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This report contains selected speeches, articles, essays, reports, letters, interviews, declarations, decrees, telegrams, poems, inscriptions of Mao Tse-tung covering a multitude of subjects.
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ANTI-JAPANESE DECLARATION FOR NATIONAL SALVATION

28 November 1935

[Text] Declaration to Resist Japan and Save the Nation issued by the Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Resist-Japan Red Army of China

Workers, peasants, soldiers, students, free lances, merchants, industrialists, the Northeast Revolutionary Array, the Northeast Volunteer Army, officers and soldiers of all armed units, and fervent determined patriots!

After the four northeast provinces, comes the loss of North China, half of the nation. Wishing to turn all the Chinese people into stateless slaves and all of China into a colony, the Japanese imperialist bandits, after annexing the four northeast provinces, are now swallowing all of North China, and even all of China.

Confronted with the destruction of the nation and extinction of the race, the Chinese people absolutely will not await death with their hands tied. Only by a general mobilization of the army, navy, and air force and the people of all of China for a sacred anti-Japanese national revolutionary war, in order to knock down Japanese imperialism and exterminate the biggest traitor in China since the beginning of history, will the nation of China gain a final and complete liberation.

The Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Resist-Japan Red Army of China have continuously appealed to the people of the entire nation to unite and wage war against Japan. They sent the main force of their own Red Army on a long expedition of 25,000 li, undergoing all kinds of hardships to fight Japan in the North. The situation has become even more urgent. Now is the time to ask the people of the entire nation to contribute their strength, money, guns, and knowledge, to unite, to struggle, and to confront the common enemies of the Chinese people with an unwavering determination; therefore, the Central Government of the Soviet
People's Republic of China and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Resist-Japan Red Army of China do hereby declare to the people of the entire nation that, regardless of the political factions, armed units, social organizations, or individual classes, as long as they are willing to resist Japan, we will not only be willing to form a resist-Japan combat agreement with them, but also organize with them a resist-Japan coalition army and a national defense government. For the resist-Japan coalition army and the national defense government, we find the following 10 major outlines necessary.

(1) Confiscate all the assets of Japanese imperialism in China for resist-Japan expenses.

(2) Confiscate the land and assets of traitors and spies and divide them among the workers, peasants, and disasters victims and refugees.

(3) Relieve disasters and control flood; settle the people's living.

(4) Abolish all harsh levies and vexatious taxes; develop industry and commerce.

(5) Raise wages and rations; improve the living standards of workers, soldiers, and teachers.

(6) Develop education; relieve students unable to attend school.

(7) Realize democratic rights; release all political prisoners.

(8) Develop production technology; relieve jobless intellectuals.

(9) Rally the workers and peasants of Korea, Taiwan, and Japan and all anti-Japanese strength to form a firm alliance.

(10) Establish close, friendly relations with nations or states expressing sympathy for China's resist-Japan national movement or maintaining a friendly neutrality.

The Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Resist-Japan Red Army of China appeal to the people of the entire nation to support our proposal and immediately send delegates to discuss the concrete measures. We believe that, as long as we can realize this proposal with one mind and by concerted effort, the final victory is ours.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China
Chu Teh, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Resist-Japan Red Army of China

28 November 1935

"On the United Front—Our Proposal to Resist Japan and Save the Nation in the Past Year" mimeographed (---* hand copied), January 1937

6080
CSO: 4005
ORDER NO 2 OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OF THE CHINESE SOVIET REPUBLIC

15 December 1935

[Text] In view of the active aggression by Japanese imperialism and the urgency of China's situation, the workers, peasants, and patriots of the entire nation are actively participating in the national revolutionary struggle and resisting the Japanese aggressors and their running dogs, Chiang Kai-shek and his gang. As a result of the rule of traitor Chiang Kai-shek and others, China's economy has sunk into a hopeless state, especially the rural economy, and the peasants of the entire nation have risen to resist and riot. The rich peasants have changed their attitude of hostility toward the soviet revolution and begun to show sympathy for the anti-imperialist and land revolutionary struggles. To expand the national revolutionary front to resist Japan and punish Chiang, the Soviet Central Committee has decided to revise the policy on the rich peasants.

(A) In regard to the land of the rich peasants, except the portion leased to tenants at a feudalistic high rent which must be confiscated similar to the land of the landlords, the land farmed by the rich peasants themselves or by hired help, regardless of the quality of the soil, will not be confiscated.

(B) The movable assets and the domestic animals and farm tools of the rich peasants, except items used for feudalistic usury, leasing, and exploitation of the peasants, will not be confiscated.

(C) Besides the unified graduated taxes, the local governments may not impose levies or special taxes on the rich peasants.

(D) Where the laws of the Soviet are not violated, the governments of all levels must protect the freedom of the rich peasants to engage in industry and commerce and to hire labor.
(E) In areas (prefectures) where all the land is equally divided by demand of the greatest majority of the masses, the rich peasants have the right to the same shares as the ordinary peasants.

(F) The rich peasants must be punished according to law when they violate the laws and orders of the Soviet; when they perform counterrevolutionary activities, they must be punished according to the Provisional Regulations for the Punishment of Counterrevolutionaries.

(G) The rich peasants still have no right to join the Red Army or any of the armed units (including the Red Guard), nor the right to vote.

(H) The Land Law and all other laws and orders promulgated previously which conflict with this order are hereby abolished.

(I) This order becomes effective on the day of its promulgation (in non-contiguous areas, on the day of its receipt). All decisions rendered according to previous laws before this order becomes effective will remain valid. There may be no reversal.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman

15 December 1935

"Order No 2 of the Executive Committee of the Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic," 15 December 1935

6080
CSO: 4005
Dear people of Inner Mongolia! Currently we are at the critical moment of world changes. Are you willing to submit to the slaughtering and cutting by Japanese imperialism and Chinese warlords, become their cannon fodder, and perish, or will you rise to the occasion, vigorously exert yourselves, and strive for complete equality of the supreme Mongolian people with the nations of the world? You must choose between the two, and we hope you will decide promptly.

To occupy all of China, the ambitious and arrogant Japanese imperialism must first take Manchuria and Mongolia; to gain world supremacy, it must first occupy China. This barbarous scheme is now being gradually realized, and the first to suffer the consequences are the people of the Three Northeast Provinces and the five North China provinces and the entire nation of Inner Mongolia. The cunning and despicable Japanese bandits, with their sweet words and evil intent, are resorting to all kinds of fraudulent measures and borrowing "Great Mongolianism" to attain their goal of taking over all the land and assets of Mongolia and enslaving the entire people of Inner Mongolia. They are preparing to turn your soil into a battlefield and your people into cannon fodder in order to achieve their goal of attacking the Chinese Soviet People's Republic, invading the Outer Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union, and finally destroying the Mongolian nation.

If you do not believe this, you only have to look at the people of the three provinces of Korea and Taiwan who cannot use their own language, who have no freedom of residence, movement, farming, or raising livestock, and whose political and economic powers are entirely controlled by the Japanese. If you will then look at the military defense and military installations of Japanese imperialism in Chahar and its Hsing-an Head Office and all its other conspiracies, you will clearly see the unprecedented crisis confronting the nation of Inner Mongolia. Then there are also the Chinese warlords headed by the shameless Chiang Kai-shek who not only consider themselves the suzerain but have even designated the entire region of Inner Mongolia a province and driven the Mongolian people to
an area south of the Yellow River and north of the Yin-shan mountains, and
continuously order minor warlords Ching Hsiu-yueh and Kao Shih-hsiu to take
the pastures and salt ponds, in order to destroy gradually the Mongolian
nation, serve as the road cleaners of Japanese imperialism, and hasten the
end of Inner Mongolia.

In the several years of courageous fighting, the Central Government of the
Chinese Soviet People's Republic and the brave Red Army units have dealt
innumerable severe blows to Japanese imperialism and warlord Chiang Kai-
shek. The Chinese Red Army has become an invincible force, especially the
courageous Central Red Army. After an expedition of 25,000 li, it broke the
world march record and successfully fulfilled the plan to resist Japan in
the North. The fighting goal of the Chinese Red Army is not only to
liberate the entire nation of China from the oppression of imperialism and
the warlords, but similarly to struggle for the emancipation of other weak
nations, and primarily it must help solve the national issue of Inner
Mongolia. We feel that only when the nation of Inner Mongolia joins us in
our fight before it can preserve the glory of the Genghis Khan era, avoid
national perdition, step on to the road of national recoverya and gain
independence and liberty similar to the nations of Turkey, Poland, the
Ukraine, and the Caucasus. Therefore, this government declares to you:

(1) The entire area of the original 6 mengs, 24 pu's, and 49 banners of
Inner Mongolia, the 2 pu's of Chahar and T'u-mo-t'e, and the 3 special
banners of Ninghsia, whether changed to county jurisdiction or deemed
grassy plains, must be returned to the people of Inner Mongolia and con-
sidered the territory of the nation of Inner Mongolia. The names and
administrative organizations of the provinces of Jehol, Chahar, and Suiyuan
must be abolished, and no other nation may occupy or seize under any excuse
the territory of the nation of Inner Mongolia.

(2) We feel that the people of Inner Mongolia have the right to solve all
their internal problems, and no one has the authority to interfere by force
in their living, habits, religion, ethics, and all other rights. Meanwhile,
the nation of Inner Mongolia may organize according to its own desire. It
may, according to the principle of self-determination, organize its own life
and form its own government. It has the right to form alliances with other
nations. It also has the right to establish its separate entity. In sum,
the nation is supreme, and all nations are equal.

(3) All the Chinese, Moslem, and Manchurian nationals in Inner Mongolia
must, according to the principle of national equality, develop democracy,
so that all such minorities will receive the same treatment as the Inner
Mongolians, and they must have the freedoms of language, religion, and
residence.
First of all, Pao-t'u-wan occupied by Ching Hsiu-yueh, the area occupied by Kao Shih-hsiu, and the two salt ponds must be returned to the Inner Mongolian people, and the vicinity of the Great Wall, such areas as Ning-t'iao-liang, An-pien, and Ting-pien, must be designated as a commercial zone, in order to develop trade between us.

Our Worker and Peasant Red Army guerrillas, or any other armed unit, has absolutely no intention to attack the grassy plains, but neither should you permit transit of the troops of the Chinese warlords and Japanese imperialism through the grassy plains to attack us and hasten your own perdition. We wish to unite with you and form a defense and offense alliance, in order to knock down our common enemies.

In sum, as long as you realize the necessity of the liberation of the Mongolian nation, refuse to become people without a country, and have the determination to resist Japanese imperialism and the warlords of Chiang Kai-shek's China, then, regardless of whether you are aristocrats or ordinary citizens, we will render you friendly and substantial aid. The Mongolian people have always been known to the world for their courage and fighting ability. We believe that, once you consciously organize, wage a national revolutionary war, and oust Japanese imperialism and the Chinese warlords from the territory of Inner Mongolia, no one will have the audacity to claim that it is easy to take advantage of the sons of Genghis Khan. Please think it over carefully. And it is hoped that we will mutually send delegates to discuss our great cause. It is so declared.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government, the Chinese Soviet People's Republic

20 December 1935

"Declaration of the Soviet Central Government to the Inner Mongolian People" (mimeographed), December 1935

RESOLUTION ON CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION AND PARTY TASKS

Passed by the Chinese Communist Party Central Politburo

25 December 1935

[Text] I. Nature of the Current Situation

A fundamental change has occurred in the current political situation, demarcating a new era in China's revolutionary history. The manifestations are the attempt of Japanese imperialism to turn China into a colony, the pending expansion of China's revolution into a great nationwide revolution, and the imminence of the world revolution and war.

After annexing the four Northeast provinces, Japanese imperialism has now occupied all of North China and is preparing to swallow all of China, in order to turn China from the semi-colony of the various imperialists into Japan's colony. This is the basic characteristic of the current situation.

As the open and armed occupation of the four Northeast provinces aroused the anti-Japanese anger of the whole of China, Japanese imperialism has adopted a more subtle approach. It utilizes the Kuomintang Nanking government to issue orders and appoint certain Chinese traitor warlords and politicians as its agents in North China, with the intention of eventual direct armed occupation. Though the means is more cunning and vicious than that of "18 September," it is merely a transition stage to direct armed occupation and the establishment of a nation of North China and its puppet government. A second puppet Manchukuo government will be the inevitable outcome. The many warlords and politicians, rich gentry, compradors, and capitalists, constituting the major components of China's traitor clique, especially the pro-Japan factions among them, will serve as the constituents and supporters of the puppet government. Without this large group of spies and traitors, Japanese imperialism will not find it so easy to turn China into its colony.
By its act of annexing North China and preparing to swallow the entire China, Japanese imperialism brings the great calamity of the loss of the nation and the destruction of the race to the 400 million Chinese people. This calamity forces all the Chinese who are unwilling to lose their country or to serve as spies and traitors to the only path available to them; they have to launch a sacred national war against Japanese imperialism and its running dogs, the spies and traitors. To defend their own nation, all patriotic Chinese people will fight the bloody war to the final end. This is the inevitable response to the venture of Japanese imperialism to destroy the nation and race of another country. After swallowing the four northeast provinces, a relatively small bomb, Japanese imperialism begins to swallow China proper, a gigantic bomb.

The act of Japanese imperialism to swallow China singlehandedly has aggravated the internal conflicts of imperialism to an unprecedented extent. For its own goal, imperialism absolutely cannot tolerate Japan. A Pacific war is inevitable. Meanwhile, Great Britain wishes to acquire certain concessions and compromises from Japan so that it can devote its main force to its major enemies, the Soviet Union, America, and Italy.

The act of Japanese imperialism to swallow China has promoted the weakening and collapse of China's counterrevolutionary regime, first of all the regime of Chiang Kai-shek, the chief traitor. Chiang Kai-shek's consistent traitorous policy has not only caused him to lose certain social and mass bases, but also reduced his territory. His long struggle against the soviet, especially the five "encirclements" and his pursuit of the Central Red Army, has consumed, exhausted, and dispersed his forces. The dream of a fascist unification of China has declared final bankruptcy. The Fifth Kuomintang National Congress was actually a loot dividing conference unfavorable to Chiang Kai-shek. He can only rely more on betraying China to maintain his dying control, while such betrayal further hastens the destruction of his rule.

This situation aggravates further the contradictions and conflicts between the Chiang faction warlords and other warlords and increases the possibility of a war against Chiang on a new status of a new nature.

The act of Japanese imperialism to swallow China occurs precisely at the time when China's soviet movement is shifting to a new situation. Since the Central Red Army withdrew from the central soviet area and certain soviet areas along the lower Yangtze suffered partial losses, with the new victories won by the Red Army on all fronts, the creation of new bases, the shift of the guerrilla war in the old soviet areas into counteroffensive, and the vigorous development of the new guerrilla warfare, the difficult time has passed. After a long march of 25,000 li stretching over 12 months, the Central Red Army defeated Chiang Kai-shek's pursuit, declared the bankruptcy of the encirclement, pursuit, blockade, and interception of imperialism and its running dog Chiang Kai-shek, broke the long march record of history, pointed out, by means of the
propaganda teams, the way to relieve misery and save the nation to more than
200 million people in the 11 provinces traversed by it, and, like a seeder,
scattered the seed of revolution. The smashing of the third enemy
"encirclement" in the Shensi and Kansu soviet areas after the Central Red
Army effected a junction with the 25th, 26th, and 27th Armies, demonstrated
even more clearly the arrival of the new period of the soviet movement. In
combination with the current new general revolutionary situation, it becomes
an important component of the new situation of China's revolution. It points
out that the ironclad strength of the Soviet Red Army exists in the great
strengths of the Chinese people to resist Japanese imperialism and save China
from the calamity of losing the nation and the race.

The act of Japanese imperialism to swallow China has again awakened the
Chinese people, made them realize the critical situation of the pending
calamity, and stirred up a national revolutionary high tide. This high tide
has been created after innumerable temperings in China's revolutionary
history (mainly the great revolution of 1925-1927); it has been created when
China already has its soviet revolutionary bases and the existence of a
revolutionary situation; it has been created under the pending new cycle of a
world revolution and war; it has been created when the Soviet Union already
has the strength to overcome all the aggressive nations and aid the
oppressed people. Therefore, it is extremely widespread and firm, and
produces an interaction with the world revolution by mutually influencing and
mutually aiding each other.

Undoubtedly, the new anti-Japanese national revolutionary high tide has not
only awakened the more backward strata of the workers and peasants in the
nation and caused them to participate actively in the revolutionary struggle,
but also attracted the broad petty bourgeois masses and the intellectuals to
the revolution. The total collapse of China's national economy, the millions
who have lost their jobs or land, and the millions of disaster victims and
refugees have closely linked the new anti-Japanese national revolutionary
high tide with the daily struggles of the masses for salvation and survival
and greatly expanded the stronghold of the national revolution and its mass
foundation. The revolutionary wrath of the broad masses is fermenting in all
areas of China, and begins to manifest itself again in the anti-Japanese
demonstrations of the students in the large cities. In the
counterrevolutionary stronghold, there are new vacillations, splits, and
conflicts. A part of the national bourgeoisie, many rural rich peasants and
small landlords, and even some of the warlords have become sympathetically
neutral toward the budding new national movement, with the possibility of
participation. The national revolutionary front has expanded.

Today's world is on the eve of a great revolution and a great war. The
economic crisis of all the imperialist nations and the resulting revolu-
tionary crisis make it impossible for imperialism to find another way to save
the situation except war. Doubtlessly the danger of a second
imperialist world war exists in Japanese imperialism's large-scale attack of China and Italian imperialism's aggression of Abyssinia. Meanwhile, the national revolutionary wars waged by China and Abyssinia and the maturing of the revolutionary crisis in the imperialist nations and their colonies will doubtlessly lead to a world revolution. Currently, on the eve of revolution and war, we can clearly see the weakening of the world counterrevolutionary strengths and the rise of the world revolutionary strengths. In the future, the world war and world revolution will put an end to all the counterrevolutions in the world. Under such a situation, China's revolution is no longer isolated as in the past. The world revolution is an effective aid to China's revolution, while the latter has become a great factor in the world revolution. In the future, China will aid the world revolution with the noble position of the entire nation.

The same principle applies to the relationship between Japan and China. Under the leadership of the powerful Japanese Communist Party, Japan's workers and peasants and the oppressed nations (Korea and Taiwan) are preparing to struggle for the overthrow of Japanese imperialism and the building of a soviet Japan. Thus, China's revolution and Japan's revolution are joined under the common goal of "knocking down Japanese imperialism." Japan's revolutionary people are the effective helpers of China's revolutionary people.

The situation is the same with the Soviet Union. Today's Soviet Union has the strength to overcome the imperialists which have the audacity to provoke it (the Second Five-Year Plan nearing completion; the power of the Red Army). When all the peaceful means toward Japanese imperialism are ineffective (several proposals to form a mutual nonaggression pact) and Japan actively provokes the Soviet Union, the latter is ready to hit the aggressor. Thus, China's revolution, Japan's revolution, and the Soviet Union's struggle against the aggressor are joined on the foundation of a common goal—knocking down Japanese imperialism, and the Soviet Union becomes the most effective aid to China's revolution.

China's revolution has a favorable environment and a brilliant future. Nevertheless, its main enemy, imperialism, especially the ferocious and arrogant Japanese imperialism at present, is prepared to confront it with determination and strength. In regard to China's counterrevolutionary group, as its ruling force is weakened more than ever before, it has no choice but to render greater service to the vicious tiger, rely on the wicked Japanese imperialism, and launch a desperate attack on the revolutionary people. When we consider the unbalanced development between this situation and China's revolution currently still in existence, we know that China's revolution has endurance. It points out to China's revolutionary people and their leader, the Communist Party, that they must be prepared for a long-term war against the enemy and to be ready for hard work! Without tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of revolutionary soldiers, it will not be possible to bring about the final liquidation of the enemy. All strategies and all effort must be directed
toward organizing millions of people into the great national revolutionary battlefield. To prepare a great force is to prepare for the victory of the final battle.

II. The Party's Strategy and Line

The current situation tells us that the act of Japanese imperialism to swallow China has shaken the entire nation and the whole world. The relations among the political parties of all classes and strata in China's political life and the armed forces have again changed, or are in the process of changing. The national revolutionary front and the national counterrevolutionary front are in the process of yet another reorganization. Therefore, the party's strategy and line are to activate, rally, and organize all the revolutionary strengths of the entire nation to resist Japanese imperialism, the major enemy at the present time, and traitor Chiang Kai-shek. Regardless of who they are, what factions, what armed units, or what classes, as long as they oppose Japanese imperialism and traitor Chiang Kai-shek, they must all be rallied together to launch a sacred national revolutionary war, expel Japanese imperialism out of China, knock down the control of the Japanese imperialist running dogs, gain the thorough liberation of the Chinese nation, and preserve its independence and territorial integrity. Only the most extensive anti-Japanese national united front (the lower and the upper strata) will overcome Japanese imperialism and its running dog Chiang Kai-shek.

Naturally, the different individuals, different organizations, different social classes and strata, and different armed units will have their different motives and standpoints in the anti-Japanese national revolution. Some wish to maintain their existing position, others wish to gain the leadership power of the movement and limit the movement within the realm permissible by them, and still others truly strive for the thorough liberation of the nation of China. Precisely because of such different motives and standpoints, some of them will vacillate or rebel right at the beginning of the struggle, others may become negative halfway and withdraw from the front, and there are those who wish to struggle to the bitter end. Nevertheless, our task is to rally not only all possible anti-Japanese basic strengths, but all possible anti-Japanese allies; it is to ask the people of the entire nation to contribute their strength, money, guns, and knowledge, so that not one patriotic Chinese is left out of the anti-Japanese front. It is the party's most extensive national united front, and the general line of its strategy. Only by this line will we mobilize the strengths of the people of the entire nation against the common enemy of all the people, Japanese imperialism, and traitor chief Chiang Kai-shek.

China's worker class and the peasants remain the fundamental motive power of its revolution. The broad petty bourgeois masses and the revolutionary intellectuals are the reliable allies in the national revolution. A firm alliance between the workers and peasants and the petty bourgeoisie
constitutes the basic strength to overcome Japanese imperialism and the spies and traitors. In regard to a part of the national bourgeoisie and warlords, no matter how much they disagree with the land revolution and the soviet system, if they are sympathetic with or adopt a friendly neutrality toward the struggle against Japan and the spies and traitors, or if they directly participate in the struggle, it is favorable to the deployment of the anti-Japanese front, because it serves to weaken the total counterrevolutionary strength and increase the total revolutionary strength. To attain this goal, the party must adopt all kinds of suitable methods or patterns to win them over to the resist-Japan front. Not only thus, but even in the stronghold of the landlord and comprador classes', they are not all unanimous. As a result of the competitions among many imperialists in China in the past, various traitor groups have emerged, with conflicts and contradictions among them. The party must also resort to many means so that certain counterrevolutionary forces will temporarily take the position of not actively opposing the anti-Japanese front. The same strategy must apply to imperialists other than Japan.

When activating, rallying, and organizing the strengths of the people of the entire China in order to resist their common enemies, the party must firmly and steadfastly struggle against all tendencies of vacillation, compromise, surrender, and rebellion within the united anti-Japanese front. All those sabotaging the anti-Japanese movement of the Chinese people are spies and traitors, and we must all rise and attack them. The Communist Party must, by its own positive, thorough, and correct anti-Japanese, anti-spy, and anti-traitor words and deeds, gain the leadership power of the anti-Japanese front. And only under the leadership of the Communist Party will the anti-Japanese movement achieve thorough victory. In regard to the broad masses on the anti-Japanese front, their demands involving their basic interest must be satisfied (the demand of the peasants for land; the demand of the workers, poor people, soldiers, and intellectuals for improvement of their life). Only when their demands are met can the broad masses be mobilized to the anti-Japanese battlefield, the anti-Japanese movement acquire endurance, and the movement march toward total victory. Only thus can the party gain leadership power in the anti-Japanese movement.

III. The National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army

The most extensive and the supreme form of the national united front against Japan and the traitors consists of the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army. In view of the existence of sentiments unfavorable to the soviet system and the land revolution but favorable to the movement against Japan and the traitors, the situation of local Balkanization resulting from political and economic imbalance, the partial territorial success of the Chinese soviet political power at the present time, and the gravity of the acts of the spies and traitors, the national counterrevolutionaries, in their roles as accomplices to
Japanese imperialism, the organization of the National Defense Government and Resist-Japan Allied Army is not only feasible, but necessary.

The Chinese people adopt many different patterns to resist Japan and the traitors, and the degree of awareness of those participating in the anti-Japanese movement is not the same. The Communist Party members must seize all opportunities to activate, organize, and lead the struggles of all patterns and all degrees and channel them to the stage of the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army. All anti-Japanese and anti-traitor elements, regardless of which class, which political faction, which social organization, or which armed unit they represent, may join the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army. The National Defense Government is the political power organization of the united front of all the anti-Japanese and anti-traitor strength throughout China and the united leadership organ of the anti-Japanese and anti-traitor national revolutionary war. In the class sense, it is an alliance of all classes under the common goal to resist Japan and the traitors.

To organize the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army promptly, and to give this government and army a broader mass foundation and greater armed strengths, the strategy of the Communist Party is not to wait for the spontaneous emergence of the anti-Japanese people's organizations and anti-Japanese armed strength before organizing them, but to direct its own members to activate all the patriotic elements and all the organizational, class, stratum, factional, production and mercantile, cultural and educational, student and teacher, modern and old fashioned, social and political, worker-peasant and petty bourgeois, national bourgeois, urban, rural, and armed strengths, initiate all kinds and types of anti-Japanese and anti-spy and traitor organizations (resist-Japan association, anti-Japanese federation, etc.), organize all kinds and types of anti-Japanese and anti-traitor troops (resist-Japan volunteer army, the New 19th Route Army of the People's Revolutionary Army, etc.), and form political power structures (resist-Japan governments of the counties, districts, and cities, the people's revolutionary government, etc.). When such organizations, troops, and political power structures are assembled, and the strengths of the soviet and the Red Army added to them, we will have the organizations of the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army. After the formation of the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army, we must, every day, activate new organizations, new local governments, and new troops, continuously eliminate the vacillating and renegade elements, and continuously absorb new strengths, so that the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army will become a government and an army which, instead of decadent, are vigorous and, instead of weak, possess a tremendous combat strength. As for some areas where resist-Japan governments and resist-Japan allied forces have sprung up freely without undergoing the party's activation and guidance due to the weakness of the party's strength in such areas, or without the
participation of the soviet and the Red Army due to their distance, the party
organizations in such areas must actively aid, support, and participate in
them. This is the concrete work line of the Communist Party to realize the

As the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army are the
most extensive and the supreme form of the organization of the national
united front against Japan and the traitors, they must possess the most
extensive action outline. The outline is as follows:

1. Resist Japan and save the nation; recover lost territory.

2. Confiscate all the assets of Japanese imperialism in China for resist-
   Japan expenses.

3. Confiscate the land and assets of all the traitors and spies and
divide them among the workers, peasants and disaster victims and
refugees.

4. Relieve disasters and control flood; settle the people's living.

5. Abolish all harsh levies and vexatious taxes; develop industry and
   commerce.

6. Raise wages and rations; improve the living standards of workers,
soldiers, and teachers.

7. Develop education; relieve students unable to attend school.

8. Realize democratic rights; release all political prisoners.

9. Develop production technology; relieve jobless intellectuals.

10. Rally the workers, peasants, and all oppressed masses of Korea, Taiwan,
    and Japan to form a firm alliance. Establish close friendly relations with
    nations or states expressing sympathy for China's national movement or
    maintaining a friendly neutrality.

The Communist Party must, in the process of the resist-Japan struggle, seek
the realization of these outlines and, through these outlines, the
realization of the party's 10 great outlines.

IV. The Soviet People's Republic

The most extensive united front against Japan and the traitors has its
special significance today; it is the success of the soviet in many areas in
China, which is fundamentally different from the period of the great
revolution of 1925-1927. The success of the soviet movement led
by the Communist Party in many areas in China in the past 9 years has supplied a fundamental strength to the new anti-imperialist high tide, given hope to the people of all the nation, furnished live examples of seizing freedom, liberation, and independence from the hands of imperialism and traitors, laid the firmest foundation and base for the most extensive national united front, guaranteed the endurance and eventual thorough victory of the new great revolution, and provided the central support to the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army.

To gain a broad and powerful foundation for the national united front, the Soviet Worker-Peasant Republic and its Central Government declare that its name is hereby changed to the Soviet People's Republic and that many parts of its policies, which are the policies of the Soviet Worker-Peasant Republic, are revised for better adaptation to the situation of resisting Japanese imperialism in its attempt to turn China into a colony.

Such revisions primarily manifest more fully that the soviet represents not only the workers and peasants, but the nation of China. The fundamental interest of the nation of China is the freedom, independence, and unity of China, and only under the firm policy of the soviet will such fundamental interest be gained and safeguarded and the enemies to such interest, imperialism and traitors, thoroughly overcome.

The Soviet People's Republic declares that it is willing to rally the broad petty bourgeois masses around itself and that it is willing to grant the rights to vote and to be elected to all the revolutionary petty bourgeois elements. The soviet will protect, as far as possible by its policies and powers, all the urban and rural small industry and commerce hit by imperialism and China's counterrevolution. The soviet has long abolished all the harsh levies and vexatious taxes imposed by the Kuomintang warlords and promulgated the unified graduated tax favorable to the small producers.

The Soviet People's Republic declares that all intellectuals sympathetic to the anti-Japanese and anti-traitor movement, whether they were Kuomintang members or worked for the Kuomintang government in the past, will enjoy favorable treatment from the soviet government. The soviet will give them work, relieve their unemployment, and furnish them the opportunity to develop their talent in culture, education, art, science, and technology. The soviet will grant refuge to all the intellectuals, writers, artists, scientists, technical personnel, and newspaper reporters who have been expelled, scorned, or mistreated by Japanese imperialism or the traitorous Kuomintang government. (All of them may come to the soviet areas.) The soviet will grant the rights to vote and to be elected to all the revolutionary intellectuals, writers, artists, scientists, technical personnel, and newspaper reporters (regardless of whether they are of landlord, rich peasant, or capitalist background).
The Soviet People's Republic declares that all White army officers (regardless of rank) and soldiers who are willing to resist Japan and the traitors will have the right to receive favorable treatment from the soviet, and that the Soviet Red Army is willing to give work to all the unemployed soldiers rejected or disarmed by the traitorous Kuomintang government. Even those who once fought against the Red Army, once they lay down their arms, be they officers or soldiers, will receive favorable treatment. All the injured will receive medical attention. The soviet will grant the rights to vote and to be elected to all those White army officers and soldiers who wish to serve in the Red Army and are loyal to the cause against Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors.

The Soviet People's Republic and its Red Army propose to all the individuals, organizations, political factions, and armed units in the entire nation which wish to participate in the cause against Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors to organize together the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army. Regardless of what kind of armed units, the soviet and the Red Army are willing to form an agreement with them to resist Japan and punish the traitors, similar to the resist-Japan anti-Chiang agreement formed between the Soviet Red Army and the 19th Route Army in the past. However, in the past, the Red Army was unable to render direct substantial aid promptly to the 19th Route Army (nor did the 19th Route Army make a positive request) to repel Chiang Kai-shek's attack of Fukien, which was wrong. Hereafter, substantial aid must be rendered, as much as possible, to all the friendly units resisting Japan and punishing the traitors until the stage of direct combat coordination. To reach the goal of resisting the common enemies, the Soviet Red Army needs the victory and development not only of itself, but also of its friendly allied units.

The Soviet People's Republic revises its policy on the rich peasants. The assets of the rich peasants will not be confiscated. Except that part used for feudal exploitation, their land, whether farmed by themselves or by hired help, will not be confiscated. When all the land in a village is equally divided, the rich peasants have the right to the same shares as the poor and middle peasants.

The Soviet People's Republic adopts a policy more lenient than before toward the national industrial and commercial capitalists. Where it is beneficial to both sides, it welcomes them to invest in the territory of the Soviet People's Republic and establish plants and stores, and it will protect their property and reduce the taxes as much as possible, in order to develop China's economy. In areas occupied by the Red Army, all industry and commerce beneficial to the anti-Japanese and anti-traitor movement will be protected so that the people of the entire nation will understand that the Soviet People's Republic not only safeguards political freedom but is the best place to develop China's industry and commerce.
The Soviet People's Republic declares to the overseas Chinese that it 
commends them for their patriotic activities in aid of China's revolution 
and that, though those like Chiang Kai-shek have long deserted the revo-
lution, the Soviet People's Republic and the patriotic people of the entire 
nation have continued the courageous cause since the Taiping Rebellion and 
are determined to save China from destruction and turn it into a powerful 
and prosperous nation. The day of the national victory of the Soviet 
People's Republic is the time of the liberation of the overseas Chinese. All 
the policies whereby the Kuomintang government led the overseas Chinese to 
slavery must be thoroughly eradicated, and replaced with policies of active 
protection of the overseas Chinese. The soviet grants the privilege of 
refuge to all the overseas Chinese compatriots currently rejected or 
expelled by Japanese imperialism and other imperialist nations, and it 
welcomes overseas Chinese capitalists to develop industry and commerce in 
the soviet areas.

All the policy revisions are for one fundamental goal: Overcome Japanese 
imperialism and its running dogs the traitors, seek the freedom, liberation, 
and independence of the nation of China, and strive for the national victory 
of the revolution.

To implement the policies successfully, to fight Japanese imperialism 
promptly, and to safeguard the leadership power of the national united 
front, the party and the soviet have a policy which has always been con-
sistent but which requires a greater effort to make it more adapted to the 
needs of the national united front. It is to expand the Resist-Japan Red 
Army, to expand the resist-Japan guerrilla, to expand the territory of the 
Soviet People's Republic serving as the resist-Japan base, to smash the 
offensive of the traitor troops, to cleanse the resist-Japan path, to 
consolidate the resist-Japan rear, to thoroughly solve the land issue, to 
recruit the majority of the workers and peasants, to win over the traitor 
troops and Japanese imperialist soldiers, to propose to the minorities the 
formation of an alliance for common struggle, and to implement a flexible 
foreign policy.

The Red Army is the resist-Japan vanguard. Only the expansion, consoli-
dation, and proper employment of this vanguard will assure the success of 
the anti-Japanese war. Today, the slogan to "struggle for the expansion of 
a 1-million-strong Red Army" must be closely linked to the urgent anti-
Japanese war to avert destruction. To overcome Japanese imperialism and its 
running dogs China's traitors, the Red Army must be expanded to several 
million. But first it must be expanded to 1 million. The positive effort 
toward this goal of not only every Red director, soldier, local cadre, and 
soviet personnel, but also the revolutionary people of the entire nation, is 
most important. The elevation of the technical conditions of the Red Army, 
the improvement of technical and tactical education, the intensification and 
popularization of political work, the centralization of the leadership of 
the Revolutionary Military Affairs Commission, the assurance of material 
supply, and especially the
conformity of the strategy and battle direction with the correct principles (opposing adventurism when on the offensive; opposing conservat-ism when on the defensive; opposing escape-ism when shifting) are all indispensable conditions for victory.

Guerrilla warfare must be developed in the entire country, while stressing the areas occupied by Japanese imperialism and their vicinities, areas under traitor Chiang Kai-shek, and the resist-Japan bases (soviet areas) of the Red Army and their vicinities. All guerrilla troops must emerge as a part of the national war and closely link themselves with the land revolution of the peasant masses. Guerrilla warfare must be made to produce a great strategic effect in the anti-Japanese anti-traitor struggle. The party must make the guerrilla units the creators of resist-Japan bases (soviet areas); it must make all areas where the guerrilla troops are present establish resist-Japan people's revolutionary political power (county, district, and township resist-Japan governments, revolutionary committees, and even Soviets) severed from Japanese imperialism and the traitorous control; it must make the guerrilla expand rapidly and become a resist-Japan revolutionary army; it must make the young students and revolutionary soldiers engulfed in the anti-Japanese tidal wave join guerrilla warfare in large numbers; it must unite all the guerrilla units, whether currently under the party's leadership or not, on a common foundation.

It will not be possible to succeed in overcoming Japanese imperialism and its running dogs China's traitors without expanding the territory of the Soviet People's Republic, i.e., the Red Army bases. Only when large sections of land controlled by the traitors are turned into soviet territory will the Red Army have a backing and the resist-Japan war its rear. We must strive for perfection in the many tasks within the soviet territory, enforce the correct policies, make the soviet territory impregnable and an area admired, cherished, and emulated by the people of the entire nation.

All attempts of the traitor troops to attack the resist-Japan bases and model areas of the people's political power must be ruthlessly repelled, smashed, and destroyed. To repel such counterrevolutionary attacks is the responsibility of not only the Resist-Japan Red Army and the anti-Japanese people of the soviet areas, but also the anti-Japanese people of the entire nation. The party must appeal to all the anti-Japanese people of all of China and of all the soviet areas to struggle in defense of their own bases, to resist the traitors' sabotage of the rear of the resist-Japan war, and to oppose the blocking of the Red Army by the traitors. Linking the civil war of China with the national war is a fundamental principle of the party's guidance of the revolutionary war.

It will be impossible to succeed in overcoming Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors without the participation of the majority
of the millions of workers, peasants, soldiers, poor people, and revolutionary masses under the control of Japan and the traitors. The anti-Japanese anti-traitor national united front of the party and the Soviet Red Army must be expanded to all areas where the masses are found, and all the mass struggles must be raised from the low level to the high level, from the local to the national, and from the ordinary to the stage of resisting Japan and the traitors' political regime by force. Only when the struggles inside and outside the territory of the Soviet People's Republic are joined will Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors be overcome.

It will be impossible to succeed in overcoming Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors without recruiting the great majority of the worker class. We must build firm strongholds in the major enterprises of key cities, organize broad mass organizations by utilizing all open and semi-open possibilities, start from the concept of striving for victorious results (even very small victories) by assessing the concrete environment, activate, organize, and lead the worker masses in economic and political struggles, and give attention to the protection and education of cadres in the enterprises. We must accumulate the great strengths of the worker masses in preparation for a decisive battle. Striving for the leadership power of the worker class in China's revolution is the party's fundamental principle in the worker movement.

It will be impossible to succeed in overcoming Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors without the participation of the peasants, constituting 80 percent of China's population, in the struggle front. The Communist Party and the soviet must satisfy the peasants' demand for land and struggle for the thorough solution of the land issue and the elimination of the rural feudal oppression. Only thus will we be able to mobilize millions of the peasant masses to take up arms and march to the battlefield against Japan and the traitors, to furnish an inexhaustible source of reinforcement to the national revolutionary war, and to turn the main objective of plunder by Japanese imperialism and China's national counterrevolution, the peasants, into China's national revolutionary army resisting such plunder. In areas occupied by Japan and their vicinities, we must first confiscate the land and assets of spies and traitors and distribute them to the peasants. Thereafter, in the struggle process, according to the people's own experiences, we will intensify the struggle and undertake the thorough solution of the land issue. The party's fundamental principle is to link the land revolution and the national revolution.

Nor will it be possible to overcome Japanese Imperialism and the several million troops of China's traitors without the aid of the soldiers. We must, on a broad mass foundation, undertake the work on the soldiers. The party must appeal to the people of all soviet and White areas, Red Army soldiers, and guerrilla fighters to strive for the disintegration of the traitors' troops. When the tens and hundreds of millions of
people unwilling to become stateless slaves persuade the millions of officers and soldiers unwilling to become stateless slaves by sincere advices, by communicating with their relatives and friends, by letters of reproach, and by agitating slogans, it cannot help but influence them. Our slogans are: Chinese will not fight Chinese! Unite, workers, peasants, merchants, and students, and defend China by force; unite the Red Army and the White army, and knock down Japanese imperialism and the traitors! Travel expenses to those who wish to return home; land to those who wish to farm; those wishing to resist Japan join the Red Army and the volunteer army!

By its own example and sincere slogans, the Soviet People's Republic tells the oppressed Mongolians and Moslems: Organize your own state! Japanese imperialism and the traitors are our common enemies. Unite and knock down the enemies!

On the foundation of not overlooking any possibility for victory over Japanese imperialism and China's traitors, the foreign policy of the Soviet People's Republic is to negotiate with all nations, factions, and even individuals opposed to Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors for the necessary understandings, compromises, diplomatic ties, and treaties of alliance. The Soviet People's Republic and its government do not shoot off arrows without selection of target. The Soviet People's Republic is willing to establish friendly relations with all those struggling in their own interest which is beneficial to the Soviet People's Republic's effort to resist Japan and punish the traitors.

All policies and all effort are for victory over Japan and the traitors. Anything against this goal will be rejected. This is the strategic line of the Communist Party and the soviet.

V. Closed-doorism, the Party's Major Danger

To overcome Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors, the common enemies of the Chinese people, the Communist Party members must penetrate the masses, and participate in and lead all mass, national, and class struggles. Here, the key is the application of an extensive united front. Such a united front will, on the one hand, concentrate the maximum, strengths against the major enemies and on the other hand, enable the broad masses, according to their own political experiences, to understand the accuracy of the party's ideas and rally them under the party's banner. The issue of the revolutionary leadership power must be more profoundly understood. To gain the leadership power in China's revolution, the Communist Party cannot rely only on the party's propaganda and agitation; it must make all the party members demonstrate leadership in their practical actions and daily struggles. It is not enough for them to perform work among the lower level masses (which is the main thing), but they must know how to conduct negotiations, discussions, compromises, and concessions with the upper level leaders of
other parties and factions who are connected with the lower level masses, in
order to win those among them with, whom continued cooperation is possible, 
expose finally the wavering, deceitful, and renegade elements before the
masses, and expel them by the strength of the masses. For the party to gain
leadership power, relying only on activities in the worker class (which is
important) is not enough; the Communist Party members must perform their
activities in the rural villages and among the poor people, soldiers, petty
bourgeois, intellectuals, and even the revolutionary allies, struggle for
their intimate interests, and convince them that the Communist Party is the
representative of the interests of the majority of the people of China as
well as the worker class and that it represents the entire nation. In all
areas where the masses are found, regardless of how reactionary the leaders
of such areas are, the Communist Party members must go there and perform
revolutionary work. Only when the Communist Party members demonstrate that
they are the most energetic and vigorous vanguard of China's revolution
which nothing can stop, and not "holy disciples" conducting abstract
discussions of communist principles, will the Communist Party gain the
leadership power of China's revolution.

To make a bolder application of the extensive united front for the party to
gain leadership power, the party must wage a firm struggle against the
"leftwing" closed-doorism in the party. Under the present situation,
closed-doorism is the party's major danger. The sources of closed-doorism
are as follows: First is the lack of understanding of the current new
political situation, which leads to the lack of understanding of the
necessity to change the strategy to suit the new situation. Second is the
inability to link the party's basic slogans and fundamental policy outlines
with the current action slogans and political action outlines in practical
actions. Third is the inability to flexibly apply Marxism, Leninism, and
Stalinism to China's unique concrete environment, but turning them into
rigid dogmas. Such closed-doorism tendency is manifested, in essence, in
the fear of the enemies, the fear of the masses, and the lack of confidence
in our own strengths, resulting in the fear to apply the strategy of an
extensive united front. Actually, it is identical with rightwing
opportunism. Its continuation will cause the party to become severed from
the masses and relinquish its task of striving for the leadership power of
China's revolution. Therefore, the party must firmly oppose "leftwing"
closed-doorism, boldly apply the extensive united front, penetrate the
millions of masses, have no fear of certain possible errors, and learn the
technique of leading the masses in struggle. Naturally, in the struggle
against "leftwing" closed-doorism, there must be no relaxation of the
struggle against rightwing opportunism. Rightwing opportunism suppresses
the struggle of the masses for their intimate interests, sacrifices the
demand of the peasants for land and that of the workers, poor people, and
soldiers for better treatment for the interests of the national bourgeoisie
and the rich peasants and the partial interests of its allies, is afraid to
use the weapon of criticism against the allies, and has no courage to lead
the masses and
force the allies to proceed to a higher stage of the revolution. It may accept the influence of the national bourgeoisie, the upper level petty bourgeoisie, and the rural rich peasants and turn itself into their tail. There is no doubt that it is possible for the Ch'en Tu-hsiu-ism of 1927 to revive among some of the party units and party members in the new great revolution. The party must wage a firm struggle against such rightwing opportunism. Nevertheless, currently, "leftwing" closed-door ism is the party's major danger. The current opposition to the rightwing tendency is precisely for the purpose of successfully overcoming the "leftwing" tendency and thoroughly breaking down closed-doorism, so that the strategy of an extensive united front is correctly and boldly applied in all tasks. Then, the party will not be lagging behind the mass struggles, and the masses, beginning with the struggles for their daily intimate interests, will be elevated to the position of participating in the national revolutionary war to resist Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors, the common enemies of the Chinese people.

VI. Expansion and Consolidation of the Communist Party

To accomplish the sacred mission shouldered by the Chinese Communist Party in the great historical era, the party must be expanded and consolidated organizationally. In the new great revolution, the Communist Party needs hundreds of thousands and millions of fighting members before it can lead China's revolution to thorough victory.

As the vanguard of China's proletariat, the Chinese Communist Party must absorb large numbers of workers and tenant peasants into the party and form a workers' backbone in the party. Meanwhile, as it is also the vanguard of the entire nation, all those willing to struggle for its principles, regardless of their background, may join the party. All the courageous fighters in the national land revolution must be absorbed into the party to perform the party's work in all aspects. Since China is an economically backward semi-colony and colony, peasants and intellectuals of petty bourgeois background often constitute a majority in the party. However, this does not lower in the slightest the Bolshevik position of the Chinese Communist Party. As proven by the facts, a party of such components can complete the glorious mission bestowed by the Comintern, the vanguard of the world proletariat; it can struggle arduously and persevere courageously. Among the communist parties in all the nations in the world, except the party of the Soviet Union, the Chinese Communist Party occupies a glorious advanced position.

We must struggle against the closed-doorism tendency in the party when developing the organization. Whether an individual can struggle firmly for the principles proposed by the party is the major criterion of membership. While attention must be given to the social composition, it is not the major criterion. The party must act as a smelting furnace of communism and temper the many new members willing to struggle for its
principles into Bolshevik warriors with the highest class awareness. The struggle between the two fronts in the party and communist education constitute one of the means to attain this goal. The party's ideological unanimity in Bolshevism is the concrete manifestation of its firm leadership of the proletariat. Closed-doorism on the issue of organization, which, instead of starting from the positive fighting needs, starts from the concept of fear, must be thoroughly destroyed. Innumerable active elements and mass leaders have emerged, or are emerging, in the great struggles of the national revolution and the land revolution. The party organization, must, with warm welcome, open the door to them. The party does not fear the infiltration of certain opportunists. It assures the stability of its organization with the Bolshevik political line and iron discipline. It does not fear the uneven political levels of the non-proletarian party members; it will elevate them to the position of vanguard by means of the communist education.

Large numbers of cadres must be trained. The party needs thousands and tens of thousands of new cadres so that they can be sent group by group to all fronts. It is not necessary to teach them every item of leadership skills before assigning work to them, but what is necessary is to enable them to learn in struggle. We do not use the cadres and party members as we do machines. Instead, we cherish and trust them, assign them suitable work, and fully develop their talent and initiative. We do not treat them with the bureaucraticist attitude. Instead, by means of persuasive explanation of the tasks and concrete instructions of the work, we vividly and vigorously link them with the party's leading organs. In regard to the errors of the cadres and party members in ideology or work, we do not discourage them lightly, call them opportunists, or even punish them. Instead, we conduct patient and repeated persuasive education. Errors in ideology and work are inevitable, but they can be corrected. The spirit of studying in Leninism and the tempering of experience in struggle are precisely the excellent means to correct errors. The firepower of struggle in the party must be directed toward those comrades who persist in their erroneous viewpoints and refuse to study, undergo tempering, or accept education. Organizational conclusions of a certain extent are only necessary for those comrades who have committed serious errors and cannot be convinced by persuasion. Nevertheless, all inner-party struggles and organizational conclusions must still contain the essence of party education toward the party concerned. Only when it comes to those opportunists who have consistently followed the wrong line, the party must not, because of their temporary expression of remorse, assign them important work.

In this great era of struggle, the rallying of party cadres firmly around the party's leading organs possesses a determining significance. As the party must unite the entire party and lead the broadest masses to the war of national revolution and land revolution, it cannot succeed without many capable cadres serving as the links. The correct organizational line and cadre policy constitute the premise of this task.
The Chinese Communist Party Central appeals to the entire party and cadres to struggle for the firm implementation of the party's strategies and lines, spread the united front to the entire nation, build the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army, make the Soviet People's Republic the state of the entire people, make the Red Army the troops of the entire nation, make the party a great people's party, link the land revolution and the national revolution, and link the civil war with the national war. Long live the sacred national war!

Long live China's independence, freedom, and unity!

Long live the Soviet New China!

* "Selections of Current Event Discussions" (December Resolution), Chih-hsin Printing Press, 1 May 1937

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* "Documents on the Cooperation Between Kuomintang and the Communist Party to Resist Japan"
1 March 1936

[Text] The following is announced; As Japanese imperialism pursues an outrageous course in North China without restraint, as Chiang Kai-shek, Yen Hsi-shan, and Sung Che-yuan, with their servile attitude, follow their habit of fawning on foreigners, and as the destruction of the nation is imminent, the Military Affairs Commission of the People's Red Army of the Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China orders this array to march east and resist Japan. This army wishes to ally with, all patriots and revolutionaries, without distinction of being new or old, factions, or backgrounds as long as they are sympathetic with the resistance of Japanese imperialism, in order to pursue together the great cause of the national revolution. Wherever this army marches, it will protect the patriotic movements, the revolutionary people, the interests of the workers and peasants, the intellectuals, and the industry and commerce of the area. It advocates the cessation of all civil wars and the alliance of the Red Army and the White army, in order to confront Japan unanimously. It wishes to negotiate and reach agreements or understandings with all patriotic soldiers, whether they actively cooperate with this army to resist Japan or passively refrain from opposing this army and the patriotic people in their resistance of Japan. China's greatest enemy is Japanese imperialism. All the people of China must rise as one, unite, and defend the nation. If the skin be lost, how can the fur be laid on? If the nation perishes, what good is one's life? Raise the just banner in the nation; announce the punitive expedition in China! Those with strength must donate their strength; those with money must donate their money; those with guns must donate their guns; those with knowledge must contribute their knowledge. Making 1 man equivalent to 10 is our spirit; making 10 men equivalent to 1 is our strength. The nation of China will not perish; Japanese imperialism will fall. The destiny of success or failure is self-evident without need of argument. Those who fail to understand the great principles, but fawn on the foreigners and trample on the people, or even resist this army, are severing themselves from the people of the nation, and this army will
punish them as spies and traitors. Unite, workers, peasants, merchants, students and soldiers!

Down with Japanese imperialism!

Down with spies and traitors!

Long live the resist-Japan national war!

Long live the new China of freedom and equality, and territorial integrity!

It is so announced.

P'eng Te-huai, Commander in Chief

Mao Tse-tung, Chief Political Commissar

March 1936

0 "Announcement of the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army" (mimeographed), 1 March 1936

* "Tou Cheng" [Struggle], No 96 (mimeographed), 1936

6080
CSO; 4005
DECLARATION AGAINST TRAITORS CHIANG KAI-SHEK AND YEN HSI-SHAN FOR BLOCKING THE EASTWARD MARCH OF THE RESIST-JAPAN VANGUARD FORCE OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S RED ARMY TO RESIST JAPAN AND FOR SABOTAGING THE RESIST-JAPAN REAR

5 April 1936 [Text] Patriotic compatriots of the entire China!

Since the loss of the five North China provinces in fact though not in name, the Japanese imperialist bandits are speeding toward the annexation of all of China.

At this critical moment of the nation and the race, the Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Chinese Resist-Japan Red Army have time and again demanded the cessation of all civil wars. All must unite to resist Japan together, without distinction of Red Army or White army. A national Resist-Japan and Save-the-Nation Congress must be convened to organize a National Defense Government and a Resist-Japan Allied Army. The main force of the Red Army of the entire nation must concentrate in Hopeh to block the advance of Japanese imperialism. In view of the urgent demand of the entire country to resist Japan and save the nation, the Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Chinese Resist-Japan Red Army organized the Chinese People's Resist-Japan Vanguard Army to cross the river and march east, resist Japan and punish the rebellious, and report to the anti-Japanese compatriots of the entire nation that it fought in the vanguard and vented a righteous anger. Yet, willing to serve as the running dog of Japanese imperialism, Shansi's Yen Hsi-shan has mobilized his entire armed forces to block the path of the Red Army to resist Japan. The outrageously wicked traitor head, Chiang Kai-shek, is helping him with up to 10 divisions of men against the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army, and has ordered the troops of Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-ch'eng to push north and sabotage our resist-Japan rear in the Shensi and Kansu soviet areas!
Look! When Japanese imperialism swallowed five North China provinces and
the Japanese army and Manchukuo troops marched into Peking, Tientsin, Chahar,
and Suiyuan, Chiang Kai-shek ordered his troops to withdraw completely from
the five North China provinces. Yet when the Red Army marched east to
resist Japan and threatened its security in the five provinces, Chiang Kai-
shek transferred his troops to Shansi to attack the Resist-Japan Vanguard
Army of the Chinese People's Red Army. Today, everyone knows Japanese
imperialism's new scheme to annex North China: It is the concrete
implementation of the so-called Hirota's three great principles. The joint
"anticommunist" agreement of China, Japan, and "Manchukuo" is now being
firmly carried out by traitor chief Chiang Kai-shek.

The Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China and the
Revolutionary Military Commission of the Resist-Japan Red Army of China
declare to all the patriotic compatriots in the entire China that Japanese
imperialism plans to destroy China under the name of joint "anti-communism"
of China, Japan, and "Manchukuo" and mobilize all the traitor troops against
the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army. For the
freedom, independence, and territorial integrity of the nation of China, we
are determined to exterminate with our full strength the traitor troops
blocking the path of our Vanguard Army to resist Japan and sabotaging our
rear so that we will smash Japanese imperialism's new scheme to destroy
China and strive for an immediate direct encounter with Japan. We also
appeal to the patriotic compatriots of the entire nation to rise together,
resist Japan and punish the rebellious, and support the eastern expedition
of the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army, in order
to save the nation from perdition. The victory of the Red Army in resisting
Japan and punishing the rebellious is the victory of the patriotic
compatriots of the entire nation; it is the victory of the nation of China.

Stop all civil wars; resist Japan together unanimously; create a resist-
Japan people's front of all parties and all factions!

Oppose the "joint anticommunism" of China, Japan, and "Manchukuo" and the
destruction of China!

Ally with Russia and the communists; resist Japan together for China's
independence and freedom!

Convene a National Resist-Japan Save-the-Nation Congress; organize a
National Defense Government and a Resist-Japan Allied Army!

Support the Red Army for immediate direct encounter with Japan!

Support the concentration of the main force of the Red Army of the
entire nation in Hopeh against Japan!
Concentrate the army, navy, and air force of the entire nation in Hopeh against Japan!

Down with traitors Chiang Kai-shek and Yen Hsi-shan "blocking the Red Army from resisting Japan and sabotaging its rear!

Arm the people of the entire China; knock down Japanese imperialism; knock down spies and traitors!

Long live the resist-Japan national revolutionary war!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Chinese Resist-Japan Red Army

5 April 1936

"Declaration Against Traitors Chiang Kai-shek and Yen Hsi-shan for Blocking the Eastward March of the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army To Resist Japan and for Sabotaging the Resist-Japan Rear" (mimeographed), 5 April 1936

6080

CSO: 4005
OPEN CABLE MESSAGE FOR ARMISTICE AND NEGOTIATIONS FOR ESTABLISHING
ALLIANCE AGAINST JAPANESE AGGRESSION

5 May 1936

[Text] The Military Commission of the Nanking National Government, the entire army, navy, and air force, all parties, factions, organizations, and newspaper publishers of the entire nation, and all compatriots unwilling to become stateless slaves:

Ever since the Soviet Central Government and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Chinese Red Army organized the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army to cross the river and march east, the Vanguard Army was victorious wherever it went, and the entire nation responded. Nevertheless, just when it occupied the T'ung-p'u railway and actively prepared to march east to Hopeh and make direct contact with Japan, Chiang Kai-shek sent over 10 divisions to Shansi, cooperated with Yen Hsi-shan to block its path to resist Japan, and ordered Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-ch'eng and the troops of northern Shensi to march on the Red area in Shensi and Kansu and sabotage our resist-Japan rear.

The Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army actually should concentrate its entire strength to wipe out Chiang's troops blocking its path, in order to attain the goal of direct contact with Japan. Nevertheless, after repeated consideration, the Soviet Central Government and the Red Army Revolutionary Military Commission feel that, in face of the national calamity, when we engage in battle, regardless of which side wins, it will be a loss to China's national defense strength and only please Japanese imperialism. Furthermore, among the troops of Chiang Kai-shek and Yen Hsi-shan, there are many patriotic soldiers who wish to stop the civil war and resist Japan together. Though obeying the orders to block the path of the Red Army, they actually find it an act against their conscience.

In view thereof, for the purpose of preserving the national defense strengths in order to carry out the war to resist Japan, for the purpose of firmly performing our proposal to the people of the nation to stop the
civil war and resist Japan together, and for the purpose of hastening the final awareness of Chiang Kai-shek and the patriotic troops under him, though many victories were gained in Shansi, the Worker-Peasant Democratic Government and the Red Army Revolutionary Military Commission, are withdrawing the People's Resist-Japan Vanguard Army to the west bank, of the Yellow River. By this act, they express their sincerity to the Nanking government, the army, navy, and air force, and the people of the entire nation. We hope, within 1 month, to cease all hostilities and negotiate for peace with all the armed units attacking the resist-Japan Red Army in order to attain our goal of resisting Japan together.

The Soviet Central Government and the Red Army Revolutionary Military Commission hereby solemnly advise the gentlemen in the Nanking government: At the critical moment of losing the nation and the race, you should, according to reason, immediately repent and, with the spirit of "brothers quarreling within the walls will defend themselves against the outsiders together," stop the civil war on a national scale, first of all in Shensi, Kansu, and Shansi. Both sides must send delegates to discuss the concrete measures to resist Japan and save the nation. This will benefit not only you gentlemen, but also the nation and the state. If you persist in your erroneous ways and continue to serve as spies and traitors, your control will finally collapse, and you will be deserted and overthrown by the people of the entire nation. The proverb says: "When a thousand men point their fingers, you die without illness." It also says: "Lay down the butcher knife and immediately become a Buddha." We hope you will give the matter your serious consideration.

The Soviet Central Government and the Red Army Revolutionary Military Commission appeal to all the organizations, parties and factions, and people of the entire nation who are unwilling to become stateless slaves to support our proposal to cease hostilities and negotiate for peace and resist Japan together, organize an association to promote the cessation of the civil war, and send delegates to block the firing line between the two sides and to further and supervise the complete performance of our proposal.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Chinese People's Red Army

5 May 1936

"Reference Material on China's Revolutionary History," Vol 3, Chinese People's University, 1957
* "Yenan Revolutionary Museum," Cultural Publishing House, September 1959

* "Tasks of the Chinese Communist Party in the Resist-Japan Period,"
  "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol 1, footnote 4

6080
CSO: 4005
May 1936

Dear Moslem brothers:

The second imperialist world war to redivide the colonies will soon break out. The people and land of China's five races are cut away in large sections by Japanese imperialism, which is now advancing toward Suiyuan, Ninghsia, Kansu, and Sinkiang. The calamity of the destruction of your roots and extermination of your race is imminent. Will you resign to destruction and division by others, or will you rise and fight and strive for the independence and freedom of the Moslems? The glory of the recovery of the Turkish Moslems will serve as the compass to all the Moslems and all the oppressed nations. At this critical moment, we hope you will rise up immediately!

The Moslems suffered the oppression and exploitation of China's ruling class in the past decade or more, especially the harsh levies and vexatious taxes of Chiang Kai-shek's Nanking government, which made the life of the Moslems unbearable. The Nanking government also frequently provoked ill feelings between the Moslems and the Chinese, to the extent of mutual slaughtering. It would then send troops to suppress them, causing the Moslem and Chinese people to lose all their energy, in order to benefit its cruel and greedy regime. In the past several years, the Kuomintang warlords headed by traitor Chiang Kai-shek recklessly capitulated to Japanese imperialism and attempted to sell all the interests of the Chinese people. With the fall of the four northeast provinces, the loss of the five North China provinces in fact if not in name, and the activity of the autonomy movement of southern Fukien, the Nanking government has now designated the four northwest provinces as an "anticommunist" zone. The entry of the Nanking troops into Kansu is the major step to destroy the northwest and suppress the independence movement of the Moslems, Mongolians, and Tibetans.

The Chinese People's Soviet Government and the People's Red Army Resist-Japan Vanguard Army have always considered the resistance of imperialism,
especially Japanese imperialism, and the thorough liberation of the Chinese nation and other small and weak nations their fundamental tasks. As the eastward march of the Vanguard Army against Japan is blocked by traitor Chiang Kai-shek, they feel that consolidating the rear defense, developing the resist-Japan base, and rallying all people and nations unwilling to become stateless slaves, primarily the minorities of the Northwest, in order to prepare for direct confrontation with Japan, are more important. Therefore, the westward march of the resist-Japan People's Red Army is not only a necessary step in the practical preparation against Japan, but also an excellent opportunity for the independence and liberation of the Mongolians, Moslems, and other small and weak minorities, especially the Moslems. Therefore, we solemnly declare to the Moslem people:

1. According to the principle of national self-determination, we advocate that the affairs of the Moslems must be completely handled by the Moslems themselves, that, in all Moslem areas, the Moslems must establish their independent and autonomous political power and handle all the political, economic, religious, custom, ethical, educational, and other matters, and that, in all areas where the Moslems constitute a minority, under the principle of national equality, the Moslems, with the district, township, and village as the units, must manage their own affairs and establish their own government.

2. According to the principle of the freedom of religion, we will protect Mohammedanism and the Ahongs and guarantee the absolute freedom of belief of the Moslems.

3. Armament is an indispensable condition of an independent and autonomous nation. We wish to rally all armed strengths of the Moslems and to help and develop them. We wish to arm the Moslems and form an independent "Moslem Resist-Japan Army." We hope that the Moslem armed forces will become one of the major strengths in the Resist-Japan Allied Army.

4. Abolish all the harsh levies and vexatious taxes imposed by the warlords, bureaucrats, and militia; improve the life of the Moslems.

5. Protect the Moslem language; develop the culture and education of the Moslems; start Moslem newspapers; raise the Moslem political and cultural levels.

6. The Moslems and Chinese must unite closely to knock down Japanese imperialism and the spies and traitors.

7. Form an alliance with Turkey, Outer Mongolia, other nations and states sympathetic with China's thorough liberation of all races and resist Japan the Soviet Union, and together.
Dear Moslem brothers! Now is the time when the small and weak nations rise up and struggle for survival and strive for thorough liberation. You are situated between the already liberated Soviet Union, Outer Mongolia, and Turkey and the Chinese Soviet Red Army in the process of liberation. As long as you will become aware and rise up and struggle, victory will be yours. It is solemnly declared.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China

25 May 1936

"Struggle," Ho 105, 12 July 1936

6080
CSO: 4005
DECLARATION ON THE NORTHERN MARCH OF ARMED FORCES FROM KWANGTUNG AND KWANGSI TO COMBAT JAPANESE AGGRESSION

11 June 1936

[Text] Recently, Japanese imperialism's large troop reinforcement in Hopeh and Chahar for the direct occupation of North China, its organizing of nationwide smuggling to destroy China's customs system and national economy, and its launching of the autonomy movement in Fukien all prove that it is carrying out its plan to destroy all of China at an unprecedented speed. Not only failing to show the slightest resistance, but Chiang Kai-shek's Nanking government assists Japanese imperialism in its aggression everywhere, suppresses all the resist-Japan national salvation movements of the Chinese people, blocks the eastward march of the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army, signs the "Sino-Japanese Anti-Communist Agreement," leads the wolf into the house, rejects the dissident in order to create an individual dictatorship, and enables Japanese imperialism to do as it pleases. At this time when the Japanese bandits and the shameless traitors are creating havoc in China, all the patriotic soldiers and compatriots with conscience and enthusiasm are filled with righteous anger, and they swear to struggle to the bitter end for the survival of the nation of China!

When Kwangtung and Kwangsi raise high the righteous banner to resist Japan and send their troops north, and demand that the Nanking government immediately send troops to resist Japan together, wherever their righteous voice is heard, the people of the nation become stimulated. On behalf of the resist-Japan people and resist-Japan Red Army, we wish to express our respect and support to the patriotic soldiers and compatriots of Kwangtung and Kwangsi and declare our desire to form a resist-Japan alliance to their authorities and struggle together. We appeal to the patriotic soldiers in the entire nation to rise up and respond to the patriotic compatriots of the nation, expand the resist-Japan and national salvation movement, and coordinate with the uprising of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. The current military action against Japan must be expanded to a sacred national revolutionary war of armed resistance of Japan by the people of the entire country. Meanwhile, we demand that the Nanking government immediately
repent, accede to the demands of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, and mobilize the army, navy, and air force of the whole China to march north and resist Japan. The Chinese People's Red Army is willing to concentrate in Hopeh, serve as the vanguard to resist Japan, and begin direct confrontation with Japanese imperialism.

Nevertheless, since Kwangtung and Kwangsi expressed their intentions, Chiang Kai-shek's Nanking government not only has not indicated any sincerity to accede to their demands, but has delayed time and again, and openly accused the authorities of Kwangtung and Kwangsi for provoking a civil war and destroying unity, while surreptitiously transferring large troops to block the troops of Kwangtung and Kwangsi from marching North and resisting Japan, provoking and alienating, and activating a civil war, in order to sabotage the resist-Japan front. In regard to such criminal acts of Chiang Kai-shek, the people of the entire nation absolutely refuse to become stateless slaves. The patriotic soldiers must immediately sever themselves from Chiang Kai-shek's policy to capitulate to Japan and march North to resist Japan together with the troops of Kwangtung and Kwangsi and the Red Army!

The matter is urgent! Patriotic soldiers and Compatriots of the entire nation must closely unite, concentrate their forces against Japanese imperialism, and attack together! More than ever before, the Chinese people urgently demand a firm resist-Japan united front. We must firmly oppose the Second Kuomintang Central General Meeting called by Chiang Kai-shek and his National Congress. We advocate the immediate holding of a national resist-Japan congress. We ask all the resist-Japan and anti-traitor political, social, and occupational organizations and armed units in the nation to elect their own delegates to the congress and immediately realize the following outlines:

1. Announce the severance of relations with and declare war on Japan; punish Manchukuo; recover the lost territory in the Northeast and North China.

2. Abolish all unequal treaties between China and Japan and cancel all traitorous loans.

3. Punish the spies and traitors who gave up power and territory and brought calamity to the nation and the people.

4. Mobilize the army, navy, and air force of the entire China for direct contact with Japan.

5. Confiscate all the assets of Japanese imperialism and the spies and traitors for use as resist-Japan expenses.

6. Guarantee the freedoms of speech, publication, meeting, and forming associations to resist Japan and save the nation; release all political prisoners.
(7) Organize a national defense government and a resist-Japan allied army.

(8) Ally with all states and nations in the world treating us with equality; ally with all oppressed people in Japan.

These are the outlines to resist Japan and save the nation demanded by the people of the entire China, and they should be the outlines of Kwangtung and Kwangsi in sending troops to resist Japan. We sincerely hope that the patriotic leaders of the two provinces will courageously activate and support the people's patriotic movement to resist Japan, extensively arm and organize the resist-Japan people, cooperate with the people of the entire nation, and struggle for the thorough realization of these outlines. We believe that only when the resist-Japan armed forces and the resist-Japan people become one, and only when the resist-Japan armed forces become the armed forces of the resist-Japan people, will the great cause of liberating the nation of China initiated by Kwangtung and Kwangsi attain its final victory.

Support Kwangtung and Kwangsi in sending troops to march North against Japan!

All patriotic soldiers of China unite with Kwangtung and Kwangsi and hit Japan together!

Oppose Chiang Kai-shek's blocking of the righteous troops of Kwangtung and Kwangsi from marching North against Japan!

Call a national resist-Japan and save-the-nation congress!

Oppose Chiang Kai-shek's Second Kuomintang Central General Meeting and his National Congress!

Oppose Japanese imperialism's smuggling; confiscate all contrabands!

Down with Japanese imperialism!

Long live the resist-Japan united front of the people of the entire China!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Chinese People's Red Army

11 June 1936

"Struggle," No 104, 3 July 1936
[Text] Gentlemen of the Society of Brothers:

Recently, the barbarous bandit conduct of Japanese imperialism, the sworn enemy of the nation of China, to annex China is becoming ever more fierce. Not only taking our four northeast provinces by force, but they are actually controlling all of North China. Not only utilizing smuggling to destroy China's entire economic life and aggravate the miseries of bankruptcy and unemployment, but they have resorted to their colonial system in Taiwan and Korea and sent 50,000 reinforcements to North China. All such political and economic measures are for the purpose of turning North China into a second "Manchukuo" and the base to attack the whole China. Japanese imperialism is in the process of carrying out unlawful aggression in China's northwest and Central and South China, wishing to turn the entire country into its colony and the 400 million people into its slaves and beasts of burden. The calamity of losing the nation and the race is imminent. Thirty thousand catties hanging by a single hair, we are at the critical moment between life and death, between survival and perdition. Except the minority of traitors and spies, all the Chinese with any righteous feeling and all those unwilling to become stateless slaves are filled with a powerful anger and wish to wage a death struggle against Japanese imperialism! Recently, southwest military leaders Li Tsung-jen and Ch'en Chi-t'ang raised high the resist-Japan big banner, marched north, and demanded that Chiang Kai-shek of the Nanking government send troops to resist Japan. The resist-Japan national revolutionary war has entered a new stage.

The Society of Brothers has always followed the principle of promoting the Chinese to eliminate the Manchurians, and hitting the rich to relieve the poor. It actively participated in the anti-Manchurian revolutionary movement of 1911, and the north Shensi revolution also received much support and participation of the Society of Brothers comrades. Comrades such as Hsieh Tzu-ch'ang and Liu Chih-tan were not only leaders in the Red Army,
but also models in the Society of Brothers. Such revolutionary spirit and glorious achievements must be brought to a greater light today, and the society must struggle for the salvation of themselves as well as China.

The Chinese Soviet People's Central Government has made declarations time and again, announcing its principle of national salvation and appealing to all those unwilling to become stateless slaves to unite together, without distinction of parties or factions or classes, and together fight our common enemies—Japanese imperialism and the spies and traitors, in order to gain the independence and liberation of the nation of China. The Society of Brothers has always been an organization representing national patriots and the broad peasant and laboring masses. Oppressed by the government, the warlords, and the bureaucrats, branded as "low-class people," and slandered as "bandits," the society cannot exist in the open. The abuse suffered by the society from the hands of the ruling class is more or less identical with what we have suffered! As you advocated promoting the Chinese to eliminate the Manchurians in the past, we now advocate resisting Japan, to save the nation; as you advocate hitting the rich to relieve the poor, we advocate hitting the local tyrants and divide the land; as you care not for money but for justice and associate with the heroes and tough guys in the world, we sacrifice ourselves to save China and the world and rally the oppressed and exploited nations and classes and strata in the whole world. Our viewpoints and principles are not much different; our enemies and our future are completely identical. Therefore, with great sincerity, we declare to all our brothers of the Society of Brothers of the whole country: Regardless of what misunderstandings and dissatisfactions between us in the past, we must now forget and discard them. We must unite under our common desire to resist Japan and save the nation, form a close and brotherly unity, and together save the nation from calamity with righteousness in our hearts. This is your sacred obligation and that of the people of the entire China!

The Soviet Government is the government of the oppressed people of China. We undertake the responsibility of receiving and protecting all those abused and persecuted by the Kuomintang government. Therefore, the Society of Brothers may exist openly under the Soviet Government. We have established a Society of Brothers reception office to receive the heroic, courageous, noble, and righteous people. It is our hope, and we request and welcome the members of the society in all areas, either in person or by delegates, to come to us and discuss the plans to save the nation. We eagerly await and welcome you. We shout:

*Bring forth the revolutionary spirit of the Society of Brothers of the past!*

*Unite, the Society of Brothers and the people throughout China, to hit Japan and promote China!*
Long live the liberation of the nation of China!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese Soviet People's
Central Government

15 July 1936

° "Struggle," No 105, 12 July 1936

6080
CSO: 4005
DIRECTIVE ON THE LAND POLICY

22 July 1936

[Text] To make the soviet truly the center of unity of the people of the entire nation, all its current policies must embody a clear popular essence and a profound national quality. The land policy has always occupied the major position among all its policies. By carrying out the land revolution, it will not only relieve the peasants, constituting 80 percent of the national population, of feudal exploitation, but also encourage them to participate actively in the national liberation cause and reinforce the national revolutionary strength. Since the Central Politburo conference in December last year, the soviet has made many important changes in the land policy (such as the rich peasant and small landowner policies, the decisions on class analysis and certain special problems, etc.). Such changes have gained the support of the broad people and produced practical results in the soviet area. Nevertheless, to attain the goal of liquidating the feudal remnants and building, within all possibilities, a broad people's resist-Japan united front by means of the enforcement of the land policy, we must further scrutinize it and make the necessary changes.

Therefore, the Central has made the following decisions on this issue:

(1) All the land and assets of spies and traitors will be confiscated in their entirety.

(2) The land, grain, buildings, and assets of the landlord class will be confiscated. After confiscation, the landlords will be given land for farming and the necessary production tools and material. The quantity and quality of the land will be determined by the majority opinion of the local peasant masses.

(3) The land of the following categories of small property owners will not be confiscated:

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(a) Free lances, technical personnel, teachers, medical students, small merchants, and handicraftsmen.

(b) Workers who saved the money for the land by their own labor.

(c) Small landlords whose living conditions are very inferior.

(d) Those who were originally not landlords but were forced to rent their land out due to the loss of labor force.

(e) Those who worked as hired help even though they rented out their own land.

(4) The land belonging to resist-Japan soliders and those dedicated to the resist-Japan cause will not be confiscated,

(5) The land and the surplus production tools (farm tools; domestic animals) of the rich peasants will not be confiscated. Where the division of all land is carried out upon the demand of the basic peasants, the land of the rich peasant landlords must also be included in the division, but the rich peasants must receive their shares according to the general rules of division (receiving the same shares as the peasants in general).

(6) In regard to the land belonging to large farmowners and enterprisers (enterprise owners who do not rely mainly on land rent exploitation, but on hiring large numbers of help to farm their land or raise livestock), as their production pattern is rather progressive, they will be handled according to the rich peasant policy. Where the majority of the peasants demand division, the land, animals, and grain of the large farmowners and enterprisers must be surrendered for division.

(7) In case of merchants who are also large landlords, their land is handled similar to the landlords in general, but the commerce part of their assets must not be infringed upon.

(8) High interest loans are cancelled. The Soviet People's Government will promulgate a new loan regulation and restrict the interest rates in the soviet area. Nevertheless, commercial loans and loans between the laboring people are not included among those cancelled.

(9) The leasing of land is permitted in the soviet area. However, regardless of the type of owner renting out land, the cruel and slavish leasing of the old days must be abolished. The leasing regulations promulgated by the Soviet Government must be observed without exception.

(10) The living conditions of rural workers must be improved. The Soviet Government will formulate special regulations on rural hired help for promulgation and enforcement.
The foregoing decisions become effective Immediately in the newly created soviet areas. In the old soviet areas where the land has been divided, the original method will be followed and there will be no change. The Soviet Central Government will formulate and promulgate the concrete and detailed regulations for implementation of the foregoing decisions separately.

Central, 22 July 1936


6080
CSO: 4005
OPEN LETTER FROM THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY TO THE KUOMINTANG

25 August 1936

[Text] Gentlemen of the Central Committee and the entire membership of the Chinese Kuomintang:

It has been a year since this party, the Soviet Government, and the Red Army published the declaration to resist Japan. Though our proposal to organize a national united front and rally all parties, factions, and fields to resist Japan together has won the support of the patriotic leaders and people of the entire country, as your party and your party government hesitate over its acceptance, the sacred national self-defense war, up till now, has not been launched. Meanwhile, the Japanese bandits take advantage of the gap and march straight in, taking a foot after gaining an inch. The tragic calamity of perdition is imminent. The entire nation is in a panic, unable to live through the day. Such grave danger of the nation and the people has been entirely caused by the erroneous policy of your party and your party government. Now is the critical moment of the nation and the race. This party cannot but again shout to you in desperation: Immediately stop the civil war; organize a national resist-Japan united front; launch the sacred national self-defense war; resist the aggression of Japanese imperialism; defend and recover China's territorial sovereignty; save the people of the entire nation from deep water and searing fire. If you continue the internal squabbles and refuse to shift the muzzle of the gun toward the outside, change the policy of concession to resistance, turn the situation of split to unity, and alter the condition of dispersal to unanimity, then the calamity and damage will be unimaginable, while your infamy will remain irrevocably through the generations. With an attitude of sincerity, we are writing to you gentlemen and the Chinese Kuomintang membership.

After reading the declaration of your party's Second Central General Meeting and the report of Committee Chairman Chiang at the meeting, we find that your Second Central General Meeting has not made an affirmative answer to the issue of averting perdition and seeking survival—an issue which has been worrying the people of the entire nation day and
night, and that it has not made a complete revision of the foreign policy of your party's Fifth General Congress--"before it is completely hopeless, peace must not be abandoned; before the final moment arrives, sacrifice must not be discussed lightly." It cannot but greatly disappoint the patriotic people of the entire nation.

In his report, Committee Chairman Chiang made a new explanation of the policy of your party's Fifth General Congress. He stated: "The Central's minimum limit in diplomacy is to preserve the integrity of territorial sovereignty. We absolutely will not tolerate the infringement of our territorial sovereignty by any nation; we absolutely will not sign any agreement encroaching upon our territorial sovereignty; we absolutely will not tolerate any instance in violation of our territorial sovereignty. To put it more clearly, should anyone wish to force us to sign anything damaging to our territorial sovereignty, such as the recognition of the puppet regime, that would be the time when we could no longer tolerate the situation, the time of our final sacrifice." Committee Chairman Chiang's explanation was extremely necessary, because the Chinese people never could figure out what constituted the minimum limit when "peace is completely hopeless" or when would be "the final moment of sacrifice." We admit that Committee Chairman Chiang's explanation shows certain improvement over the past, and we sincerely welcome such improvement. Nevertheless, basically it still cannot satisfy the demand of the people of the nation, because in his report, he also felt that "the diplomatic situation in the past 6 months has not reached the stage when peace is hopeless. Rather than being hopeless, one might say that there has been a ray of hope in the past 6 months compared with before. I daresay that the most recent diplomatic outlook has not reached the final moment." Therefore, he still hesitates to bring up the task of organizing a resist-Japan united front, and he still refuses to immediately launch a sacred national resist-Japan war. With Abyssinia's failure as an excuse, he continues the policy of concession. This is extremely regrettable. It is far too inadequate to satisfy the demand of the people of the nation. In view of the people of the entire nation, the fall of the four north-east provinces, the loss of the greater part of Chahar, the rampage of the East Hopeh Anti-Communist Autonomous Government, the puppetry of the Hopeh-Chahar Political Committee, the stationing of large numbers of Japanese troops in Hopeh and Chahar, the destruction of the economic power of North China, the open smuggling inundating the whole country, the desperate situation of national industry and commerce, the approaching bankruptcy of the state finance, the demolition of the customs authority, the general installation of Japanese special service organs in North China, and even the northwest provinces, the large scale attack on Sui-yuan by Japanese and puppet Mongolian troops, the formation of the Inner Mongolian government, the unrestrained flight of enemy planes in China's territorial sky, the reckless conduct of Japanese tramps, the direct and indirect intervention in the students' patriotic movements and the people's patriotic expressions by the Japanese bandits, the massacre of large numbers of worker-peasant masses, the intolerable insults suffered
by many patriotic people, soldiers, police, and reporters, and even by many of the important members and government officials of your party, the forced withdrawal of troops defending the land, the alert of Tsingtao, the instigation of the South China autonomy movement, etc. were all tremendous losses to China's territorial sovereignty. In the view of the people of the entire nation, the Sung-hu [Shanghai], T’ang-ku, Ho [0149]-Mei [2734], and North China anti-communist agreements, and other unpublished written and unwritten pacts were all treaties involving the loss of sovereignty and territory. Therefore, in the view of the people of the entire nation, peace has long been hopeless and the final moment of sacrifice has long arrived. Short of launching the people and the armed forces of the entire nation to wage a resolute self-defense war, the total loss of China's territorial sovereignty cannot be averted.

Except by launching the strengths of the entire China to hit back firmly, the bandit plan of Japanese imperialism to destroy China definitely will not change. The changes in the pattern of aggression, the shifts in its direction, and the expression of the so-called "economic aid" are not for the purpose of ceasing aggression, but precisely for the purpose of facilitating it. Thus, should one feel that, after marching into Hopeh and Chahar, the Japanese bandits would concentrate on the economic aggression of the five North China provinces and therefore, there would be hope of peace, one would only be deceiving oneself as well as others. Should one think that the Japanese bandits would stop its aggression north of the Yellow River while we could enjoy partial peace south of the river, it would also be an illusion. Look! When you gentlemen are loudly proclaiming that peace is not yet hopeless, the Japanese and puppet troops of northern Chahar are advancing on a large scale against Suiyuan. After establishing special service organs in Suiyuan, Ninghsia, Inner Mongolia and Kansu, Japanese imperialism built main and auxiliary airfields in such areas. It arbitrarily set up a consulate in Szechwan which led to the massacre of our patriotic compatriots. After reinforcing the troops in North China, the ferocious and savage Japanese army is poised for action, and minor confrontations occur frequently along the defense line of the 29th Army. The situation of North China is becoming ever more dangerous. Such espionage groups as the military investigation and economic investigation committees of the Japanese bandits travel arrogantly everywhere without restraint, entering every crack. Their espionage network spreads throughout the country, even within various organizations of your party and your party government. All these indicate that the situation is extremely critical. That peace is absolutely impossible and the resistance war absolutely inevitable is unequivocal. Your views are entirely wrong.

In the declaration of your party's Second Central General Meeting, you stated solemnly: "The prerequisite to defense against aggression is to concentrate all national salvation strengths under the direction of the Central Government, unifying the pace and consolidating the battle line. Therefore, the necessity of unity and discipline is an unshakable ironclad principle. Meanwhile, the unity of the army and government and
military command is especially the minimum requirement of a modern nation." We fully agree that launching the maximum strength of resistance of the people of the entire country and concentrating and unifying the national salvation forces of the whole nation for the thorough victory of the resistance war are absolutely necessary* As early as the "18 September" incident, this party and the Soviet Government and the Red Army appealed to the people and troops of the entire country to wage a sacred national revolutionary war and expel Japanese imperialism from China. After the "28 January" Shanghai war, this party and the Soviet Government and the Red Army proposed to the armed units of your party and your party government encircling and attacking the soviet area to stop the war, discuss peace, and resist Japan together. After the North China incident, we again proposed the policy of organizing promptly the most extensive resist-Japan united front to include all parties, all factions, and all fields in China. Innumerable times, we requested your party and your party government to stop- all civil wars and resist Japan unanimously, and we suggested calling a resist-Japan national salvation congress elected by all the people and all the armed units willing to resist Japan, in order to formulate a plan to resist Japan and save the nation and to elect a unified nationwide national defense government and organize a resist-Japan coalition army for a large-scale resist-Japan war. We firmly declared that the Soviet Government was willing to become a component of such a national defense government and the Red Army was willing to serve under the general headquarters of the resist-Japan coalition army, to be in charge of certain designated front, and to guarantee the completion of all combat missions. All the proposals of this party and the Soviet Government and the Red Army are completely compatible with the demands of the people of the entire country and constitute the only correct policy to avert perdition and seek survival. The people of the entire nation have never been so urgent in their demand for the cessation of the civil war and for concentration and unity, in order to resist Japan together. Only the Japanese bandits and their agents will incite continued splits .and continued civil wars, because only by so doing will the condition for the destruction of China be created for the Japanese bandits.

Nevertheless, the "concentration and unity" advocated by your party's Second Central General Meeting is actually putting the cart before the horse. You must know that the civil war and disunity of the past decade have been entirely a result of the erroneous policy of relying on imperialism followed by your party and your party government, especially the consistent nonresistance policy since the "18 September" incident. Under your slogan of "pacifying the internal before driving out the external," you have been waging the civil war continuously from year to year, launched innumerable encirclements of the Red Army, and suppressed with all your might the patriotic and democratic movements of the people of the entire country. Up till very recently, you have relinquished the northeast and North China and forgotten that Japanese imperialism is China's biggest enemy, while devoting all your strengths against the soviet and the Red Army, pursuing the internal squabbles within your own
camp, blocking the path of the Red Army against Japan, sabotaging the resist-
Japan rear of the Red Army, ignoring the demand of the people of the entire
nation to resist Japan, and depriving the people of their freedom and rights.
Patriotism is a crime, and jails for the wronged are scattered all over the
country; betrayal deserves reward, and the spies and traitors celebrate
together in their official robes. To seek concentration and unity with such
erroneous policies is truly looking for fish on a tree, and the result will
be exactly the opposite. We now tell you gentlemen seriously: If you do not
fundamentally change your erroneous policies, if you do not turn your
hostility toward Japanese imperialism, but continue to aim at your own
compatriots, then, even if you wish to barely maintain the status quo, it
will be impossible. Concentration and unity and the so-called "modern nation"
are mere empty words.

What the people want are the concentration and unity to resist Japan and save
the nation, not the concentration and unity to flatter the foreigners and
trample on the people. What they eagerly demand is a government truly devoted
to the salvation of the nation and the people, a truly democratic republic.
They demand a democratic republican government protecting their interests.
The major outlines of such a government must be: First, it can resist
external aggression; second, it can give the people their democratic rights;
third, it can develop the national economy and reduce, or even eliminate, the
misery of the people. When it comes to a "modern nation," these are the only
outlines required by the colonial and semi-colonial China in modern times.
The people of the entire nation, with an eager desire and a firm
determination, are in the process of struggling for the realization of this
goal, yet the policy of your party and your party government is completely
opposite to the desire of the people. To thus seek the people's confidence is
absolutely impossible.

The Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Soviet Government, and the Chinese
Red Army now solemnly state: We support a united democratic republic of the
whole nation, a congress elected by general popular vote, a resist-Japan
national salvation delegates' mass meeting of the people and the resist-Japan
troops of the entire nation, and a united national defense government. We
declare: Upon the formation of a national united democratic republic, the
soviet area will become a part thereof, the delegates of the soviet area will
participate in the national congress, and the same democratic system will be
carried out in the soviet area.

We feel that the national defense conference decided upon by your party's
Second Central General Meeting and the people's congress now being called by
your party and your party government cannot fulfill the task of concentration
and unity to resist Japan and save the nation. According to the national
defense conference regulations passed by your party's Second Central General
Meeting, the organization of the conference is limited to a minority of your
party and your party government and its duty is merely to serve as an advisory
organ to your party and your party government. That such a conference will not
be able to accomplish anything or gain
the confidence of the people is extremely clear. Meanwhile, according to the "Draft of the Constitution of the Republic of China" and the "Organization Law and Delegates' Election Law of the People's Congress" passed by your party government, the people's congress which you gentlemen wish to convene likewise will not be able to accomplish anything or gain the people's confidence, because such a people's congress is merely an organ manipulated by your party and a few officials of your party government; it will be an accessory and an ornament of the few officials. Such national defense conference and people's congress possess not the slightest resemblance to the national resist-Japan national salvation congress (national defense conference) and the democratic republic of China and its congress advocated by this party. We feel that a resist-Japan national defense conference must include the delegates of all parties, all factions, all fields, and all armed units and become a power organ truly able to decide on plans to resist Japan and save the nation. A united national defense government will be created from the conference. Meanwhile, the people's congress must be a congress created by a general election by the people of the entire nation and serve as the supreme power organ of the democratic republic of China. Only such national defense conference and national congress will win the welcome, support, and participation of the people and place the great cause of saving the nation and the people on a firm foundation. Otherwise, no matter how fancy the terms, it absolutely will not produce any practical benefit or gain the consent of the people. The failure of the many conferences called by your party and your party government all along is the best evidence thereof.

The Second Central General Meeting of your party also stated: "The arrival of dangers and difficulties can be expected. We must not, because of the dangers and difficulties in national affairs, relax on the performance of our proper responsibilities.... In regard to the fate of the nation, this party will devote all its mind and talent and persevere from beginning to end." True, your party is the political party in control of the largest part of China's territory, and the political responsibility of all measures introduced so far must be shouldered by you. Under the Kuomintang government of one-party dictatorship, the Kuomintang absolutely cannot evade its responsibility. Especially since the "18 September" incident, your party has violated the public opinion of the country, deserted the interest of the nation, followed an absolutely erroneous policy, and led to the loss of almost half of China. Such responsibility cannot be shifted to anyone else. In our view and that of the people of the entire country, as close to half of China has been lost through your party, we cannot but charge you with the responsibility of recovering the territorial sovereignty. Meanwhile, many conscientious persons in your party have now awakened to the dangers of losing the nation and to the force of public opinion and begun to change, to feel anger and dissatisfaction toward those in your party who have brought misfortune to the party and the nation. The Chinese Communist Party sympathizes completely with such changes and eagerly welcomes the determination and awareness of
those members of the Chinese Kuomintang who are patriotic and conscientious and who preserve, and are in the process of stimulating, the heroic bearing of the nation of China. We welcome their spirit of sacrifice and reform in face of the national crisis. We know that many conscious and patriotic people exist in your Party Central and provincial party units, in your Central and provincial governments, in the fields of culture, education, science, art, journalism, industry, women, religion, medicine, and police, in all kinds of people's organizations, especially the broad troops, and among the new and old members of the Kuomintang and the leaders of all levels, and that such people are growing in number every day. It is extremely encouraging. The Chinese Communist Party members are ready at all times to associate with such Kuomintang members and organize together a national united front against the biggest enemy of the entire nation—Japanese imperialism. We hope that these Kuomintang members will promptly form a controlling power in the party, overcome those members who disregard the national interest and serve as agents of Japanese imperialism, who are pro-Japanese spies and the worst and most shameful members of their party, and who constitute an insult to Mr Sun Yat-sen, revive the spirit of Mr Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary three principles of democracy, restore his three great policies of allying with Russia, the communists, and the workers and peasants, implement, with their "mind and talent," the three principles of democracy, the three great policies, and Mr Sun Yat-sen's last will, firmly shoulder the responsibility of continuing his revolutionary cause, resolutely expel Japanese imperialism together with the patriotic leaders and people of all parties, all factions, and all fields in the nation, and struggle against the destruction of China, for the democratic rights of the people, for the development of the national economy to relieve the greatest majority of the people from their miseries, and for the realization of a democratic republic of China and its democratic congress and a democratic government.

The Chinese Communist Party declares to all members of the Chinese Kuomintang: If you truly do so, we will firmly support you; we will be willing to form with you a firm revolutionary united front, similar to the great united front against national and feudal oppression formed by the two parties in the first revolution of 1925-1927, because it is the only correct path to avert perdition and seek survival today.

Gentlemen and the entire Kuomintang membership, most likely you have not forgotten the glorious history of the cooperation between the two parties in the previous revolution. As a result of such cooperation, all national and feudal oppressors trembled with fear before us. The national oppressors at that time, especially Japanese Imperialism, deeply realized that our cooperation would lead to thorough victory and to the complete liberation of China. Thus, they provoked and alienated, threatened and induced, and resorted to extreme measures, and finally they succeeded in provoking one side of the cooperation and put an end to the first united front. When you gentlemen look into your conscience in the deep of the night, most probably you will heave a long sigh of regret. Wow everyone knows
that, had the Chinese Kuomintang cooperated with the Chinese Communist Party to the final end, China would not have been in such a tragic situation today; China would have been an independent and free country! Today, the people of the entire nation hope urgently that the two parties will renew their cooperation and save the nation. They believe that only a renewed cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and a general cooperation with all parties, all factions, and all fields in the nation will truly avert perdition and attain survival. Nevertheless, Japanese imperialism and the spies and traitors will inevitably again attempt to sabotage such cooperation, because they know full well that such cooperation will deal them a fatal blow. The "three great principles" centering on "anti-communism" proposed by Japanese imperialism to your party government is an attempt to forestall cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and to prepare to destroy any cooperation. However, the issue is very clear. Will you join Japanese imperialism and the spies to build an anti-communist united front—a united front of national perdition? Or will you join the Chinese Communist Party and the people of the entire country to build a resist-Japan united front—a national salvation united front? The moment of decision is here. Any hesitation or vacillation is a loss to the state and the nation and a gain to Japanese imperialism. The key to our cooperation is in the hands of your party. As stated at the Second Central General Meeting of your party, in regard to the fate of the nation, your party has a responsibility. If you are truly willing to shoulder the responsibility of saving the nation and seeking survival, now is the time to make the decision. Once the nation is lost, there will be no point in discussing cooperation. It will then be too late to regret! As for us, we have long prepared to send our plenipotentiary delegates to any place at any time and discuss the concrete measures with the delegates of your party, in order to form promptly a concrete agreement to resist Japan and save the nation, and we will firmly abide by such agreement.

Once the united front between you and us, the united front among you and us and all the parties, factions, and fields in the nation, is successfully formed, then you and us and the people of the entire country will have the right to shout: Let the spies and traitors and all the spineless slaves shout in face of the might of Japanese imperialism that "China is not capable of resisting Japan," but the children of the great nation of China will never surrender, never capitulate! We will struggle for the independence and liberation of the great nation of China to the last drop of our blood! China absolutely is not Abyssinia! The nation of China of 450 million will one day stand up majestically in the east, raise high the banner of final victory of the national revolution, and, hand in hand with all free and liberated nations in the world, including the nation of Japan except its imperialist elements, control the entire globe! Control the bright and brilliant new world! Let our enemies tremble in face of our united front, for victory will be ours!

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We intend to you our national revolutionary salute!

Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party 25

August 1936

0 "Struggle," No 110, 5 September 1936

* "Selections of Current Event Discussions," Chih-hsin Printing Press, 1 May 1937

* "Reference Material of China's Revolutionary History," Vol 3, Chinese People's University, 1957

"Guide to the Resist-Japan National United Front" (1), Resistance War University Training Department

"Records of Kuomintang-Communist Cooperation To Resist Japan"

6080

CSO: 4005
22 September 1936

[Text] Dear Mr Chieh-min:

It has been 20 years since I listened respectfully to your noble discourses and magnificent theories in the classrooms of Peking University in the old capital during 4 May Movement period!

What kind of day is today? It is the day when the nation and the state are in desperation. The old like those of your generation, the middle aged like me, and the young like today's students, without distinction of rich or poor, of workers, peasants, merchants, or students, or of beliefs and preferences, will all fall into the hands of foreign aggressors. The rivers and mountains will no longer be our rivers and mountains; the people will no longer be our people; the cities will no longer be our cities. Such catastrophe of national perdition and racial extinction is unprecedented since ancient times in the whole world. How will you handle it? The Communist Party proposed creating a resist-Japan united front. As the people in the nation all find it feasible, you probably will also find it feasible. However, some among those in power may find it infeasible or suggest postponement. When the robbers enter the front door and one does not resist, when the tiger bites and one does not fight, when the people are led to a desperate situation, how will you handle it? Mr Sun Yat-sen's policy to ally with Russia, the communists, and the peasants and workers was effective in the first revolution of 1925—1927. The period of cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party was also the most revolutionary period of the Kuomintang. When Mr Sun's revolutionary policy was abandoned, civil war became continuous and external troubles, similar to a broken dike, became untrollable! Though only renewing a former proposal, the letter of 25 August from the Communist Party to the Kuomintang embodies actually the best means to avert perdition. How will you handle it? In the "New Literature" opinion statements, the name which appears foremost is yours. Seeing your name after 20 years, I feel a reverence and an Intimacy. Mr Chieh-min, you expounded a brand-new theory different from the general run of new and old
reactionaries. You must realize that I was not the only one who rejoiced upon reading it, nor the Communist Party alone, but a countless number of people! From comrades to friends, it is again doubtless that those who rejoice over your sympathy for the cause to resist Japan and save the nation are definitely not limited to myself, or the Communist Party, alone, but all the conscientious sons and daughters of the nation. Nevertheless, one more step should be taken beyond the 100-foot pole and, if you take the lead with your sense of righteousness and make plans to block the wild tide at this critical moment of national perdition with your position as a great national leader of the Kuantung and T'ung-meng Societies and an academic leader of the Peking University and the Central Research Institute, not just by words alone, but also by action, not just with sympathy, but also by advocation, and if you severely censure the Nanking government and ask it to stop the civil war immediately, abandon its erroneous policies of compromise toward the external and harsh demands of the internal, abolish its national perdition policy of punishing the patriotic and rewarding the treacherous, launch the army, navy, and air force of the entire nation for a true resist-Japan war, revive the spirit of Mr Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary three principles of democracy and three great policies, rescue our 450 million compatriots from deep water and searing fire, call a resist-Japan national salvation congress of all parties, all factions, all fields, and all military units, convene a national congress elected by the people, establish a national defense government united against the external, build a true democratic republic, place the country in a powerful and prosperous position, and promote the nation among the free and liberated, then, your name will shine through 1,000 generations, spread among the people of the whole nation, and become a household word. Instead of reducing in the least bit the enthusiasm of those who hear your words several thousand li away, you will enhance it.

Please remember me to Messrs and Mesdames Sung Ch'ing-ling, Ho Hsiang-ning, Li Shih-tseng, Wu Chih-hui, Chang P'u-ch'uan, Yu Yu-jen, Sun Che-sheng, Chu Chueh-hsien, T'an Li-ming, Liu Ya-tzu, Shao Li-tzu, Wang Ching-wei, Ch'en Pi-chun, Ching Heng-yi, Ch'en Kung-po, Ku Meng-yu, Tseng Chung-ming, Kan Nai-kuang, Chang Ching-chiang, Tai Chi-t'ao, Ch'en Kuo-fu, Ting Wei-fen, Sung Tzu-wen, Ch'en Shu-jen, Ch' u Min-yi, P'eng Tse-min, Li Jen-ch'ao, Li Te-lin, Ch'en Yujen, Tsou Hai-pin, Hsu Chi-lung, Chu Chi-ch'ing, Pai Yun-t'i, En-k'o-pa-t'u, Li Fu-lin, Ch'en Hu-fang, Ch'eng Sung-yun, T'ang Meng-hsiao, Chu Yi-chih, Li Hsieh-ho, Po Lieh-wu, Liu Chen-huan, T'an Yi-ju, Chang Chih-pen, Feng Tzu-yu, Hsiao Hui-sheng, Mao Tsu-ch'uan, Chiang Hsi-yen, K'ung Keng, Kuo Mo-jo, Shen Yen-ping, Ch'en Wang-tao, Li Ho-ming, Hu Shih-chih, Chiang Hsing-yen, Chou Tsou-jen, Ch'ien Chieh-p'an, Fu Szu-nien, Lo Chia-lun, Tuan Hsi-p'eng, Ch'en Pao-o, Chang Tung-sun, P'eng Yi-hu, P'eng Ch'uan-fang, Yang Tuan-liu, Hu Tzu-ching, Ch'en Peng-huang, Chou Ku-ch'eng, Shu Hsin-ch'eng, and all my old friends of the party and the state, academic teachers . and friends, and friends in society.
As the catastrophe is imminent, I hastily present my opinions. Sharing the same boat in wind and rain, I hope to hear your instructions. I wish you good health.

Mao Tse-tung

22 September 1936

"On the United Front—Our Advocation To Resist Japan and Save the Nation in the Past Year," mimeographed (--- hand copied) January 1937

6080
CSO: 4005
EDITORIAL—CHAIRMAN MAO'S TALKS

15 October 1936


(1) All Red Army units will cease any attack of the National Revolutionary Army.

(2) They are only permitted to take the necessary measures of self-defense when attacked.

(3) All the personnel and weaponry of the National Revolutionary Army captured by us when it attacked us will be returned when the said army starts to resist Japan. Those who wish to join the Red Army may do so.

(4) There may be no interference when the National Revolutionary Army is being shifted to resist-Japan positions, and all possible aid must be rendered. We have decided to again earnestly request all units of the National Revolutionary Army and the Nanking Government to stop the civil war against us and resist Japan together. The request is now being drafted. As currently the situation of Chahar, Suiyuan, and Shansi is critical to the extreme, we eagerly hope to cooperate with the Nanking Government in order to reach the goal of aiding Suiyuan and resisting Japan, and averting perdition and seeking survival. If the Nanking Government feels a sincere concern over the national calamity, stops the civil war, and sends troops to resist Japan, the Soviet wishes to aid it with its full power, and it is also willing to make the main force of the Red Army in the entire nation serve as the vanguard for a decisive battle against the Japanese bandits."

The people here find Comrade Mao Tse-tung's talks published today unsurpassable in earnestness and sincerity. Japanese imperialism and the spies are creating rumors every day, in an attempt to prove that the Soviet Red Army's proposal for a resist-Japan united front is merely a means to

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overthrow the Kuomintang. Chairman Mao's words today have quashed by one stroke such rumors and slander. We know that his words will clear up the doubts in the minds of the patriotic elements in the Kuomintang and the National Revolutionary Army, because the Red Army has declared, through Chairman Mao, that it has no intention to capture the personnel and weaponry of any unit of the National Revolutionary Army, nor to eliminate its troops or overthrow the Kuomintang Hanking Government. The goal of the Soviet Government is to unite China by peaceful means, form a democratic republic of China, and expel Japanese imperialism from the country. Such advocation has now been made extremely clear.

0 "Mao Tse-tung's Talks on Stopping the Civil War and Resisting Japan" (mimeographed)
* "Red China," No 307, 22 October 1936
* "Important Talks on Stopping the Civil War and Resisting Japan," Mao Tse-tung on the Sino-Japanese War," Shensi People's Publishing House, October 1937

6080
CSO: 4005
LETTER FROM MAO TSE-TUNG, CHU TEH, AND OTHERS TO CHIANG KAI-SHEK 1

December 1936

[Text] Dear Mr. Kai-shek:

Since August of last year, the Communist Party Soviet and the Red Army have asked you many times to stop the civil war and fight the Japanese together. Response was unanimous from all parties and factions but you continued to pursue your own way, first by ordering the encirclement and suppression as manifested by the campaign of Chi-luo [4160 0925] township last winter. When we attempted to march toward the Hopeh-Chahar front by crossing eastward over the Yellow River, you blocked us at the Fen [3083] river basin. As we did not wish to expend the strength of our national defense needlessly, we headed west to find other means to oppose the Japanese, and, at the same time, published a proclamation to bring you to your senses. In the past several months the situation in eastern Suiyuan has become critical. Then we thought you would change course and dispatch massive forces to carry out the war of opposition against Japan. But who was to know that instead you sent only eight regiments under T'ang En-po [3282 1869 0130] to succor Suiyuan while amassing a huge force of 260 regiments under the command of Hu Tsung-nan [5170 1350 0589], Kuan Ling-cheng [7070 7792 1767] Mao Ping-wen [3029 3621 2429], Hang Chun [3769 0971], Ho Chu-kuo [5516 2691 0365], Wang I-che [3769 0110 0772], Tung Ying-pin [5516 5391 2430], Sun Chen [1327 7201], Wan Yao-huang [8001 5069 3552], Yang Hu-ch'eng [2799 5706 1004], Ma Hung-pin [7456 7703 6333], Ma-Pu-fang [7456 2965 5364], Kao Kuei-tzu [7559 2710 3320], Kao Shuang-ch'eng [7559 7175 2052], Li Hsien-chou [2621 0103 3166], and others to form a savage army intent upon destroying the Red Army opposing Japan and savaging the Soviet areas battling the Japanese. We could not return in kind the hatred you have built up in your heart so we ordered our Red Army to stop attacking your troops and to retreat step, by step in order to protect ourselves and our bases of opposition against Japan and we loathe its plundering offensives against us. Our enthusiasm is at its peak to aid the officers and soldiers fighting against the Japanese at Suiyuan. You, on the other hand, have concentrated all your forces to engage in a civil war of killing each other. Being in the field ourselves we know only too well the feelings and sentiments of the rank and file of the armies in the northwest, and there is no difference between theirs and ours. We greatly desire
to stop this suicidal civil war and go forth into the battlefield of war against Japan at an early date. Look at your own troops known as the crack brigade. They were unable to avoid the tragedy of the Shan Ch'eng Pao [-1472 1004 0202] campaign. The reason is not that they were unable to fight but that they were unwilling to have Chinese fight Chinese and would rather surrender their weapons to the Red Army. Why do you not spend a night to analyze the differences between the objectives sought by the people and by the military and find the reason for it? Take heed of the worsening situation in Suiyuan, the weakness of the forces manning the fronts, the war of opposition along the Great Wall and the 28 January Campaign of Shanghai. The world is in turmoil. It rests on your honor, alone to make the critical decision. It will come from you, and you alone, whether the civil war will end today and tomorrow, the Red Army, together with the mighty forces assembled by you in the northwest for suppression purposes, will march to the fronts of opposition against Japan. This will increase the defensive strength of Suiyuan a dozen times over, and it will enable us to avenge, the nation, protect our lands, and recover lost territories. You will then be regarded as a glorious hero opposing the Japanese and the fragrance of your fame will remain for a hundred generations. Why don't you then take such a course? We have the courage to once more beg you in all sincerity to make a decisive decision and grant us our request to save the nation, transform enmity into friendship, and fight the Japanese together. This will not be a great good fortune for us alone, but it will also be the only way out for the people of the entire country. Today we have but two choices, fight or surrender to the Japanese. Vacillation will only bring about the destruction of the nation, slavery to us, loss of the faith of the nation, and eternal damnation. We do not wish to see later generations pointing at us and saying that the man who betrayed China was Chiang Kai-shek. Instead, we want the people of China to remember you as a hero who reformed in time to save the nation and the people. It is said, "Fear not to correct your errors," and it is also said, "the butcher who lays down his knife at once becomes a Buddha." We sincerely hope your honor will observe with care which path is to be taken. We wait with impatience your weighty decisions and knowledgeable counsel and of your intentions.

[Signed] Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, Chang Kuo-t'ao, Chou En-lai, Wang Chia-chiang, P'eng Te-huai, Ho Lung, Jen Pi-shih [0117 1732 2514], Lin Piao, Liu Po-ch'eng, Yeh Chien-yi, Chang Yun-i [1728 0061 6654], Hsu Shang-ch'ien, Ch'en Ching-chih [7115 2533 3112], Hsu Hai-tung [1776 3189.2639], Tung Chen-t'ang [5516 2182 1016], Lo Ping-fei [5012 3521 65.40], Shao Shih-p'ing [6730 1709 1627], Kuo Hung-t'ao [6753 3163 3447], and the 200,000 men of the Chinese Red Army.

1 December 1936

On the United Front—Our proposals during the past year for opposition against Japan and saving the nation. (Mimeographed) January 1937

8493
CSO: 4005
LETTER TO COMRADE LIN PIAO

1936

[Text] Comrade Lin Piao:

I am in full agreement with your letter. However, there is something I would like to add with regard to the cultural and educational aspects of the third section that form the most fundamental part of the entire educational plan (the nurturing of multiple abilities in the recognition of words, composition, reading of books, newspapers, etc.)- It follows that the tool of culture is part of the "Practical" in accordance with the theory of equal importance of theory and practice you propounded. A student's further development will be restricted when he leaves school with everything learned but without the ability to read books and compose. Even though he has learned all that has to be learned, though not much in quantity or depth, but is able to read books and compose, then he will have a basic foundation of things which will be in frequent use after he leaves school. If you concur with this proposal I would suggest that in the next 4 months increase the curriculum on culture (recognition of words, reading books, composition, and other departments) in the second and third sections. I would like this to be increased to one-fourth or one-third of the entire study period (including the period for self-study). Please give thought to this problem, and make culture an important criteria at the time of scheduled examination. Salute.


8493
CSO: 4005

63
LETTER TO OLD COMRADE HSU

February 1937

[Text] Old Comrade Hsu:

Twenty years ago you were my teacher, you are still my teacher now, and you will still be my teacher in the future. When the revolution met with failure many of the Communist Party members deserted the Party and some of them even went over to the side of the enemy. In the fall of 1927 you joined the Communist Party, and the attitude you adopted was very much that of an activist. In comparison with many young, robust Communist Party members you were even more active, even more fearless of difficulties, and even more eager to studiously learn about new things during the long, arduous period of struggle since that time to the present.

All the obstacles and difficulties [associated with] old age and senility and feebleness have melted from in front of you. What about the others? They used these as excuses for not doing anything. You know much but frequently find yourself lacking while it is "half a canteen of water" pretending to be "a full one" with others. You are a thinking man, and you do what you say, but for others, something unclean hides in a corner of their hearts. You are with the masses at all times, but others are happy to be separated from the masses. In every way you showed yourself to be a model of obedience to the discipline of the Party and the revolution, while for others discipline is something to be applied to restrict others, and they themselves are exceptions. You are first for the revolution, first for work, and your first consideration is for others. Others put publicity, recreation, and themselves first. You always select difficult tasks to perform and you have never shirked your responsibilities. There are people who only want to select the easy and light tasks, and shirk responsibilities. In all these I have great respect for you. I am willing to emulate you, and also hope all the comrades in the Party learn from you. On your 60th birthday I am sending this letter to you as a greeting. I wish you good health and long life, and I hope you will become the model for all members of the revolutionary party and for the people of the nation. I give you my revolutionary salute.

"Long Live Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts," April 1967
"Teacher"s Journal," 18 January 1957

8493
CSO: 4005  64
March 1937

[Text] On 1 March, the American authoress Smedley visited the Soviet area. and met with Comrade Mao Tse-tung at Yenan. They talked of the Sino-Japanese problems and the Sian Incident; the highlights of this conversation are as follows:

Smedley: Have there been any basic changes in the United Front policy now implemented by the Communist Party and the one that was discussed with Mr. Snow last fall?

Mao: Speaking from a basic viewpoint, there have been no changes, as manifested in the following:

I. Our United Front is anti-Japanese, therefore it is not against all imperialism but against Japanese imperialism because it is now launching aggression against China. However, we ask the British, the United States, France, and the Soviet Union to be sympathetic toward China's anti-Japanese movement, on at least not to oppose it. We are willing to establish friendly relations on these fundamental points.

II. Our United Front is a national one. It means that with the exception of traitors it includes the entire nation, all parties and factions, and all classes. It has been said that the Communist Party promoted the people's front, but this is incorrect. The Communist Party promoted a national front. In comparison with the popular fronts of France and Spain this kind of national front has a greater scope.

III. Therefore, the principal political program of this anti-Japanese National Front should include the following:

1. Domestic peace and unity;

2. Fighting a war of resistance against Japan;
3. Democratic freedom for the people

4. The Nanking government is to be transformed into a true government of national defense which absorbs all parties and factions and oust the pro-Japanese faction;

5. Change in the system of government should be based upon a democratic republic with general elections for the national assembly;

6. Improve the people's livelihood;

7. Develop industry and commerce;

8. Unite with those countries in sympathy with the Chinese resistance against Japan.

Smedley: To what degree are you willing to sacrifice in order to bring the anti-Japanese National United Front to fruition?

Mao: A historical perspective is necessary. Since the beginning of the summer of 1927, the Kuomintang cast aside the United Front of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, discarded Dr. Sun Yatsen's policy of uniting with Russia, the Communist Party, and the peasants and workers, threw away the political program of national independence and democratic freedom and also took a diametrically opposite course. This compelled us to reluctantly take up the responsibility of the Chinese revolution alone and to implement Soviet political power and the policy of agrarian revolution, thereby placing us in opposition to the Kuomintang. The policy adopted then, and which was in opposition against the Kuomintang, was entirely correct and necessary. However, following the 18 September Incident, the Communist Party published a proclamation requesting an end to the civil war and announced its willingness to contract an agreement under the three conditions with the Kuomintang to have internal peace and carry out a war of resistance against Japan. But only the 19th Route Army agreed with our proposal at that time while the Nanking government refused to do so completely and, at the same time, launched a massive encirclement and suppression campaign. When the North China incident erupted and the peril to the nation reached its most critical point, we further published on 1 August 1935 the proclamation to organize an anti-Japanese allied army and a government of national defense. In December of the same year we published a program for organizing an anti-Japanese National United Front Party and also set forth the guidelines for the United Front. This new policy was immediately accepted by the masses upon its proclamation, and many patriotic elements in the Kuomintang likewise agreed with and accepted this policy. This was because we were facing an even larger enemy and only by ending the civil war could we carry out the war of resistance against Japan and gain revenge. This set a new stage in Chinese politics. But the Kuomintang was still unwilling to discard its old policies. Last August we again wrote a long letter to the Kuomintang resolutely demanding that the target of antagonism be shifted from the internal one to that of the Japanese aggressors, that the three great policies of Dr. Sun Yat-sen
be revived, and also set forth the idea of transforming the national system into a
democratic republic, convening a general election of the national assembly, to
request it to repent the past and make a new beginning with the people. We
announced that the Soviet area was willing to implement a similar democratic
system throughout the nation. This letter received wide support from among the
Kuomintang, but the central government of the Kuomintang did not answer our
letter. The Sian Incident exploded and the nation was faced with a major crisis.
The danger lies in the fact, that Japan will seize this opportunity to launch its
offensive, and the peaceful solution of this matter was indeed an act of
providence. In order to consolidate internal peace and quickly launch the war of
resistance against Japan, we sent an important cable to the Kuomintang on 10
February on the eve of the opening of the Kuomintang's Third Plenary Session. The
cable carried the following points:

1. The Soviet Government will become the Government of the Special Region of the
Republic of China, and the Red Army will become the National Revolutionary Army
which will also be under the direction of the Nanking Government and the Military
Commission.

2. A thoroughly democratic system is to be implemented within the territories of
the Government of the Special Region.

3. The policy of overthrowing the national government shall cease in the
country (this guideline was implemented last year, and we are reiterating
this only).

4. The policy of confiscating the land of the landlords will be discontinued.

These new expressions were for the sole purpose of dispelling doubts among the
various circles and nullifying the opposition in order to establish the Anti-
Japanese Nation United Front with the Kuomintang. As for the Kuomintang, a
program was set forth requesting a basic change in their former policies, waging
war against the foreigners, practicing democracy domestically, and improving the
livelihood of the people.

Smedley: How are you going to implement the principle of your United Front here
and in other areas? For instance, toward businessmen, the intelligentsia,
landlords, peasants, workers, soldiers, and other aspects.

Mao: There is not much difference now as in the past with regard to businessmen.
From the outset we proposed the development of national industry and commerce,
and wherever the Red Army goes they protect the businessmen. The Red Army won
acclaim recently when they not only protected the businessmen but did not even
confiscate land from a single landlord when they were in the area around Sian.
and Sanyuan. This is a well publicized affair. As for the Soviet area, commerce
has complete freedom within it.

As in the past the present policy is to protect the intelligentsia, giving
preference treatment to technicians, literary persons, and artists. Our
attitude toward them is of respect.
We do not confiscate, the land of the landlords so long as they do not oppose the policy of war against the Japanese and save the nation.

With regard to workers, we adopted various methods to improve their treatment.

On the question of our attitude toward the Kuomintang troops, we should unite in a friendly manner under the national front, especially with the Whampoa troops with their glorious history, fight the Japanese together with our guns pointed against the foreign enemies, and stop all internal wars. Although the Red Army has fought the Kuomintang for 10 years, we are not bitter against them at all, and we are willing to shake hands with them and fight for the defense of the nation under a unified command, and we believe they hold similar feelings. We are all willing to consult the Kuomintang and people from various circles with regard to the aforementioned policies in order to reach a unanimous consensus of opinion and make this a guideline of the various important articles regarding policies against Japan, the system of government, and others, including all of them within the program of the national front so that they will be implemented throughout the country.

Smedley: Does the new policy of the United Front mean that Chinese Communist Party members will forego class struggle and become democratic for the sake of establishing the national front?

Mao: As I have said before, the practical policies that the Communist Party has decided to carry out have the sole objective of truly opposing the Japanese and defending the nation. Therefore, domestic peace must be realized and the situation of two regimes in opposition eliminated, otherwise a war of resistance against Japan will not be possible. This is known as minority interests taking a subordinate position to majority interests, placing class interests in subordination to national interests. All political parties and individuals in the country, should understand this important significance. Communists will not chain their own viewpoints to that of the interests of one class of the moment. Instead, they are very sincerely concerned about the interests of the entire country and of all the people, and they are also concerned about long-range interests. With regard to class struggle, it is our opinion to suitably resolve this problem through endeavors on both sides as follows:

First, with regard to landlords and capitalists, they are wealthy and have power. They must first of all respect the national interest and take steps to improve the livelihood and treatment of workers and peasants. This is because if they carry on as before perpetrating unhuman oppression and exploitation of workers and peasants caring only for the interests of their own and of one class, then it will not be possible for the workers and peasants to exist, let alone fighting a war of resistance. The nation will be lost and the landlords and capitalists will also become colonial slaves. Therefore, landlords and capitalists with the least bit of conscience should express their love for the nation and agree to the improvement of the economic and political life of the workers and peasants made necessary by the war of resistance to save the country. There definitely cannot have a situation in which
only they have food to eat while the workers and peasants do not, and only they have political freedom while the workers and peasants have none. I believe that the running dogs of the Japanese, that is the traitorous elements, are the only ones who do not care for the general situation and the interests of the nation. Even at this crucial point of national and racial extinction they still put all their efforts into oppressing and exploiting the workers and peasants. With regard to this aspect of the demands, we have already presented them to the Kuomintang on behalf of the workers and peasants of the entire country, and the Kuomintang should have a satisfactory answer for us for the sake of the general situation and the national interest.

Second, the masses of poor and suffering workers and peasants are without wealth and power, but they are the foundation of the nation and the largest class. And at this crucial point of national and racial extinction, their most important task, similarly, is to resist the Japanese and defend the nation. Furthermore, they will become the main force for the war of resistance against Japan for national salvation which, without them will not be possible. When their economic life and political life have been reformed, their dissatisfaction with the landlords and capitalists and the Kuomintang will lessen. The workers and peasants, too, must also take into consideration the general situation and the national interests, therefore, we do not propose to make any demands which are not suitable to the war of resistance to save the nation. It is because for this very reason that the Communist Party proposed the improvement of people's livelihood and cessation of the confiscation of land.

There is no doubt at all that these policies set forth by the Chinese Communist Party are patriotic in nature. Some say, the communists are internationalists and do not care for national interests nor do they desire to defend the fatherland. This is complete nonsense. The communists are internationalists and are in favor of the one world movement. But at the same time, they are patriots defending the fatherland. For the sake of defending the fatherland they are willing to shed their last drop of blood. The 15-year national liberation struggle led by the Communist Party is known by everyone. This kind of patriotism and internationalism are not in conflict, because only with an independent and liberated China can there be participation in the one world movement.

Smedley: What will the conditions for peace with Japan be if the Chinese National Front Government is established? Should talks still be held between China and Japan?

Mao: If Japan desires peace we will not reject negotiations and our conditions for. peace will be as follows:

First, Japan is to abolish its policy of aggression against China and abrogate its so-called mainland policy and the Three Principles of Hirota, respect the independence of China and relations between the two countries will be as equals.
Second, abolish the Yin Ju-keng eastern Hopeh government, Manchukuo, and return of the four provinces of Northeast China, and Northern Chahar.

Third, withdraw the troops garrisoning North China.

Fourth, stop Japanese airplanes from flying freely all over China.

Fifth, abolish all intelligence organizations in the various areas of China.

Sixth, prohibit violent and irresponsible attitudes extended by Japanese toward the Chinese within the boundaries of China.

Seventh, cease smuggling.

Peace talks should be carried out only under the condition that the Japanese agree to discuss these conditions. All negotiations leading to the sacrifice of sovereignty of Chinese territories will be opposed. However, you should understand that only with the establishment of a people's government in Japan can talks be carried out based on these conditions. Currently, Japan has a military government and such possibilities do not exist.

Smedley: Is the war against Japan inevitable?

Mao: It is unavoidable. Before the people of Japan overthrow their militarist government Japan will not desist in her aggression policies, therefore, war is unavoidable. The threat of war is further intensified with the pact between Germany and Japan.

Smedley: The Japanese say that cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party in China is an obstacle to peace in the Far East. What is your answer to this theory?

Mao: The so-called "Peace in the Far East" claimed by the Japanese militarists means that China should not resist but let Japan occupy it, taking it over as it pleases. At the same time those countries like Britain, the United States of America, and France who are concerned with the Chinese question also should not oppose them. This is "a country lost without a fight," and it is the "Peace in the Far East" that the Japanese militarists want. But there is another kind of peace in the Far East, and that is to carry out the steps I mentioned before—Japan is to abolish its policy of aggression, return the four northeastern provinces, withdraw its garrison troops, etc., so that the Chinese people can live peacefully, and peaceful commerce can begin between China and the various countries of the world. Of course, this is another kind of peace in the Far East. This is the only true peace which, the Chinese people want, and which is also needed by all peaceful countries throughout the world. It is also something that the people of Japan want. It is only the Japanese militarists and their allies in aggression, Germany and Italy, the two fascist countries that do not want this kind of peace. Therefore, we can put it this way: The "Peace in the Far East" we oppose is the former
kind, and the one we approve of is of the latter kind of peace, and we propose substituting the latter kind of peace for the former. This is because the "peace" that is on the lips of the Japanese militarists is another name for war, and it is a synonym of slavery for the Chinese people. It is another name which threatens all the other peaceful countries of the world, and, by the same token, will bring the greatest harm to the Japanese people. In my view we should "obstruct" this "peace."

Smedley: Does contradiction exist between world peace and the Sino-Japanese war: Can a point of amelioration be found?

Mao: Of course there is. The majority of the people and the countries of the world desire peace, but the Japanese militarists hope for war. This kind of contradiction cannot be reconciled in accordance with the program of the Japanese. There is only one way to resolve this contradiction and that is for the peaceful countries of the world to join with China to oppose Japan's policy of aggression, compelling the Japanese militarists to bow to world opinion. In another respect, if war cannot be averted China should fight resolutely in resistance. Only these methods will be compatible with world peace. The foundation of world peace can be established only on the policy of stopping and opposing aggression.

Smedley: Do you think such peace treaties as the Nine-Power Treaty, the Kellogg-Briand Pact and .League pact will be able to stop Japan declaring war against China? What impact will these treaties have in the Sino-Japanese war? And what are their significance?

Mao: Today, it looks like as if these treaties truly express a hope for peace, therefore, the aggressor countries have manifested their determined opposition. But such treaties will only have the force of moral restriction of an aggressor country such as Japan. It will not be possible to stop them from declaring war against China. These treaties will have no influence on the Sino-Japanese war, therefore, it does not have any practical political significance. A new treaty must be available if it is desirable to stop Japan warring against China, and this treaty must include concrete measures to take forceful action against the aggressive violence of Japan, of the kind similar to the collective security of the Pacific that was negotiated. Only this kind of treaty can truly stop wars, and when wars erupt, they can also be quickly extinguished.

Smedley: Can China immediately go to war against Japan after the United Front Government has been established? Or will a considerable period of preparation be needed?

Mao: This depends on Japan. Regardless of when China is attacked by the Japanese, it should offer resistance immediately. However, we do not propose to provoke Japan. Since our policy is defensive warfare, we should rapidly set about making preparations, in all respects thoroughly so that China will be able to handle any incident at any time. We are not against preparation, but we do oppose "long-term preparation" which seeks compromise under the pretext of preparation.
Smedley: Will the resources and finances available to the Chinese people be adequate to launch a victorious war of resistance against Japan without international aid, and can China shoulder the responsibilities of the finances and economics of war?

Mao: China must fight the war of resistance even without friendly troops, and with the resources and natural conditions China has prolonged warfare can be sustained. The 10 years of the Red Army’s fighting history is living proof. But we are seeking friendly forces because Japan already has its bandit allies, and China cannot elect for isolation, and on this basis we propose that the five countries of China, Britain, the United States, France and Russia set up an allied Pacific Front. This kind of allied war front is to assist China, and, at the same time, it is mutual help. Japan’s aggression is not only China's misfortune but also that of the world, as Germany is a great catastrophe to the world, and since these two aggressor countries have formed an alliance, I feel that the five countries of China, Britain, the United States, France and Russia should quickly unite, as one or else face being destroyed one by one.

Smedley: Under the present circumstances—that is, under the situation of Italian-German-Japanese alliance—what impact will such a war have on the economy, finances, and commerce of Japan? Can Japan carry this war through successfully with the assistance of these two countries?

Mao: It is absolutely of no benefit to the Japanese people for Japan to carry out aggression against China. The final result of Japan's war against China will be the financial, economical, and political collapse of Japan. This fact is understood not only by the Japanese people, but even those bourgeoisie with foresight, but the Japanese militarists are completely blind to it. The Japanese militarists have already formed a world-wide league for aggression, and they hope to receive help from Italy and Germany in coordinated offensives. They hope to carry through the war of aggression against China using this method and get hold of the entire world as well. Of course their dream is perfect and satisfactory, but in my view, the end result will not be that way. The Chinese people should have the confidence of overcoming the Japanese in warfare.

Smedley: Why did the Communist Party elect for a peaceful solution to the Sian Incident? This was a complete surprise and we hope you will give us an explanation.

Mao: It is not an event that is out of expections, but entirely within reason. It is simply that nobody connected it with the political proposals set forth in the past by the Communist Party. With the beginning of the Japanese aggression we have been willing to stop the civil, war since only with internal peace can there be an anti-Japanese war of resistance. In such things as the announcement 4 years ago that we were ready to contract an agreement with the Kuomintang troops-to fight the Japanese under the three conditions set forth, the proclamation made on 1 August of last year, and last year's letter to the Kuomintang all expressed our sincere desire.
to establish a new United Front with the Kuomintang. During the Sian Incident there were people in the country who vigorously fomented civil war and the seriousness of it was critical. A peaceful solution would not have been possible without Chang Han-ch'ing accompanying Mr. Chiang Kai-shek back to Nanking on 25 December and follow up steps taken in accordance with Chiang Kai-shek's handling of the Sian Incident. Soldiers would have been everywhere and to what disastrous ending it would bring nobody would know. But it would provide the Japanese, with the best opportunity for aggression, and because of this China might have been lost, or at least most grievously harmed. When the Sian Incident occurred, the Japanese militarists and some Chinese from the areas of Nanking, Shanghai, Peiping, and Tientsin claimed that it was a communist plot. That was completely false. The incident rose from differences in political views within the Kuomintang on the questions of resisting Japan and domestic reforms, and it was an incident that erupted suddenly of which we had no prior knowledge. After the incident there was opposition between Nanking and Shensi, and again there were people who claimed that the Communist Party was turning Sian into another Madrid. This is again completely at odds with reality. The political circumstances between the Chinese and the Spanish are fundamentally different. In Spain there was no other recourse but civil war, but in China, today, the only objective is to wage a war of resistance against outsiders, and there must be peace domestically. The peaceful solution to the Sian Incident has proved that these claims were mere conjectures and some of them were outright malicious lies.

Smedley: Many people claim that the Sian Incident was concocted by the Communist Party, and that red flags flew high over the walls of Sian. They also accuse the Red Army of seizing young men and women in the Sanyuan area. What are the facts of this case?

Mao: Red flags on Sian's walls must have been seen only by the Japanese and traitors, for they have yet to be seen by the people of Sian. As for seizing young men and women of Sanyuan, this must also have originated from the Japanese and traitors, and the truth can be found only by asking the young men and women of Sanyuan. In official documents it is still asserted that the Red Army kills and burns, oppressing the people and destroying the rural areas. They have repeated this over and over again for 10 years and they are still not tired of it and must say it again. Of course the person who made the statement has the freedom of speech, but the people of all China also have the freedom to look at the facts themselves. The government has not promulgated a law prohibiting people to take a look at facts with their own eyes, and anybody can go to those places where the Red Army has passed through or been stationed to see for themselves what the facts really are and there is no need for me to talk more about this.

Smedley: It is going the rounds that the policy of the Communist Party is to concede to the Kuomintang, surrendering to them and be repentent. What are your views on this?
Mao: I know there are people outside saying this, but of note is that the Japanese are not willing to say that. The Japanese want the Kuomintang and the Communist Party to fight each other, and they are absolutely against this kind of "concede, surrender, and repent" policy. Because the Japanese militarists deeply understand that regardless of whether people called it "conceding, surrendering, and repenting," such a policy adopted by the Communist Party toward the Kuomintang would mean in practice dealing a heavy blow against the Japanese policy of aggression. In viewing the Chinese problem there is one standard, and that is the Japanese will definitely oppose any policy that is revolutionary, and they will welcome any policy that is counterrevolutionary. It is only necessary to look at what the attitude of the Japanese is in order to investigate the correctness of any policy or action. By just taking a look at the way the Japanese oppose the so-called policy of "conceding, surrender, and repentence" will verify how revolutionary our policy is. The Communist Party requests the Kuomintang to and their 10-year-old policy and change to the new policy of national revolution and democratic revolution. These requests were expressed in the cable sent to the Third Plenary Session of the Kuomintang congress concerning the convening of a national salvation congress, democratic freedom for the people, improvement of the people's livelihood, rapid preparations for a war of resistance, and other matters. Under these circumstances the Communist Party is willing to change the names of its Soviets and the Red Army, and its opposition against the Kuomintang, and cease confiscating land from the landlords. These measures are without doubt a major concession made by the Communist Party to the Kuomintang. However, this concession was necessary because it is based on an even greater and more important principle, which is the urgency and need to resist Japan and save the country. This is known as mutual concession, and joint unity. With regard to the resistance against Japan, the intelligent people in the Kuomintang leadership and party members understood this significance. But there are people within the country possessing the Ah Q spirit who go about boasting that the concessions we made is "conceding, surrender, and repentence." It is well known that Lu Hsun, who passed away recently, wrote a story about a person known as Ah Q. This Ah Q is always victorious under any circumstances, although it would have been failure for others. Let them say what they wish, there are Ah Q's throughout the world. Besides, there are personages suffering from left tending gullibility and you can find them everywhere. Sun Ming-chiu [1327 06S2 0046], who shot and killed Wang Yi-che [3769 0110 0772], is an extreme example of such people. Theirs is patriotic enthusiasm, and they are sorrowed by the historical tragedy of losing political power and home territories. They are pure hearted people but they lack political experience. They are unable to orient themselves when major events occur; they do not understand the relationship of the part to the whole in a situation, and they cannot distinguish the past from the present, the difference between today and tomorrow, and the connection between them. First, they opposed Mr Chiang's return to Nanking; later they oppose peaceful solution to the incident. As with regard to Sian, some of the people not only do not understand the Communist Party, but also do not understand Chang [1728], Yang [2799] and others who supported peace. They do not understand that although progress by the Kuomintang was slow, a united resistance against Japan still exists. In the Kuomintang and within
the national revolutionary army the anti-Japan fervor is mounting daily. The majority of the leaders and party members can join us and the people to work together for the cause of anti-Japanese national salvation war. The sincerity of the changes in the Kuomintang policies have yet to satisfy the people but a beginning has been made. From the resolution of the third plenary session comes evidence of these changes. They do not know how to make distinctions between the majority of those patriots and possible patriots within the Kuomintang from those elements that are actually betraying the nation, the so-called pro-Japanese faction, and they have these two mixed up. They also do not understand that the responsibility of all progressive elements in the country is to persuade those who do not understand our viewpoints for the moment and bring them around to an understanding so that we can face the common enemy. There must be patience in this work, and at times there must be concessions. So long as it does not go against the cardinal principle of anti-Japanese national salvation there is space for consultations. We can only submit the aforementioned self-criticism to those who have a high degree of impatience and do not understand our policies. But for those whose only thought is personal and group benefits and who have pushed national interests out of their minds, this will be no self-criticism regardless of whether they are the pro-Japanese faction or those giving lip service to resistance against Japan. It is also not a matter of a few words of sarcasm directed against them but a means to expose their schemes and prevent them from plying their trade.

Smedley: What is your attitude toward the Three People's Principles?

Mao: We have come to believe in the Three People's Principles long ago, otherwise how could we join the Kuomintang from 1925 to 1927? Many of the members of the Communist Party have been members of the Kuomintang's Central Committee and provincial party committee members. I was one of them, as well as Lin Po-ch'u [2651 0130 3255], Wu Yu-chang [0702 3768 4545], Tung Pi-wu [5516 1801 2976], Hsieh Chueh-tsai [6200 6030 0762], and Tung Wei-chien [5516 1919 0256]. Many of our people, such as Chu Teh, Chou En-lai, P'eng Teh-huai, Liu Po-ch'eng, Ho Lung, Lin Piao, Yeh Chien-ying and Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien, were former leading cadres of the Kuomintang's revolutionary army. The current task is to struggle for the actual realization of the revolutionary Three People's Principles. This is to say that nationalism for an independent and liberated China must be realized through the war of resistance against the outsiders, in order to realize democratic freedom internally, establish a system of general elections for the national assembly, republic with the power to the people, and improvement of people's livelihood to alleviate the sufferings of the people under the principle of people's livelihood. The Three People's Principles is not incompatible with our current political program, and we are asking the Kuomintang precisely for these things. In our letter to the Kuomintang of last August we requested them to revive the three principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. We are most resolute and most loyal in our struggle to bring about a China governed by the three principles. The agrarian reform policy practiced in the past is but the proposal of Dr. Sun Yat-sen that those who farm shall have their land. As to our continuing belief in communism there is no conflict there. When Dr. Sun Yat-sen was still living he agreed...
to our continuing belief in communism. In recent times you can name it and you will find it in the Kuomintang. There are many in the Kuomintang who believe in capitalism, and there are also quite a few believers in anarchism. Some of them believe in Confucianism, Buddhism, the Methodist denomination—a conglomeration of all sorts of beliefs. It is necessary only for the current revolutionary political program to become unified and unanimous thereby forming a foundation of unity for national salvation, then all doubts will be dispelled and we shall take the path of facing the nation’s peril together. The bright and prosperous future of China rests on this.

Collection of Current Discussions, Chih-hsin Printing Bureau 1 May 1937


The Eighth Route Army (On Certain Victory in the War of Resistance in China), War of Resistance Publishing House, 10 December 1937

The Eighth Route Army Resisting the Japanese (On Certain Victory in the War of Resistance) War of Resistance Publishing House, January 1938

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CSO: 4005
LETTER TO THE SPANISH PEOPLE 15 May 1937 [Text] To the armed comrades of the Spanish people!

We of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Red Army, and the Chinese Soviet hold the view that the war being fought under the leadership of the Spanish government is the most sacred one in the world. This war is not only being fought for the very existence of the Spanish nation, it is also a war fought on behalf of the oppressed peoples of the world. This is so because the Spanish people and its government are resisting the Italo-German fascist imperialists and Spanish rebels who are destroying world civilization, culture, and human justice. The Spanish government and its people are now fighting the Italo-German fascist imperialists who are now going all out to support the fascist imperialists of Japan who are attacking China in the Orient. The fascist imperialists of Japan are putting all their effort into China. After forcefully occupying our Four Northeastern Provinces, they launched their aggression against north and central China. Without the help of the Italo-German fascist imperialists^ the Japanese fascist imperialists would not be launching such frenzied offensives against China as they are doing today.

The Chinese Communist Party is in full concurrence with the unification of all parties and factions on the people's front. Furthermore, we are also calling upon all parties and factions in China to unite and form a national unified front to oppose the Japanese fascist imperialists. This work is being carried out with utmost urgency. A victory for us will be a blow against the Japanese fascist imperialist, and this will also help the people of Spain and its government.

We believe that the struggle of the Chinese people cannot be separated from the struggle of the Spanish people. Today, the Chinese Communist Party is using its struggle against the Japanese fascist imperialists to help and encourage the Spanish people. The Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Red Army, the Chinese Soviet, and the Chinese people are deeply moved by your victories on the northern and southern fronts and in protecting Madrid. The
newspapers in our Soviet areas daily publish news concerning your heroic and
courageous struggle. We are firmly convinced that the unification of all
parties in your people's front is the foundation for your final victory. We
unreservedly concur with the 10 major guidelines set forth by the Spanish
Communist Party.

Besides pointing out the similarity between your struggle and the struggle we
are engaged in as the East, we would like to mention that Trotskyite bandit
elements have infiltrated our ranks. Only by resolutely opposing these in-
ternal renegades can we consolidate our fronts, and by launching a struggle
opposing our own enemies we are also helping you in your struggle in Spain.

In China there are over 100 different newspapers and periodicals that publish news,
articles, and photos and they are sympathetic with your heroic struggle for
democracy and freedom. We know that your victory will directly assist us in our
struggle against the Japanese fascist imperialists. The cause you are struggling
for is our cause, too. We read with deep emotion about the International Brigade
composed of people from various countries of the world, and we are very happy to
learn that there are Chinese and Japanese participants. Many comrades of the
Chinese Red Army are willing to go to Spain and join you in your struggle, and not
a day passes without their discussing your struggle and the situation in the entire
country of Spain. If there had not been the Japanese enemy to be dealt with, we
would certainly have joined your ranks.

You all know that the Chinese Red Army has gone through 10 years of ceaseless
warfare of the most difficult kind. There were no resources, hunger and cold were
constantly with us, and there was no supply of arms and ammunition. But in the end
we finally won our present victory. We understand that you and your troops are
going through the same difficulties we experienced, but we believe that you will be
victorious. Our 10-year struggle has taught us that if a revolutionary people and
army oppose an enemy unwaveringly and without fear of difficulties, they will be
certainly victorious.

We, the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Red Army, the Chinese Soviet, and the
Chinese people, extend our deepest comradely respect to the heroic men and women of
Spain who are fighting for their democratic system. Through them is expressed the
spirit of unlimited unity and friendship of the oppressed nations of the world. As
we had done before, we shall continue to keep our attention focused every hour,
every day on the course of your struggle, and we shall be happy and joyous with all
the victories you win, and we believe that final victory will definitely be yours.

Mao Tse-tung
15 May 1937
Yenan, Shensi Province

Collected articles of Mao Tse-tung, The Ta-chung Publishing Company
December 1937
National Savior Daily, Vol 123, Paris National Savior Daily 18
September 1937

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CSO: 4005
[Text] Question: How are the recent peace negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party going?

Answer: The talks are still in progress. The common political program for the two parties is of primary importance since it is the basis for their cooperation. If there is no such program cooperation will not be complete, and the principles underscoring the program are the revolutionary tasks of nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood. On the reorganization of the military and the transformation of the Soviets, these concrete tasks will be carried out soon. So far, what the Kuomintang has expressed is still not enough, for example the charges brought by the leaders of the save the nation party of Shanghai. The various limitations set upon the rules and regulations governing the national congress and the treatment of Shanghai textile plant workers were quite disappointing.

Question: Has the danger of civil war been completely eliminated?

Answer: On the surface it appears that the danger of civil war has passed, however it still exists although it is not significant now. If peace is said to be wholly successful it will lead the people to slacken their efforts in the movement to "consolidate peace." Cessation of civil war on a nationwide scale still has not been achieved today. The Communist Party on their part has issued orders to Red troops dispersed all over the country to stop fighting, but the Kuomintang troops are still carrying on with their annihilation offensives. Fighting is still going on along the border areas of Fukien-Chekiang-Kiangsi, Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei, Hunan-Kiangsi, and the Hunan-Hupeh-Kiangsi provinces, and we are requesting the Kuomintang to stop their offensives against these areas. The opposition of Nanking and the local areas also exist. Only through exercising absolute democracy can these dangers of opposition and civil war be completely averted.

Question: What are the views of the Communist Party with regard to the various factions in Nanking?
Answer: We are willing to join with all those Kuomintang elements who are sympathetic with the national democratic revolution, as for those who are not we shall carry out the work of explanation to make them understand and not to interfere with the national democratic revolution. The Kuomintang left wing's approval for peace and the movement for democratic war of resistance is still developing, and they hope to see the entire country united, the Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun.Yat-sen revived, and the Kuomintang reformed in order to revive its revolutionary spirit. A certain section of people are not resolute enough, they do not unreservedly accept the tasks of national democratic revolution and entertain doubts about cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. They are struggling against the impact and the pull of the people's tasks which are pushing them to the side of the people. Another body of people, the so-called pro-Japan faction, also exist within the Kuomintang. The entire country, as well as the majority in the Kuomintang, are very much dissatisfied with them. If they do not change their attitudes they will be destructive to the people and to the Kuomintang.

Question: What kind of development was attained with regard to the United Front after the Sian Incident?

Answer: There was development in the United Front Movement after the Sian Incident, significantly the contact between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. There were also modifications in the attitude of suspicion toward the policy of the Communist Party. They did not oppose the cooperation of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and there was also a diminishing in the views held by the "leftists" opposing the peaceful solution of the Sian Incident. However, distrust of the Nanking government still exists in literary circles, the student bodies, and the media, because Nanking, so far, has given no concrete expression of its willingness to thoroughly and resolutely change over. Many erroneous things were still held on to by the government, thereby leading to distrust throughout the nation. We say "everybody should work," but the complete changeover of the Nanking government must wait for the people to continue with their work and this is not necessary. There is hope for a United Front in the future. There must be unity within the country before we can attain the objectives of the war of resistance. This is quite obvious.

Question: What is the reaction of the various parties and factions within the country toward the United Front idea?

Answer: With the exception of traitors, all other parties and factions are in sympathy with the idea of nation-wide unity. Many of the bourgeois class have welcomed and agreed with the policy of peace obtained by the Communist Party during the Sian Incident. However, some of the obdurate personages adopted an attitude of opposition. If these elements do not change their attitudes they will be in actuality helping Japanese imperialism regardless of what their subjective viewpoints are. In accordance with what we have learned, it is precisely those traitorous elements who are directly under the command of the Japanese who are the fiercest opponents of unity within
the country. For instance, the likes of the Trotskyite elements are quite obvious examples. The activities of these elements are, beyond the shadow of a doubt, the activities of traitors. In dealing with this portion of people will use all available means to expose their plots so that they will not be able to deceive the masses and have the people of all China recognize them as the public enemy of the nation so that they will rise en masse and attack them.

Question: How will the problem of opposition between Nanking and the factions holding local powers be resolved?

Answer: The existence of this opposition between Nanking and the factions holding local power will be a disadvantage in dealings with foreign matters. It is our policy to diminish such oppositions as much as possible in order to attain the objective of uniting against the foreigners. In order to achieve such an objective the Nanking government and the various provinces should all take a step toward rapprochement. Foremost, there must be progress on the question of democracy, only thence can opposition be eliminated and we all step onto the great road of united opposition against the Japanese.

Question: How can a suitable solution be worked out on the question of class struggle in the policy of the United Front?

Answer: It will be impossible to eliminate class contradictions before the class system is done away with. Faced with the war against Japan, we must, however, seek a suitable solution for this problem. Therefore, in the program of the United Front, we proposed giving the people democratic rights in the political field, and improvement in livelihood in the economic field. It is inevitable that workers and peasants will rise in opposition when they are oppressed politically and economically, and this contradiction can be alleviated only by giving them democratic rights and improving their livelihood. We will set forth in the mutual political program now in the process of being negotiated with the Kuomintang that the workers will have the freedom of assembly, association, and speech and universal, suffrage. Improvements must be made in the treatment of workers and in their working conditions. As for the peasants, there should be cuts in rents and taxes. With regard to the land problem it should be settled through legislation and other suitable methods.

Question; Why are you now stressing the question of democracy?

Answer: At other times I have talked a lot about the relationship between democracy and opposition against Japan. In order to secure peace and unity in the country, peace will not be consolidated and there will be no true unity if there is no democracy. It requires the participation of the people of the whole country to fight Japan and if there is no democracy the civilians cannot participate, and there will be no peace and unity. The war of resistance will become impossible without the participation of the people, and even if the fight is carried on victory cannot be guaranteed, therefore, the democratic system is a necessary condition, for victory in the war of resistance against Japan and it is absolutely indispensable. Therefore, it is to be victorious against Japanese that we stressed the question of democracy.
Question: How are you going to promote the realization of political democracy?

Answer: The realization of political democracy is dependent upon the democratic movement. Political democracy will not be realized without the broad masses of people demanding for and giving impetus to the democratic movement; All parties and factions and various circles throughout the country should unite and struggle to win democratic rights. The military throughout the country should support this democratic movement. We can achieve victory over Japan and save China and avoid the danger of becoming a colony only by realizing political democracy and giving the people the freedom to take part in politics. In practical implementation of the democratic movement we must give our attention to the election, convention, and holding of the national congress. We should pay attention to winning complete freedom of speech, assembly, and association, as well as patriotism and saving the nation. These are the very minimum of democratic rights and if the entire nation turns in this direction it will be possible to realize a unified democratic republic.

Question: What is the attitude of the Communist Party toward the current national congress?

Answer: The current national congress is of national defense in nature, and, at the same time, it forms a bridge to cross from dictatorship to democracy. Therefore, the entire country should participate and the Communist Party intends to take part. With regard to the election, convention, and tasks of the national congress, the Nanking government has not been democratic about it. If they do not make any revisions then the congress will have very little effect, therefore, the entire country should join in requesting the Nanking government to revise those illegal regulations. The election of the national congress should have the participation of the people. Ample freedom should be permitted for convening and opening this congress and its task should not be limited to the discussion of the Constitution but must be expanded to discuss thoroughly and concretely the policy of fighting the Japanese to either save the country or lose it. The opinions of the Communist Party regarding the national congress have already been proclaimed to the country. They have also been proposed to the Kuomintang and talks are now being held. The objective is to have the congress accomplish the task of democratic opposition against Japan.

Question: What are the views of the Communist Party on the question of freeing political prisoners?

Answer: Long ago, the Communist Party requested the release of political prisoners throughout the country. This request is still being made and it is incorporated into the talks held with the Kuomintang. If the Nanking government desires to express a thorough transformation of its policy there is no reason why the political prisoners should not be freed. However, there has been no concrete expression from the Kuomintang presently on this question. Although they have verbally agreed to free political prisoners nothing of this sort has actually taken place. Besides, incidents of continuing arrests of patriotic prisoners have occurred. The trial of the leader of the Save the
Nation party in Suchow was a great disappointment for the people, and there were also many within the Nanking government who were dissatisfied. If the Nanking government sincerely desires to express its determination to make a new beginning with the people it should immediately release the seven leaders of national salvation and proclaimed them to be innocent.

Question: What suggestions do you have with regard to the question of preparing for the war of resistance?

Answer: We must immediately put up resistance regardless of when the Japanese imperialists launch its offensive against us. We are prepared to deal with incidents at any moment without regard to when or where the war erupts. But if Japan does not launch a massive armed attack against China for the moment and adopted a relatively mild policy during the period of preparation for aggression, we should then utilize this moment to take positive action in the work of preparing for the war of resistance. The "preparations" we have set forth has a different context from the principle of preparation propounded by the Kuomintang in the past. The Kuomintang's preparation theory is to pacify domestically first and then drive out the foreign enemy. It was a civil war with no defined boundaries, and an attrition on the forces to resist Japan. Today's preparations in the making are for stopping the civil war, consolidate domestic peace, realize political democracy, open the doors to all freedoms of the people to save the nation, organize the masses, train and arm them, and, at the same time, to accelerate the accomplishment of the preparation work for resisting the enemy in such areas as the military, political, finance, economy, culture and education. The war of resistance in China seeks final victory. The sphere of this victory is not limited to Shanhaikuan nor is it restricted to northeast China. It encompasses the liberation of Korea and Taiwan, and even the success of the people's liberation revolution in Japan. This is our proposal for the preparations for the war of resistance.

Question: What is your estimation of the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese war?

Answer: There are two possibilities for the conclusion of the war. First, China is completely victorious over Japanese imperialism, the Chinese nation gaining freedom and liberation, the success of the United Front within the country, a close unity between the government and the people, victory for the international peace front, support of the peace forces within the Japanese nation, striving to attain the conditions that will bring about such a future. But the most important and decisive condition for winning such a future is the self-unity of the Chinese people and a determined war of resistance. Without this condition the war of resistance is hopeless. Second, Japanese imperialism achieves its objective of transforming China into a colony solely its own. This danger also exists. This will happen only under such conditions as when the Chinese people are scattered and not united, offering no resistance or fighting a war of resistance irresolutely and haphazardly, and not uniting with their friends who are helping them. If the Chinese people continue to sleep, the enemy will take away their house. The Communist Party is struggling for the first one. Setting forth the proposal of a National United Front is to achieve this first future. We call on all parties,
factions, and classes to resolutely oppose the attempt to make China a colony and demand the freedom and liberty of China. We must struggle to the end with the enemy in order to achieve victory in realizing such freedom and liberty.

Question: What are your views on the recent closeness between Britain and Japan?

Answer: The rulers of Japan and the conservative government of Britain between them are planning to ameliorate their conflicts by carrying out negotiations of compromise in order to achieve their objective of sacrificing China. The Chinese people cannot allow them to carve up China as they please, and the Chinese people must give their closest attention to this matter. Should the Wanking government manifest vacillation and apathy in the task of protecting national interests, the people and patriots within the Ruomintang must not show them any mercy. At the same time we must realize that the compromise between the two countries of Britain and Japan has not yet formed a good base. It is true that there will always be the possibility of compromise between Britain and Japan but there is a limitation as to where and when. The British want to preserve the status quo, but its contents are easily mutable. This can be seen from the step-by-step retreat made by the British after 18 September. Basically, the policy of Japan to solely occupy China and the open door policy held by Britain and other imperialists are in opposition to each other. But temporary and partial compromises are possible because Britain can sell out the interests of China at any time in order to attain the objective which will be to its interest. Regardless of the degree of compromise reached between Britain and Japan, the Chinese people should not for a single moment drop their guard regarding the life and death of China, and in the movement to resist Japan we must not place too much trust in Britain. By understanding clearly the basic nature of the British we will not be taken in by them. China cannot be completely isolationist. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's policy of union with Russia has practical political significance today. The relationship between China and Russia should advance a step closer and be improved upon. The interests of the United States in the Par East is also incompatible with the continental policy of Japan, therefore, the United States should not be an idle bystander with regard to the question of China and we should make a distinction between the British conservative party and the broad masses of the British people. With regard to the British conservative party's policy on Western Europe, it vacillates between the peace front and the fascist front and it has already aroused great dissatisfaction among the country's people. If they once again hobnob with the Japanese aggressors to seek a compromise, they will not only arouse the opposition of the Chinese people but it is doubtful whether they will have the sympathy of their own people. The organizing of a world-wide peace front is proceeding in depth and breadth, and it is also making preparations to stop all fascism. The liberation movement of China is closely connected with the liberation movement of the world and our future is absolutely bright.

Question: What hopes do you hold for the youths of the North?
Answer: The youths of the North are the vanguards in the struggle for national liberation. The majority of them should unite and struggle to the end for national democratic revolution. Many among them are troubled by the situation, and a solution should be sought in a collective movement, and this movement is a struggle to realize democracy and the war resistance against Japan. The youths of the North should heighten their enthusiasm for achieving freedom of the people's livelihood. Striving to achieve the patriotic freedom of democracy forms one link in the core of the political life of today. For instance, if some, people only talk about resisting Japan and do not understand the realities of the struggle for political democracy, then resistance against Japan will not be effective. The reformism of the bourgeoisie is having an impact on the youths of the North. Its attempt is to draw them from the front lines to the rear areas, from an environment of excitement to peace and quiet, and from positions of leadership to become followers, thereby extinguishing the leadership roles played by the youths of the North in the national democratic revolution, and the youths should struggle against such reformism and strictly examine the influence and trends of these reformists and completely overcome them.

"Collected Articles of Mao Tse-tung," Ta-ching Publishing House, December 1937

* Mao Tse-tung on the Sino-Japanese War (resistance against Japan, democracy, and the youths of the North), Shensi People's Publishing House, October 1937


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CSO: 4005
LETTER TO BROWDER, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE U.S. COMMUNIST PARTY

June 1937

[Text] Dear Comrade Browder:

Through the courtesy of a comrade's visit we are writing to you, our respected comrade Browder, a good friend of the Chinese people and a leader of the American people.

The Chinese Communist Party are similarly faced with a historical task. This task is no other than to oppose and overthrow Japanese imperialism's policy of aggression. The Chinese Communist Party is endeavoring to bring about a National United Front of opposition against Japan. Although our work is currently in the midst of a difficult period we have made progress, and we are also giving all our efforts to achieve the results we are working for. We hear from American friends and other sources that the Communist Party of America and the masses of America are very much concerned about the Chinese struggle against Japan and are giving us help on many fronts. This makes us feel that our struggle is absolutely not a solitary one. From the heroic and courageous aid given us from abroad we feel that when victory becomes ours, it will be very useful to the struggle of liberation waged by the American people.

The world is on the eve of a big explosion. The working class of the world and all people seeking liberation must unite and rise to engage in a common struggle. In closing I give you my revolutionary salute!

Mao Tse-tung
24 June

This is a letter written on 24 June of this year by Mr. Mao Tse-tung to Mr Browder, the secretary general of the U.S. Communist Party on behalf of the Chinese people seeking the sympathy of the United States and the proletariat of the world for the struggle of the Chinese people against Japan. An important document, it has been selected for inclusion. (Original in English)

"Collected Documents of Mao Tse-tung," Ta-chung Publishing Co., December 1937 *
Famous articles of the War of Resistance, Wartime Publishing Co.

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THE 8 JULY CABLE SENT BY GENERALS OF THE RED ARMY TO GENERALISSIMO CHIANG ON
THE JAPANESE OFFENSIVE AGAINST NORTH CHINA

8 July 1937 [Text]  To His Excellency, Generalissimo

Chiang, Lushan

The Japanese have attacked Lukouchiao [Marco Polo Bridge], carrying out the
planned stage of seizing North China with force of arms, and the news brings us
unmeasurable sorrow and anger. Peiping and Tientsin are important cities in
North China and it is impermissible to lose them again. We respectfully beg you
to issue strict orders to the 29th Route Army to offer courageous opposition and
order the Third Plenary Session to issue an edict for a war of resistance, carry
out general mobilization country wide, defend Peking and Tientsin, protect North
China, and recover lost territories. The officers and soldiers of the Red Army
are willing to give their lives for their country under the leadership of the
Generalissimo and fight the enemy in order to attain the objective of defending
the nation and our territory. This is urgently submitted and we wait in
readiness for your orders.

Respectfully, Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, P'eng Teh-huai Ho Lung, Lin Piao, Liu
Po-ch'eug, and Hsu Shang-ch'ien.

0  Guide to the Anti-Japanese National United Front
     Liberation Publishing House, April 1938

* "Liberation," Vol 11, 7 August 1938

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CSO:  4005
THE 8 JULY CABLE SENT BY RED ARMY GENERALS TO SUNG CHE-YUAN AND OTHERS ON THE JAPANESE OFFENSIVE AGAINST NORTH CHINA

8 July 1937


The Japanese offensive has surprised and angered the nation, the courageous and heroic opposition put up by the 29th Army In the Lukuochiao campaign has become known throughout the country and the people are willing to back them up. We boldly request the planning of all the armies to fight in defense of Peipping and Tientsin and to protect North China. We shall not allow the Japanese to occupy an inch of our country's territory and we shall shed the last drop of our blood in its defense. The officers and soldiers of the Red Array are filled with righteous anger and are prepared to inarch at any given moment to follow your armies and engage the Japanese in a fight to the death. Besides cabling Generalissimo Chiang and friendly armies to kill the enemy, we specially submit this and await for your instructions.


Guide to the Anti-Japanese National United Front
Liberation Publishing House, April 1938

* "Liberation," Vol 11, 7 August 1938

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FOREWORD NO. 1 TO 'RURAL INVESTIGATION' 6

October 1937

[Text] Of all the materials I personally collected from the rural areas during the period from the Northern Expedition in 1927 to my departure from the Central Soviet Region in 1934, only the following are left: (1) the Hsun-wu Investigation; (2) the Hsing-kuo Investigation; (3) the Investigation of Tung-t'ang and Other Places; (4) the Mu-k'ou Tsun Investigation; (5) the Land Distribution in Southwestern Kiangsi; (6) the Problem of Land Rental with Unharvested Crops; (7) the Mistakes in Land Struggle in Kiangsi; (8) the Rich Peasant Problem After Land Distribution in Yung-hsin; (9) the Two Initial Stage Land Laws; (10) the Chang-kang Hsiang Investigation; and (11) the Ts'ai-ch'i Hsiang Investigation. The last two had been published in "Struggle News" in the Central Soviet Region. The original manuscript of the other nine investigations, which survived the long march, are preserved. All the other materials were lost. The most regrettable loss is the Five Hsien (Changsha, Hsiangtan, Hsianghsiang, Hengshan and Liling) Investigation, done in Hunan in the spring of 1927. It was lost because of the Hsu K'o-hsiang rebellion. The Ningkang and Yunghsin investigations made in the spring of 1928 at the Chingkang mountains were lost because of the fall of the Chingkang mountains. The materials preserved here were all from the Central Soviet Region. The first nine parts reflected land distribution at its early stage. The last two parts reflected land distribution as it was thoroughly implemented. Incomplete as they are one can get a general idea from these materials. This is a kind of historical material in which some of the viewpoints were my opinions at that time and which I have subsequently changed.

Mao Tse-tung 6
October 1937
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[Text] We should cultivate a large group of people. These people are the vanguards of revolution. These people have political farsightedness. These people are full of the spirit of struggle and the spirit of sacrifice. These people are frank, faithful and sincere, positive, and straightforward. These people do not seek self-interest, but are solely devoted to national and social liberation. These people are not afraid of difficulties, they always firmly and bravely go ahead in the face of difficulties. These people are not fanatic elements; or seekers of the limelight. Rather, they are people with their feet firmly on the ground and fortified with realistic spirit. If China has a large group of vanguards like them, the mission of China's revolution can be smoothly accomplished.

"Long Live Mao Tse-tung's Thought," April 1967 *

"Mobilization," No 10, 23 October 1937
Question 1: Is the present political system in the Soviet Union a one-party dictatorship?

Answer: The Soviet Union is a country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, a worker-peasant socialist dictatorship state and not a state under a party dictatorship. From the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, class dictatorship and party dictatorship are two different things. Party is only an organization of the most awakened people in a class. A party should and can only play a leading role in a country under a proletarian dictatorship. A party should not and cannot take the place of a class to effect a dictatorship. Therefore, Lenin and Stalin, founders of the political system of the Soviet Union, never mixed party dictatorship and class dictatorship as one problem. Instead, when occasionally borrowing the so-called term of "dictatorship," they referred only to the leadership function of the party in the country's political system. In order to enable you to understand and believe my interpretation, I am glad to introduce to you what Lenin and Stalin said about this problem. For the sake of recollection and understanding, I wish to introduce to you especially Lenin's opinion cited in Stalin's book "Concerning the Problem of Leninism" and Stalin's own opinion on this problem. In the section on "Party and Worker Class in Proletarian Dictatorship System" in this book, Stalin made detailed and clear expositions on Lenin's opinion on this problem. For instance, he said:

"For example, here in our Soviet Union, in a country under proletarian dictatorship, this fact should be regarded as the highest manifestation of the leadership role of the party. This fact is that our Soviet or other mass organization, in resolving any important political or organizational problem, must base its decision on the direction of the party. In this sense, it may be said: proletarian dictatorship, in fact, is the 'dictatorship' of the vanguard of the proletariat, or the 'dictatorship' of the party of the proletariat because the party is the basic
leadership force of the proletarian class." Please see Lenin's talk about this problem at the Second World Congress of the Comintern:

"(Tienaire) said: He advocates proletarian dictatorship, but his understanding of proletarian dictatorship is not entirely the same as our understanding of it. He thinks that the proletarian dictatorship as we understand it is in substance the dictatorship of a minority of the proletarian class who are well organized and awakened. It is true that during the capitalist era when the proletarian class was subjected to incessant exploitation and unable to develop their ability as human beings, the greatest characteristics of the workers political party is that this political party can include only a minority of its own class. The political party can only unite with a minority of its own class, just like the fact that in any capitalist society the really awakened workers constitute only a minority of all the workers. Hence, we cannot but admit that only this awakened minority can guide and lead the broad masses of workers. If Comrade Tienaire says that he is the enemy of the political party and at the same time advocates letting a minority of the best organized and most revolutionary elements give direction to the entire proletarian class, then I would say that there is actually no difference in opinion between us." (See "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 25, p 347)

However, is this to say that we can put an equal sign between proletarian dictatorship and the role of party leadership (or party "dictatorship")? Is this to say that we can regard the former and the latter as one thing? May we substitute the former for the latter? Of course not. Of course, we should not say so. For example, Comrade (Sulin) had said that "proletarian dictatorship is our party's dictatorship." (Please see "Lenin's Theories on Party," p 95) This way of saying evidently regards "party dictatorship" and proletarian dictatorship as one thing. From the standpoint of Leninism, may we accept as correct this matter of regarding these two things as one thing? No, we cannot.

From this we can see that what is carried out in the Soviet Union is proletarian dictatorship, not the Communist Party dictatorship. To confuse class dictatorship with party dictatorship is neither in agreement with Marxist-Leninist theory, nor with the facts in the Soviet Union. I think, as far as the Soviet aspect of this problem is concerned, the opinion of the founders of the Soviet political system, Lenin and Stalin, is the most authoritative and most creditable.

Question 2: Although the Soviet Union is not under party dictatorship, why is there only one communist party in existence in the Soviet Union?

Answer: In one respect, this is the result of the choice of people's will during the long struggle among the various parties and factions in Russia. That is, the result of the fact that the Russians, in their long historical struggle, had become tired of and rejected other parties and only supported the Communist Party. In another respect, due to the fact
that in the socialist Soviet Union, there is no social base for the existence of other political parties, and consequently there is no necessity or possibility for the existence of other political parties. In order to make you understand and believe my way of interpretation, perhaps the best thing to do is to introduce to you what Stalin himself said on this problem. The fact that the Soviet Union has only one Communist Party in existence is not a result of the workers' manipulation or imagination, or the use of administrative order. It is, rather, a result formed by historical life. Concerning this point, Stalin said clearly in his talk with the First American Workers Delegation on 9 September 1927. He said:

"The position of our Communist Party, the position of being the only public political party throughout the country (the position of one-party monopoly) is neither created at will, nor out of empty imagination. This kind of position can never be deliberately created by the use of administrative order. The monopoly of our Communist Party grows spontaneously from actual life, and was gradually formed in history. It is the result of the total bankruptcy and the subsequent fall of the Socialist Revolutionary Party and the Menshevik Party."

In the Soviet Union, there is no social foundation for the existence of other political parties besides the Communist Party, and there is no necessity and possibility for the existence of other political parties. Concerning this point, Stalin made a special explanation in his report on the new constitution of the Soviet Union on 25 November 1936. He said:

"At last, there is another group of critics. If the above-mentioned group of critics blame the draft constitution of the Soviet Union for abandoning the workers class dictatorship, then this group of critics is just the opposite. They blame the draft constitution of the Soviet Union, saying that it has not changed the present situation in the Soviet Union at all. They say it has not given up dictatorship of the working class, and it does not tolerate the freedom of various political parties, and it still maintains the validity of the present leadership position of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union as before. At the same time, this group of critics regards the lack of freedom for various political parties in the Soviet Union as a sign of violation of the principle of democracy."

"I admit that the draft of the new constitution of the Soviet Union still retains the validity of the dictatorship of the working class as before, and preserves the present leadership position of the Communist Party without any change. If respectable critics regard this as a weakness of the draft constitution of the Soviet Union, then we can only express our regret. We Bolsheviks regard this as a merit of the draft constitution of the Soviet Union."
"As to the freedom of various political parties, then, our viewpoint in regard to this problem is slightly different. A political party is part of a social class, and the vanguard of that class. Only in societies where there are antagonistic classes whose interests are mutually antagonistic and irreconcilable with each other, in other words, only in a society where there are capitalists vs. workers, landlords vs. peasants, rich farmers vs. poor farmers, etc. can we talk about the existence of several political parties and the freedom of their existence. In the Soviet Union, capitalists, landlords, and rich farmers disappeared a long time ago. Today, the Soviet Union has only two classes of people, workers and farmers. The interests of these two classes are not only not antagonistic, but, on the contrary, are harmonious. Therefore, in the Soviet Union, there is no basis for the existence of several political parties, and consequently there is no basis for their freedom. In the Soviet Union, there is a basis for only one political party—the Communist Party. In the Soviet Union, only one party—the Communist Party which bravely and thoroughly safeguards the worker-peasant interest—can survive. The Communist Party has done a good job in protecting the interests of these two classes. About this point, few can doubt."

"Everyone is talking about democracy, but what is democracy? In capitalist countries, there are antagonistic classes. Democracy there, in the last analysis, is democracy for those who have power, and democracy for the minority who have property. Democracy in the Soviet Union, conversely, is democracy for the laborers, and democracy for all the people. From this we can see that what violates the principle of democracy is not the new constitution of the Soviet Union, but the constitution of the capitalist class. Therefore, I think the constitution of the Soviet Union is the only thoroughly democratic constitution in the world."

From this we can see that the existence of one party can only be achieved in a country with a social foundation like that of the Soviet Union where other parties have been totally rejected and overthrown by the masses of people during the course of revolution and where there is no other party in existence.

Question 3: How can Germany and Italy carry out one-party dictatorships?

Answer: First of all, we must make a clear distinction between one party in power in a country, and the real existence of one party in a country. It is true that in Germany and Italy there is only one party in power, but this is not to say that the political party in power is the only party in existence in these two countries. In Germany, the fascist National Socialist Party is the only party in power today, but all the other political parties before the fascist party came to power—the Social Democratic Party which had the support of hundreds of thousands of German voters during the last election (1933), the Communist Party which had 5-6 million voters, and other historical and traditional capitalist class parties in support of a democratic system with several
million voters—are still in existence and active, although their existence and activities are covert and illegal. Anyone who goes to German cities and rural villages to make a careful investigation will immediately see that although hundreds of thousands of anti-government party elements are confined in concentration camps, the Social Democratic Party, the Communist Party and other parties in support of democracy and against fascist dictatorships are still struggling secretly and bravely. They secretly publish papers and magazines. They are engaged in educating and organizing the masses of people under difficult conditions. The German political exiles in France, Czechoslovakia and Belgium are contacting political parties in Germany for establishing an anti-fascist, democratic people's front. In the leadership organizations of Social Democratic Internationale (or the Second International) and Comintern are seated delegates from the German Social Democratic Party and the German Communist Party. The situation in Italy is not any different from that in Germany. Similarly, the Italian Communist Party, Social Democratic Party and all other democratic parties are courageously and secretly conducting their anti-fascist activities. In the same manner, the delegates of these parties are establishing an anti-fascist popular front inside and outside of Italy. Delegates of the Italian Communist Party and Social Democratic Party also occupy important positions in the leadership organizations of the Third International and the Second International.

From this we can see, it is right if we say that in Germany and Italy there is only one party in power, and there is only one party which has legal status. It is totally unrealistic to say that there is only a fascist party in existence in these two countries.

Question 4: Some people say: Now Kuomintang should carry out "one-party dictatorship." What is your opinion on this problem?

Answer: First, if what you call "one-party dictatorship" refers to the control of national government by the Kuomintang alone, then this is a fait accompli today because, as everybody knows, all responsible persons in the national government are Kuomintang members, or persons whom the Kuomintang chooses to appoint of its own will. Up to now there is nobody representing other Chinese parties in the government. Our Chinese Communist Party is China's biggest political party outside the Kuomintang. Today we do not ask for participation in the government. This point has been frankly and earnestly announced on behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party by our party leader Comrade Ch'en Shao-yu [7115 4801 4416] in his interview with American correspondent Pal Te-en on 25 December 1937, and by another leader of our party, Comrade Chang Wen-t'ien [1728 5113 1131] [or Lo Fu 3157 3940] in his article "Consolidate Kuomintang-Communist Cooperation To Strive for the Victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan" published in "Chieh-fang," No 28. On this point I wish to represent the Chinese Communist Party to make a serious announcement again: We of the Chinese Communist Party now
earnestly help the Kuomintang fight the Japanese, but we do not ask for participation in the national government at this time.

Second, the so-called one-party dictatorship, whereby one party controls the country's political power, does not necessarily have to adopt the method of "dictatorship." If the so-called "one-party dictatorship" method is actually equal to the policy carried out by the Kuomintang in the last decade, then I think it calls for consideration. In my opinion, although the Kuomintang is able to maintain its one-party control of political power, for the sake of concentrating all the talents to resist Japan and save the country and expressing the people's will of resisting Japan and saving the country, it seems that the Kuomintang should use considerably democratic measures. Of course, these democratic measures are measures absolutely beneficial to the war of resistance, and measures which will absolutely consolidate the government and further enhance people's support of and confidence in the government.

Question 5: Now there are people who say that the Kuomintang should carry out its "no party outside the party" policy. In other words, a policy which does not allow the legitimate existence of any political party except the Kuomintang. Sir, what is your opinion on this problem?

Answer: To allow only one party, the Kuomintang, legitimate existence means not only nonrecognition of the lawful existence of the Communist Party and other political parties (the National Youth Party, National Socialist Party, etc.) but is also an attempt to eliminate other political parties by armed force. This is not only not a new theory, but an old fact which has been carried out for 10 years. However, the miserable result of this fact is not only ceaseless internal strife, but also an invitation to unprecedented foreign aggression. The painful experience of China's actual political life in the last decade tells us: The Kuomintang's policy of attempting to eliminate other political parties by armed force has failed; meanwhile, the Chinese communist attempt to create a one-party leadership regime under China's existing conditions has not reaped the anticipated results. The experience of the first Kuomintang-Communist Party cooperation which resulted in the victory of the Northern Expedition and the serious national crisis caused by the Kuomintang-Communist Party split in the last 10 years has taught comrades of both parties and all the people of China a bitter truth; that is, the real effective way for creating a united China is not continued internal strife with one party opposing or attempting to eliminate another party, but pooling the strength of all parties on a common political basis to form a national united front; first of all, close cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party. The basic reason why China has been able to carry on the war of resistance against Japan in the last 6 months is the consolidation and unification of all national forces within the country. The specific formula and specific content is the formation of the national united front against Japan by various parties with the Kuomintang-Communist Party cooperation as the foundation. That
is, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party have not only abandoned their mutual nonrecognition and mutually antagonistic stand, but carried out hand-in-hand cooperation in the interest of the anti-Japanese and national salvation war. That is, the Kuomintang has abandoned its former stand which denied the existence of the communist and other parties and carried out the policy of uniting with all other anti-Japanese parties in the war against Japan. The Communist Party and other anti-Japanese parties also abandoned their former anti-Kuomintang stand and cooperated with the Kuomintang in pursuing the common cause of resisting Japan and national salvation. From this we can see that the forging of an anti-Japanese national united front by all parties and factions is a necessary premise for China's war against Japan. Lack of this premise or destruction of this premise will indeed put China in continued internal turmoil. Once China is in internal turmoil, there will be no way to continue the war against Japan. This is a truth easily seen and recognized by everybody. It is precisely because of this that the Japanese militarists always attempt to apply, in addition to their military aggression, the poisonous plot of "using Chinese to control Chinese." Their first attempt is to instigate another internal strife among the parties in China in order to destroy the Anti-Japanese National United Front. From this we can see, the theory propounded by some people today for banning all political parties aside from the Kuomintang is in fact a theory which has been negated by historical facts of China, as well as an attempt to push China back to a tumultuous situation which existed before the national unification for the war of resistance against Japan. At the same time, it will make the situation of a united China formed by the united front against Japan unable to continue, and subsequently creates again a situation in which China is powerless to resist Japan. Therefore, no matter how loudly the proponents of this theory shout "national unity," if unfortunately their theory is put into effect, the result would definitely be the destruction of the national unification already formed today. No matter how loudly the proponents of this theory give lip service to "resist Japan," if unfortunately their theory is put to practice, the result will definitely be the destruction of unification against Japan and we will be unable to continue the war against Japan. It is precisely because of this that I firmly believe that such a theory in the name of national unification but actually detrimental to unification, such a theory in the name of fighting Japan but actually harmful to the war effort against Japan, and such a theory which will draw China back to the miserable situation which existed before unanimous unification against foreign aggression, will definitely be opposed by patriotic people, definitely be negated by the armed units throughout the country, and at the same time definitely be denounced and rejected by the wise leaders and comrades of the Kuomintang who are dedicated to the country and the people and who are willing to continue the war against Japan. This is not strange at all because, first of all, this kind of theory is not in conformity with and runs against reality. These people say: If there are nother parties which also have legal status, then the war effort against Japan will be hampered by party squabbles. Facts have proved that when only one party, the
Kuomintang, was allowed to exist with legal status and other parties were not allowed to exist with legal status, China did have a very serious party squabble which had caused it to fail to resist Japan, or, at best, resist Japan in some places, and made China powerless to launch an all-out war against Japan. On the contrary, as soon as the Kuomintang allowed other political parties to have legal status and cooperated with other political parties, civil war stopped and party squabbles came to an end, and an unprecedented unification in both national administration and armed forces was achieved. Consequently, China became able to conduct an unprecedented sacred war of national defense for safeguarding national existence and seeking national liberation. These people say if other political parties are allowed legal status, then the legal existence of multiple parties will become an element hampering national unity or destroying national unity. Facts in China have proven that when only the Kuomintang had legal status and other political parties were denied legal status, the country became tumultuous and incessant civil wars ensued. Conversely, once other political parties were allowed legal status, national unity immediately emerged. Even though there were quarrels among the parties on certain problems, they never used firearms as weapons for criticism; at most they used mutual and friendly criticism as their weapon. Facts in England, the United States, France, Belgium, Switzerland and other countries prove that the legal existence of multiple parties has never hampered or destroyed their national unity. From this we can see, the theory that only when one party, the Kuomintang, is allowed to exist legally can China be unified and fight Japan is a theory incompatible with the actual life in China, and a theory which will make China neither really unified nor able to really resist Japan. This kind of theory can never be accepted by China's soldiers and civilians who support national unification and resolutely resist Japan.

Question 6: Now there are people who say, since the Communist Party has declared that it believes in the Three People's Principles then it can no longer believe in communism. Sir, what is your opinion?

Answer: First of all, I wish to say that since Communist Party members have declared that they will struggle for the realization of the Three People's Principles, some people say that this is tantamount to giving up their belief in communism. I wish to make a serious statement once again on behalf of our party: This is a rumor spread by troublemakers, and is absolutely untrue. We are Communist Party members. We declared that we are willing to struggle together with Kuomintang comrades to accomplish the unfinished revolution of Dr Sun Yat-sen—that is, the goals of the Three People's Principles for China's equality in international status, political equality and economic equality. At the same time, we will never give up our own communism which we have believed in for so many years and for which we have sacrificed and struggled for so many years. Next, some people say, if you declare that you will struggle for the realization of the Three People's Principles, but at the same time you believe in communism, then this is in contradiction to the stand...
of the Three People's Principles because it and communism are incompatible. Concerning this point, I wish to point out seriously once again that this kind of saying is entirely wrong. This kind of saying is neither in agreement with the theory and the action of Dr Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Three People's Principles and the revolutionary tutor of the Kuomintang, nor with the actual situation of China's revolution. Theoretically, the substance of the Principle of Nationalism, Principle of Democracy and Principle of People's Livelihood under the Three People's Principles are tolerable with such thoughts advocated by communism as the complete overthrow of imperialist oppression in order to enable the Chinese people to attain national independence, the complete destruction of feudalistic oppression in order to enable the Chinese people to have democracy and liberty, and the complete transformation of China's economic system in order to enable the Chinese people to enjoy a happy livelihood. Therefore, it is absolutely untrue that communism and the Three People's Principles cannot tolerate each other. It is, therefore, not impossible that our party and Kuomintang can lawfully coexist and cooperate hand in hand. Concerning this point, Dr Sun Yat-sen had clearly indicated more than once in his talks on the Principle of People's Livelihood. He said: "Hence, as soon as we talk about social problems, the majority of the youth agrees with communism. Their intention is good. Their ideal is to resolve the problem at its root, thinking that if we wish to set the basis of political and social problems right, the fundamentals of these problems must be resolved. Therefore, they actively organize the Communist Party and conduct activities in China. Now, our old comrades of the Kuomintang have a lot of misunderstanding about the Communist Party.

"....In ancient times, as soon as man conquered nature and animals, money came into being. Then machines were invented. Those extremely clever people monopolized all the material in the world for their own self-interest and wanted other ordinary people to be their slaves. So came an era of severe fighting among men. When will this kind of fighting end? It will not end until a new communist era is restored. In the so-called fight among men, what do they fight for? They fight for bread and jobs. When the era of communism comes, everybody will have bread and rice to eat so that there is no need to fight, and fight among men will be avoided. Therefore, communism is the noblest ideal for resolving social problems." (See "Chung-san Chuan-chi" [Complete Works of Sun Yat-sen], Vol 1, "Second Talk on the Principle of People's Livelihood," p 38) Regarding the value of Marxism, Dr Sun said: "As to the books written by Marx and the theories he invented, they represent the culmination of human thoughts over the last several thousand years. Thus as soon as his theory was made known, it was widely accepted all over the world. All the scholars believed and followed him,"

From what I said before, you may see that from Dr Sun Yat-sen's own writings on the theories of the Three People's Principles you can never
find any indication that the Three People's Principles and communism are repugnant to each other. As to the indications of Dr Sun Yat-sen's actions on this problem, they are facts well known to everybody. The Communist Party was founded in 1921. Since its founding, Dr Sun had close relationship with members of the Communist Party. In 1924 when Dr Sun made up his mind to reorganize the Kuomintang, he openly cooperated with the Communist Party, The cooperation was very intimate. It had not only established a Kuomintang-Communist Party national revolution alliance, but also permitted Communist Party members to participate in Kuomintang organizations in their personal capacity to share the tasks of revolution. At that time, the Communist Party had only about several thousand members in the entire country, the party was founded only a few years ago, and Communist Party members joined the Kuomintang in their personal capacity to struggle together for the cause of national revolution. Under those circumstances did Dr Sun demand that those communist members should not believe in communism? No. Or under those circumstances, did Dr Sun propose that only the Kuomintang was allowed to exist and the Communist Party was not allowed to exist at the same time? No. He did not; rather he resolutely opposed anyone making such a request or advocating this idea. This is exactly why Dr Sun was great, farsighted and discerning because he deeply understood: the birth of any doctrine or any political party is not accidental; it has its social foundation and historical background. Nobody can be forced to believe anything, nor can anybody's belief be eliminated. In history there were numerous people who died martyrs for their beliefs. Any social foundation or organization supported by the masses can never be dispersed by force or eliminated. In history numerous revolutionary organizations continued to exist and develop under tremendous pressure and suppression. Today's situation is quite different from before. The Chinese Communist Party already has 17 years of revolutionary history. It has hundreds of thousands of members, a strong organization which has long combat experience, a leadership cadre which is unwaveringly and bravely struggling for their doctrine, their party, their revolution, the Chinese people's liberation, and the liberation of mankind, and the faith and support of millions of people. How can we talk about eliminating the Communist Party members' faith in communism and their party organization? If we say that we should renounce our belief in communism just because we have declared that we are willing to struggle for the thorough realization of the Three People's Principles, this is entirely a misunderstanding because our understanding of the relationship between the Three People's Principles and communism is exactly the same as that of Dr Sun Yat-sen—that is, we think that they are good friends and can tolerate each other. Therefore, not only during the first Kuomintang-Communist Party cooperation had our Communist Party members struggled together with comrades of the Kuomintang for the implementation of the Three People's Principles in their capacity as Communist Party members, but also during our lone bitter revolutionary struggle after our split with the Kuomintang our objectives remained to be China's national independence, democracy, liberty and happy livelihood—objectives in conformity with the basic thinking of the Three People's
Principles. The difference between today's situation and that during the Kuomintang-Communist Party split is that during the split we Communist Party members struggled single-handedly for our own communist ideal as well as the revolutionary ideal of the Three People's Principles. How the Kuomintang and the Communist Party are cooperating with each other again, we Communist Party members are struggling together with our comrades of the Kuomintang again for our common revolutionary cause. Therefore, under this condition, if there is any person who asks Communist Party members to give up their communist thinking and their organization, this is not only unacceptable to the Communist Party, but also in direct violation of Dr Sun Yat-sen's doctrines and actions, [omission] to promote the Three People's Principles is repugnant to communism." (See "Chung-san Chuen-chi," Vol 1, "Second Talk on the Principle of People's Livelihood," p 42) From this we can see that Dr Sun Yat-sen publicly pointed out that it was a mistake for some of the comrades of the Kuomintang to think that the Three People's Principles and communism are not compatible. Why has this mistake occurred? As Dr Sun Yat-sen has particularly pointed out in his talk ("Chung-shan Chuan-chi," pp 44 and 45), the reason is that these people don't understand the interrelationship among the Three People's Principles in general, and that people don't understand the Principle of People's Livelihood in particular. Therefore, after giving the reason, Dr Sun continued in his talk: "Why dare I say that our comrades of revolution did not understand the Principle of People's Livelihood? It is due to the fact that during the recent Kuomintang reorganization many comrades, because of their opposition to the Communist Party, went so far as to say that communism is different from the Three People's Principles, that it is good enough to carry out the Three People's Principles in China, and that communism cannot be accepted. Then what, after all, is the Principle of People's Livelihood? In my last talk I raised a new question: What is the center of gravity of the development of civilization, the improvement of economic organization, and the progress of morality in society? The people's livelihood is the center of gravity. People's livelihood is the motivating force of all activities in society because if the people's livelihood is not satisfied, civilization of society cannot be developed, economic organization cannot be improved, and morality will degenerate. All injustices, such as class war, sufferings of the workers and various kinds of suppressions are attributable to the failure in resolving the problem of unsatisfied livelihood. Therefore, all anomalies in society are the effects, while the problem of people's livelihood is the cause. According to this reasoning, what is the Principle of People's Livelihood? The Principle of People's Livelihood is communism, or socialism. Therefore, in regard to communism, not only that we cannot say it is in conflict with the Principle of People's Livelihood, but we should say it is a good friend. Those who advocate the Principle of People's Livelihood should make a careful study." Continuing in his talk, Dr Sun Yat-sen raised the question: "Since communism is a good friend of the Principle of People's Livelihood, why do the Kuomintang members oppose communism? The reason is perhaps that members of the Communist Party themselves do
not know what communism is, and frequently make remarks opposing the Principle of People's Livelihood, thus causing hostile reaction from the Kuomintang. However, we cannot blame the entire Communist Party or its doctrines for the behavior of these ignorant and mischievous party members. We can only say that these are their personal conduct. Therefore, we should never use the undesirable personal conduct of a few Communist Party members as the standard to oppose the Communist Party; that is, we should not oppose communism as a doctrine on the basis of some personal conduct. Why should have this problem arisen among our comrades? The reason is that they don't understand what the Principle of People's Livelihood is. They don't know that the Principle of People's Livelihood, after all, is communism." From this passage of Dr Sun Yat-sen's talk, what conclusion can we draw? Our conclusion should be: First, the Three People's Principles and communism can tolerate each other and coexist. The Three People's Principles has good relations with communism. Second, those who think the Three People's Principles cannot tolerate communism actually are people who do not understand the Three People's Principles, especially the Principle of People's Livelihood. These people should be only an extremely small minority in the Kuomintang. Similarly those who think communism cannot tolerate the Three People's Principles are also actually people who do not understand communism, especially the relationship between communism and the Three People's Principles. These people should also be only an extremely small minority in the Communist Party. In regard to the solution of this problem, Dr Sun thought that this is only the personal conduct of certain members of both parties. One party should not oppose the other party as a whole or its doctrines just because of such personal conducts. Third, Dr Sun thought, not only should those who advocate communism understand the Three People's Principles, but also those who advocate the Three People's Principles should carefully study communism. This is a brilliant, open, and unselfish attitude. We Communist Party members extremely admire this attitude of Dr Sun's. Indeed, any great thought or doctrine in the world is not the patented commodity of a certain group of people or a certain party. It should and certainly will welcome anybody to study it and carry it out. Not only that we are willing to struggle for the implementation of the Three People's Principles but also that we welcome anybody—first of all, comrades of the Kuomintang, to study communism carefully according to Dr Sun Yat-sen's guidance. We are deeply convinced that all those who are willing to struggle for the liberation of mankind and really understand communism (or Marxism) must recognize that Marxism is the noblest ideal for resolving social problems and the best cumulation of human thinking over the last several thousand years. Communist society is the most satisfactory, happiest and the most fortunate society which should not be regarded as something to be afraid of. It is precisely because of this that our country's greatest contemporary revolutionary Dr Sun said: "Judging by the actual situation in China, the first Kuomintang-Communist cooperation has led to the viable development of the revolution during 1925-1927, and the great victory of the Northern Expedition, while the split between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party has created an unprecedented serious situation.
characterized by domestic turmoil and foreign aggression in the last 10 years." Now that the Kuomintang and the Communist Party are cooperating with each other, externally we are able to wage an unprecedentedly glorious war of national defense; internally we are able to achieve a political and military unification unprecedented in the last several decades and created a great unprecedented consolidation of all the forces of the parties and classes of the entire nation. This has made all our fellow countrymen and the people all over the world feel that this is the only opportunity and hope for survival during this critical moment of life and death struggle for the Chinese nation. Whether the legal coexistence of two doctrines and two parties is beneficial or harmful to the Chinese people and the nation should be adjudged by live and commonly known facts, not by biased or subjective wishes of a small number of people. The past and present ironclad facts in China have proved once again that as soon as the Three People's Principles and communism help and cooperate with each other, the country is unified and the revolution forges ahead; as soon as the Three People's Principles and communism oppose each other and negate each other, the country is divided and the revolution runs into difficulty. Therefore, any idea in violation of this fact cannot be carried out. If unfortunately such an idea is carried out it will definitely create new disasters for the country and the nation.

From this we can see, the opinion that the Three People's Principles and communism cannot tolerate each other and, as a consequence, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party cannot lawfully coexist is an opinion without foundation and detrimental to the liberation of the country and the nation. This kind of opinion is not only in violation of the bequeathed theory and deeds of Dr Sun Yat-sen, but also in contradiction to the actual situation in China. The danger of this opinion lies in changing the good domestic situation characterized by unanimous opposition to foreign aggression into a possible situation where people's eyesight is turned inward, thus causing internal trouble.

Therefore, at the conclusion of this interview, I wish to repeat and seriously tell you a few words on this problem. If the content of the so-called Kuomintang one-party dictatorship is Kuomintang control of the political power of the government, this is already fait accompli, and this is not a problem. Although we Communist Party members do not participate in the government ourselves, we absolutely support the national government which is leading the country in the war against Japan. Today, only the Japanese fascist militarists deny the authority of the national government and attempt to overthrow the national government. Today only those Trotskyists and their disciples who execute the will of the secret service agencies of the Japanese aggressors spread the rumor that the national government is a Karetsky-type temporary and transit regime, and consequently adopt the traitor's policy of "perfunctorily accommodating on the surface" with the national government, but "actually preparing to bring about its downfall." The support and help of the Communist Party members to the national government are absolutely sincere, started from
the fundamental stand of the basic interest of the country and the nation. At
the same time, if the content of Kuomintang one-party dictatorship is enlarged
to or misinterpreted as meaning that the communist and other political parties
are not allowed to exist legally, or that the Communist Party members are not
permitted to believe in their own communism, then this is absolutely not a new
theory, but an old fact. This is a return to the unworkable deadend road
method of 10 years ago. If this idea is put into effect, it will be harmful
not only to national unification, but also to the war effort against Japan. It
will fragment the already formed national united front against Japan, and thus
endanger the war of resistance and national salvation. This thinking will
definitely be utilized by Japanese fascist militarists and Chinese traitors.
It is precisely because of this that I can hardly believe this kind of thinking
will have the sympathy of those knowledgable persons in the Kuomintang who take
the basic interest of the country and the nation seriously, not to mention the
sympathy of those unbiased nonpartisan soldiers and civilians who value
national unification and dedicate themselves thoroughly to the war against
Japan. However, since this problem is publicly raised at this moment when the
national crisis is increasingly acute, we cannot but seriously alert the
Communist Party members, all political parties and fellow countrymen who are
dedicated to the war effort against Japan and for national salvation. This
concerns not only the relationship between the Kuomintang and the Communist
Party, but also all other parties and the fate of the entire Chinese nation.
Therefore, I hope my fellow countrymen from all walks of life throughout the
country and the farsighted discerning gentlemen of all parties would pay
serious attention to the tendency of development of this problem, make every
effort to insure that China's anti-Japanese national united front based upon
the cooperation of all parties will not be threatened and the national
unification, the anti-Japanese war, and the national salvation, movement will
not be endangered so that we can carry on the war to the very end and win the
final victory for our country and nation.

° "Talk With HSIN-CHUWG-HJA PAO Reporter in Yenan," 1939 *

"Liberation," 11 January 1938

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TALK WITH REPORTER OF ASSOCIATED PRESS

February 1938

[Text] Reporter: Now there are many people who are pessimistic about China's war against Japan. What is your opinion, Sir?

Answer: I am entirely optimistic about this because the course of China's war of resistance is inevitably one of defeat first and then victory, and one of initial weakness gradually turning strong. This has become a definite direction. In the early stage of the Sino-Japanese war, the general situation was that Japan was strong and China weak. But in the future Japan's weakness will be gradually exposed, and China's strength will be gradually built up, Japan is now borrowing money to wage the war. Aside from the 2.2 billion yen spent in the last 6 months. Japan is said to need 4 billion yen or more. This has greatly depleted its national strength. Japan's international credit has deteriorated, and the price of its bonds has dropped. Its "quick battle, quick ending" plan has failed. Let us ask how can it have so much money to prolong the war indefinitely? Militarily, Japan's battle front has been extended several thousand miles from Hangchow to Paotow. It does not have enough men to be deployed just for defense. Therefore, its military strength is gradually weakening in proportion to the extent of deep penetration and wide expansion. It occupies long stretches of railways, and troops have to be sent to guard each railway station. Japan has mobilized one-third of its armed forces to invade China. If it wants to occupy Hankow, Canton and other cities, it has to mobilize hundreds of thousands of additional troops. At that time, its situation will become worse. Japan's enemy is not China alone. Additionally, because of its domestic, international and other major contradictions, Japan will definitely be on the road to total collapse.

Question: Did you say, Sir, that China's strength can be gradually enhanced?

Answer: According to the war experience in the last 7 months, militarily if we can employ mobile warfare, position warfare and guerrilla warfare
and coordinate these three types of warfare, we can definitely put the enemy
force in an extremely difficult position. In my opinion, at present, aside
from using 200,000 to 300,000 crack troops to form a few strong field armies
to launch annihilating attacks on the enemy's advanced units in a mobile
warfare, we should also have 80,000 to 90,000 troops, organized into 20 or 30
hardcore guerrilla regiments with 3,000 to 4,000 men in each regiment, led by
resolute and dynamic commanders and with their political work strengthened,
deployed in front of the enemy's battle line from Hangchow to Paotow. These
forces should fight their way to the rear of the enemy line through 20-30 gaps
along this long battle front. If this strategy is properly applied, the
guerrilla units can work together with the local masses and proliferate into
numerous small guerrilla units which will definitely be able to establish
numerous anti-Japanese bases behind enemy lines, mobilize hundreds of
thousands of the masses, and forcefully coordinate with the mobile field
armies and thus throw the enemy into discomfort. As to position warfare, we
should not regard it as our main strategy at present because we are
technologically inadequate. However, we must build a national defense
industry, and manufacture heavy and advanced weapons ourselves. At the same
time, we should find ways to transport these weapons so that we can
effectively conduct both defensive and offensive positional warfare. This is
very necessary. Some people say that we only advocate guerrilla warfare. That
is nonsense. We have always advocated the coordination of mobile, position and
guerrilla warfare. At present, we are using mobile warfare as the main tact-
ic, and the other two as complementary tactics. In the future, we should
make position warfare effectively coordinated with mobile warfare. Guerrilla
warfare, as a way of battle, is always complementary. However, guerrilla
warfare in semi-colonial national wars, especially in countries with vast
territories, occupies an important place in strategy. Politically, we already
have domestic unity, and have the sympathy and support of the democratic
countries all over the world. However, our present achievements are still not
efficient, and should be further strengthened. The strengthening of the
aforementioned military and political positions is necessary. Only if we
continue to exert our effort, can we strengthen our military and political
positions, and this forecasts brightness in the future.

Question: Is the 8th Route Army being surrounded by the Japanese on all sides
and facing the danger of being routed or annihilated by the Japanese?

Answer: The 8th Route Army is presently engaged in an enlarged guerrilla
warfare in four areas. The first area is a pocket bordered by the Peiping-
Hankow, Peiping-Suiyuan, Chengting-Taiyuan, and Tatung-Puchow railways and the
adjacent areas to the east and the north of this pocket. This area has 12
million people who are resolutely against the Japanese, and working closely
with the armed forces. This is a large bulwark of the war of resistance. The
8th Route Army has firmly established its foothold here. Although the enemy is
stepping up its attack on this area, it is impossible
for him to chase them out, not to mention annihilating them. Several big branch units of the 8th Route Army advancing toward the east have now come close to Tientsin-Pukow Railway. The second area is in northwestern Shansi, south of the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway, west of the northern section of the Tatung-Puchow Railway, and east of the Yellow River. The third area is in southeastern Shansi and southwestern Hopeh bordered by the Peiping-Hankow, Chengting-Taiyuan and Tatung-Puchow railways. The fourth area is in southwestern Shansi. The 8th Route Array is intimately associated with the local people, ready to severely attack the enemy's communication line at any time. They have scored many major and minor victories, and greatly bogged down the enemy's advance forces. In view of these areas, what China has lost are only several railways and a few cities, and it has not lost anything else. This fact illustrates to the entire nation that if we adopt this method everywhere in the country, the enemy can never annihilate China. This is one of the solid foundations for launching an offensive in the future for recovering the lost territory.

Question: Sir, do you think this Kuomintang-Communist Party cooperation is of permanent nature?

Answer: I think so. The 1928 split was against the wishes of the Communist Party, The Communist Party has never wanted to split with the Kuomintang. In the last 10 years, both the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and the people all over the country had lived through hardship experiences which should strengthen future unification. The purpose of the present and future cooperation is to fight the Japanese together and to rehabilitate the country together. Under this principle, as long as our friendly party has the same sincerity as we have and as long as we have the supervision of the people of the entire nation, this cooperation will definitely be long lasting.

Question: True, the Communist Party in its declaration on the current situation has said that the Kuomintang and the Communist Party will not only fight Japan together, but also rebuild the country together after winning the war against Japan. But, may I ask how can these two political parties which represent two different classes of people cooperate with each other in building a new country?

Answer: China is in a semi-colonial status. Right now, it is in a critical moment facing the danger of being wiped out as a nation. Even its semi-colonial status is in danger. Although party is different from class, they share this same status. This has predetermined that the two parties can cooperate not only in resisting the Japanese aggression but also in rebuilding the country. But this cooperation is cooperation under a definite platform, and cooperation based on a principle. It must be genuine cooperation, not just for experience or appearance. If this cooperation is divorced from a common platform or principle, it will of necessity degenerate into expediency or cooperation only in appearance.
This is not permissible by any political party which, stands by principle. Cooperation based upon principle and a common platform is comparable to the righteous friendship between two persons. Only this kind of righteous friendship can last long.

Question: What is this "democratic republic" advocated by the Communist Party?

Answer: The democratic republic we advocate is a country which has a system whereby its representative bodies are organized by representatives selected by people who are unwilling to be slaves through unrestricted universal election. This kind of country is a country based on the principle of people's rights. By and large this has been advocated by Dr Sun Yat-sen a long time ago. The policy of rebuilding China should be formulated in this direction.

Question: Is the Communist Party satisfied with the present central government? Is it still necessary to convene an ad hoc national congress?

Answer: We support the present central government because of its adherence to the policy of waging a war of resistance against Japan, and its action in providing leadership in this war. But we wish this government to substantiate and broaden its basis and make necessary reforms in its internal administration so as to be more beneficial to the war of resistance. We have proposed to convene an ad hoc national congress. This was also proposed by Dr Sun Yat-sen. In our opinion, it will be beneficial for consolidating the country and strengthening the forces for the war effort. As to what method we should use more beneficial to the war effort, we have no predetermined opinion. As long as it is really beneficial to the war of resistance, any method can be adopted.

Question: Does the Chinese Communist Party provide leadership to the anti-Japanese activities of the Volunteer Army in Manchuria?

Answer: The Chinese Communist Party indeed has a close relationship with the anti-Japanese Volunteer Army in Manchuria. For example, such famous Volunteer Army leaders as Yang Ching-yu [2799 7231 1342], Chao Shang-chih [6392 1424 1807], Li Hung-kuang [2621 4767 0342] and others are all Communist Party members. Their meritorious services in the hard struggle against Japan is well known to everybody. A national united front exists there also. Aside from Communist Party members, there are also other parties, other different armed units and mass organizations of the people. They have united under a common policy.

Question: Sir, what is your general thinking about the United States?

Answer: The American Democratic Party's support of international peace, President Roosevelt's condemnation of fascism, the Scripps-Howard
newspapers' sympathy toward China's war against Japan, and especially the support of the broad masses of American people for China's struggle against Japan—all these are welcome and for which we are grateful. But we hope that the United States will take a further step by uniting with other countries to give the brutal Japanese some real censure. It is time for China, the United States and other anti-aggression countries to take a further step in their unification against the enemy.

[Associated Press correspondent Mr Wang Kung-ta [3769 0361 6671] visited Yenan in February 1938, and had a talk with Comrade Mao Tse-tung. This article is based on Mr Wang's minutes and previously checked by Comrade Mao.—Editor of "Chieh-Fang"]

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CSO: 4005
Today is the 13th anniversary of the death of Dr Sun Yat-sen. We are here holding such a solemn commemorative rally. Meanwhile, the war against Japan has been going on for 8 months. Many brave officers and men have made the ultimate sacrifice. We are holding here such a grave commemorative rally. All these are not at random or accidental. They have their reason in the development of our nation's history.

Where does the greatness of Dr Sun Yat-sen lie? It lies in his Three People's Principles, his united front policy, and his hard struggle spirit. When I met Dr Sun Yat-sen in Kwangtung, the Kuomintang First National Congress was in session. The new outline of the Three People's Principles written personally by Dr Sun Yat-sen, that is, the famous "Declaration of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang," was adopted. At that time, the united front policy based on Kuomintang-Communist Party cooperation began to be put into effect. This united front included domestically uniting with the Communist Party, the workers and the peasants, and externally uniting with those nations which treat us equally to share the common struggle. The famous "Three Great Policies" were established at that time. Dr Sun Yat-sen's outline of the Three People's Principles and his united front policy are the greatest contributions to the Chinese nation from a great revolutionary of a country in a semi-colonial status. Dr Sun's greatness also lies in his hard struggling, unyielding, unbending and unfailing revolutionary perseverance and revolutionary spirit. Without this kind of perseverance, and without this kind of spirit, his doctrines and policies could never be carried out. The first sentence of Dr Sun Yat-sen's Testament, which we just recited a moment ago, said: "I have declared myself to the national revolution for 40 years." During those 40 years, he experienced much hardship and complicated situations, but the more he was frustrated, the more vigorously he struggled. Unyielding and unbending, he always came back with redoubled strength after each failure. When many of his followers showed signs of despair or were even ready to surrender or
desert the cause, Dr. Sun stood firm. He insisted on his doctrines. During his lifetime, he had never neglected to develop his Three People's Principles. Never was there a time when he disregarded his doctrines. He always insisted on and developed his Three People's Principles. The Declaration of the First National Congress indicated the development of the Three People's Principles. So was his effort for the united front. Dr. Sun had not only insisted on but developed the united front from a policy for the overthrow of the Manchus by uniting with all revolutionary parties and underground societies to a policy for the overthrow of imperialism and feudalist influence by uniting with the Communist Party, the workers and the peasants. All these, in combination with his fearless, unyielding, unbending, and undaunted revolutionary perseverance and his practical revolutionary spirit, portray Dr. Sun as a model, great revolutionary. Today we have another united front. This united front is much more broadened than the last. The enemy with which this united front is dealing is much more formidable. The program this united front is to execute is basically the same as that stated in the Declaration of the First National Congress, although it has undergone some development in form and content. In the future, there will definitely be further developments. For attaining the goal of implementing the Three People's Principles, enlarging the united front and defeating our enemy, we must manifest our hard struggling, unswerving and uncompromising revolutionary spirit through revolutionary practice. If we are to commemorate Dr. Sun Yat-sen not merely as a matter of perfunctory formality, we must pay attention to the following: First, struggle for the thorough Implementation of the Three People's Principles. Second, struggle for the consolidation and enlargement of the anti-Japanese national united front. Third, manifest the hard struggling, unyielding, unbending and unfailing revolutionary spirit. I think these are the most pertinent, most substantial and the greatest heritage left by Dr. Sun. All Kuomintang members, all Communist Party members and all patriotic countrymen should accept and develop this heritage! To judge whether one is a loyal disciple of Dr. Sun, we should see his attitude toward these three precious heritages.

Now let us talk about the commemoration of our fallen officers and men in the war against Japan. Since the Lukou-chiao incident, a great war unprecedented in the history of the Orient has lasted 8 months. The enemy has thrown in all available forces. Their purpose is to wipe out China. Its strategy is to win a quick victory through a quick war. How about us? We have also employed all our available forces to resist. Our purpose is to defend our fatherland. Our strategy is protracted warfare. In the last 8 months, our land and air forces gave a heroic account of themselves, a great national unity is carried out throughout the country, several million troops and numerous people have joined the fireline, and several hundred thousand of them have heroically given their lives while executing their duties. Among them, many were Kuomintang members, many were Communist Party members and many others were nonpartisan. We sincerely mourn for those who are dead, and we shall remember them forever. From Generals Meng^'-ling [6787 1125 7881],
T'ung Lin-ko [0157 7792 7040], Chao Teng-yu [6392 6260 4416], Jao Kuo-hua [7437 0948 5478], Liu Chia-ch'i [0491 1367 4388], Chiang Yu-chen [1203 3768 6297], Ch'en Chin-hsiu [7115 6930 4423], Li Kuei-fan [2621 2710 0030], Huang Mei-hsing [7806 2734 5281], Yao Tzu-hsiang [1202 1311 7449], and Pan Chan-kuei [3382 0594 7608] to each warrior, all were noble and great models for the Chinese people. The Chinese nation is not a flock of sheep. Rather it is a great nation richly marked by a sense of self-respect and human righteousness. For national self-respect, human righteousness and their right to live on their own land, the Chinese people will never permit the Japanese fascists to achieve their lawless purposes without paying a heavy price. Our methods are war and sacrifice. We use war against war. We use a revolutionary war for righteousness against a barbarian war of aggression. This spirit has been proven during the several thousand years of our national history. Now, another great proof is given. It was for this proof that General Ho Meng-ling and several hundred thousand men have sacrificed their lives. We are sure that the Japanese fascists will make further advances. They will attack Sian, Chengchow, Wuhan, Nanchang, Poochow, Changsha and Canton. They want to devour all of China. But we wish to inform the fanatic enemy that his objective can never be attained. The enemy should not think that he has achieved his purpose after occupying our territory. He has not and will never achieve his purpose. In the verdict of history the victory of the Japanese fascists can only be temporary, not permanent. There are enough reasons to prove that the eventual victory belongs to our side. When the war comes to an end, they can only occupy a part of our territory, it being impossible for them to occupy the whole country. If they can fight a quick war for the cities, then they will have to fight a protracted war for the vast rural areas. For example, they have occupied several main roads and several cities in Shansi, but the vast countryside, which is many times bigger than the occupied areas, still belongs to China. We have to tell our fellow countrymen this reason. The Japanese can only achieve a partial occupation of any province. They do not have enough strength for deployment. In addition, their barbarian policy has angered every Chinese. China has a huge army and hundreds of millions of people. It is carrying out an excellent national united front policy. All these have predetermined which side is going to win the protracted war and the final victory. In the future, if Japan occupies a larger part of China as a result of bloody battles, we can use the remaining smaller part as our base to continue the war and win victory. But in the larger portion of China, Japan can only occupy big cities, main roads, and some plains. If we can organize and arm the majority of our people in the countryside and establish many anti-Japanese bases, such as the bases we have established at Wu-tai Shan, we will have the Japanese army surrounded. Some-day, after all important party, political and military tasks are improved on a nationwide basis, our outer-perimeter force will be coordinated with our inner-perimeter forces for a well concerted big offensive. At that time our effort must also be coordinated with the support of the revolutionary forces of the world and the support of the people's revolutionary force in Japan. Who can say that the final victory will not be China's?
Who can say that General Ho Meng^ling's blood was shed in vain? Who can say that the Japanese robbers will not be driven out of China? Who says that Dr Sun Yat-sen's three great ideals—national liberation, freedom of people's political rights, and happy livelihood—cannot be carried out in China? We want all Chinese people to have this kind of clear understanding and firm conviction. We want them to understand that the best policy is to wage a protracted war. Under the leadership of the central government and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, we must in this great war, with one heart, break the shackles or the threatening shackles for slaves.

At this rally, we wish to salute all the officers and men on the front because they are fighting heroically for the final victory. We wish to salute all the family members of our soldiers who are engaged in this war against Japan, especially the family members of those who died martyrs in this war because these families have produced such soldiers who fought so valiantly for their country unafraid of sacrifice. We wish also to salute all those devoted, self-denying and public minded workers and leaders at all levels and in all walks of life engaged in the war against Japan in the rear because their work has directly or indirectly helped the war effort. At this rally let us salute our national leader and commander in chief Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek because of his unyielding, unbending and unfailing leadership in waging and directing this great war against Japan.

Fellow countrymen at this rally! Fellow countrymen all over the country! Let us be united forever! Down with Japanese imperialism! Long live China's national liberation!

* "Liberation," No 33, 1 April 1938

* Guide to Anti-Japanese National United Front, (4), Liberation Press, April 1939
NOTICE OF THE REAR AREA OFFICE OF THE 8TH ROUTE ARMY OF THE SHENSI-KANSU-NINGHSIA BORDER AREA GOVERNMENT

15 May 1938

[Text] The public is hereby notified:

Since the Lukouchiao Incident, the entire country and nation's forces and patriotic fellow countrymen under the leadership of the central government and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, are dedicated resolutely to the war of resistance against Japan. The officers and men on the battlefront are shedding their blood and sacrificing their lives. All parties and factions are sincerely united. People from all walks of life are making a concerted effort to save the country. These are strong safeguards for a bright future for China as a nation and a victory against Japan. All our countrymen should march ahead along these lines. The soldiers and civilians in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia border area are a constituent part of China. They obey the leadership of the central government and exert their efforts to prevent their country from perishing. Everything we have done has been open and upright. We struggle hard without claiming any credit. All the people in the country regard us highly in their conversations. This office of the border area government cannot but encourage all people in the area to exert their effort in order to thoroughly carry out our mission. Not a single person is allowed to neglect his duty, and nothing should be done to jeopardize the task of national salvation. Recent investigations reveal that there are some elements who, in disregard of the general situation, use different methods to compel the peasants to return the land and houses already distributed to them, or compel the debtors to repay their already abrogated debts, or compel the people to change the already established democratic system, or sabotage the already established military, economic, and cultural organizations, and other mass organizations. They are even disguised spies who contact bandits to instigate rebellion in the armed units, survey the land and draw maps, secretly investigate local situations, and openly oppose the propaganda of the border area government. These conducts are evidently in contradiction to the basic principle of unification, for fighting Japan and in violation of the public opinion of the
people in the border area. They attempt to create internal trouble, instigate class struggle for destroying the united front, destroying people's interest and destroying the prestige of the border government, increase the difficulty for mobilization against Japan, and create skepticism in the mind of the people toward their supreme commander and the central government. This is attributable to a few stubborn elements who, disregarding the interest of the country and the nation, willfully pursuing their whimsical wishes and even being utilized by the Japanese aggressors, misrepresent themselves as a means to camouflage their covert activities. In the last few months, many reports were received from people in various hsien. There are several such reports each day causing an unusually heavy work load. In order to strengthen the war effort against Japan, consolidate the rear area, and protect the interest of the people, this office of the border government cannot but forbid the above-described activities. It is deemed appropriate to notify the public as follows:

(1) In the territory under the jurisdiction of the border government, all land and houses distributed and all debts nullified at the beginning of domestic peace in the country should not be changed at will as this office of the border government must protect people's obtained interests.

(2) All military, political, economic and cultural organizations already established and all such organizations established, improved or developed according to the principle of national united front against Japan at the beginning of domestic peace in China should be guarded against intrigues and sabotage as this office of the border government must protect their activities and promote their development.

(3) Under the principle of resolutely carrying out the central government's platform for war of resistance and national reconstruction, this office of the border government is glad to promote any anti-Japanese and national salvation activities, and welcomes people from all walks of life to give their bona fide assistance. However, all those who entered and then stayed in the border area without the consent of this office or the border government or without any identifying documents issued by this office or the border government are forbidden to engage in any activities, no matter what activities they are, in order to prevent imposters, traitors and spies.

(4) During this tense period of war against Japan, people are allowed to inform on and arrest, if there is concrete evidence, elements who attempt to sabotage, willfully create trouble, incite people, or covertly gather military information in the border area. If the accusations are found true, severe punishments will be meted out without exception.
All the soldiers and civilians in the entire border area must observe and not violate the above four points. Any who dare to instigate trouble are hereby warned that these words are followed by law enforcement. Don't say that they are not forewarned.

Chairman Lin Po-chu [2651 0130 3255] Director

Hsiao Ching-kuang [5618 0513 0342]

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CSO: 4005