1948

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 24 March 1948

"Typical Experiences of Land Reform and Party Rectification" (Foreword), China Publishing House (Hong Kong), 1949 2d edition

6080
CSO: 4005

DECISION ON TWO DOCUMENTS OF 1933

Adopted by the CCP Central Committee on 25 May 1948

[Text] Two documents of 1933, "How To Differentiate the Classes" and "Decision on Some Problems Concerning Land Struggle," were issued by the democratic central government in that year to correct certain standpoints in land reform work and to correctly resolve the land problem. These two documents were distributed to various levels of party committees in the Liberated Areas in December 1947 as reference documents. Now we have decided to use these two documents as formal documents and have redistributed them to various levels of party committees. Only a small part of these two documents is now inapplicable and has been deleted, while the rest is basically applicable in the present land reform work. In some places minor revisions have been made or "CCP Central Committee Note" has been added. Regarding problems not mentioned in these two documents and the dividing line between rich peasants and middle peasants, other documents issued by the Central Committee should be consulted, and the text of Comrade Jen Pi-shih's [0117 1732 2514] speech, "Several Problems in Land Reform," delivered on 12 January 1948, should be used as the standard.

How to Differentiate the Classes

(1) Landlords

Those who occupy land, do not work themselves or only do some incidental work, and depend on exploitation for their living are called landlords. At the same time they may also lend money, hire workers, or engage in industrial or commercial enterprises. However, to exploit rental from peasants is the main form of exploitation of the landlords. Management of land and property of shrines and temples and the collection of tuition also fall within the category of rental exploitation.

Some landlords are already bankrupt, but they still do not work, relying on cheating, plundering, or assistance from relatives or friends for their living. Their living conditions are better than those of the average middle peasant. These people are still regarded as landlords.

Warlords, bureaucrats, local tyrants, and evil gentry are also the most ruthless members of that class (there are also some small local tyrants and evil gentry among the rich peasants).

Those who help landlords collect rent and manage property, who rely on the exploitation of peasants as their main source of living, and whose living conditions are better than those of middle peasants should be treated the same as landlords.

Those who rely on lending money at high interest rates as their main source of living and whose living conditions are better than those of ordinary middle peasants are called usurpers and should be regarded as landlords.

(2) Rich Peasants

Rich peasants generally occupy land. Some rich peasants occupy the land they own and rent more land from others; other rich peasants do not have any land of their own at all, and their land is entirely rented (cases of this are rare). Generally, rich peasants have better means of production and liquid capital. They are engaged in labor, but they always rely upon exploitation as a part, or a major part, of their source of living. Their main form of exploitation is exploitation of the labor of hired help (long-term help). They may also rent a part of their land for rental, or lend money, or engage in industrial or commercial enterprises. Most rich peasants manage communal property. Rich peasants in China usually do the farming themselves without hiring help. They regularly exploit peasants through rentals and interest on loans, and in most cases it represents their [main source of income].

(3) Middle Peasants

Many middle peasants own land. Some middle peasants own part of their land and rent the rest. Other middle peasants own no land of their own and rent all their land. (These cases are few.) All middle peasants have a fair amount of tools. They rely solely or mostly on their own labor as the source of their living. Middle peasants generally do not exploit others. Many of them are exploited in the form of small payments in land rents and interest on loans. However, middle peasants generally do not sell their labor. Some middle peasants (well-to-do middle peasants) exploit others to a slight extent, but such exploitation is only occasional and not their main source of income. These are middle peasants.

(4) Poor Peasants

Some poor peasants do own land and have a few tools. Other poor peasants do not have any land at all and only a few tools. Generally, the land they work is rented, and they are exploited by paying rent and interest. A small number of them are exploited as they work as hired helpers. All these are poor peasants.

Middle peasants generally do not have to sell their labor, but poor peasants generally do. This is the main criterion differentiating a middle and a poor peasant.

(5) Workers

Workers (including hired peasants) generally own no land or tools. Some workers have very little land and very few tools. They make their living entirely or mainly by selling their labor. These are workers.

Decisions Concerning Some Problems in the Land Struggle

During the struggle for land distribution and land investigation there were many problems. These problems caused mistakes in the execution of the struggle due to the lack of regulations in existing documents, or ambiguity in the regulations, or incorrect interpretation of the regulations by government workers. To correctly develop the land struggle and correct and prevent mistakes regarding these problems, the People's Committee, aside from approving "How To Differentiate the Classes" (concerning the principles in differentiating landlords, rich peasants, middle peasants and workers), makes the following decisions:

(1) Labor and Incidental Labor

Under ordinary conditions a family is considered to be engaged in labor if there is one member of the family who devotes one-third of his time in a year to essential labor. A family is considered to be engaged in incidental labor if there is one member of the family who devotes less than one-third of his time in a year to essential labor, or one-third of his time on a year to nonessential labor.

(Explanation) The following should be noted: (1) Rich peasants are engaged in labor, while landlords are not, or are only engaged in incidental labor. Therefore, labor is the main criterion to distinguish a rich peasant and a landlord.

(2) The number of persons used in determining whether a family is a laboring family is one. If a family has several members, and one of them is engaged in labor, then the family is regarded as engaged in labor. Some people think that a family cannot be considered a laboring family unless there are two persons engaged in labor, or all members of the family engage in labor. This is wrong.

(3) The standard length of time used to determine the type of labor is one-third of a year, or 4 months. That is to say, if one is engaged in essential labor more than 4 months out of the year, one is considered to be engaged in labor; if one is engaged in essential labor less than 4 months a year, one is considered to be engaged in incidental labor (also the dividing line between rich peasants and landlords). Some people have classified those who devoted 6 months a year to essential labor as being engaged in incidental labor. This is wrong.

(4) So-called essential labor indicates labor in essential parts of production, such as plowing, cultivating, harvesting and other important labor in production, and is not limited to agricultural production. Cutting firewood, carrying loads, transportation, weaving, medical service, teaching and other labor are also important.

(5) So-called nonessential labor means various types of incidental labor which are secondary in importance during the process of production, such as weeding, vegetable planting and tending livestock.

(6) Since labor is used as the main criterion for determining who is a rich peasant and who is a landlord, those who hire long-term helpers for farm work only without collecting rent or interest, and who direct production without participating in essential labor themselves, are to be treated as landlords.

(7) A period of 3 years is used as a standard criterion to determine who has the elements of a landlord. One is considered to have elements of a landlord if he had lived continuously for 3 years as a landlord immediately prior to the establishment of the revolutionary regime.

Many mistakes were made during the land distribution and land investigation movement regarding the problem of labor and incidental labor. Sometimes the labor of a peasant is regarded as incidental labor, and the peasant is subsequently judged to be a landlord. At other times the incidental labor of a landlord is regarded as labor, and the landlord is subsequently judged to be a rich peasant. All these mistakes were caused by the lack of clear standards to make a distinction between landlords and rich peasants. These mistakes can be avoided by using the above regulations.

However, the above regulations are applicable under "ordinary conditions." Under special conditions different dispositions should be made. Here there are two conditions: First, there are members of the family of big landlords who engage in labor. For example, some families collect more than 100 tan of grain as rent or dispense more than 1,000 yuan in loans. The size of the family is small and their expenditures are low. Although there are members of the family engaged in essential labor for more than 4 months a year, this kind of family is still regarded as a family of landlords, not rich peasants. However, if the family is big and its expenditures are high, although this family collects more than 100 tan of grain as rent and lends 1,000 yuan, this family is not to be regarded as a landlord's family but as a rich peasant's family as long as there is someone in the family engaged in essential labor. Second, some people are landlords if exploitation is used as a criterion, but they cannot be treated as landlords if their living conditions are used as a criterion. For example, some people were formerly rich or middle peasants, but a few years before the revolution they were forced to rent the land out or to hire helpers to work on the farm due to a sudden loss of labor force in the family, such as deaths or sickness. As a result, the whole family lives like landlords. If we treat these people as landlords, it is inappropriate. Instead, they

should be treated according to their present conditions. For another example, some people are landlords in name only, and their land ownership has been passed to others. Their income from exploitation is very small, and their living conditions are worse than those of ordinary peasants. They are engaged in incidental labor. These people may be treated as peasants.

The above situations were overlooked during the land distribution and land investigation movement. This was wrong.

(In a large family of more than 15 persons, the family cannot be considered as engaged in labor unless one-third of the members of the family spend one-third of their time during the year in essential labor--CCP Central Committee Note.)

(2) Well-to-do Middle Peasants

Well-to-do middle peasants are a part of the middle peasants, but their living conditions are better than those of ordinary middle peasants. They generally exploit others to a small extent, but their income from exploitation does not exceed 15 percent of the family's total annual income.

Under certain conditions the family's income from exploitation exceeds 15 percent but does not exceed 30 percent of the family's total annual income. These peasants should still be regarded as well-to-do peasants if there is no objection from the masses.

Under the democratic regime, the interests of well-do-to middle peasants should be protected in the same way as those of middle peasants.

(Explanation) It should be noted here: (1) Well-to-do middle peasants are a part of the middle peasants. The difference between the well-to-do middle peasant and the middle peasant is that the former is better off than the latter. Well-to-do middle peasants generally exploit others slightly, while other middle peasants generally do not exploit others at all.

(2) The difference between the well-to-do middle peasant and the rich peasant is that a well-to-do middle peasant's income from exploitation does not exceed 15 percent of the total annual income of the family, while a rich peasant's income from exploitation exceeds 15 percent. The establishment of this limit is necessary to determine the class elements of peasants.

(3) The so-called slight exploitation by well-to-do middle peasants indicates that they hire shepherds, tempoerary helpers, or monthly helpers; or they lend a small amount of money; or they collect a small amount of mortgage interest, a small amount of interest on tuition loans, or a small amount on land rent. The total income from these exploitations does not constitute a significant part of the entire family's total annual income. The main source of income of the entire family depends upon their own labor.

(4) Just prior to the establishment of the revolutionary government, some of the well-to-do middle peasants had received income from exploitation comparable to that of rich peasants. However, if such exploitation did not occur for more than 2 years, they are still regarded as well-to-do middle peasants.

(5) Under certain conditions, if their income from exploitation exceeded 15 percent but was less than 30 percent of the family's total annual income, they may still be regarded as well-to-do middle peasants if there is no objection from the masses. The so-called "certain conditions" indicate that although their income from exploitation exceeded 15 percent, the size of the family is large, its labor force is small, its living conditions are poor, and it encounters difficulties due to flood, drought, famine, sickness or death in the family. Under these conditions, if their income from exploitation does not exceed 30 percent of the family's total annual income, they should not be regarded as rich peasants and ought to be regarded as middle peasants. In the absence of these conditions, if their income from exploitation exceeds 15 percent of their total annual income, they are regarded as rich peasants, not as well-to-do middle peasants. A correct judgment of these conditions depends upon the consensus of the local masses.

Well-to-do middle peasants constitute a considerably large part of the population in villages. During the land distribution and land investigation movement, many well-to-do middle peasants were regarded as rich peasants. This was wrong. In many places where the middle peasant was wronged, the offenses were mostly against this kind of well-to-do middle peasant. This should be corrected immediately.

(Example) (1) Two members of a family of six are engaged in labor. The family owns a piece of 50-tan farmland (actually harvesting 35 tan of grain a year). At the market price of 4 yuan a tan, the value of the annual harvest is 140 yuan. Farming is done entirely by family members. The family also owns a five-room house and an ox. It has a pond which yields 12 yuan worth of fish. Other food crop production and hog raising bring the family approximately 100 yuan a year. For 4 years the family lent 3 tan of grain each year at an annual interest rate of 50 percent and collected 1 1/2 tan of grain a year valued at 6 yuan. For 5 years the family lent 100 yuan each year at an annual interest rate of 25 percent, which brings an annual income of 25 yuan. Judgment: This family relies on its own labor for its main source of living. The income from its own production is 250 yuan a year, while the income from exploitation is only 31 yuan, which is less than 15 percent of the family's total annual income. The family has some savings after expenditures. Its living conditions are fairly good. Since its income from exploitation is not high, this family is therefore regarded as a family of well-to-do middle peasants, not rich peasants.

(2) In a family of five, one and one-half persons are engaged in labor. The family has a 25-tan farmland with an actual harvest of 17 tan of grain per year. The family rents from others a 75-tan piece of farmland which

has an actual yield of 42 tan of grain a year, and it pays rent of 25 tan of grain per year. The family has been paying rent for 10 years. Various food crops and hog raising bring the family 50 yuan a year. The family hires a shepherd and collects 18 yuan a year as interest on a loan of 60 yuan. The interest rate was 30 percent per annum. The family has been lending money for 4 years. It has a five-room house and an ox. It also owns an orchard yielding 30 tan of peaches a year. Judgment: This family lives on its own labor. The income from exploitation is very small, about 20 yuan (including the value of surplus labor resulting from the hiring of a shepherd and interest on loans), but the family is exploited by others because it pays as much as 25 tan of grain a year. There is little money left after expenditures. Therefore, this family can only be classified as a family of middle peasants, not even as well-to-do middle peasants.

(The distinction between well-to-do middle peasants and rich peasants stated in this article, according to Comrade Jen Pi-shih's "Several Problems in Land Reform," should be changed to read: "Those who slightly exploit others and whose income from exploitation does not exceed 25 percent of their total income are still regarded as middle peasants or well-to-do middle peasants." --CCP Central Committee Note)

(3) Duration of Exploitation and Income From Exploitation of Rich Peasants

For 3 consecutive years prior to the establishment of the new political regime, those who, aside from participating in labor, depended upon exploitation as a part of a large part of the source of their living and whose income from such exploitation exceeded 15 percent of their total annual income are called rich peasants. Under certain conditions, although their income from exploitation exceeded 15 percent but did not exceed 30 percent, they are still not rich peasants but well-to-do middle peasants if there is no objection from the masses.

(Explanation) It should be noted: (1) The date of establishment of the revolutionary regime should be used as the starting point to count back the number of years of exploitation. Some people used exploitation that occurred many years ago, or exploitation that did not occur in consecutive years, as the basis for determining the class element of a peasant. This is wrong.

(2) Three consecutive years of exploitation should be used as the standard that determines a peasant to be a rich peasant. If the duration of exploitation is 3 years but not 3 consecutive years, the peasant is still regarded as a well-to-do middle peasant although his income from exploitation is equal to that of a rich peasant during the same period of time.

(3) A family's income from exploitation must exceed 15 percent of its total annual income before it can be classified as a family of rich peasants. If its income from exploitation is less than 15 percent of its total annual income, the family is still regarded as a family of well-to-do peasants even though the duration of exploitation is 3 consecutive years or more than 3 consecutive years.

(4) The so-called total income of a family indicates the total income from production and the income from exploitation. For example, a family's income from production is 400 yuan, and its income from exploitation is 100 yuan. The total income of the family is 500 yuan. Since the portion of income from exploitation is 20 percent of the total income, this family is regarded as a family of rich peasants.

(5) "Certain conditions" indicate that the size of the family is large and its labor force is small. The living conditions of the family are poor. Due to natural disaster and other family disasters, the family encounters difficulties. Under these conditions, although the income from exploitation exceeds 15 percent of the family's total income (but does not exceed 30 percent), this family is regarded as a well-to-do middle peasant family, if there is no objection from the masses. Here the opinion of the masses is very important. We must give careful consideration to this situation. If we wrongly classify well-to-do middle peasants as rich peasants, we will arouse the dissatisfaction of the middle peasant masses. At the same time, we should not classify rich peasants as well-to-do middle peasants, because we may arouse the dissatisfaction of the poor peasants. Therefore, we must think carefully and seek the consent of the masses. During the land distribution and land investigation movement, many disputes arose concerning the problem of duration and percentage of exploitation. This was due to the lack of a clear standard to make a distinction between rich peasants and well-to-do middle peasants. Sometimes well-to-do middle peasants were treated as rich peasants. At other times rich peasants were treated as well-to-do middle peasants. Mistakes occurred frequently. Now that the distinction between the two is defined, mistakes can be avoided.

(Example) (1) A family has 11 members, and only 2 are engaged in labor. The family has a 160-tan farm which yields 120 tan of grain valued at 480 yuan. It has two tea plots which bring an annual income of 30 yuan. It also has a pond which brings in 15 yuan a year. Other food crops and hog raising bring approximately 150 yuan a year. The family hired a long-term helper for 7 years until the revolution. The surplus labor exploited from this helper is estimated at approximately 60 yuan a year. The family lent 250 yuan at an annual interest rate of 30 percent, receiving 75 yuan annually. The family lent money for 5 years until the revolution. Judgment: This family is engaged in labor, but it also hires a long-term helper. Its income from exploitation exceeds 15 percent of its total annual income. Although the family is large, it has a relatively large amount of money left over after expenditures. Therefore, this family is a family of rich peasants.

(2) In a family of three, one person is engaged in essential labor for 4 months out of the year. It has a 60-tan farm. The family used half the land and harvested 18 tan of grain a year. The other half was rented. The family collected 12 tan of grain a year as rent for 5 years. It usually hired short-term helpers 20 days a year. The family has an ox and collected 2 tan of grain a year for lending the ox. It lent 120 yuan at an interest

rate of 30 percent per annum. The income from the loan was 36 yuan a year. The family had lent money for 5 years before the revolution. Judgment: This family's income from exploitation exceeds its income from its own production. Since there is one person engaged in essential labor 4 months out of the year, this family is considered to be a family of rich peasants.

(The line of distinction between rich peasants and well-to-do middle peasants should be based on what was announced in Comrade Jen Pi-shih's "Several Problemsn in Land Reform." It should be changed to read: "Those who exploit slightly and whose income from exploitation does not exceed 25 percent of their total income are considered to be middle peasants or well-to-do middle peasants."--CCP Central Committee Note)

(4) Reactionary Rich Peasants

Those rich peasants who were engaged in serious counterrevolutionary activities before the revolution, and especially after the revolution, are called reactionary rich peasants. Their land and property, and the land and property of the members of their family who participated in such counterrevolutionary activities, should be confiscated.

The above principle is applicable to reactionary capitalists.

(Explanation) It should be noted here: (1) Only those rich peasants who were engaged in "serious counterrevolutionary activities" are called reactionary rich peasants. For example, during the revolution they led civilian groups in slaughtering workers and peasants, put up stubborn resistance to the revolutionary government, led others in organizing counterrevolutionary organizations after the revolution, or conducted serious counterrevolutionary activities individually, such as assassination, spying for the enemy, voluntarily serving as guides for White troops, escaping to White areas to help the Kuomintang, and actively and resolutely sabotaging the land distribution and land investigation movement and economic construction. The land and property of those rich peasants who did not provide leadership for or engage in important counterrevolutionary activities should not be confiscated, even though they engaged in some counterrevolutionary activities.

(2) Only the land and property of those members of rich peasant families who participated in serious counterrevolutionary activities should be confiscated, while the land and property of other members of the family should not be confiscated.

(3) Those who went to White areas for the purpose of making a living are not reactionary rich peasants and should not be treated as reactionary rich peasants.

(4) The above regulations are applicable to defining and treating reactionary capitalists.

In the past, the land and property of rich peasants who did not engage in serious counterrevolutionary activities were confiscated, and the land and property of members of the family of rich peasants who did not participate in counterrevolutionary activities were also confiscated. This is wrong. The reason for this mistake can be traced to Article 3 of the "Regulations for Land Confiscation and Distribution" used in Kiangsi: "All the land belonging to the family of rich peasants who participate in counter-revolutionary organizations should be confiscated." In this article, no distinction is made as to whether the rich peasant is a leader or a follower, or whether an individual member of the family has joined such organizations or not. The second half of this article pointed out: "Land may be returned to family members who did not participate in counter-revolutionary organizations, did not engage in counterrevolutionary activities, and severed relations with family members who were counter-revolutionaries, if there is objection from the masses." However, the first half of the article provided for confiscation of all the land of the family, while the second half provided for partial return of the land confiscated. This is not the proper way. Therefore, this article should be amended according to the present regulation. In the past, the definition of reactionary capitalists was broadened. Some stores which should not have been confiscated were confiscated. This is also wrong.

(Example) In a family of nine, one person is engaged in labor and another person is engaged in incidental labor. The family owns a 160-tan farm. It works a piece of 80-tan farmland which yields 56 tan of grain each year. The other 80-tan area is rented, and the family collects an annual rent of 30 tan of grain a year for 10 years. It also owns 5 plots of mountain land which yield an income of 70 yuan a year. Normally the family hires a long-term helper. The family owes 425 yuan, paying interest at 25 percent per annum. The family has been borrowing for 3 years. The family has also been lending money for 3 years. It lends 380 yuan, collecting 30 percent interest. One of the family members has been a company leader in the Kuomintang militia [Pacification Guards] for 2 years. He fought the Red Army in five battles. Another member of the family has been a member of the AB Corps, but he is an insignificant member and was not active in it. Other members of the family have no obvious reactionary activities. Judgment: This family is a family of rich peasants. One of the family members has engaged in serious counterrevolutionary work. This particular person is a reactionary rich peasant, and his property should be confiscated, but the property of other family members should not be confiscated. Although another member of the family joined the AB Corps, he was not active in it. Therefore, his property should not be confiscated.

(This article applies to landlords and other criminals among the people.--CCP Central Committee Note)

(5) Land, Houses, Cattle and Farm Implements Belong to Rich Peasants

Under government law and regulations, land, houses, cattle and farm implements, once definitely ruled to be the property of rich peasants, should be freely available to the rich peasants without any interference by others.

(Explanation) (1) Recently, in some places, workers, peasants and poor people exchanged their land, houses, cattle and farm implements for those belonging to rich peasants. Some of them even exchanged their clothing and fertilizer. This is wrong.

(2) After the land problem has been correctly resolved, nobody should exchange their land for the share of land distributed to and subsequently improved by the rich peasants. The cattle, farm implements and houses added by the rich peasants should not be confiscated or exchanged, even if such property is more than the rich peasants need.

(This article is also applicable to landlords.--CCP Central Committee Note)

(6) Bankrupt Landlords

Before the revolution some landlords had already lost their means of exploitation--land and property--either partially or entirely. Those landlords who are still not engaged in production and depend upon cheating, seizure, or support from relatives as their main source of living and whose living conditions are better than those of ordinary middle peasants are called bankrupt landlords. Bankrupt landlords belong to the landlord class.

Those landlords who, after bankruptcy, depend on their own labor as a partial source of livelihood, or depend on their labor for one-third of their total living expenditure, may be treated as rich peasants.

(Explanation) (1) Some people treated partially bankrupt landlords as bankrupt landlords. This is wrong, because these landlords still possess part of their property for exploitation. The only difference is that the amount of income from exploitation is changed.

(2) Some people regarded those landlords who, after bankruptcy, engaged in essential labor for a full year as bankrupt landlords. This is even worse, because these landlords, after bankruptcy and after having engaged in essential labor for a full year (prior to the revolution), have changed from landlords to workers, poor people or peasants.

(3) Some people still treated as landlords those who, after bankruptcy, are partly engaged in labor. This is wrong, because if their income from labor has reached one-third of their total annual living expenditures for the entire family, they should be treated as rich peasants.

(7) Poor People

Aside from workers and peasants, all those who rely wholly or largely on their own labor for a living, or rely on a small amount of capital for a business to earn their living, are called poor people if their living conditions are poor. Unemployed village or small town poor people should be given some land.

(Explanation) (1) Poor people constitute a great percentage of the population in cities. There are also some poor people in villages and small towns. The jobs of poor people are quite diversified. Some of their jobs are seasonal. Poor people have hardships in their living. Their income is insufficient to meet their expenditures.

(2) Aside from workers and peasants, independent producers, professional workers, peddlers, store proprietors without employees, and all other laborers belong to the category of poor people if their living conditions are poor. The so-called independent producers are small, industrial producers who sell as well as produce their products. They sometimes hire helpers, but they rely mainly on their own labor. The so-called professional workers are the medical doctors, teachers, lawyers, newspaper reporters, writers and artists. They sometimes hire assistants or household helpers, but this kind of hiring is not regarded as exploitation.

(8) Intellectuals

Intellectuals should not be regarded as a class. Their class is determined by their family background. Basically, a person's class is determined by the way he earns his essential income for living.

All intellectuals from landlord or bourgeois classes should be fully used to serve the democratic government if they obey the law of the democratic government. At the same time, they should be educated to overcome the wrong thinking of the landlord, bourgeois and petit bourgeois classes.

When the intellectuals are working as teachers, editors, newspaper reporters, clerks, writers and artists without exploiting others, they are laborers using their brain. These mental laborers should be protected by the law of the democratic government.

(Explanation) (1) Recently, in some places, intellectuals have been discriminated against. This is wrong. To absorb intellectuals from the landlord or bourgeois class who are willing to participate in the work of the democratic government is beneficial to the people's revolution. While they work for the democratic government they should be helped to solve their livelihood problems.

(2) The class of intellectuals is determined by the class elements of their families. For example, an intellectual has a landlord background if his

family is classified as a landlord family. An intellectual has a middle peasant background if his family is regarded as a middle peasant family. The class of the intellectual himself depends upon his main source of living. For instance, if an intellectual earns his living as a landlord, he is a landlord. If an intellectual earns his living as a capitalist, he is a capitalist. If an intellectual earns his living as a free professional, he is a free professional. If he earns his living as a clerk, he is a clerk. If he earns his living as a soldier, he is a soldier. If an intellectual depends on his family for his main source of living, then he belongs to the class under which his family is classified. It is wrong to regard intellectuals as belonging to a single independent class. To regard working people's children who have attended school (so-called "graduates) as bad elements is an even worse mistake.

(3) Refusal to regard the work of teachers and doctors as labor is also wrong.

(9) Property-less Loafers

Those workers, peasants and other masses who lost their jobs and land as a result of oppression and exploitation by the landlord and capitalist class immediately before the establishment of the revolutionary government and subsequently relied upon improper ways as their main source of income for 3 years are called property-less loafers (customarily called vagrants).

The policy of the democratic government toward property-less loafers is to woo them, but to oppose their dependence on the exploiting class and to oppose those who participate in counterrevolutionary activities. The essential method of wooing them is to send them back to production by giving them land and work. Those who are given land must live in the countryside and be able to work on the farmland themselves.

(Explanation) (1) The so-called "improper ways" as their main sources of income refer to theft, robbery, cheating, begging, gambling or prostitution. It is wrong to classify all those who are employed or semiemployed and at the same time partly engaged in improper professions (which do not constitute their main source of income) as vagrants. It is an even greater mistake to label as vagrants all those who at one time had engaged in prostitution or gambling or had the habit of opium smoking.

(2) In some places, those leaders of property-less loafers who had actively participated in counterrevolutionary activities (the so-called chieftains of vagrants) were not punished. Instead, they were given land. This is wrong. In other places, all the requests of ordinary property-less loafers for land were refused. This is also wrong.

(10) Religious Professionals

Those who had worked for 3 years prior to the revolution as ministers, priests, monks, taoist preachers, horoscope readers or fortune tellers or

had engaged in other religious or superstitious professions as their main source of income are called religious professionals.

(11) Red Army Soldiers With Landlord and Rich Peasant Background and Their Land

Among the members of the Red Army, no matter whether they are commanders or soldiers, those with landlord and rich peasant backgrounds and their family members have the right to receive distributed land on the condition that they resolutely fight for the interests of the workers and peasants.

(Explanation) (1) Article 1 of the Regulations for Preferred Treatment of Members of the Red Army: "Those soldiers of the Red Army and their family members who live in the territory of the democratic government should have the same right to share the land, houses, woods and ponds as local poor peasants." This applies to all Red Army soldiers. However, recent inquiries were confined to the social background of the Red Army soldiers without regard to their political manifestations. The land distributed to Red Army soldiers with landlord and rich peasant background who resolutely fight for the interests of the workers and peasants were confiscated again. This is wrong.

(2) The so-called "family members of Red Army soldiers" refer to fathers, mothers, wives, sons, daughters and younger brothers and sisters under 16 years of age. Persons other than their relatives are not entitled to the rights given to family members of Red Army soldiers.

(12) Workers From Rich Peasant and Landlord Families

If a worker comes from a rich peasant or landlord family, the worker himself, his wife and children are still regarded as workers. Other members of his family are regarded as rich peasants and landlords.

(Explanation) (1) Those from landlord or rich peasant families who had sold their labor for a full year prior to the revolution are considered to be workers. Their wives and children are also considered to be workers. Other members of the family are regarded as rich peasants or landlords and are not entitled to any rights of the workers. If there are members of the family with other class elements, they should be treated according to their class elements. For example, in a family living in a village there is one person who depended on land rent and money-lending as his main source of living for 3 years; this person is a landlord. In the same family one person depended on selling his labor as his main source of living for a full year. This person is a worker. In the same family there is another person who lives in town and is engaged in a small industrial enterprise (making and selling his own products) as his main source of living. This person is an independent producer. Each of these persons of the same family is classified according to his source of living within a specified period of time and is treated accordingly under the laws of the democratic government.

(2) Among the village workers, independent producers, primary school teachers and doctors, those who own and rent small plots of land to others and do not depend on rent as their main source of living should not be treated as landlords and are entitled to receive distributed land just like other ordinary peasants.

(13) Class Elements of Persons After Intermarriage Between Landlords, Rich Peasants and Capitalists on One Side and Workers, Peasants and Poor People on the Other

(1) The class elements of persons after intermarriage between landlords, rich peasants and capitalists on one side and workers, peasants and poor people on the other are determined by the time of their marriage (either before the revolution or after), the original class elements of the two persons, and their living conditions after the marriage.

(2) Married Before the Revolution: Those women from landlord, rich peasant and capitalist families who married workers, peasants or poor people and depend on labor as their main source of living for a full year are recognized as workers, peasants or poor people. The class elements of those who are not engaged in labor or have not engaged in labor for a full year remain unchanged. Women from families or workers, peasants or poor people married into families of landlords, rich peasants and capitalists are regarded as possessing class elements of landlords, rich peasants or capitalists if they have lived as landlords, rich peasants or capitalists for 5 full years. If their living conditions are not the same as those of landlords, rich peasants or capitalists, but the same as those of workers, peasants and poor people, or if their living conditions have been the same as those of landlords, rich peasants or capitalists for less than 5 years, their original class elements remain unchanged.

(3) Married After the Revolution: The original class elements of women from families of workers, peasants or poor people married into the families of landlords, rich peasants or capitalists remain unchanged. Women from families of landlords, rich peasants or capitalists married into the families of workers, peasants and poor people must engage in labor and must have depended on labor as their main source of living for 5 full years before they can be recognized as workers, peasants or poor people. If they are not engaged in labor, or have not engaged in labor for 5 years, their class elements remain unchanged.

(4) The class elements of the children are the same as those of their father, regardless of the time of marriage of their parents.

(5) Before the revolution, workers, peasants and poor people often sold their sons and daughters to families of landlords, rich peasants and capitalists. Also before the revolution, the son of a worker, peasant or poor person might have married the daughter of a landlord, rich peasant or capitalist and lived with his wife's family. It is also possible that

the son of a landlord, rich peasant or capitalist might have married the daughter of a worker, peasant or poor person and lived with his wife's family. The class elements of sold sons and daughters and those sons-in-law who live with their wives' families are determined according to regulations stated in (1) through (4).

(6) Before the revolution, sons of one class were often adopted by families of another class. Regardless of the age of the boy at the time of adoption, if the son of a worker, peasant or poor man adopted by a landlord, rich peasant or capitalist has lived with and shared the same living conditions of his foster parents for more than 5 years from the age of 10, then his class element is the same as that of his foster parents. If his living conditions are not the same as those of his foster parents but are the same as those of his natural parents, then his original class elements remain unchanged. Sons of landlords, rich peasants or capitalists adopted by workers, peasants or poor people who share the living conditions of their foster parents for 3 full years have the same class elements as those of their foster parents. If their living conditions are not the same as those of their foster parents but are the same as those of their natural parents, then their original class elements remain unchanged.

(Explanation) The so-called labor here includes household labor.

(When Paragraph 3 of this article concerning the unchanged class elements of women from the family of workers, peasants and poor people married into the families of landlords, rich peasants or capitalists after the revolution is applied now, those who are married into the families of landlords and rich peasants after the revolution should be interpreted as after the land reform, and those who are married into the families of capitalists should be treated according to Paragraph 2 of this article.--CCP Central Committee Note)

(14) Landlords and Rich Peasants Who Are Also Engaged in Industrial and Commercial Enterprises

(1) The land, houses and property on the land of landlords who are also engaged in industrial and commercial enterprises are to be confiscated. Their industrial and commercial enterprises and their stores, residences and property related to such enterprises are not to be confiscated.

(2) The land, houses and property on the land of rich peasants who are also engaged in industrial or commercial enterprises should be treated as those belonging to rich peasants. Their industrial or commercial enterprises and their stores, residences and property related to such enterprises are to be treated in the same way as those belonging to industrial and commercial enterpreneurs.

(15) Management of Public Land and Property

Management of public land and property is a kind of exploitation. However, management of landlords, rich peasants and capitalists is different from management by workers, peasants and poor people.

(Explanation) Management of public property means management of the land and property of shrines, temples, societies and associations. Management of such land and property is undoubtedly a kind of exploitation. Especially when landlords and rich peasants amass a large amount of land and property in the name of shrines, temples, societies and associations, this practice becomes one of the main forms of feudalist exploitation. All kinds of exclusive control by a few people over public land and property which yields a large amount of income from feudalist exploitation of course constitutes one of the class elements of the managers. But there are some small shrines, temples, societies or associations which are managed by workers, peasants and poor people in rotation. The amount of exploitation is very small. Management of such small public land and property, therefore, cannot be regarded as constituting a class element of the managers. Some people think that anybody who has ever managed public land and property is a landlord, rich peasant or a capitalist. This is wrong.

(16) Livelihood of Some Workers

Workers in the organizations of the democratic regime and other revolutionary organizations and the family members of these workers who have not received any distributed land and have special difficulties in their livelihood should be given some land or helped by some other method to overcome their difficulties.

(Explanation) The central government has already issued instructions as to the method of resolving the livelihood problems of government workers who have already received land (that is, mobilizing the masses to work the land of these government workers). This article refers only to those government workers who have not received land. The so-called family members include parents, wife, and children below the age of 16.

(17) Land for Public Interest

During land distribution in the newly liberated area and redistribution of land found in the process of land investigation in the old liberated areas, certain land should be reserved so that the income from such land may be used for bridge repairs, ferries, tea kiosks and other purposes.

(Explanation) The wages for bridge or ferry repairers, the wage of boatmen, the cost of tea, and the cost of other public welfare are determined by the local chu or hsiang government according to need. A portion of the land should be set aside, and the masses should be mobilized to cultivate such land.

(18) The Problem of Debts

(1) All debts of workers, peasants and poor people, principle and interest, arising from borrowing of goods or money from landlords and rich peasants before the revolution are abolished, except debts incurred for goods bought from stores on credit. Monies or goods deposited by workers, peasants and poor people with landlords and rich peasants should be returned.

(2) Those who depend upon exploitation through high interest on loans as the main source of living for the entire family and whose living conditions are better than those of ordinary middle peasants are called usurpers. Usurpers should be treated as landlords.

(3) All debts incurred after the revolution without violating the "Temporary Loan Regulations" promulgated by the Chinese Democratic Central Government should be paid.

(Explanation) (1) Most of the loans granted in the past and in the Kuomintang-ruled areas, no matter whether they are cities or rural areas, are a form of high-interest exploitation. However, those who do not depend on high-interest money lending as their main source of income for the whole family cannot be called usurpers and should be treated according to their class elements. It is not right to regard all those who exploit others through high-interest loans as "usurpers."

(2) The class elements of those who lend money and at the same time borrow money should be determined by the balance of their indebtedness and the amount of their credit due from borrowers, the nature and amount of the credit balance, and the person's relationship with others in respect to exploitation.

(3) The reason that debts arising from purchases of goods on credit must be paid is to protect the merchants from suffering losses. Furthermore, such credits on goods given by merchants generally do not fall under the category of high-interest loans.

(4) Among the workers, peasants and poor people, debts should be settled between the debtors and creditors themselves. If the two parties cannot reach a settlement, decisions will be made by the local democratic government.

° "The Present Situation and Our Current Tasks," Liberation Press, 9 June 1946

* "The Masses," (Hong Kong) Vol 2, No 23, 17 June 1948

* "Collection of Important Chinese Communist Party Documents Since 1947," New Democracy Press, Hong Kong, February 1949

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 5

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CSO: 4005

CONGRATULATORY CABLE FROM CHAIRMAN MAO AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF CHU TO THE KOREAN GOVERNMENT ON ITS INAUGURATION

19 September 1948

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, North Shensi, 19 Sep--Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Chairman Mao Tse-tung and PLA Commander in Chief Chu Te cabled congratulations on the convening of the Supreme People's Assembly and the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The text is as follows:

Chairman Kim Tu-pong of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea and Premier Kim Il-song of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea:

The convening of a united, independent, and democratic Korean Supreme People's Assembly and the founding of the Korean Democratic People's Republic are great victories in the liberation cause of the Korean people and a great encouragement to the national liberation causes of East Asia. On behalf of the Chinese people we hereby extend our congratulations.

Mao Tse-tung, Chu Te

19 September

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 23 September 1948

6080
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CERTAIN PERSON IN AUTHORITY IN NORTH SHENSI DISCUSSES LIST OF WAR CRIMINALS

25 December 1948

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, North Shensi, 25 Dec--People in various fields here have discussed the list of war criminals. A certain person in authority stated:

A complete list of war criminals can be compiled only after the names have been proposed by the various fields in the nation according to actual conditions. However, in regard to such war criminals who are well-known throughout the country, such as Chiang Kai-shek, Li Tsung-jen, Ch'en Ch'eng, Pai Ch'ung-hsi, Ho Ying-ch'in, Ku Chu-t'ung, Ch'en Kuo-fu, Ch'en Li-fu, K'ung Hsiang-hsi, Sung Tzu-wen, Chang Ch'un, Weng Wen-hao, Sun K'o, Wu T'ieh-ch'eng, Wang Yun-wu, Tai Ch'uan-hsien, Wu Ting-ch'ang, Hsiung Shih-hui, Chang Li-sheng, Chu Chia-hua, Wang Shih-chieh, Ku Wei-chun, Sung Mei-ling, Wu Kuo-chen, Liu Chih, Ch'eng Ch'ien, Hsueh Yueh, Wei Li-huang, Yu Han-mou, Hu Tsung-nan, Fu Tso-i, Yen Hsi-shan, Chou Chih-jou, Wang Shu-ming, Kuei Yung-ch'ing, Tu Yu-ming, T'ang En-po, Sun Li-jen, Ma Hung-k'uei, Ma Pu-fang, T'ao Hsi-sheng, Tseng Ch'i, and Chang Chun-li, their crimes are heinous and they have been condemned by all our countrymen. Naturally there are many more who should be included in the list of first-class war criminals, but they must be proposed, according to the conditions, by the people of the various areas who have personally experienced the calamities of war. The PLA will have priority in proposing the names. Commander Huang Wei of the Kuomintang 12th Army Group, for instance, is definitely a war criminal for using poison gas in battle. All democratic parties and factions and all people's organizations throughout the country have the right to discuss and propose lists of war criminals.

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 27 December 1978

* CH'UN-CHUNG (Hong Kong), No 1, Vol 3, 30 December 1948

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 5

6080
CSO: 4005

JOINT STATEMENT OF CHINA'S DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AGAINST THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY

3 April 1949

[Text] The governments of America, Canada, England, France, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Portugal and Italy will sign the North Atlantic Treaty on 4 April. It is a treaty which endangers the peace and security of mankind and is for the purpose of provoking a new aggressive world war. As world peace is indivisible, as the nations and peoples of the East and West must share peace and danger, and as the governments of America and England actually are vigorously attempting to introduce the model of the North Atlantic Treaty in the Pacific, the democratic parties and factions of China hereby express their firm opposition to the North Atlantic Treaty and all other similar aggressive schemes.

The democratic parties and factions of China censure the American imperialist government and its dependencies for breaching the Potsdam and other agreements safeguarding international peace, for betraying the United Nations, and for their policy of aggression, which is contrary to the desires of the people of all nations for peace. They wish to express their enthusiastic sympathy with and sincere support for the struggles against the dangers of a new war waged by the world forces of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union. They firmly believe that such struggles will make the warmongering imperialists and their running dogs in the various nations encounter the censure of the peaceful people of the whole world and become isolated, and will bankrupt the conspiracy for a new aggressive world war. We feel that the world belongs to the people, not to the imperialists and their running dogs. Their arrogance and violence are merely temporary, and all their conspiracies and plots, and they themselves, will be exposed by the people and discarded.

On behalf of the great Chinese people, China's democratic parties and factions solemnly declare: If the aggressive imperialist group has the audacity to provoke a reactionary war endangering the people of the whole world, then we will rally the people of the entire nation, follow Dr Sun Yat-sen's immortal testament, adopt the necessary means, join hands and advance

together with China's ally, the Soviet Union, and the forces of peace and democracy of all nations, wage a firm struggle against the instigators of aggressive war, defeat the aggressors, overthrow the entire imperialist system, and realize the liberation of all mankind and permanent peace. We feel that, if war breaks out, the aggressive imperialist nations will fail and the anti-imperialist victimized nations will win. Such a prospect has been clearly indicated to the people of the world by the experience of World War II.

Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee

Li Chi-shen, chairman of the Chinese Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee

Shen Chun-ju, Chang Po-chun, responsible Standing Committee members of the China Democratic League

Huang Yen-p'ei, executive director of the Democratic National Construction Association

Ma Hsu-lun, executive director of the China Association for Promoting Democracy

T'an P'ing-shan, Standing Committee member of the Chinese Kuomintang Federation of Comrades of the Three Principles of Democracy

P'eng Tse-min, chairman of the Central Supervisory Committee, China Peasant and Workers Democratic Party

Li Chang-ta, member of the Central Executive Committee, China People's National Salvation Association

Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, acting chairman of the China Kuomintang Association for Promoting Democracy

Ch'en Ch'i-yu, chairman of the China Chih-kung Society

3 April 1949

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 4 April 1949

* CH'UN-CHUNG (Hong Kong), No 15, Vol 3, 7 April 1949

6080
CSO: 4005

DESIGNS OF THE FLAG AND INSIGNIA OF THE PLA

Order of the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Commission

15 June 1949

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Peiping, 15 Jun--The Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Commission today issued an order on the designs of the military flag and insignia of the PLA. The full text of the order is as follows:

Order of the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Commission.

The designs of the military flag and insignia of the Chinese People's Liberation Army are announced as follows:

I. Military Flag

The military flag of the PLA has a red background and is decorated with a gold pentacle and the figures "8-1," indicating that the PLA, since its birth in the Nan-ch'ang uprising on 1 August 1927, and after a long struggle, is illuminating the entire nation with its brilliant starlight.

A. Specifications

1. The flag is red, rectangular in shape, in a ratio of 5 horizontal to 4 vertical. The sheath for the flagpole is white, and its width is 1/16 of the horizontal measurement of the flag. The flagpole is alternating red and yellow whirling ripples, with a yellow spearhead on top.

2. From the center of the flag, a perpendicular center line from top to bottom and a horizontal center line from left to right are drawn, dividing the flag into 4 equal rectangles.

3. Both the pentacle and the figures "8-1" are gold in color, located in the upper rectangle next to the pole.

4. Divide the vertical length of said rectangle into 16 equal divisions and its horizontal length into 20 equal divisions. Locate the center at 8 to 8 vertical and 6 to 14 horizontal. Use the length of 4 equal divisions as the radius and draw a circle. Divide its circumference into 5 equal parts and connect the division points by straight lines to form a pentacle. Place the apex of the pentacle at the upper part of the perpendicular line.

5. Use Chinese characters for the figures "8-1," each stroke in the form of equilateral slips. With the flag pole on the left, place the two figures in the lower right corner below the pentacle, proceeding from left to right. With the flag pole on the right, place the two figures in the lower left corner below the pentacle, proceeding from right to left.

6. For the figure "8," the length of each stroke is 3 equal divisions and the width 1 equal division. The figure is contained in a small rectangle. The top line of the small rectangle is 7 equal divisions above the horizontal center line, and its bottom line is 4 equal divisions above the horizontal center line; its left side (right side if the pole is on the right) is on the perpendicular line downward from the tip of the right upper segment (or left upper segment) of the pentacle, and its right side (or left side) is 4.5 equal divisions from the perpendicular center line. The outside tips of the two strokes of the figure "8" must be closely adjacent to the corresponding sides of the small rectangle, and the two inside tips are about 1/2 equal division away. For the figure "1," the length is 4 equal divisions and the width 1 equal division. The bottom of the figure is 5 equal divisions above the horizontal center line, and its right tip is on the perpendicular center line.

B. Dimensions of the Flag of the Various Levels

	Width (cms)	Length (cms)
1. General Headquarters of the PLA	170	136
2. Field forces (same for Class 1 military districts) and army groups (same for class 2 military districts)	165	132
3. Army (same for class 3 military districts)	160	128
4. Division (same for military sub-district)	155	124
5. Regiment (same for county command unit or armed unit)	150	120

II. Military Insignia

A. When used on hats, the specifications and dimensions of the insignia are as follows:

1. The radius of the circle around the red pentacle is 15 mm (about 2 mm in relief). The angle of each segment of the pentacle is 36°, inlaid with 1.5-mm wide gold edging.

2. The figures "8-1" are in Chinese characters of the style of the Sung Dynasty, placed appropriately inside the red pentacle.

B. When used on sleeves, awards, documents, vehicles, ships, airplanes, and buildings, the insignia is enlarged or reduced in size according to the above proportions.

Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Commission

Chu Te, Liu Shao-ch'i, Chou En-lai, P'eng Te-huai, vice chairmen

15 June 1949

° "Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Commission Issues Order on the Designs of the Military Flag and Insignia of the PLA," JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 15 June 1949

* CH'UN-CHUNG (Hong Kong), No 26, Vol 3, 23 June 1949

6080
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PROCLAMATION OF THE PARTIES AND BODIES OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE OF THE NEW POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 12TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR OF RESISTANCE ON 7 JULY

7 July 1949

[Text] In commemoration of the 12th anniversary of the "7 July" resistance war, the parties, factions and organizations of the preparatory committee for the new Political Consultative Conference issued the following declaration:

Ever since our nation began its great patriotic war against the Japanese aggressors on 7 July 1937, "7 July" this year is the most joyous and encouraging commemoration. Due to the victory of the people's liberation war and the formation of the preparatory committee for the new Political Consultative Conference, the many demands of the people which were not fulfilled during the resistance war on a national scale have begun to be fulfilled.

The people's liberation war of the past 3 years was actually a continuation of the 8-year resistance war begun 12 years ago. The people of our entire country were the first to fight the aggressive fascist forces on the eastern front and, after 8 years of struggle and tremendous sacrifices, gained final victory alongside our allies. Nevertheless, it is well known throughout the world that, after the end of the war, the Chinese people, having suffered great wounds and intense pain, not only did not attain the goal of the war but encountered new and grave calamities. We sought national independence in the resistance war, but the American and Kuomintang governments forced us to become American colonial slaves. We sought democratic reform in the resistance war, but the American and Kuomintang governments forced us to accept Chiang Kai-shek's fascist terror. We sought domestic peace after the conclusion of the resistance war, in order to resume and develop national construction, but the American Government fully supported the Kuomintang government in tearing up the cease-fire agreement and the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference and in launching a large-scale antipeople civil war, and the people's loss of life and property was greater than that during the period of the Japanese

aggression. That the American imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries had the audacity to act so perversely was because they thought their strength was greater than that of the people. Yet they made the wrong assessment. The Chinese people, who needed 8 years and the cooperation of the various nations before defeating the Japanese aggressors, have, after 3 years, basically defeated the Kuomintang reactionaries supported by the American Government. Though the remnant forces of the Kuomintang reactionaries are still attempting to make a last struggle, it will not be long before they are all eliminated. The preparatory committee for a new Political Consultative Conference representing the will of the Chinese people has been organized, and a new Political Consultative Conference will soon be convened to create a democratic coalition government and begin the construction of a new China.

While they are building their own new nation, the Chinese people naturally wish to establish diplomatic relations with all foreign governments which treat us with equality and friendship, because it is compatible with the interests of our state and people. Meanwhile, we naturally wish to oppose aggression and threats in any form, because they are incompatible with the interests of our state and people. While opposing all types of aggression and threats, we must specially mention the Japan issue. As China is nearest to Japan in distance and closest to it in relationship, and as China was the earliest and largest country to resist it over the longest period of time, China's opinion on the Japan issue must be sought, and the unilateral acts and unauthorized decisions of the American Government must never be permitted. Though China suffered the aggression of Japanese imperialism, the people of China and Japan are willing to coexist peacefully and establish economic and cultural cooperation under the conditions of demilitarization and democratization according to the Potsdam Agreement. Nevertheless, the common desire of the Chinese and Japanese people is being blocked, and American imperialism, which is invading China, is in control of Japan. Instead of implementing the Potsdam Agreement, the Japan policy of the American Government and military command headquarters is designed to overthrow that agreement. Instead of demilitarizing and truly democratizing Japan, they want Japan to become antidemocratic and to continue to militarize. The American Government is unwilling to sign a peace treaty with Japan promptly but plans to postpone it and to occupy Japan indefinitely, so that Japan will not be able to establish peaceful relations with China or any other foreign country and will only serve as America's colony and military base. Obviously, this reactionary policy of the American Government is a direct threat to the Chinese and Japanese people and constitutes severe exploitation of the Japanese people. While we commemroate the 12th anniversary of the outbreak of the great resistance war, China's democratic parties and factions, people's organizations, and democratic forces of all fields must call the attention of the whole world to the following: To finally realize the goal of the resistance war, we unanimously demand the prompt conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan; we unanimously demand that, in the drawing up of a peace treaty with Japan, the procedure prepared by the foreign ministers of the four nations as

provided in the Potsdam Agreement be strictly followed, and that China's democratic coalition government created by its new Political Consultative Conference be permitted to send plenary representatives.

The future of the Chinese people will not be without difficulties, but no difficulty can block our progress; our struggle has never been isolated or unaided. In the international democratic camp we have powerful allies, primarily the Soviet Union and then the new democracies, the people of the colonies and semicolonies struggling for independence, and the people of the whole world struggling for peace and democracy. The strength of the international democratic camp more and more surpasses that of the imperialist camp. Though aiding the Kuomintang reactionaries with all its might, the imperialist camp has no power to block the victory of the Chinese people. Though signing the North Atlantic Treaty in preparation for a new aggressive war, the imperialist camp has no power to block the victory of the Soviet diplomacy of peace, such as the agreement on the principle of the unification of Germany and the peace treaty with Austria recently reached at the four-power foreign ministers conference. Though vigorously advertising the so-called Marshall Plan, the imperialist camp has no power to block the outbreak of the economic crisis of America and England, and the time for this outbreak is imminent. The direction of world development is determined by the strength of the anti-imperialist camp of peace and democracy, not by imperialism and the reactionaries of the nations. Imperialism and the reactionaries of the nations have now lost their initiative; they are in a passive position, walking toward their graves. Unite, all people of China! Unite, people of the whole world! Struggle against the imperialist aggressors and for world peace and democracy!

Mao Tse-tung, Chinese Communist Party

Li Chi-shen, Chang Po-chun, Chinese Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee

Shen Chun-ju, China Democratic League

Huang Yen-p'ei, China Democratic National Construction Association

Kuo Mo-jo, democratic figure without party or factional affiliations

Ma Hsu-lun, China Association for Promoting Democracy

P'eng Tse-min, China Peasants and Workers Democratic Party

Shih Liang, China People's National Salvation Association

T'an P'ing-shan, Federation of Comrades of the Three Principles of Democracy

Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, Chinese Kuomintang Association for Promoting Democracy

Ch'en Ch'i-yu, China Chih-kung Society

Chu Te, PLA

Li Li-san, All-China Federation of Trade Unions

Liu Yu-hou, Liberated Area Peasants Organization

Ch'en Shu-t'ung, democratic figure in the field of industry

Shen Yen-p'ing, democratic figure in the field of culture

Chang Hsi-jo, democratic professor

Liao Ch'eng-chih, All-China Federation of Democratic Youth

Ts'ai Ch'ang, All-China Democratic Women's Federation

Hsieh Pang-ting, All-China Students Federation

Chou Chien-jen, Federation of Shanghai People's Organizations

Wu Lan-fu, domestic minority

Ch'en Chia-keng, democratic Overseas Chinese

7 July 1949

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 7 July 1949

* CH'UN-CHUNG (Hong Kong), No 26, Vol 3, 14 July 1949

6080
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CHAIRMAN MAO APPEALS FOR UNITY IN BUILDING A PEOPLE'S CAPITAL

13 August 1949

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Peiping, 13 Aug--At the conference of delegates of all fields in Peiping this afternoon, Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung made a short and concise speech. He congratulated the conference for its success and expressed hope that all cities in the nation will promptly hold similar conferences, reinforce the links between the government and the people, aid the government in all items of construction work, overcome the difficulties, and thereby prepare the conditions for a popularly elected people's congress.

Chairman Mao said:

As soon as the conditions are ripe, the people's delegates conference, in its present form, will perform the functions of the people's congress, serve as the city's supreme organ of power, and elect a city government. Judging from conditions in Peiping, this probably can be done in a few months. The advantages are many, and I hope the delegates will intensify the preparations.

Chairman Mao appealed to all the people of Peiping, except the Kuomintang reactionary remnants and the concealed secret service elements, to unite and struggle to overcome the difficulties and build a people's capital.

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 14 August 1949

6080
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CHAIRMAN MAO'S OPENING SPEECH AT THE FIRST SESSION OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

21 September 1949

[Text] The following is the opening speech of Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Chairman Mao Tse-tung at the first session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference:

Delegates, the Political Consultative Conference eagerly hoped for by the people of the entire country is now in session. Our conference is attended by over 600 delegates, representing all the democratic parties and factions, the people's organizations, the PLA, the areas, the minorities, and the Overseas Chinese. It indicates that ours is a conference of the great unity of the people of the entire nation.

The success of this great unity of the people is a result of our victory over the Kuomintang reactionary government aided by American imperialism. In a little over 3 years the courageous and outstanding PLA defeated the several million troops of the Kuomintang reactionary government aided by America and shifted to counterattack and offensive. Currently, several million troops of the PLA field forces have reached the vicinities of Taiwan, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Kweichow, Szechwan and Sinkiang, and the majority of the Chinese people have gained liberation. In a period of 3-odd years the people of the entire country united, aided the PLA, resisted the enemies, and won a fundamental victory. The people's Political Consultative Conference today is convened on this foundation.

The reason we have convened the Political Consultative Conference is that 3 years ago we held a similar conference with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. The conference at that time was sabotaged by Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and its accomplices, but it left an indelible impression on the people. It proved that nothing favorable to the people could be accomplished with imperialist running dog Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and its accomplices, that even if we barely managed to do the work it would be of no benefit, and that the moment they had the opportunity they would tear up all the resolutions and oppose the people with a cruel civil war. The only product of that conference was its profound lesson to the people, enabling them to

understand that there was no room for compromise with imperialist running dog Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and its accomplices; either we overthrew such enemies or were killed and oppressed by them, either one or the other, without any other way. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people, in a period of 3-odd years, rapidly became conscious, organized themselves, formed a united front on a national scale to resist imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism and its representative, the reactionary Kuomintang government, aided the people's liberation war, basically smashed the reactionary Kuomintang government, overthrew imperialist control in China, and restored the Political Consultative Conference.

The current Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is convened on a completely new foundation. It represents the people of the entire country and has their confidence and support. Therefore, it declares that it will perform the functions of the National People's Congress. It will formulate its own organization law, the organization law of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, and the common program of the Political Consultative Conference, elect the Political Consultative Conference National Committee and the Central People's Government Committee, decide on the national flag and national emblem of the People's Republic of China, determine the location of the capital, and adopt the calendar followed by the majority of the nations of the world.

Delegates: We have a common feeling that our work will be recorded in the history of mankind. It will show that the Chinese people, constituting one-quarter of mankind, have stood up. The Chinese people have always been a great, courageous, and industrious people, but they have dropped behind in modern times. This was completely the result of the oppression and exploitation of foreign imperialism and domestic reaction. In the past century or more our forebears never stopped their indomitable struggles against internal and external oppressors. Such struggles included the 1911 revolution led by China's great revolutionary pioneer, Dr Sun Yat-sen. Our forebears instructed us to carry out their wishes, and we have now done so. We rallied together, smashed the internal and external oppressors by means of the people's liberation war and the great people's revolution, and declared the founding of the People's Republic of China. Our nation will, from now on, become a member of the big family of all peace-loving and freedom-loving nations of the world, working with a courageous and industrious attitude and creating our own civilization and happiness, while also promoting the peace and freedom of the world. Our nation will never again be humiliated. We have stood up. Our revolution has won the sympathy and applause of the broad masses throughout the world; our friends are found everywhere.

Our revolutionary work has not ended. The people's liberation war and the people's revolutionary movement are still progressing, and we must continue our efforts. The imperialists and domestic reactionaries will never accept their failure but will make a last desperate struggle. Even after the whole country is settled, they will sabotage and disrupt in all kinds of ways; they will attempt a restoration in China every day and every hour. This is inevitable and without doubt. We must not relax our vigilance.

Our state system of the people's democratic dictatorship is an effective weapon for safeguarding the victorious results of the people's revolution and resisting the restoration conpsiracies of internal and external enemies. We must tightly grasp this weapon. Internationally, we must ally with all peace-loving and freedom-loving nations and peoples, primarily the Soviet Union and the new democracies, so that our struggles to safeguard the victorious results of the people's revolution and resist the restoration conspiracies of internal and external enemies will not be conducted in isolation. As long as we adhere to the people's democratic dictatorship and unity with our international friends, we will always be successful.

The people's democratic dictatorship and unity with our international friends will bring rapid success to our construction work. Economic construction on a national scale confronts us. Our most favorable conditions are the 475 million people and 9.597 million square kms of land. We will have difficulties ahead of us, and many, but we believe that all difficulties will be surmounted by the courageous struggles of the people of the whole country. The Chinese people have extremely abundant experiences in overcoming difficulties. If our forebears and we ourselves could survive extremely arduous times over a long period and overcome powerful internal and external reactionaries, why can't we build a prosperous and flourishing nation after our victory? As long as we preserve our work style of arduous struggle, as long as we unit, and as long as we adhere to the people's democratic dictatorship and unity with our international friends, we will rapidly win victories on the economic front.

With the arrival of the high tide of economic construction, a high tide of cultural construction will be inevitable. The time when the Chinese were considered uncivilized has passed, and we will emerge in the world as a highly civilized nation.

Our national defense will become consolidated, and no imperialist will be permitted to invade our land. On the foundation of the courageous and tested PLA, our people's armed forces must be preserved and developed. We will have not only a powerful army but also a powerful air force and a powerful navy.

Let the internal and external reactionaries tremble in fear before us; let them say that we are no good at this or at that; the Chinese people, by their indomitable effort, will steadily achieve their goal.

Long live the people's heroes sacrificed in the people's liberation war and the people's revolution!

Celebrate the victories of the people's liberation and the people's revolution!

Celebrate the founding of the People's Republic of China!

Celebrate the success of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference!

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 22 September 1949

* HSIN-HUA YUEH-PAO, 15 October 1949

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 5

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PROCLAMATION OF THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

1 October 1949

[Text] Ever since Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary Kuomintang government betrayed the nation, colluded with imperialism, and launched a counter-revolutionary war, the people of the whole nation found themselves in a situation of deep water and intense heat. To defend the territorial sovereignty of the mother country, to protect the life and property of the people, and to relieve the people of their misery and strive for their rights, our PLA, with the aid of the people of the entire country, disregarded personal safety and fought courageously, thus wiping out the reactionary troops and overthrowing the reactionary control of the National Government. Currently, a basic victory has been won in the people's liberation war, and the majority of the people in the nation have gained liberation. On this foundation, the plenum of the first session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, organized by all the democratic parties and factions, the people's organizations, the PLA, the areas, the minority nationalities, and representatives of Overseas Chinese and other patriotic elements, has been convened. Representing the will of the people of the entire nation, it has formulated the organization law for the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, elected Mao Tse-tung as chairman of the Central People's Government, Chu Te, Liu Shao-ch'i, Sung Ch'ing-ling, Li Chi-shen, Chang Lan, and Kao Kang as vice chairmen, and Ch'en I, Ho Lung, Li Li-san, Lin Po-ch'u, Yeh Chien-ying, Ho Hsiang-ning, Lin Piao, P'eng Te-huai, Liu Po-ch'eng, Wu Yu-chang, Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien, P'eng Chen, Po I-po, Nieh Jung-chen, Chou En-lai, Tung Pi-wu, Sai Fu-ting, Jao Sou-shih, Ch'en Chia-keng, Lo Jung-huan, Teng Tzu-hui, Wu Lan-fu, Hsu T'e-li, Ts'ai Ch'ang, Liu Ko-p'ing, Ma Yin-ch'u, Ch'en Yun, K'ang Sheng, Lin Feng, Ma Hsu-lun, Kuo Mo-jo, Chang Yun-i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Kao Ch'ung-min, Shen Chun-ju, Shen Yen-ping, Ch'en Shu-t'ung, Szu-t'u Mei-t'ang, Li Hsi-chiu, Huang Yen-p'ei, Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, Hsi Chung-hsun, P'eng Tse-min, Chang Chih-chung, Fu Tso-i, Li Chu-ch'en, Li Chang-ta, Chang Po-chun, Ch'eng Ch'ien, Chang Hsi-jo, Ch'en Ming-shu, T'an P'ing-shan, Chang Nan-hsien,

Liu Ya-tzu, Chang Tung-sun, and Lung Yun as committee members to form the Central People's Government Committee, declared the founding of the People's Republic of China, and decided on Peking as the national capital. The members of the Central People's Government Committee took office in the capital today. They unanimously resolved to declare the founding of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, accept the common program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference as the policy of the government, mutually elect Lin Po-ch'u as secretary general of the committee, appoint Chou En-lai as premier of the Political Council and minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mao Tse-tung as chairman of the People's Revolutionary Military Commission, Chu Te as commander in chief of the People's Liberation Army, Shen Chun-ju as president of the Supreme People's Court, and Lo Jung-huan as chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, and charge them to promptly organize the various government organs and promote all items of government work. The committee also resolved to declare to the governments of all nations that this government is the only legitimate government representing the People's Republic of China and the people of the entire country. This government is willing to establish diplomatic relations with all foreign governments which are willing to follow the principles of equality, reciprocity, and mutual respect of territorial sovereignty. It is so proclaimed.

Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China

(HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Peking, 1 Oct)

1 October 1949

° -MIN JIH-PAO, 2 October 1949

* HSIN-HUA YUEH-PAO, 15 November 1949

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