

REPLY CABLE FROM CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO U.S. COMMUNIST PARTY NATIONAL CONGRESS

June 1938

[Text] The 10th National Congress of the U.S. Communist Party and Chairman ^v Foster and Secretary General Browder of the U.S. Communist Party Central Committee sent a congratulatory cable to the Chinese Communist Party Central. Upon its receipt, the Chinese Communist Central immediately replied. The text of the reply is as follows:

In care of the U.S. "New York Workers Daily,"

Chairman Foster and Secretary General Browder of the U.S. Communist Party Central Committee and all delegates to the 10th National Congress: On behalf of the Chinese Communist Party Central and the entire membership, we salute the vanguard of the American worker class—the vanguard which dedicates itself to the defense of peace, progress, and democracy of America, and we wish to thank your party and the people of America for their support and sympathy for China's National Liberation War.

Support the close unity between the brother parties and between the peoples of China and America! Long live the independent, free, and happy new China!

Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, Wang Ming, Chou En-lai, Lo Fu, Po Ku,
Hsiang Ying, Ch'en Yun

'New China Daily" (Chungking), 8 June 1938

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CSO: 4005

TALKS WITH MESSRS (K'O-LO-MAN), (YA-TE), (FU-LU-TE), AND (LEI-K'O-NAN) OF THE
WORLD STUDENT.FEDERATION DELEGATION

Yenan 2 July 1938

[Text] Question No 1: What are the significance and function of the Border Region in China currently? Please tell us. We wish very much to clarify this point.

Answer: You must understand the nature of the Frontier before you can understand its significance and function in China. What is the nature of the Border Region? In a word, it is a democratic anti-Japanese base.

First, in regard to the people, they all have their own organizations. The people of the Border Region, as long as they remain under the principle of resisting Japan, all have their freedoms of speech, publication, meeting, and forming associations. Be they organizations of workers, peasants, merchants, students, intellectuals, women, children, or free lances, all of them have such freedoms. The Communist Party and the Border Region Government actively support and aid them, enabling them to develop more generally. Here, only the traitors are restricted in their activities. In regard to the traitors, no freedom is granted them.

Hext, the Border Region has become the region directly involved in the resistance war. A part of the 8th Route Army is stationed here, and there are also local armed forces. In regard to such troops, there is a democratic spirit in the relationships between the officers and soldiers and between the troops and the people, so that there is unity between the officers and soldiers and between the military and the civilian, resulting in an invincible force in the resist-Japan war.

Thirdly, education in the Border Region is also anti-Japanese and democratic. You can see this spirit in the Anti-Japanese Military and Political University and the Northern Shensi Public School.

Fourthly, this also holds true in the economic aspect. The principle is to benefit the resistance war, and the operation is by the democratic spirit. The fairly developed cooperative here and the agriculture of the peasants

who have obtained land, for instances, are all: based on such spirit, improving the people's life and benefiting the resist-Japan cause. Here, we have taxation, but no harsh levies and vexatious collections. We implement a sort of unified progressive tax, compatible with the principle mentioned above.

Fifthly, which is the most important, all levels of the Border Region Government are elected by the people by means of voting. Here, we have proved one point: The claim of some people that, "among the intellectually backward workers and peasants, the election system cannot be introduced" is incompatible with the facts. The result of popular election here is not bad, which anyone with eyes can see. When the people elect those they like to handle the affairs of the government, the result is very good. It is much better than the system of appointing government officials. It is especially positive and effective in mobilizing the people's strength to participate in the resist-Japan w.ar. What is different from the Soviet of the past is that the sphere of voting and being elected has been enlarged. Be they workers, peasants, women, intellectuals, students, merchants, or property owners, as long as they do not oppose resisting Japan and are at least 18 years of age, they have the right to vote and to be elected.

All the aspects discussed above link the resist-Japan war with the democratic system and will produce a great effect. Under such a system, regardless of his occupation or activities, everyone can manifest his talent. Individuals with whatever skill can bring it to light.

Such is the nature of the Border Region—the characteristics of the Border Region. Once one understands such nature and characteristics, one will understand its national significance and function. The nation should also adopt this system. It should link the resist-Japan war with the democratic system, striving for victory of the resist-Japan war by the general introduction of the democratic system.. If, in the whole nation, the people have full freedoms of speech, publication, meeting, and forming associations, the officers and soldiers in the army become one, the military and the civilian become one, education is pursued with the democratic spirit, economic construction is carried out by launching the strength of the people and linked with improving their life, the election system is introduced for all levels of the government, and the people's representative organs are formed on all levels, all for. the purpose of striving for victory in the resistance war, then victory over Japan can be expected soon. The democratic system is already a matter of history in foreign countries, but China has yet to introduce it. The function of the Border Region is to set an example for the people of the entire nation, so that they will understand that this system is most beneficial to resisting Japan for national salvation, and the only correct war to resist Japan and save the nation. This is the significance and function of the Border Region in the nation. To have this system adopted in the whole country, the people of the entire country must truly understand it and find it feasible. Therefore, we welcome the people of all parties and factions, and those without party or.factional affiliations, to come and take a look. Many have come and looked, especially the young students.

Aside from a minority .who find this system not good, the majority find it good. This is encouraging. The Border Region is a part of China. Under the leadership of the central government, it is similar to other parts of China, except for one point: This is an area which practices the democratic system. It is the characteristic of the Border Region, and we hope it will spread throughout China.

Currently, there are two kinds of incorrect views of the Border Region: Some few obstinate elements say that nothing is good in the Border Region. Apparently this view is incompatible with the facts. Others say that this area is similar to paradise, without any defect. This view is also excessive. One should describe it correctly as follows: Its democratic system and anti-Japanese spirit are very good, and deserve the emulation and reference of the people of the entire nation. Nevertheless, the work here is still restricted by certain conditions, and material difficulty is one instance. Many tasks await continued effort before they can be more successful. It is not a situation where everything is excellent and no improvement needs to be sought. Therefore, we welcome the criticism of outsiders in order to make the work personnel here strive harder. This must also be pointed out. Now that you have favored us with your visit to Yen-an, we welcome your criticisms, pointing out the defects for us to correct, and making it more beneficial to the great cause of resisting Japan to save the nation.

Question No 2: What is the function of the Chinese Communist Party in China at the present time?

Answer: This is a very simple question. Persevering in the resistance war, persevering in the United Front, and persevering in a war of endurance constitute the basic principle of the Chinese Communist Party at the present time and its work and function in the entire nation.

What is persevering in the resistance war? To compromise or to persevere in the resistance war is an existing issue. We advocate resistance to the final end and oppose any kind of compromise. We with to persevere in the resistance war together with the Kuomintang and other parties and factions and the people of the entire nation, without wavering, until we recover our lost territory and reach the Yalu River.

What is persevering in the United Front? It means national unity to the very end. Only when there is national unity will there be perseverance in the resistance war. Though there is national unity at present, we must unite even more. Not just uniting several parties and factions, but we must unite the people of the entire nation. Only when the people of all fields in the nation are united in a definite organization and when they can all activate their positivity in the resistance war will the United Front be consolidated and expanded.

What is persevering in a war of endurance? China now has two types of people. Those of one type say: "China will perish; it cannot wage a war of endurance."

Those of the other type say: "China will soon expel Japanese imperialism; there is no need for a war of endurance." We find both views incorrect. First, China definitely will not perish. Though Japan is powerful, its foundation is inadequate, and it has many domestic and international conflicts; though China is weak, it is a large country, and it has many superior domestic and international conditions. Therefore, though China has lost much territory, it can persevere in the war and will win final victory. However, it is difficult to defeat Japan soon, because, while there are conditions making victory possible, such conditions cannot be completely realized within a short period of time. Be it China's progress, Japan's internal collapse, or international aid, all require a fairly long period of time before the goal is reached. Hence, we must prepare for a long-term war, and we must not hope for immediate victory.

Thus, the current policy must be: First, persevering in the resistance war; second, persevering in the Anti-Japanese United Front; third, persevering in a war of endurance.

What does the Chinese Communist Party do in the country? The items discussed above are what it does. The Chinese Communist Party wishes to unite with all parties, all factions, and the people of the whole country and implement the policy. This is the function of the Chinese Communist Party in the entire nation.

Question No 3: Does China have the conditions to shorten the duration of the war?

Answer: To shorten the duration of the war, three conditions must be re-enforced: First, China's United Front must be further consolidated and expanded. This is fundamental. Under the policy of the United Front, all items of work must be greatly developed and advanced. Such development and advance will shorten the war by that much. The second condition is the help of the people inside Japan. Currently, such help has started, such as the unwillingness of the Japanese soldiers to fight, some committing suicide, some surrendering, and other distributing anti-war handbills. The anti-war thinking of the Japanese people is, also developing. If the soldiers and people of Japan will become more aware, the duration of the war will be shortened by that much. The third condition is the help of the various nations in the world. We need the help, of the world students, the help of the world people, and also the help of the governments of the nations. If such help becomes greater and more prompt, then the war will be shortened. These three conditions are mutually linked. If China accelerates its progress and its unity, it will, in turn, accelerate the development of the helping strengths inside Japan and of the nations in the world. If the development of the helping strength in Japan and the nations of the world is accelerated, it will, in turn, accelerate the development and progress of the anti-Japanese strength in China. China's blow to Japanese imperialism constitutes an aid to the Japanese people, and it will hasten the development of the liberation struggles of the Japanese people. This applies to the world also. China's resistance war is, at the same time, an aid to the people of

the world against our common enemy. Therefore, the many kinds of antifascist forces of China, Japan, and the world are mutually Influencing and mutually aiding one another. World peace cannot be divided; the world is one entity. This is the characteristic of world politics at present. The greater the presence of the three conditions, the shorter will be the duration of the war. It is the mission of the Chinese Communist Party and all the anti-Japanese parties and factions and people, and also that of all the progressive parties and all the peoples of Japan and the world. Ours is a war of endurance, but we must strive for the conditions to shorten it. Without such conditions, the idea of shortening the war will be merely an empty thought.

Question No 4: After the final victory of the resistance war, what will be the main mission of the Chinese Communist Party?

Answer: After the victory of the resistance war, the main mission of the Communist Party, in a word, is to build a free and equal democratic nation. In such a nation, there will be an independent democratic government, a congress representing the people, and a constitution consistent with the people's wishes. In such a nation, all the races are equal, and they will build their relations under the principle of equality. In such a nation, there will be an independent democratic government, a congress representing the people, and a constitution consistent with the people's wishes. In such a nation, all the races are equal, and they will build their relations under the principle of equality. In such a nation, the economy will develop; agriculture, industry, and commerce will progress greatly, jointly operated by the state and the people. There will be an 8-hour work system; the peasants will own their land; the unified graduated tax will be enforced; there will be peaceful trading with foreign countries, and agreements of mutual benefit will be formed. In such a nation, the people will have complete freedoms of speech, publication, meeting, association, and religion; all types of superior talents will have a chance to develop; science and culture will be advanced; illiteracy will be wiped out in the entire country. In such a nation, the troops are not opposed to the people, but become one with them. Such a nation is not yet a socialist state, nor its government a Soviet government, but a state and a government practicing a complete democratic system and under the principle of respecting private ownership. Such is China's modern state. China greatly needs such a state. With such a state, China will depart from the semi-colonial and semi-feudal position and become a free and equal nation; it will depart from the old China and become a new China. The Communist Party desires to- unite with all parties and factions and the people of the entire country, ' so that everyone will strive to build such a nation. Such a nation has been desired and striven for by the people of the entire country for several decades and by Dr Sun Yat-sen. The building of such a nation is not started the next day after chasing Japan to the Yalu River. All items of work in the process of the resistance war are connected with the building of such a nation, except that many important tasks, such as basic economic construction, can only be completed after the victory of the resistance war. During the resistance war, we must have the prerequisites for the building of such a nation, and the main thing is to expel Japanese imperialism. Such a mission is not only that of the Communist

Party, but should also be that of the Kuomintang and other revolutionary parties and factions as well as that of the people of the entire nation. It is China's historical mission.

Question No 5: What do you think are the main tasks of China's students and young people in the resistance war? What are the main tasks of the students and young people of the world in the movement to aid China?

Answer: The tasks of China's young people may be classified into the general and the specific. The general tasks are identical with what has been discussed before. They are to persevere in the resistance war, to persevere in the United Front, to persevere in a war of endurance, to expel Japanese imperialism, and to build a free and equal democratic republic. These are the common tasks of the people of China regardless of their age or occupation, without any distinction. The distinction is in the specific tasks. What are the specific tasks of China's youths? There specific tasks are to strive for their own. specific interests, such as improvement of education and learning, the right to participate in the movement to save the nation while in school, the right to organize student and youth groups and to form national salvation organizations, the right to vote and to be elected for those 18 years of age or over, the right of the impoverished to attend school without paying tuition, the obligation of the young people to go to the front line in large groups, etc. As for the main tasks of the world youths in helping China's resistance war, I feel that, first of all, they must, through the World Student Federation, make the majority of the world youths and students understand the necessity of jointly resisting Japan and helping China, and also the fact that such work is linked with their own interests. As world peace cannot be divided, the fascist world aggression is the enemy of world peace. Next, the students are the bridge to link with the people. Through the students, the people of all nations must be made to understand the necessity to resist Japan and help China and the relations of such work with their own interests. As for the concrete means of help, they may include verbal and written propaganda, urging the people and governments to render us material aid, boycotting trade with Japan, or even organizing an international anti-Japanese volunteer army and preparing to participate in the war in China at the proper time. On behalf of a large international student organization, you come to China to inspect and give us your great sympathy. All the people of China are grateful to you. I salute you on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party, and the Chinese people! I hope that, when you return to your countries, you will bring the truth of China's great resist-Japan war to the students and people of the world. Let you and us unite forever and fight for China's freedom and equality, and for the permanent peace happiness of the world!

⁰ "Liberation", No 45, 23 July 1938

* "Selections of Mao Tse-tung's National Salvation Discussions," Chungking Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily] Press, 1939

OUR VIEWS ON THE NATIONAL POLITICAL COUNCIL 5

July 1938

[Text] The National Political Council will hold its meeting shortly. Seven of our Chinese Communist Party members have been selected as council members. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has formally decided that our seven members will accept the government invitation and join the National Political Council. For this reason, many reporters, council members* and Communist Party members and friends of all areas ask us for our views on the National Political Council. We now jointly express our views as follows:

In the violent environment of the resistance war, the holding of the National Political Council meeting apparently demonstrates progress of China's political life toward the democratic system; it apparently demonstrates an advance of the unity of China's parties and factions, races, classes and strata, and regions. Though in regard, to the method of creation and the provision of functions and powers, the National Political Council is not a plenipotentiary representative organ of the people as might be desired, it does not, for these reasons, lose its effect and meaning today—the effect of further uniting all forces in the entire nation to wage the resistance war and save the nation and of an initiation of the nation's political life toward true democracy. Therefore, besides continuing our effort to promote the formation of a plenipotentiary people's representative organ by means of popular election in the future, we Communist Party members will participate in the work of the National Political Council with a most positive, eager, and sincere attitude. Meanwhile, we feel that the active participation in the work of the National Political Council constitutes a part of the important work to reenforce the defense of Wuch'ang-Hankow and the resistance war effort of the third period; it constitutes also a part of the foundation to promote the future formation of a people's plenipotentiary representative organ. We will participate in the National Political Council on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party, sincerely wishing to join hands and strive together with the council member comrades of the Kuomintang and other parties and factions and of those without party or factional affiliations, in order to discuss and decide, in a friendly and harmonious manner, the concrete means and implementation measures beneficial to the victory of the resistance war and the building of the nation,

so that we will deal effective blows to and defeat the Japanese bandits and lay the foundation for an independent, free, and happy new nation of China.

To attain the goal of defeating the Japanese bandits and building an independent, free, and happy new nation, we must, primarily, in the military aspect, seek the strengthening of the combat power of the troops on the front line, the large-scale expansion of the people's guerrilla warfare in enemy occupied areas, and the creation of vigorous troops with modern equipment; in the political aspect, improve the political structures, promote the building of provincial, county, and local public opinion organs, and generally launch and organize the broad masses to actively participate in the war; in the economic aspect, intensify the creation of national defense industries, readjust the wartime finance and currency, raise the industrial and agricultural production., and safeguard and improve the people's livelihood by means of all kinds of effective measures. Meanwhile, all military, political, and economic improvements hinge on the continuous consolidation and expansion of the Anti-Japanese National United Front. All these items have been discussed repeatedly and in detail in the documents and declarations of the Chinese Communist Party in the past several years (such as the Declaration of 1 August 1935, the Ten Great Policies for Anti-Japanese Resistance and National Salvation published in September last year, the Declaration of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee on the Current Situation made in December last year, and the views of the leading comrades and members of the Party), and we trust they are well known to the people of the country. In actively participating in the work of the National Political Council, we will sincerely implement all instructions of the Central of our party and continue to strive for the realization of the advocations of our party in the resistance war period.

At the first session of the National Political Council, the iron hooves of the enemy have entered the heartland of China; enemy artillery is permeating the regions of the Yangtze, Huai, Yellow, and Han rivers; Anhwei, Kiangsi, Hunan, and Hupeh are under enemy threat; Wu-ch'ang-Hankow has become the target of enemy reconnaissance. Therefore, our most urgent problem is how to defend Wuch'ang-Hankow and win the victory of the third period resistance war.

Currently, we feel that the most urgent issues requiring prompt solutions are roughly as follows: How to mobilize the military strength, manpower, finance, and material to defend Wuch'ang-Hankow, our military, political, economic, and communication center, and effectively wage the third period resistance war; how to reform the current conscription system with its innumerable defects and replace it with the recruiting system by broad political mobilization, so that the troops of China will have continuous replacements with soldiers possessing a vigorous national consciousness and the creation of a new army will progress promptly, and effectively; how to adopt concrete measures to truly attain the goal that "those with money will donate money;" how to guarantee the minimum improvement of the people's life so that those

with strength will donate their strength; how to generally activate and organize the masses and, at the same time, unify the mass movements and organizations under the general principle of the resistance war and democracy; how to safeguard the people's freedoms of speech, meeting, publication, and association and the legitimate rights of the resistance war parties and factions; how to truly and effectively train the young people, so that they can shoulder the responsibilities of cadres to resist Japan and build the nation, in order to overcome their disappointment over the many young people's training classes today; how to improve the political structures of all levels, primarily those of the county level and below; how to conscientiously promote local self-government. All these are urgently desired by the people of the entire nation and necessary to the victory of the resistance war. We will discuss them with those in all fields holding the same, views and propose bills in the National Political Council.

Today, the enemy bandits are creating, havoc and our front line soldiers are fighting bloody battles for the survival of the nation of China. In the great and noble national battlefield, our thousands and tens of thousands of soldiers, without distinction of parties and factions, without distinction of boundaries, are mutually helping one another, turning the gun muzzles toward the enemy with one mind and one heart, and gloriously merging their blood together. We believe that, in the meeting hall of the National Political Council, similar to the battlefield of the National Liberation War, all the council members will absolutely not discriminate between the "party in power" and the "party out of power" or engage in any prejudicial disputes between parties and factions; on the contrary, they will sweep aside all misunderstandings without distinction of parties or factions, without distinction of areas, and jointly and unanimously devote their effort to the final victory of the resistance war, because the program of the resistance war and national construction promulgated by the Kuomintang Provisional Congress is not only recognized by the Party as being basically identical in direction in its wartime political policy with the Party's wartime program, but also approved by other parties and factions. The National Government and its national policy to persevere in a long-term resistance war and strive for the final victory of the state and the nation are unanimously supported by the people of the entire nation. On such foundation, we believe that the work of the National Political Council will be successful in an atmosphere, of harmony and friendship.

Finally, we Communist Party council members will not evade in the slightest our proper, responsibilities in front of the people of the entire nation just because the National Political Council has not been created by popular election. We deeply realize that, as the National Political Council members are the public servants of the people, their messengers, and their representatives, we will faithfully follow their instructions and their will and work hard; we will struggle for the realization of the will, desire, and demand of the people of China. We firmly believe that consolidating the national unity and expelling the Japanese bandits constitute the most urgent demand of the people of China today. We will not relax, nor fear difficulties, but will firmly and faithfully struggle hard for the satisfactory realization of this most urgent demand inside and outside the National Political Council. We hope that

the people of the entire nation, whether individuals or organizations, will give us instructions and help. If we make mistakes, we hope you will criticize and censure us. We hope that we and all the council members, as the people's representatives in a sacred public opinion organ, will, under the help, supervision, encouragement, and criticism of the people of the entire nation, fulfill the responsibilities of the National Political Council and of each and every council member.

Mao Tse-tung, Ch'en Shao-yu, Ch'in Pang-hsien, Lin Wu
7u-chang, Tung Pi-wu, Teng Yin-ch'ao

5 July

⁰ LIBERATION, No 47, 1 August 1938

* "Resistance War Documents of the Chinese Communist Party," first edition
Hung-mien Publishing House (Hong Kong), August 1946

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MESSAGE OF GREETINGS FROM COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG TO THE NATIONAL POLITICAL COUNCIL

6 July 1938

[Text] Council Chairman. Mr Wang Ching-wei and Vice Chairman Mr Chang Po-ling of the Wuch^Tang-Hankow National Political Council and the entire council membership:

At this time, upon the anniversary of the resistance war, when the entire nation, from top to bottom, is united together, rallying time and again in spite of the setbacks, and swearing to expel the powerful bandits, while the enemy attacks are becoming ever more ferocious, the holding of the meeting of the National Political Council in Wu-ch'ang-rHankow provides a precedent for a constitutional government, and initiates the expression of the public opinion. All people of the nation celebrate and rejoice deeply over the event. I have a seat on the council. However, due to trivial matters, I am unable to personally attend and listen to your noble discussions. Nevertheless, I have entrusted my comrades to express my limited personal views beneficial to the momentous issues of the resistance war and national construction, in order to contribute my little effort. The calamity is pressing in on us and the nation is in danger of perdition, but the public opinion has been expressed, and there is a great hope to turn the tide. While the means to turn the tide are many, I feel that the following three points are the most fundamental: The first is to persevere in the resistance war; the second is to persevere in the United Front; the third is to persevere in a war of endurance. If we can advance with these points in mind, without relaxation, victory will doubtlessly be ours. On this day of the inauguration of the council, I solemnly send this cable to congratulate you, and I extend to you my national revolutionary salute.

Mao Tse-tung ⁰

LIBERATION, No 46, 23 July 1938

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ON THE MEW STAGE 12-

14 October 1938

The new stage of development in the national war against Japan and the Anti-Japanese National United Front—a report made at the sixth enlarged plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee held from 12-14 October 1938. .

[Text] Comrades, I am representing the Central Political Bureau to make a report to the sixth enlarged plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee. What am I prepared to talk about? What I need to talk about is divided into several parts as follows: 1) from the fifth to the sixth enlarged plenums of the Sixth Central Committee; 2) summation of the 15 months of war against Japan; 3) the new stage of development of the war against Japan and the Anti-Japanese National United Front; 4) current urgent tasks for the entire nation; 5) a protracted war and long-term cooperation; 6) China's war against aggression and the world-wide anti-fascist movement; 7) the Chinese Communist Party's position in the national war; 8) the Seventh National Party Congress. These are the questions I wish to address.

Comrades, what tasks are we to carry out by convening the sixth enlarged plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee in the midst of a situation in which we hear gunfire echoing all over the country, and find the peril of world war pressing upon us .so urgently? What, are our objectives? We definitely must forever unite with all patriotic parties, factions, and compatriots throughout the nation, overcome new difficulties, and mobilize new forces to stop the enemy's attacks for the present, and carry out our counterattacks in the future, so as to attain the objective of driving out Japanese imperialism and establish a republic based on the Three People's Principles. We absolutely must have freedom, we definitely will win—these are our objectives, and it is also the general orientation of my report.

I. From the Fifth to the Sixth Enlarged Plenums of the Sixth CCP Central Committee.

1. The Convening of the Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee.

It has been nearly five years now since the general membership meeting of our party's Sixth Central Committee held its fifth plenum in Kiangsi Province in January 1934. We were unable to gather together in one body because the various Central Committee members were scattered all over the country and abroad working under various different situations. But, this time, most of the Central Committee members are attending, with the exception of a few comrades. Moreover, many comrades who are leaders of various tasks from various areas throughout the country have also come. This has made this general membership meeting the one with the greatest number of people attending since the convening of the Sixth Enlarged Plenum. Originally, it was intended for the Seventh Congress of the CCP Central Committee to be convened this year, but we had to postpone it until next year because of the urgency of the war. But the current situation has set before us many problems which must be clearly resolved in order to achieve victory in the war against Japan. Therefore, we have convened this enlarged general membership meeting of the CCP Central Committee.

2. From the Fifth to the Sixth Plenums

In the past 5 years, our party had experienced very many events of great importance. The transition of a situation in which the various parties, factions, and classes in the country were opposed to each other to that of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, and the transformation of the civil war into a war against Japan, are the biggest and most important events. The unfortunate disruption of the United Front of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in 1927 was the reason that caused the civil war in the past. This was created by the historical circumstances of that time.

How, then, was the policy of the Anti-Japanese National United Front formed? It was formed because of the new historical circumstances. Since the 18 September Incident, Japanese imperialism—the enemy of the Chinese nation—after carrying out the first step of aggression against the four eastern provinces is now entering the stage of taking the second step of preparing to and carrying out the aggression against all of China. This kind of unprecedented historical event has brought about a transformation in domestic and international situations. First of all, it has transformed, and is transforming, the mutual relationships of the various classes, parties, factions, and cliques within the country, and, at the same time, it has transformed, and is transforming, mutual relationships on the international scene. In accordance with this unprecedented historical event and the new relationships both domestically and internationally, our Party, as far back as 1933, had begun to take a new road on its political standpoint (setting up agreements, based on the three conditions to fight against the Japanese, with any elements within the Kuomintang who are willing to cooperate with us), raising it to the level of a new policy of the Anti-Japanese National United Front. For this reason the August 1935 proclamation was published, the December decision was made, the August 1936 letter to the Kuomintang was written, and the September resolution of the democratic republic was passed. Furthermore, it was these that enabled us to adhere to the policy of

peaceful resolution of the Sian Incident which occurred in December of that year, and to forward to the Kuomintang's Third Congress a concrete proposal to unite against the Japanese in February 1937. In May of last year, a congress of a temporary nature was convened (it was called a congress of the Soviet areas attended at that time by representatives from Soviet and non-Soviet areas, as well as from the Red Army). It passed the "Tasks of the Anti-Japanese National United Front at the Present Stage," and approved the implementation of the reorganization of the Red Army into the People's Revolutionary Army, and the implementation of a transformation into a democratic system in the Soviet areas. Thus in reality a transition was made from a situation of civil war into a new era of a beginning to establish the Anti-Japanese National United Front. It was also at that time that the Chinese Nationalist Party slowly began to change its policy, gradually turning toward a position of unification against the Japanese. Without such a transition in the Kuomintang's policy it would not have been possible even if it was desired, to form the Anti-Japanese National United Front. During that period, many national salvation groups began to have their own organizations, and other parties and factions also made demands to oppose the Japanese. The measures taken by Japanese imperialism to commit aggression against China and destroy it encountered unprecedented opposition from the entire nation, because of the change in policies of both the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, the leadership of Mr. Chiang Kai-shek, the support of the military and the people of the whole country, and the cooperation of other cliques and parties and factions. Following the Lukouchiao Incident on 7 July last year, all China, under the unified leadership of the national leader and supreme commander, Generalissimo Chiang, erupted with sounds of sacred and righteous gunfire. All China was transformed into an unprecedented massive unity of the great Anti-Japanese National United Front. In August of last year, 2 months after the Lukouchiao Incident, our Party announced the Ten Great Policies for Anti-Japanese Resistance and National Salvation. At the same time the reorganization of the Eighth Route Army was completed, and it marched to North China to fight. On 22 September our Party made a public announcement of a proclamation to unite with the Kuomintang, in purest honesty based upon the Three People's Principles, and face the national peril together. The second day, Mr. Chiang Kai-shek, the supreme leader of the Kuomintang, the national government, and the national revolutionary army, published a talk in which he admitted the legal existence of the Communist Party and to unite with it to save the nation. Thenceforth, the Anti-Japanese National United Front, based upon the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, was completely established. In December our party, in order to consolidate and develop the Anti-Japanese National Unified Front, again proclaimed its willingness not only to cooperate with the Kuomintang in opposing the Japanese, but also in national construction. Soon after, the guerrilla units of the Red Army in the South reorganized to form the New Fourth Army and marched to the south of the Yangtze River to fight against the Japanese. Thereafter, anti-Japanese unity improved daily.

Comrades, this kind of transition from 10 years of war between the two parties to a new cooperation between them, and carrying out this transition under conditions of extreme difficulties, stabilized the initial foundation of long-term cooperation between the two parties. These were accomplished only after

going through a lot of difficulties but it was accomplished finally through the efforts of the Central Committee and the entire Party. The Comintern fully approved this new political line our Party had taken. (see "New China Daily's" 9 September report on the Comintern's resolution), and, furthermore, called upon the proletariat of the world and the communist parties of the various countries to give aid to China's war against the Japanese.

Comrades, if there had not been such an undertaking, establishment, and adherence to the Anti-Japanese National United Front, based upon the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, it would have been impossible to launch this great anti-Japanese national revolutionary war, persevere and win victory. Now, people all over China and the world understand that the Chinese nation has stood up! One hundred years of insult, ridicule, aggression, and oppression, especially the shameful position of a slave after the 18 September Incident, have been altered. People of all China, with guns in their hands, have marched onto the battlefields of the war of national self-defense, and the dawning of hope for freedom and liberation of the Chinese nation has begun.

We knew that this great national war of ours today is different from all wars in the historical eras of China. Because this war is for the liberation of the Chinese nation from a semi-colonial position, and from the perils of losing the nation and destruction of the race. Furthermore, this war is being fought in the most progressive era of China's history; at the same time, this war is fought during the period in which our enemy, Japanese imperialism, is seeking a path of self-destruction and collapse. At the same time, this war is fought in an era in which the progressive mankind of the world is preparing its forces for struggle on an unprecedentedly enlarged scale, and unprecedented intensity, in order to oppose and overcome the evil devils of the German-Italian-Japanese fascists and achieve a bright future for the world. This kind of unification of factors from three sides— with the advancement and continuous progress of China as the principal cornerstone—assures that our war against Japan will surely win final victory, and a free and liberated new China will emerge with certainty in the Orient and become an important, integral element in the bright world of the future. Such a China will give prosperity not only to China's 400 million people, but also to all mankind.

3. The Tasks of the Sixth Plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee.

The sixth enlarged plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee is held at a crucial moment when the anti-Japanese war is at the point of entering a new developmental stage, and the sixth enlarged plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee has shouldered a historical task of great importance.

It is absolutely correct that the anti-Japanese war has been courageously fought for over a year now, and throughout the nation there is great unity and magnificent progress. It has dealt a severe blow to Japanese imperialism. Although we have lost much territory, we have won many victories. This is a fact that cannot be denied. It may also be predicted that final victory

will be ours, and not the enemy's, as the war develops further, mainly because of China's continuous progress, which, at the same time, is coordinated with the increasing difficulties of Japan and international assistance to make us stronger. Whoever cannot see the magnificent achievements of the past and the victorious future will fall into the deep pit of pessimism and will be unable to extract himself. However, it is not enough to see only this side of the matter. There is another side to the anti-Japanese war, the negative side, and this is the problem that faces us. The present situation tells us that all the struggles, unity, progress, and victories in the past year and more in China, have not been able to stop the enemy's advance, and we still do not have the strength to go on the counteroffensive. Wuhan is being threatened by the enemy, and he will also mount attacks against Canton, Changsha, and areas of the northwest. Therefore, the people of the entire country expect the Communist Party to make proposals. The new situation has set forth many problems. Comrades, we must make proposals, we must solve these problems. It is correct that our Party long ago gave its proposals, and many of the basic problems have been resolved, too, a long time ago. But the new situation demands that we make new proposals and solve new problems.

What is the new problem?

How to increase new forces on the present foundation to pass over the difficult phase of the war, stop the enemy's attacks, prepare to mount our counterattacks, and achieve the objective of driving out the enemy—these are the key questions of the current problem. A countless number of people all over the country discuss and worry over this problem. Should or should we not address this problem? Without doubt we should address it.

This problem has developed various aspects and many problems have risen.

For instance, what has the experience of 15 months of resistance war proved. Has it proved that the war will be a protracted one or a brief one? Is the strategic policy to be a protracted war so as to overcome the enemy or a quick one to win victory against the enemy? Is final victory to be China's or the enemy's? Is the way out through war or through compromise? If the war should be a protracted one, then what means should be adopted to support a drawn-out war and win final victory? Can any basis be found in the 15 months of war experience so that a clear answer can be given? All these are important problems and they belong to one category.

Again, for example, how to develop and transform the entire course of the war against Japan? What, in actuality, is the nature of this so-called new stage? Suppose we do not defend Wuhan, what then will be the trend of the war? Henceforth, in which direction should the efforts of the entire nation be directed—that is, the current urgent tasks of the Chinese nation? What effective means do we have to pass through the great difficulties of the war? These are even more important problems and belong to another category.

Again, for instance, what will happen to the future and the perspective of the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party? On what

basis does the Communist Party speak of long-term cooperation? What means does the Communist Party have to improve the relationship between the two parties? What kind of nation is to be established with regard to the so-called cooperation not only in the war effort, but also in the national construction? What are the relationships between the Three People's Principles and communism? These are also very important questions and they again belong to another category.

Once more, for example, with the world's political climate in such a state of emergency, what will its situation become? What advantages or disadvantages are there in the relationship between the anti-Japanese war of China and the world, movement to oppose fascism? These are also important questions, and they belong to still another category.

Furthermore, what is the position of the Chinese Communist Party in the national war? What kind of attitude should a Communist Party member adopt in his work when he struggles to implement the Party's political policies? What other effective methods do the Communist Party have in cooperation with other parties and in liaison with the people to bring about a transition of the situation from a difficult period to one of smooth sailing? How are the internal relationships of the Communist Party? Are there any effective methods to bring about unity in the entire Party so as to enable it to play its great role in the war against Japan, specially in the current difficult situation? What is to become of the Seventh Congress of the CCP Central Committee? These are also important problems and they belong to yet another category.

All these problems are urgently demanding for solutions within the party and outside of it. In the recent several months we have constantly encountered people requesting answers to these questions.

Comrades, our nation is a big and complicated one, and it is now engaged in a life-or-death struggle with a strong imperialist country. This struggle is drawing near to a new developmental stage, and it is currently in the transition period. Our sixth enlarged plenum is being held in this period and its responsibilities are very, very important as we must resolve many problems.

II. A General Summation of 15 Months of War

1. What Has the Experience of 15 Months Proved?

Let us begin from the experience gained during the 15 months. What have we gained from the experience of 15 months of war? I hold that in the main there are three aspects. First, it has proved that the war against Japan is a protracted, and not a brief one. Therefore, the strategy for the war of resistance is protracted warfare and not a blitzkrieg type of war. Second, it has proved that China's war of resistance can win final victory, and there is no basis for pessimism. Third, it has proved that the only correct road that will support a protracted war and win final victory is that of unifying and uniting the entire nation, striving hard for improvement and relying on the masses, and applying them to overcome difficulties and secure victory. There is no other way.

2. The War of Resistance Against Japan Is Not a Brief War But a Protracted One, and the Strategy Is Protracted Warfare, Not a Quick and Decisive Campaign

When the war of resistance first broke out, many people assumed that the war would soon be over, and the idea of a quick victory prevailed for a while. This was so because they did not proceed from the basic comparison of the strength of the enemy and ours, but from some temporary and superficial phenomena. However, at the Double Ten festival last year, Generalissimo Chiang clearly pointed out: "This war of resistance will not be over in a short time. It must go through a period of extreme sufferings and difficulties before it can achieve final victory." As for us, we pointed out a long time ago the protracted nature of the anti-Japanese war of resistance, and that it could not be resolved in a short period of time. "The outcome of the war is inevitable victory for China and unavoidable defeat for Japan, however, the sacrifices will be great, and there will be a period of great sufferings" (16 July 1936 talk between Mao Tse-tung and Snow). "It should be perceived that this war of resistance is a very difficult, protracted war" (the 15 August 1937 resolution passed by the CCP Central Committee on the current situation and the Party's tasks). These all pointed out that the anti-Japanese war of resistance is a protracted war and not a short one, the strategy is protracted warfare and not a quick, decisive campaign. The experience of the past 15 months of the war of resistance has completely proved this to be correct.

What is the reason for this? It is because the enemy is powerful and we are weak, the enemy is in a superior, and we are in an inferior position, and the enemy is an imperialist country and we are a semi-colonial nation.

We long ago pointed out that there must be three conditions in order to be victorious over the enemy: firstly, China must be progressive, and this is the basic and principal thing; secondly, Japan's difficulties; and thirdly, international assistance. Let us take a look at these three conditions during the 15 months of the war of resistance. In short, they already have a foundation, but it is still a long way from the degree they must attain.

With regard to the first condition (the basic and principal condition for victory against the enemy), China's progressiveness, a base has been formed in the past 15 months, but only through continuing progress can we finally overcome the enemy. What is meant by the progress of China encompasses all aspects of domestic politics, military affairs, Party tasks, people's movements, and cultural education. In these respects, progress has been very obvious during the past 15 months. However, we cannot stop the enemy's attacks with only these and launch our counteroffensive. In order to counterattack there must be a period of preparations. There must be an intensive and wide-spread mobilization of all new forces in our nation through the effort of all the people in order to be able to mount a counterattack and defeat the enemy. Therefore, the theory of quick victory has no basis, because it has forgotten the salient point that the enemy is powerful and we are weak, that the enemy is in a superior and we are in an inferior position, that the enemy is an imperialist nation and we are a semi-colonial country. China has a vast latent potential, and when this potential is mobilized it is ample enough to turn defeat into victory, weakness into strength, and

basically alter the situation between the enemy and us all by itself. However, it is not an existing fact, and it will require our efforts henceforth.

As for the second condition, . Japan's difficulties, it is also the same. During these 15 months the enemy put into the field a million men, sustained casualties in the hundreds of thousands, and expended hundreds of millions. The morale of the troops disintegrates daily, and its finances and economy are being exhausted daily. International opinions are rising all around to censure Japan, and it all resulted from the barbaric aggression of Japan and China's heroic war of resistance. But these existing difficulties of the enemy are still inadequate to stop the attacks of the enemy and benefit our counter-offensive. We must wait for the day when the enemy has even greater difficulties and we have made even greater progress, and then only will the opportunity come to counterattack and be victorious over the enemy. Therefore, with regard to the enemy situation, the theory of quick victory does not have a basis, which has been proved by the experience of 15 months.

On the third condition, international assistance, it is still not the time of greatest benefit for us. In the past 15 months, we have the support of broad international opinion. . The Soviet Union and other democratic countries, in accordance with the resolution of the League of Nations, have already given us a lot of assistance. This proved that we are not alone. However, we must realize that the international peace front has different situations in different countries. Among the capitalist countries the people are helping us, but the governments have adopted to a certain degree a neutral attitude. Their bourgeoisie is taking advantage of this war to do business, and they are still transporting large quantities of armaments, and materials for making them, to Japan. The socialist countries are basically different from the capitalist countries, and this has already been manifested in a concrete manner on the question of aid to China. But the international situation currently does not permit them to provide assistance over and beyond the present degree. Therefore, we, for the time being, must not place too much hope on international aid. To discard the policy of self-reliance and mainly place our hopes on assistance from abroad is, beyond doubt, an error of the greatest magnitude. The experience gained from the past 15 months has proved that relying mainly upon our own efforts, and at the same time maintaining our efforts to win assistance from- abroad, is the correct path to be taken. In this regard, past experience has also negated the theory of quick victory.

In general, the experience of the past 15 months proved that, regardless of whether it is with respect to China, the enemy, or the international [aspects], the proposal of the theory of quick victory has no basis at all. On the contrary, it has exposed the protracted and cruel nature of the war. Therefore, our strategy absolutely must not be for a quick and decisive campaign, but should be one for protracted warfare. The only correct policy for the war of resistance against Japan is to prolong the war and win against the enemy. Those who did not believe this policy in the past have not been taught a lesson by reality, and they should no longer have any doubts now!

This is the first summation on the 15 months of war of resistance.

3. Final Victory Belongs to China, and Pessimists Have No Basis

Prior to the war of resistance, the theory of weapons only predominated on a grand scale. The view was that China's weapons were inferior, and we would be destroyed if we fought and China would become another Abyssinia. After the war of resistance was launched, this kind of opinion seemed to have disappeared, but it was still circulating in the dark. Whenever the war of resistance reached a critical situation, this kind of opinion would emerge to stir up trouble. It held that China should stop the war and negotiate for peace as it was no longer able to continue fighting, and should it continue to do so it would be inevitably destroyed. We took the opposing stand. We held that China's weapons were in fact inferior to others, but weapons could be strengthened through the efforts of man. In war, victory or defeat is mainly decided by the human factor, not by materials. Based upon the efforts of the entire nation, the result of a protracted war will be that of China slowly overcoming its weaknesses and strengthening its forces, transforming passivity into initiative, and inferiority into superiority. At the same time, the difficulties on the enemy's side will slowly increase, and international aid to us will slowly grow. When all these factors are combined, we will, in the end, be able to defeat Japanese imperialism. Long ago, Generallissimo. Chiang clearly indicated that "since the war has already begun, there is only one way, and that is to go all out with all the strength of our nation and sacrifice to the end.. There will no longer be such a thing as stopping mid-way and compromising" (in the talk given at Lu Shan last July). "This war of resistance is a course which the people's revolution must go through, and it is a war of preservation fought by the victim against the aggressor. It is totally different from the usual warring nations of matching strength. Therefore, our reliance is placed not on weapons or military preparedness but on the powerful, unyielding revolutionary spirit and the strong, unbending national will" (in the letter to the people published in December of last year). As for the Chinese Communist Party, it had long ago pointed out that "the drain on Japan by China's protracted resistance has brought its economy to near collapse and the morale of its troops to near disintegration. But for China, its latent power to wage a war of resistance surges higher and higher daily. When all these factors are combined with others, it will enable us to mount the attack on all the territory occupied by Japan in the end, and drive Japan's army of aggression out of China." (Talk between Mao Tse-tung and Snow). "We believe that through the efforts of the people throughout the country, the war of resistance that has been launched will certainly sweep away all obstacles and continue to advance and develop. Victory is certain for the war of resistance against Japan only if tens of millions of the masses are truly organized and join the Anti-Japanese National United Front." (The August resolution passed by the Chinese Communist Party last year). All these have been evidenced by the experience of the past 15 months. It has been proved that such absurd falsehoods as 'the enemy is too strong to resist,'¹ 'China cannot stand a fight,' and 'compromise is the only way out' spoken by pessimists and those who held that China will fall are totally wrong.

What is the reason for this? Because the fact that the enemy is strong and we are weak is but one side of the coin. The enemy still has its weaknesses, China still has its strong points.

What are the weaknesses of the enemy? First, it is a smaller country. It is inadequate in troops and finances, and cannot withstand a prolonged drain. Because of its shortage of troops it is forced to split them and sustain attrition in the face of China's strong resistance so that it cannot occupy the whole of China, with regard to the territories it occupied it consist in reality only the big cities, highways, and certain areas of the plains. The rest still belongs to China.

Second, the nature of the war waged by the enemy is imperialistic and very backward. The contradictions within itself forced the enemy to launch a war of aggression, and it also compelled the enemy to adopt an extremely barbaric policy of plunder. Thus, it transformed the enemy's war on the one hand into a war that places the entire Chinese people in absolute opposition, forcing them to unite and wage a war of determined resistance regardless of class, party, or faction.

On the other hand it is also transformed into a war which is in absolute opposition with its own people. The results of Japanese imperialism's all-out measures, with regard to manpower and finances in order to meet the needs of war, have begun to create much discontent among the people in its own country, and among the troops on the front lines. As the war develops it will without doubt force its people and soldiers to lean, en masse, in the direction of using resolute methods to oppose the war itself. These have already surfaced during the 15 months. This is the most important basis existing on the enemy's side which will inevitably bring about defeat to it. Third, precisely because the war the enemy is waging is Imperialistic by nature, in other words, selfishness, it will compel the enemy to place all countries whose interests are contrary to its own in the opposition camp. With the exception of two or three fascist countries, all other countries, specially the masses of people of these countries, do not approve Japan's war of aggression, Thus Japan is forced to narrow gradually its sphere of international activities, and daily becomes more and more isolated. This also has already begun to be evident during the 15 months.

Therefore, the comparative smallness of the country of Japan affected its troop strength, and its finances are insufficient; the backward nature of Japan's war; and Japan's international isolation—all these are combined at the same time, and it becomes Japan's innate weaknesses and difficulties, and also these weaknesses and difficulties are growing daily. Those who hold that the nation will fall and the pessimists are completely blind and can see only one thing, that the enemy is strong and we are weak. Therefore, with respect to the enemy situation, there is no basis for pessimism or to holding the view that the nation will fall, so their policy of compromise can only be a policy for the downfall of the nation. We are theoreticians of final victory, and our view has ample basis with respect to the enemy situation. This has also begun to be evident during the 15 months.

What are our superior points? Firstly, we are a "big country with a vast territory, rich resources, many people, and many soldiers. Regardless of the fact that the enemy has occupied our principal big cities and communications lines, we still have a large tract of land left to form a base for our protracted war and wrest final victory. As for the enemy occupied areas, we still have many bases for guerrilla warfare. This characteristic is basically different from such small countries as Czechoslovakia and Belgium. This is our first superior point. Secondly, our present anti-Japanese war of resistance is different from any of the wars in the history of China. Our war is a national revolutionary war, a progressive war. Not only is the war itself progressive by nature, but it is fought upon a progressive foundation never before seen in China. China in the second decade of the 20th century was different from the China of any other historical era. We have progressive people quite different from those of any other historical period, and a progressive political party and progressive army. The anti-Japanese war of resistance which is being fought upon such a foundation, encompasses a great force that can continue to develop this progressiveness. This is what we have on our side which will enable us to support a protracted war and achieve final victory. The experience gained from the past 15 months has proved that the sacred national war carried out on its original base has already impelled the progress of all China. The old tradition of national corruption is being destroyed, a new national progressive force is developing, and the developmental stage of the unification and progress of an entire nation is advancing toward completion. The China after the war of resistance is different from the China preceding it, and this can be perceived by anyone with eyes. It also may be predicted that the China of the first stage of the war of resistance (this stage has not ended yet) will be different from the China in the later stages. Thirdly, our anti-Japanese war of resistance is not isolated. China's anti-Japanese war of resistance and the world's struggle against aggression and fascism are inseparably bound together, regardless of whether capitalist countries still preserve their many contradicting policies and regardless of whether the international situation may temporarily affect the degree of aid given by the various countries to us. It is not only the Chinese that are opposing the Japanese war of aggression, but also Europeans, Americans, Africans, Australians, and other Asians. The sympathy and aid extended by the various countries of the world during these 15 months have given us this sure confidence. That China, which has mainly relied on its own efforts, can, at the same time, coordinate with world aid, is because today's world is no longer the world it used to be. Progressive mankind of the entire world has formed, into one body of close association. The enemy's plan to isolate us will not avail.

In this respect, ours is a very big country, our war is progressive, and we also have international assistance. These three factors are combined at the same time. These are all conditions favorable to us. They not only already exist, they grow daily. Here, the pessimists and the subjugationists are both blind, unable to see anything at all. All they can see is that we are a weak country, our position is inferior, and we are a semi-colonial country. They mumble such nonsense as "the nation will surely fall if we wage a war

of resistance," and, "if we carry on with the war, the nation will inevitably fall." The evil fellows among them covertly carry out their scheme to surrender and compromise upon the basis of such nonsensical talk. We, on the contrary, point out, based on the experience of the past 15 months, the strong points and weaknesses of our country and of our war, to the entire Party and the entire country the conditions that are favorable to us and those that are not, and also point out clearly the superior position these strong points and favorable conditions hold with regard to the war as a whole. We shall call upon the entire nation to put its effort into the struggle, give rein to our own strong points, strengthen our own favorable conditions, overcome our own weaknesses and unfavorable conditions, and struggle to win final victory. To whom will final victory belong? We answer decisively; China. Our policies are decided upon this basis: resolutely resist or vacillate and compromise? We answer with decision: there absolutely cannot be any vacillation and compromise. The only way out is through resolutely waging a war of resistance. The loss of the four eastern provinces, the annihilation of Austria, and the carving up of Czechoslovakia, are the result of no resistance. This is quite obvious to all. It is the same now. With all the superior conditions in China, the war of resistance will inevitably thrive. But if the road of compromise is taken, destruction cannot be avoided. Therefore, the only policy is to resolutely oppose compromise-ism and pessimism, and rouse the entire nation to fight courageously to the end.

In general, this contradicting comparison—the enemy strength and our weakness—has decided the protracted nature of the war, and the strategic policy of protracted warfare. We hold the theory of victory over the enemy through prolongation and not the theory of quick victory. The enemy is small and we are big; the enemy's war is a backward one and ours is progressive; the enemy's position on the international scene is comparatively isolated while ours can get outside assistance. These contradictory comparisons again decide that final victory of the war belongs to us, and not to the enemy. This is the second summation of the experience of 15 months.

4. The Only Way To Support a Protracted War and In Final Victory Lies in Unifying and Uniting the Entire Nation, Striving for Progress, and Relying Upon the Masses

The anti-Japanese war of resistance is a protracted one, and final victory belongs to China:—these two basic questions have already been proved by the experience gained from 15 months of the war of resistance. But what about "a concrete program for supporting a protracted war and winning final victory? In the past, people in the country did not have a uniform opinion. Many people held that it would be sufficient to carry on as in the past. They did not pay attention to uniting the whole country, nor did they pay attention to military affairs, politics, culture, party tasks, and people's movements and their improvement. They even went so far as to increase friction and obstruct progress. We have never approved of such opinions, and we hold that only through unified unity of the entire nation, striving for progress, and reliance upon the masses can we support a protracted war and win final victory. Otherwise, we will not be able to do so. The Chinese Nationalist Party pointed out clearly in its program for the war of resistance and

national construction that "if we are seeking certain victory in the war of resistance and certain success in national construction, we must surely rely upon the efforts of our Party's comrades, especially if the people of the entire country are to unite and shoulder this task together." Likewise, the Chinese Communist Party pointed out long ago that "The most central task in the war of resistance is that of mobilizing all available forces to attain victory, and the key to winning victory is to develop the war of resistance that has already been launched into a total war with the entire nation participating. Only this total war can bring final victory in the war of resistance." (The Chinese Communist Party's resolution passed last August.) The experience of the past 15 months has already proved that these are entirely correct.

Since the war of resistance began^ the various classes, parties and factions, and cliques which had been in opposition to each other, have united, and the various different areas and armies have been unified .under the command of the Military Affairs Commission of the government of the Kuomintang. Without this unity it would have been impossible to persist in the war of resistance for 15 months. It is also because of the war of resistance that the unity of the various sides was made possible. This kind of unity is the Anti-Japanese National United Front. However, the experience of the past 15 months also made it evident to us the gravity of the enemy's schemes to sabotage and the inadequate consolidation of the unity within our ranks. Besides objective causes, the most important reason why the war of resistance has encountered so many set-backs and why we still cannot stop the enemy's attacks and carry out our counteroffensive is that the United Front is inadequate in strength, and it has not had the necessary expansion and consolidation it must have. It can be seen from this that the only way possible to support a protracted war and achieve final victory is to further unify and unite the entire nation, and consolidate and expand the Anti-Japanese National United Front. This is the first.

Second, the 15 months of the war of resistance has given impetus to the unification of the entire nation, but it has also shown its inadequacy. It has impelled the progress of military affairs, politics, culture, party tasks, and people's movements and, at the same time, it has again exposed the insufficiency of this progress. All viable forces among all class strata throughout the nation must be mobilized in order to support a protracted war and win final victory, and to achieve this objective efforts must be made so that there will be progress in all the fields of military affairs, politics, culture, party tasks, and people's movements. If there is no greater progress made in all these respects, It will not be possible to mobilize all new forces throughout the nation and further unify and unite the entire nation.

Third, the 15 months of the war of resistance has also proved how powerful the people's assistance to the war of resistance can be. At the same time it has also proved that the people's forces are now beginning to be mobilized, therefore, it has caused the war of resistance to suffer many set-backs because It was unable to receive the massive assistance of the people. From this, a lesson has been learned. The people must further understand this basic problem of the war of resistance being dependent upon the masses. By relying

upon the masses, all difficulties can be overcome and any powerful enemy can be defeated, but if we become separated from the masses, not a single thing can be accomplished. Hereafter, the further progress of China must be fully manifested with respect to the mobilization of the people's forces.

In general, the only correct path to support a protracted war and wrest final victory is in consolidating and expanding the unity of the entire nation, in striving for progress so as to mobilize the new forces of the entire nation, and in relying upon the masses to overcome difficulties. This forms our third summation.

Comrades, the basic lesson learned from the 15 months of the war of resistance is that we must persist in the war of resistance, adhere to protracted warfare, and strive for unity and progress. This the general policy of the war of resistance henceforth. We can defeat the enemy if we and the entire nation adhere to this general policy and put forth massive and protracted efforts. The anti-Japanese war of resistance is now developing toward a new stage, and there will be many new tasks, but this general program remains unchanged. The 15-month experience forms the basis for our observation of the new situation and it has set forth new tasks.

III. The New Stage of Development of the Anti-Japanese War of Resistance and the Anti-Japanese National United Front

1. Policy Is Decided on the Basis of Studying the Laws Governing the War and the United Front

Comrades, after summing up past experiences, the important question will be to view the trends of the current situation. How will the anti-Japanese war of resistance and the Anti-Japanese National United Front proceed to transform and develop upon the basis of the past? This is a question we want to answer now, as it has important significance with regard to our solving the current problems. Because, if there is no general estimate made on the course of transformation and development of the entire anti-Japanese war of resistance, we will only be able to go around in circles with the war, permitting it to shackle us and making it impossible to place it under our own control to adjust and remold to create the necessary conditions for the war, lead it toward where we want it to go, and win final victory. Therefore, it is necessary to know the laws governing the war of resistance against Japan in order to be able to implement the guidance of the war, and decide upon the strategies, tactics, policies, and plans which serve the purpose of the war. It is the same with the Anti-Japanese National United Front. We will be able to effectively propel the United Front onto the course of consolidation and development only by studying and understanding the laws governing its nature, and thereby permitting it to play the role of supporting pillar for victory in the war.

Let us first talk about the problem of war.

2. The Specifically Determined Historical Conditions and the Superiority of Subjective Capability Decide the Developmental Course of the War

Historically, wars ended after going through one stage. For example, in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 there were only the advance of the Japanese troops and the defeat and retreat of the Russians, and thereafter it ended. It was also the same with the Italo-Abyssinian war. There were only the Italian advance and the defeat and rout of the Abyssinians before it ended. It was also the same with China's war against the Peiyang warlords. This is one type of situation stemming from, on the one hand, the inequality of the two sides, and on the other hand, from the difference between superior and inferior leadership which resulted in defeat. This is one type of war. The second type went through two stages and ended after that. For instance, the Franco-Russian war. Napoleon went from the offensive into retreat, and the Russian from retreat to the counteroffensive. There were two stages to both sides. It was the same with the Ch'ih Pi [6375 1084] campaign of the war between Wu [0702] and Wei [7614], and the Fei Shui [3224 3055] campaign between Ch'in [4440] and Chin [2516] of ancient China. Although the comparative strength of the two armies was not equal, the weaker one went on the counteroffensive after retreating and defeated the enemy by being skillful in utilizing other favorable conditions and giving them correct direction. But there is a third type of war, like the Seven Years¹ War, the Eight Years' War, the Thirty Years' War, and the Hundred Years' War of foreign countries, including the 4-year great war in Europe 20 years ago (manifested specially on the Western Front), and all have three stages. In the first stage. A attacked and B retreated. In the second stage, a long period of indecisive warfare. The third stage was with B counterattacking, and A retreating. There were also many such wars in the history of China. The characteristic of this type of war is that there is a comparatively long, or very long period of confrontation. This also stemmed from the specifically determined historical setting and the specific nature of the cliques directing the wars.

To which of these types does the Sino-Japanese war belong? I hold that it belongs to the third type of war. This stemmed from the different historical conditions and the specific situations of the cliques directing the war.

3. The Protracted Nature of the Sino-Japanese War Is Manifested in the Three Stages of the War

The protracted nature of the Sino-Japanese war will be manifested in the three stages of the enemy's attack, holding-on and retreat, and in our defense, holding-on and counterattack. The first stage of the enemy's advance and our defense emerges because of the enemy being strong and our being weak (the enemy is in a superior position and we in the inferior, the enemy is an imperialist country and we are a semi-colonial country). Calling it defense instead of retreat is to say that the retreat is manifested through strategic mobil defense, that is, resisting at every step, and not an immediate pull-out. But also because of these very special conditions of the enemy being a small country, backward, and with little help, and our

being a big country, progressive, and with much support, and also because of our courageous resistance which has inflicted losses on the enemy in his attacks, through the difficulties and attrition brought about by the dispersion of his troops, the enemy has been compelled to end its strategic attacks at a definite period, and shift over to the stage of militarily defending the territories it has occupied, and attacking us politically and through economic blockade. In this period, although the enemy has been drained, it has not yet reach the degree which would cause it to turn into defeat; and although we have resolutely resisted in the war and made progress in many respects, we cannot, for the time being, progress to the point where it would be enough to shift over to the stage of counterattacking and driving the enemy out of the country. Due to these factors, the second stage, or the middle stage, of stalemate is formed. It will be possible to bring about a gradual transformation in which-the original state of the enemy being strong and us weak, and the enemy in a superior position and us in an inferior one shifts to a situation which, viewed on the whole, daily becomes unfavorable to the enemy and favorable to us because of the continuing growth of the enemy's difficulties and our progress in the second stage. At first, balance will be reached which will turn into a superior position for us and an inferior position, for the enemy. At this time, it will be possible to enter the third stage in which we counterattack and the enemy retreats.

The observations made on the above three stages have not yet become facts, but are possible. It is a kind of estimate made on the entire course of the war based upon the concrete conditions of the mutually contradicting comparisons which are now in existence and those which will possibly occur in the future between the enemy and ourselves. The possible situation can be transformed into fact only if we rely upon our subjective efforts to create the conditions necessary for such possible situations to occur. However, such possible situations can be transformed into fact based upon existing conditions plus conducting a correct direction and the massive and resolute efforts of the entire nation.

4, Those Advocating Quick Victory and Those Who Hold That the Nation Will Fall Oppose Such Estimates

Those advocating a quick victory oppose the theory of three stages. They hold the view that it is not necessary to have a middle stage for us to be able to go quickly onto the counteroffensive. This is wrong. The war against Japan is faced with many existing difficulties, and to overcome these difficulties require a definite period of time. It is not possible to go quickly into the counteroffensive. It is because they have, on the one hand, overly underestimated the enemy's strength, and, on the hand over-estimated our own strength, that they oppose the three stages. Those who hold the view that the nation will fall also oppose this. They believe that it is impossible for both withstanding the enemy and going into the counteroffensive, and that China is but another Abyssinia. This is incorrect. They are opposite to the advocates of quick victory, over-estimating the enemy's strength and under-estimating our own. Before them, there is only darkness. They admit that the enemy can destroy all of China, and our resistance and efforts will not avail. It is impossible to achieve the capability to withstand the enemy, let alone going into the counteroffensive and defeating the enemy. For

this reason, we must, on the one hand oppose the quick victory theory and on the other hand oppose the theory that the nation will fall. Only thus can we adhere to our three stage theory. Under present circumstances, it is more important to oppose the theory that the nation will fall than quick victory-ism. There are some others who, on the surface, approve of protracted warfare, but disapprove of three stage theory. This is also incorrect. Where can the so-called' protracted warfare and drawn out war be manifested? In the three stages of the war. If you accept protracted warfare and drawn out war, and yet do not approve of the three stages, then the so-called protracted and drawn out war are entirely abstract things without an iota of essence and practicality. Therefore, it will not be possible to implement any true, strategic direction, nor any factual strategic policy. In reality, this kind of opinion still belongs to that of the quick victory theory, except that it has put on a mantle of "protracted warfare."

5. The Relationship Between the Theory of Three Stages and the International Situation

When the Chang Kao-feng [1728 7559 1496] incident occurred, part of the opinion within the country was highly enthusiastic. It held that if war broke out between Japan and Russia, China could go over to the counteroffensive, and a protracted war would not be necessary. Before such a viewpoint, the theory of the three stages naturally becomes untenable, and our estimate is wrong. This is mainly due to the idea of relying upon outside aid, and it is another form of the idea of quick victory. However, the international situation did not develop according to the subjective wishes of these friends, but in accordance to its own laws. The important center of the world is located in Europe, and the Orient is an important part that surrounds it. The principal countries of the peace front in the world and the main fascist countries are in an uproar in the West over the question of the perils of war in Europe. Regardless of whether it is on the eve of a war, or war has broken out between the big countries, the big and small nations of the West will then place the question of Europe at the head of their agenda and are reluctantly compelled to place the question of the Orient in second place. Viewing China under such circumstances, the two stage theory of going quickly onto the counteroffensive is unreasonable. We must mainly rely upon ourselves. We are not afraid of the three stages, but is in the process of creating the three stages. The three stages form the law governing the Sino-Japanese war. It has basis not only in the comparison of enemy strength and ours, but also in the International situation.

6. The Stalmate Stage Is the Pivot of the War

The principal characteristic of the three stages is the inclusion of an interim transitional stage. That is to say, first, our war of resistance must be carried out with concerted effort to stop the enemy's offensive. If the enemy's offensive cannot be stopped at a given area and at a definite time, there will be no such thing as three different stages. Second, it will be necessary to go all out in making preparations for all the conditions

needed to go on the offensive when the holding on stage emerges. If this is not done, then it will not be possible to enter the counteroffensive stage. It will be holding on forever, and the three stages become immaterial. At this point, we positively say to those who hold the view of quick victory that we must pass through a period of preparations before we can unite the entire nation, overcome difficulties, develop new forces, and, at the same time, coordinate these with the enemy's difficulties and international aid, and then carry out the counteroffensive and drive the enemy out of the country. Otherwise, this will not be possible. When problems are viewed from the standpoint of chiefly relying on our own efforts, this conclusion becomes unavoidable. We positively say to pessimists and those who hold the view that the nation will be lost: It is only this transitional period that is the pivotal point of the whole war. Whether China becomes a colony or achieves liberation will be decided not by the loss of big urban areas and communications lines, but by the degree of effort, put out by the entire nation in the second stage. Such losses are unfortunate, as they strengthen the enemy's forces and weaken ours, but there are still many things left which can be capitalized upon to defeat the enemy. It will be of no avail to moan and groan over the loss of precious things. The territories preserved during the first stage and the new, viable forces, especially the progressiveness already achieved in military affairs, politics, culture, party tasks, and people's movements, are the most valuable of all, as they form the base for the continuation of progress and preparation for the counteroffensive in the second stage. However, these form only a base, and not a decisive factor, for counteroffensive. The decisive factor is the force that is added on in the second stage. Without the increase in this great, new force, counteroffensive will just be empty words.

7. The Characteristics of the Three Stages, the First Stage

There is a need to give a summarized explanation of the characteristics of the three stages which have already emerged, and those which can be estimated, of the anti-Japanese war of resistance. They have important ramifications with regard to the directing of the war and deciding policies.

What special traits or landmarks are there in the first stage? There are three aspects, which are as follows:

First, with regard to China, they are the formation of the National United Front, the bitter fighting of the entire nation's troops, the resoluteness of the war of resistance, the proclamation of the Kuomintang's program of carrying out the war of resistance and national construction, the convening of the People's Political Council, the legal status achieved by the Communist Party and other parties and factions, the advent of guerrilla warfare, the progress of all the troops in the country, and the development of people's movements. These are all major events manifesting the progress made by China. However, there are, at the same time, many unfavorable events and adverse phenomena. For example, the loss of major cities, communications lines, and principal commerce and industry, the loss of territories and populations, the uneven progress of the entire country (with some areas

progressing very slowly), the political system, in general, is just beginning to become democraticized, the continuing existence of obdurate conservatives and the phenomenon of corruption, the upsurge of the trend to compromise, etc.

Second., with regard to the enemy: The drain on their military and financial resources, the censure of world opinion, the deterioration of military discipline, the corresponding weakening of the combat effectiveness of the troops, the increase of dissatisfaction among the people in its country and among the front-line troops, the failure of Chang Kao-feng's war, the difficulty of raising Chinese renegade troops and the ineffectiveness of those that have been organized. These are major events manifesting the enemy's difficulties. But, at the same time, there are things which show the capability of the enemy. They are the determined nature of their offensive, the stubborn strength of its forces, the vastness of the territory it has occupied, the strength of its political organizations, and the effectiveness of its conspiratorial agencies.

Third, with regard to the international scene: The growth of the movement to aid China, and the growth of the Soviet Union's strength and its aid to China. All these are favorable to China but there are still other things: the brewing of a great war in Europe, the tendency toward compromise to a certain degree between Britain and Japan, the assistance given to the enemy by various countries in the form of materials for manufacturing armaments—all these are unfavorable to China.

The many things mentioned above with regard to China, Japan, and the international scene are all characteristics manifested in the 15 months of the first stage of the war of resistance. These characteristics will effect the new stage of the future.

8. The Second Stage

Assuming that. Wuhan is not to be defended, under this situation many new things will emerge from the state of the war. Although Wuhan is occupied by the enemy, it does not mean that the old stage has ended and a new stage is beginning. The period of time between the continuing ability of the enemy to attack and it is finally forced to stop its offensive is still the transitional period of the old stage into the new. Although this may be so, after Wuhan is abandoned, many new situations will appear.

After Wuhan, is abandoned, as well as the greater part of the new stage, the predictable situation will be that of even more difficulties on the one hand, and even greater progress on the other. This is the basic characteristic of the new stage.

The increasing difficulties will be manifested as follows: 1) Because of the loss of major, cities and communications lines, the nation's political power and battle lines are carved up, terrain wise, and many new problems will arise from this effect; 2) extreme difficulties in finance and economy;

3) the tendency toward a certain degree of compromise between Britain and Japan (or, on the contrary, the possibility of further conflict between Britain and Japan under the condition of Japan's persistence in monopolizing and threatening southeast Asia); 4) if the enemy attacks Canton, it can be anticipated that China's sea communications routes will be cut, and international aid will temporarily drop off; 5) there is the possibility of the formation of a puppet political power on a national scale and its effect on the anti-Japanese front; 6) the possibility of rebellion in parts of the anti-Japanese front and the upsurge of compromise atmosphere; and 7) the growth of pessimism and divided opinions, etc. These are matters which can happen and burden the anti-Japanese war with new difficulties. Only when these difficulties are taken into consideration can we overcome them in a prepared and planned manner.

Further progress will be manifested in various aspects as follows: 1) Generalissimo Chiang's and the Kuomintang's policy of resolutely waging a war of resistance and the further progressiveness, politically; 2) improved relationships between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and the consolidation and expansion of the Anti-Japanese National United Front; 3) the progressiveness of the work to reform the armies; 4) the widening development of guerrilla warfare; 5) the progress of democratizing the nation; 6) the even bigger development of people's movements; 7) the implementation of new, wartime fiscal and economic policies; 8) the elevation of cultural education of the war of resistance; 9) the continuation and possible increase of aid from the Soviet Union, and the even more closer relationship between China and the Soviet Union, etc.

The entire second stage is that of stalemate. It is the stage in which China prepares to go on the counteroffensive. The duration of this period will be decided by the degrees of transformation in the strength of the enemy and ourselves, and what the international situation is. But we should prepare for a long war. After passing through this difficult course, we will arrive upon the smooth road to victory.

Although there is stalemate, strategically, in the second stage, there is still large-scale warfare. This is manifested mainly by the main forces in frontal positions standing on the defensive, while wide-spread guerrilla warfare breaks out behind the enemy's lines. At that time, in many important strategic areas, the guerrilla warfare will be fought with great difficulty, and we should begin now to make preparations to handle these difficulties.

9. The Third Stage

Concrete situations cannot be predicted. But that must be the time when we have completed preparing the conditions for our counteroffensive and, at the same time, the degree of the enemy's difficulties has greatly increased and the international situation is also very much favorable to us. At that time the war situation will no longer be strategic defense or strategic stalemate, but a strategic counteroffensive, not a strategic inner line, but a strategic

outer line. Great progress must be made politically in country at that time, and there must be new military technology. It will otherwise be unable to launch the counteroffensive.

10. Defending Wuhan Is a Question of Buying Time, and Not One of Defending It to the Last Man

The objective of the struggle to defend Wuhan is to drain the enemy on the one hand, and to buy time to enable progress of the work throughout China on the other. And it is not to hold a position to the last man. When the battle situation truly proves that it has become unfavorable to us and to pull out will, on the contrary, be favorable, we should follow the principle of giving up territory ;to conserve our military strength. Therefore, a big, decisive battle which will be unfavorable to us must be avoided. There should be no strategically decisive campaigns in either the first or second stages. They are enough to impede the persistence in the war of resistance and the preparations for the counteroffensive, and must be avoided. Avoiding strategically decisive battles and going all-out to fight decisive combats in battles and wage campaigns under conditions favorable to us should become part of the policy for protracted warfare. Giving up certain cities which can no longer be defended when it becomes necessary, and under definite conditions, is not only something that is forced upon us, but also a policy of luring the enemy to penetrate deeply, dispersing his forces, draining them, and sapping the enemy's enthusiasm. Under the logical premise of not compromising and surrender but to resolutely wage a war of resistance, giving up certain points when it becomes necessary is permitted within the policy of protracted warfare, and it is not something to be frightened about.

11. Moving From the Current Stage to That of Stalemate

Stopping the enemy's offensive is the only way to benefit our preparations for the counteroffensive. It still is necessary to make a big effort in order to achieve this objective. Therefore, in transiting from the current stage to that of forcing the enemy to stop its offensive and go into defending the territories it has occupied, and the entire stage of stalemate has emerged, is still but a course of struggle, and many difficulties must be overcome in order to attain it. This is because the enemy will not immediately conclude its offensive after Wuhan falls. It definitely will still want to attack Sian, Ich^Tang, Changsha, Hengchow, Wuchow, Peihai, Nanch'ang, Swatow, Fuchow and adjacent "areas. We must focus on this kind of plans the enemy has and continue to use strategic mobile defense warfare if we want to stop the enemy's offensive. We must go all out to fight resolute battles so as to drain the enemy on an even larger scale, and yet avoid being tricked by the enemy, forcing the enemy to stop its offensive, bring about a transition of the war situation to that of the enemy and ourselves into the favorable situation of stalemate.

12. The State of Stalemate Is Imminent

After the enemy occupies Wuhan, its weaknesses in troop strength and their dispersion will become even more pronounced. If it still wants to attack

Sian, Ich'ang, Changsha, Nanch'ang, Wuchow, Fuchow, and other areas planning to occupy them, the great difficulties it has from its weakness of inadequate troop strength and its dispersion will develop to the highest degree in its offensive stage. This is the extreme difficulty added to the enemy's phenomenon of inadequate troop strength (it cannot possibly be adequate), and the dispersion of its troops (it is compelled to spread out) brought about by the stubborn, frontal resistance put up by our main forces and the threat of guerrilla warfare in the vast areas behind the enemy's lines. This situation—the enemy's inadequacy in troop strength and its dispersion, and our frontal defense and threat to the enemy's rear areas—is most unfavorable to the enemy but most favorable to us. In an overall comparison of strength between the enemy and ourselves, of course the basic situation of the enemy is strong, we are weak, and the enemy is in a superior position and we in a weak one, remains unchanged. This change can come about only through a great effort put out by the entire nation in coordination with conditions abroad during the stage of a mutual stalemate-off. However, in the offensive campaign against Wuhan the enemy's powerful strength is further displayed. Naturally this inflicts losses on us, but, at the same time, it creates difficulties for the enemy. This is so because the powerful forces of the enemy (it is, at the same time, inadequate and scattered), after giving further rein to its power, will deteriorate in strength, thereby compelling its overall strategic offensive to near its climax. We admit that the enemy's offensive still has remnants of power, and it is best, and most suitable, to estimate that this remnant power is still considerably strong. Therefore, there is still the possibility that the enemy will want to attack and occupy Sian, Ich'ang, Changsha, Nanch'ang, Wuchow, Fuchow, and adjacent areas, and we must even be prepared for its offensive against the entire Canton-Hankow line and the Sian-Lanchow highway. But, from the overall strength of the enemy, it is but a small remnant power. From the overall national strength of Japan, it must guard against the Soviet Union in the north, the United States in the East, and the British and French in the South, while suppressing the people domestically. It has only so much strength, and that part which can be used in China has about reached its limits.

Furthermore, in its frontal positions and in its occupied territories, the widespread warfare, it must handle still exist. The contradictions between Japan and the United States, Britain, and France are growing, and the contradictions between the government and the people internally, between officers and men on the front lines, and between massive expenditures and the drying up of its finances are continuing to intensify. All these make the enemy worry quite a bit. We, and all the people in the country, must be able to see these, and not let the loss of major cities and communications lines to scare us. We must approve of the support the government in rearranging the fighting all over the country, make preparations in a planned manner to give battle along the Lunghai line, the Sian-Lanchow highway and other strategic areas, wage large-scale guerrilla warfare behind the enemy lines, seize upon the weakness of the enemy in its inadequacy in troops and their dispersion in order to drain it even more and bring about even greater dispersion, and cause the war to move surely and victoriously into the new stage of stalemate between the enemy and ourselves. This is the current urgent task for the entire nation.

13. The Enemy's Strength Is Gradually Ebbing, Our Strength Is Gradually Growing

Has the enemy's strength increased? From the original strength it has, there has not been much increase. On the contrary, it has been greatly weakened. The enemy's original military and economic strength has been drained massively. In the 15 months of warfare it has sustained casualties of several hundred thousand troops, used up a huge quantity of weapons and ammunition, as well as military supplies, over a hundred warships and several hundred planes have been destroyed, and it has expended several hundred million yen. This drain is unprecedented in the history of Japan. Until it has been forced to stop its strategic offensive, a great part of its strength will be drained. Its ally, Hitler, has been greatly worried over this for a long time. But is there no increase at all in the enemy's strength? There is, and this is so because of its occupation of China's principal cities, communications lines, and part of the rural areas. It has seized the market from the various countries and from Chinese national capital, raw material sources and tools of production from China, and much manpower. These constitute the only objective of Japan's war, and it has been increased in such things temporarily. But the question is can these things withstand the drain of war? They cannot. The entire "investment" of the war has been drained off and will remain so. If it seeks returns, it must put in new production investments. Again, the question is can it get returns to make up for the drain of war from its production investments, disregarding the ineffectiveness of its investments and assuming that they are effective? Again no. Because in its rear a widespread war still exists, and the daily drain continues. So long as there is a wide-spread guerrilla war in the enemy's rear, such as the guerrilla warfare in North China, it will be very difficult for the enemy to get anything out of it. Because of the continuous warfare, not only will it be impossible to get returns from its old investments, it will have to put in new ones. If we only persist in this war of resistance the pitiful fate of Japan is certain. We have said that in the second strategic stage, that is, the stalemate stage, Japan will gradually change from strength to weakness, from a superior to an inferior position. This kind, of continuous drain is the deciding factor. We will now talk with respect to China. Has China's strength been weakened, or has it been increased? Our answer is that it has been weakened and it has increased. What has decreased is the quality and quantity of its original strength. This is manifested in the drain on weapons and personnel of the troops, in the loss of population, industry, territory, and natural resources. This is an important aspect of what is making us feel difficult. However, it is not that there has been no increase. What has increased is the new quality and quantity. This is manifested in the unity of the entire nation, the improvements made in military forces, politics, and culture, and in the enhancement of the degree of consciousness among the people and their organization. Although the main force has retreated, guerrilla warfare has advanced. Although a part of the territory has been lost, another part has improved. The question is that the degree of increase attained today is not enough to stop the enemy's offensive, and, later, it will even be more inadequate to carry out our counteroffensive.

Therefore, it has created the problem of the necessity to apply a massive, prolonged effort to increase new strength. This kind of increase—that is, the mobilization on an even greater scale of the new and viable forces among the various stratum of the people of the nation and the even greater improvement in the various fields of party, politics, military, and civilians—to be based upon a wide-spread and prolonged effort hereafter is entirely possible. In mainly relying upon the forces produced by ourselves, and in coordination with the increased difficulties of the enemy and the strengthening of international aid to us, it will enable the transformation of the situation between the enemy and ourselves to take place. To go from the present situation of the enemy being in a superior and our being in inferior position first to that of equal balance, and then to our being in a superior, and the enemy in an inferior position. This is the basic problem in the protracted mutually holding-off stage which must be, and can be, resolved.

14. The Enemy Holds the Cities, We the Rural Areas, Therefore the War Is a Long, Drawn-out One. But the Rural Areas Can Eventually Overcome the Cities

Therefore, the problem is: after the enemy occupied China's major cities and communications lines, it holds the cities to deal with us while we hold the rural areas to deal with them, and can the rural areas be victorious over the cities? The answer is: there will be difficulties, but it is possible.

The protracted nature of the anti-Japanese war of resistance is brought about not only because we are a semi-colonial country and the enemy is an imperialist nation, but also because this imperialism also occupied our cities, and we have to retreat to the rural areas to resist the enemy. On this point, the theory of quick victory has no basis at all. But the problem of China's cities and rural areas is distinct in nature from those of the foreign capitalist countries. In the capitalist countries the cities in form and in practicality dominate the rural areas. When the head—the cities—is lopped off, the limbs—the rural areas—cannot survive. It is inconceivable that in countries like Britain, the United States, France, Germany, Japan, and Italy a long, rural peasant war against the cities is possible. It is also impossible in small, semi-colonial countries. Several decades ago, it would also be very difficult for a big, semi-colonial country like China. But today, this possibility has developed in a big, semi-colonial country like China. In this it is obvious that there are the 3 three-in-one conditions.

First is the semi-colonial condition. In a semi-colonial country, the cities, although essentially in a leading position, cannot completely control the rural areas. This is because the cities are too small and the rural areas too vast, and the large supply of manpower and material is in the rural areas, not in the cities.

Second is the condition of a big country. A part of it is lost but another part remains. The enemy encounters a big country with few troops. When our strong and resolute resistance is added to this, it forces the creation of the difficulties of inadequate troops and their dispersion. In this way it

has not only given us a general base for resisting Japan—that is the vast rear areas like Yunnan, Kweichow, Szechwan and other areas—it has made it impossible for the enemy to occupy; also, a vast area for guerrilla activities has been provided us behind the enemy's lines, such as North, Central, and South China and other areas, thereby making it impossible for the enemy to occupy all of the territories.

Third is the condition of today. If China had been occupied by a big imperialist country by force of arms, as in the case of Britain's occupation of India, several decades ago, it would be difficult to avoid becoming a colony. But today it is different. Today, of primary importance is that China has progressed. It has a new political party, army, and people, and these form the basic strength for defeating the enemy. Next is that the enemy has retrogressed. The developmental course of imperialist Japan's social economy has reached the stage of senility. The growth of capitalism in Japan has created, and is creating, conditions that will send it to its own grave. In addition, the international situation has changed. The old world is nearing death and annihilation and a new world is dawning. I have spoken in detail on these reasons in my article "On Protracted War." In brief, in today's semi-colonial big country like China, there exist many conditions which are favorable to our organizing a resolutely fought, protracted and large-scale war to oppose the enemy occupying the cities. Surrounding and isolating the cities with interlocking warfare, gradually fostering the growth of our own forces in a protracted war, transforming the situation between the enemy and ourselves, and coordinating with the changes in the world, will enable us to drive out the enemy and recover the cities. It is beyond doubt that in today's China it is also difficult for the rural areas to oppose the cities because the cities are always concentrated while the rural areas are dispersed. After the enemy occupied our major cities, our administrative areas and battle lines were carved up topographically, thereby bringing many difficulties upon us. This decided the protracted and merciless nature of the anti-Japanese war of resistance. However, it is necessary for us to say that for the rural areas to be able to defeat the cities, it is because it has the above mentioned three-ih-one conditions. Under conditions of civil war, a very small portion of the rural areas supported a long war of opposition against the cities, and that was at a time when the imperialist countries were as one in opposition to communism. Who can say that under the condition of national war, and also in a period when the imperialist camp is split, China, with its greater part of the rural areas, cannot support a protracted war to oppose the enemy in the cities? There is no doubt that it is possible. Furthermore, the present so-called rural areas are greatly different from that of the civil war period. Its territory is not only huge, but in the vast rear areas of Yunnan, Kweichow, and Szechwan provinces, there still are many cities and industries open to the outside, and still can carry out construction. On the basis of the preservation of the broad, rear areas and establishing guerrilla warfare bases behind enemy lines, and fostering the growth of our forces and weakening the enemy's, which, together with future favorable conditions on the international scene, will enable us to launch our counteroffensive and recover the cities. In his letter to the

people last December, Generalissimo Chiang pointed out: "The core of achieving final victory in China's protracted war does not lie in Hanking, nor in the various big cities. In reality, it is dependent upon the rural areas of the entire country and the powerful and stubborn will of the people." This is entirely correct. Although the war is difficult, a victorious future still exists.

15. The Peril of Compromise Exists. Overpoweringly, But It Can Be Overcome

Long ago, we said that part of those inflicted with the disease of fearing the Japanese often attempted to shake the government's determination to wage a war of resistance. They proposed the so-called peaceful compromise, and this was seen in the past after Nanking fell. Now, it is again fomenting. This is a reflection of the enemy's plots within the anti-Japanese front. This kind of peril exists in serious preponderance, and the people must give full attention to it so that the pro-Japanese faction will not be able to get its traitorous way. The plans of the pro-Japanese faction and that of the enemy are in accord. It will surely concentrate on opposition to Chiang and the Communist Party, and foist its treachery under false orders. This will cause the future of the war of resistance to become doubtful. Therefore, the entire country has been aroused and is aware of the fact that the enemy's schemes and the sowing of discontent within our ranks are frightening. They must take the initiative to consciously strive to oppose this kind of plot without slackening its effort for the least bit. Is this kind of peril possible to be overcome? It is. After the Kuomintang and the Communist Party have become united as one with all patriots and put out the necessary effort, it is not only imperative, but also completely possible to overcome this peril of compromise, drive out and eliminate the devils who openly aided the enemy, and persist in the war of resistance. This is because the pro-Japanese, after all, does not have too much power, while that of the anti-Japanese faction is greater than the pro-Japanese.

16. The New State of the Guerrilla Warfare in the Stalemate Stage

In the new stage, the frontal defense is the main force, and the guerrilla warfare behind the enemy's lines will become, for a while, the principal form of warfare. But the guerrilla war in the enemy's rear during the stalemate stage will adopt a type of new state to develop. What is this new state of the guerrilla warfare? It is, firstly, the ability to develop extensively in the vast areas. This is because the territory is huge on our side, while on the enemy side its troops are inadequate and dispersed. If only we can adhere to the policy of expanding the guerrilla war and give it correct leadership, it will be impossible for the enemy to completely stop our expansion. Secondly, in some important strategic areas, such as North China and the lower basin of the Yangtze River, we will encounter ruthless enemy attacks and it will become impossible to maintain big army corps in the plains areas. The mountain areas will become the main bases, and guerrilla troops in some areas will possibly have to cut back in numbers. We must prepare now for the coming of this state of affairs. Currently, in order to coordinate with the fighting of the main forces and prepare for the transition to a new stage, we should,

in general, separate the guerrilla warfare behind the enemy's lines into two types of areas. One type is the areas where guerrilla warfare has been fully expanded, such as North China. The principal policy here is to consolidate the foundation already established, so as to make preparations which will enable us to defeat the enemy's ruthless offensives in the new stage and hold on to our bases.. Another type is the areas where guerrilla warfare has not been fully expanded, or are now beginning to be expanded, such as in the areas of central China. The principal policy here is to rapidly develop guerrilla warfare in order to avoid having difficulties with the expansion of guerrilla warfare with the return of the enemy's troops. In the future, in order to coordinate with the main force manning the frontal defenses so that it will have an opportunity to rest and regroup, and to develop forces in preparation for the counteroffensive, we must put all our efforts into the guerrilla war resolutely defending the bases. In the protracted period of persistence, train the guerrilla troops into a new force to enmesh the enemy and aid the frontal positions. Generally speaking, the guerrilla warfare behind the enemy's lines in the new stage will be much more difficult than in the preceding stage. We must foresee such difficulties and accept them. We must not become confused just because it was easy to expand in the preceding stage, because the enemy will definitely turn around to attack the guerrilla war. However, it is still possible to persist in it, and all leaders of the work being done behind the enemy's rear must have this confidence. This is because the guerrilla warfare in the national war of resistance, regardless of how powerful the enemy is, is much superior than under the condition of civil war. To win over and collapse the puppet forces so as to isolate the Japanese, is, at this point, an extremely important task.

17. The New Stage of Development of the Anti-Japanese War of Resistance Is, At the Same. Time, the New Stage of Development of the Anti-Japanese National United Front

The above are problems all concerned with the state of affairs of the anti-Japanese war of resistance, and the following will concern the state of affairs of the Anti-Japanese National United Front.

The time when the anti-Japanese war of resistance has developed into a new stage is the time when the Anti-Japanese National United Front has done the same. Because there will be even more difficulties to be encountered in the new stage, the Anti-Japanese National United Front, in accordance with this kind of situation, should display its might in the struggle against difficulties and overcome any kind of difficulties against which it is pitted. So that the Chinese Anti-Japanese National United Front can display that it has the power to overcome difficulties, and not its inability, in the current transitional stage and upon entering the new stage in the future, it must earnestly consolidate and expand the United Front. A long-term war can be supported only by a long-term united front. The protracted nature of the war and that of the National United Front are inseparable.

18. The Kuomintang Has a Bright Future

The Anti-Japanese National United Front has the Kuomintang and the Communist Party for its base, and of these two the Kuomintang is the first big party. The development and adherence to the war of resistance cannot be imagined separate from the Kuomintang. The Kuomintang has its glorious history. Of primary importance is the overthrow of the Ch'ing dynasty, the founding of a republic, the opposition to Yuan Shih-k'ai, the establishment of a policy of unification with the Soviet Union, with the Communist Party, as well as a worker-peasant policy, and the carrying out of the great revolution of the 15th and 16th year after the founding of the republic. Today, it is again leading the great war of resistance against Japan. It has a historical tradition of the Three People's Principles, it has two great leaders, Dr Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek, one following the other, and it has a broad mass of loyal and patriotic party members. All these must not be ignored by the people. All these are the results of the development of China's history. In the course of carrying out the war of resistance against Japan and in the forming of the Anti-Japanese National.-United Front, the Kuomintang stood in the position of leadership.

In the past 15 months, the various anti-Japanese parties and factions have seen improvement, and the progress of the Kuomintang was very clear. It convened the provisional congress, proclaimed the program for the war of resistance, convened the People's Political Council, began the organization of the Three People's Principles Youth League, accepted the legal existence of the various parties and factions to resist Japan and carry out national construction together, implemented to a certain degree democratic power, carried out reforms in the military and in political organizations, made foreign policy compatible with the demands of opposition against Japan, and others, all of which are major events of historical significance. Based solely on the premise of persisting in the war of resistance and in the United Front, it can be predicted that the Kuomintang's future will be bright.

However, up to now, there are still quite a few people harboring an incorrect observation of the Kuomintang, and they doubt its future. The doubt they hold is the problem of whether it can continue to wage the war of resistance, whether it can continue to progress, and whether it can become an ally for opposing Japan and national construction. Furthermore, these problems are mutually connected and inseparable. What is our opinion on this? We hold that the Kuomintang has a bright future. On the basis of various subjective and objective conditions, it is able to continue with the war of resistance, continue to progress, and become an ally for opposing Japan and national construction.

Because of the determined nature of the enemy's offensive, the severe blows dealt by the enemy to the various class strata of China and its plunder, the anger of the troops throughout China against the enemy and their courageous war of resistance, the upsurge of the anti-Japanese movement throughout China, the existence of a favorable state of affairs on the international scene—all these facts have basically decided the political direction of the Kuomintang and

the entire country. First, any party or faction, including the Kuomintang, the Communist Party, and other anti-Japanese political parties and organizations, must continue to wage the war of resistance. Whoever does not do so has only one way out, and that is to become a traitor. There is no other way. Second, any party or faction, if it only continues to wage the war of resistance, must progress. It is beyond doubt that the progress of domestic politics is not rapid and not, on a general scale, therefore, it brought about the damage wrought by war. But it is also because of such loss that will compel it to seek progress in politics, military affairs, culture, party tasks, and people's movements so as to enable it to resist the enemy and recover lost territory. Regardless of whether it is the Kuomintang that is in power, or any other party or faction, they must all continue to make progress. Third,, an important link in the progress made domestically is the democratically-gation of the organizational form of the Kuomintang. It has caused itself to become an alliance for resisting Japan and for national construction, and the best organizational form for the Anti-Japanese National United Front. Is there such a possibility? I believe there is. If the Kuomintang does not, in accordance with the trend of the situation of the war of resistance, open its doors to the masses and hold in one great organization the patriotic parties and factions and patriots of the entire nation, it will be impossible for it to shoulder the difficult task of continuing the war of resistance and defeat the enemy. In its 50-year history, the Kuomintang, whenever it encountered a great revolutionary struggle, always transformed itself into an alliance of national revolution. There were two occasions when this happened which were most prominent and had historical significance. The first time was from the formation of the T'ung-meng Hui [0681 4147 2585] to the Hsin Hai [6580 0075] revolution. With the objective to oppose the Ch'ing dynasty and establish a republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen formed an alliance with all revolutionary parties and factions (from the Kuang-fu Hui-[0342 1788 2585] to the Kelau Hui [0766 5071 2585]). During this period, annals of heroic struggles filled the party roster. It went from victory to victory, enriched with vigor and, therefore, was successful in its Hsin Hai revolution. The second time was from the 13th to the 16th years after the founding of the republic. With opposition to imperialism and the warlords as the objective, an alliance was made, domestically, with the workers, peasants, and the Communist Party, arid, abroad, it formed an alliance with the socialist country of the Soviet Union, and established the famous "Three Great Policies." Because of this, the Whampoa Military Academy was established, a party army was formed, and victory was won in the Northern Expedition. All these not only manifested the development of the Kuomintang's United Front, but also that of the Three People's Principles. Today is the moment for the Kuomintang to become a revolutionary national alliance for the third time in its history. It is not only possible but imperative, for it to transform itself into a national alliance for opposing Japan and national construction for the purpose of opposing imperialist Japan and establishing a republic based upon the Three People's Principles. This great movement is already beginning to unfold. Ey accepting the legal status of the Communist Party and other parties and factions, by accepting the Eighth Route Army into the people's revolutionary army system, by its clear announcement in its program for war of resistance and national construction in which it declared "if we are seeking certain victory in the war of resistance and certain success in national construction, we must rely upon the

efforts of our Party's comrades and the people of the entire country to unite and shoulder this task together," as well as the convening of the People's Political Council and the organization of the Three People's Principles Youth League, the Kuomintang has indicated the beginning of a transformation of itself into a national alliance for opposing Japan and national construction. The current problem is: what kind of attitude should the Communist Party take with regard to this movement of the Kuomintang to expand its organization? Should we approve or oppose? We say we approve the Kuomintang's expansion and development of itself into a national revolutionary alliance at any time. When the Kuomintang reorganized in the 13th year after the founding of the republic, we adopted an attitude of approval. We shall go all out to approve and support it today when the national peril is extremely grave. The reason is that the bigger the anti-Japanese allied armies are, the better it will be. It is not enough to beat back imperialist Japan with only the development and progress of the Communist Party. Although the second place Communist Party of China has initiated and adhered to the United Front of all parties, factions, and armies, as well as opening the doors of its own organization to the broad masses of revolutionary comrades in a drive to achieve victory in opposing Japan, it will be extremely harmful to the United Front and the war of resistance if the first place Kuomintang continues to preserve the old state of affairs. The war-of resistance cannot be won, the entire nation will be in peril, and the Communist Party and the proletariat will not be able to escape this kind of danger. Therefore, not only does the Communist Party not oppose, but also very much hope for and resolutely approve and support the Kuomintang's expanding and consolidating its organization, implementing democraticization within its party, and bring about its own transformation into a revolutionary national alliance to benefit the continuation of the war of resistance and winning final victory.

19. But There Still Are Obstacles Ahead for the Kuomintang, and Strong Efforts Must Be Made To Overcome Them Before the Kuomintang Can Develop

A bright future for the Kuomintang exists, and its progress and development are possible. Chiang Kai-shek and the majority of the Kuomintang are leading and propelling the Kuomintang forward. But, it is known to every one that there are some conservatives still in the Kuomintang, impeding the speed and degree of the Kuomintang's progress. Because of their existence, and their union with many conservatives in society, they form a counter-current in the flood of the national revolutionary war, stubbornly resisting the ship of progress. It has, with considerable strength, hindered the democraticization of the country, the implementation of all progressive enterprises necessary to the war of resistance, the carrying out of the many good policies and methods contained in the repeated proclamations, talks, speeches, and orders of Chiang Kai-shek, the implementation of the Kuomintang's program of war of resistance and national construction and the Kuomintang's orders for national salvation, and the development of mass movements. These are all facts, and they are important reasons for the Kuomintang's progress being slow and not wide-spread, and for the harm inflicted upon the war of resistance. They oppose the progress and development of the Kuomintang, and even went to the extent of proposing compromise. If these fellows were to get the upper hand, then China's national liberation enterprise would receive great setbacks.

Therefore, it is worth paying great attention to them. However, we firmly believe that such conservative influence cannot exist forever. It will be difficult for it to get the upper hand although it has not, and they are not the main stream, but an adverse current. Under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang, and with the endeavors of the majority of the Kuomintang and the approval and support of the people of the entire nation, this kind of conservative trend can be overcome. The Communist Party resolutely support the progress of the Kuomintang, and hope that the conservatives, who are obstructing progress, will turn over a new leaf and seek progress together. We hope that these people will change. "A gentleman's impropriety are like the eclipses," everything will be all right if they reform. In reality we have seen many conservatives making progress in the course of the war of resistance, and, henceforth, there inevitably will be many people attaining consciousness through the lessons learned from the war of resistance and make progress together with the masses. This is the reasonable nature of the conservatives in the anti-Japanese war. But there also is the possibility that some may become even worse, willingly allowing themselves to be swept away by the huge wave of the war of resistance. And this is another side of the changeable nature. With regard to this kind of people it is of no loss to us.

20. Other Parties and Factions Also Have a Bright Future

All the parties and factions participating in the anti-Japanese war and the Anti-Japanese National United Front, based upon the premise of persisting in the war of resistance and the United Front, all have a future for development. We are willing to establish long-term cooperation with them, and also give them all possible approval and support. This is the same for all regardless of whether it is a third party, the national youth party, national socialist party, national salvation association faction, or any other groups, parties, or factions. It is very obvious that the so-called bright future for all parties and factions on the premise of persisting in the war of resistance and adhering to the United Front encompasses the efforts made within the parties of the trend toward conservatism. If there is such a trend which will be harmful to the war of resistance and the United Front, and it is allowed to develop unchecked, there will then be the danger of destroying its bright future. Regardless of whether it is the Kuomintang, the Communist Party, or other parties and factions, it will be the same for all, and full attention must be given to this problem.

21. The Characteristics of the Anti-Japanese National United Front of China

Because of China's historical causes, it has made today's Anti-Japanese National United Front of China different from any united fronts of foreign countries, like the popular front, nor is it like the united fronts in China's history, such as the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. This is the reason why there is the special characteristics of today's China. Recognizing these characteristics has great significance with regard to the consolidation and expansion of the Anti-Japanese National United Front.

What are these characteristics? The conclusion is that there are eight characteristics. They are those of national opposition against Japan, of the protracted nature, of imbalance, of the armies, of the experience gained from the 15 months, of the majority of the people still lacking organization, of the Three People's Principles, and of the new international situation.

First of all, it is that of the opposition against Japan by the entire nation. This characteristic has defined the basic nature of our United Front. On the one hand it is for the purpose of opposing imperialist Japan, a foreign nation which has invaded our nation's territory, that our United Front was formed and developed. On the other hand, the organizational elements include the various different parties and factions of the entire nation, different classes, different armies, and different nationalities, forming into one of the largest groups. The organizational elements can be so big because it is for the purpose of opposing the aggression of a foreign nation. Because of its colossal size, this United Front has immense power. But at the same time, many mutual frictions within the United Front are difficult to avoid, and they must suitably be adjusted. Only thus can the objective of uniting to oppose the outsiders be attained. This kind of most basic characteristics of our United Front—the political objective of opposing aggression by a foreign nation and the extreme massiveness of the organizational elements—are different from the popular fronts of France and Spain. It is also different from the national front of the first great revolution period (the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party). It has brought about the production of many specific contents and specific results in the United Front of today. This is the first characteristic and strong point of today's United Front, although, at the same time, it is unavoidable to have weaknesses with respect to the complexity of its organization.

Second is its long-term nature. This characteristic is an outcropping of the first. Because this United Front utilizes national warfare to oppose Japanese imperialism, and Japanese imperialism is a powerful imperialism, it therefore, gave birth to the long-term nature of the anti-Japanese war and, in its turn, produces the long-term nature of the United Front. This will be brought up in the 5th part of my report. It is the starting point for all policies. In this regard it is also different from the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party.

The third is imbalance. Because of historical causes, it has brought about an imbalance in the political power of the various parties, factions, and classes. At the same time, this kind of imbalance is also manifested in the distribution of areas. The Kuomintang is the first big party with real power, the Communist Party is second, and the others follow behind. This situation has brought forth many specific things.

The fourth is the nature of the armies. The Kuomintang and the Communist Party both have armies—this result of specific historical conditions is not a weakness, but a strong point. Because of the armies of the two parties, they have been able to discharge all of the best responsibilities of division of labor in the course of the war against Japan, and the benefits of mutual

emulation and encouragement also became more numerous. In this respect, it is similar to that of Spain, but different from that of France as well as the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. This is also one of the factors which made long-term cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party possible.

Fifth is that of the 15 months' experience. The period from 1924 to 1927 is the 4 years of the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. The period from 1927 to 1936 is the 9 years of division between them. Now, the new-cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party has lasted for 2 years. The experience of the cooperation-division-new-cooperation of the past 15 years has taught a most profound lesson to the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, as well as to other parties and factions, and to the people of the entire nation. The conclusion is that there only should be cooperation, not division. This is also one of the foundations for long-term cooperation. This valuable experience is not available to other countries of the world, and it was also unavailable during the first cooperation between the two parties.

Sixth is that of the majority of the masses being without an organization. This is a characteristic of China, and the various foreign countries are different from this. Therefore, it is a shortcoming which made the United Front lacking an existing and organized people's base. But at the same time, the various parties can divide the labor among themselves to organize the masses. It is not necessary for them to crowd together in one place in perpetual friction, because you can find everywhere masses without organizations and are waiting to be organized to meet the urgent need of the war of resistance.

Seventh is that of the Three People's Principles. The Anti-Japanese National United Front "has the Three People's Principles for its base. It is a base not only for cooperating to oppose Japan, but also for cooperation in national construction. The nationalism of the Three People's Principles will lead this cooperation to wresting national liberation, people's power will lead this cooperation to thoroughly establish a democratic country, and the people's livelihood will, even more possibly, lead this cooperation into a very long-term affair. The political program and political ideology of the Three People's Principles ensures the long-term nature of the United Front.

Eighth is that of being in a new, international situation. The political and economic conditions of today's world is different from both periods of the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and the subsequent division. Today, only a portion of the imperialist countries like Germany, Italy, and Japan oppose Kuomintang-Communist Party cooperation and the Anti-Japanese National United Front. Another portion of the imperialist countries, because of the contradictions between them and Japan, also do not oppose our United Front for the present, but, on the contrary, they take a stand of approval. All of the progressive people of all the countries support us. The Soviet Union supports us sincerely. This kind of a new international situation has very important impact upon our long-term cooperation.

It will be possible to adopt a suitable policy politically and in the attitude toward work only through intense study and understanding of the aforesaid characteristics. Political problems and work problems cannot be handled in the manner of treating the symptoms and not the cause, but problems should be resolved correctly on the basis of a scientific foundation. The victory in the anti-Japanese war and the consolidation and expansion of the Anti-Japanese National United Front require this type of scientific foundation.

22. The New Situation of the United Front

The Anti-Japanese National United Front must appear with a new posture in the new stage of the war against Japan so as to be able to handle the new situation of the war. This new posture is the wide-scale development and high degree of consolidation of the United Front. The lesson of the 15 months of unity and war of resistance will stimulate various parties to understand the necessity for this kind of consolidation and development. With regard to development, it is the enlargement of the Party's organization and the expansion of people's organizations. As for consolidation, the various parties are to adopt new policies and new work, diminish mutual friction, and achieve a truly sincere unity to meet the national peril. There are many difficulties in the new stage of the war of resistance. It is only through the large-scale development of the organizations of the various parties in the United Front and consolidation to a high degree the inner relationships of the various parties, as well as the relationships between the various parties, that the new political tasks can be carried out with vigor, difficulties overcome and the objective of stopping the enemy's offensive and preparing for our counteroffensive attained. This is the new state of affairs of the United Front in the new state of the anti-Japanese war. Through the concerted effort of the various parties and the enthusiastic support of the people throughout the country, it will be entirely possible for this kind of new state to emerge.

IV. The Current Urgent Task for the Entire Nation

In accordance with the summation made in the past on the war of resistance and the estimates of the development of a new stage in the United Front, what should be the current, urgent task for the entire nation? What differences should there be with that of the past?

In general, the task should be persisting in the war of resistance and in protracted warfare, consolidating and expanding the United Front so as to overcome difficulties, stop the enemy's offensive, prepare our forces, carry out our counteroffensive, and achieved the objective of finally driving out the enemy.

Specifically speaking, there are the following concrete tasks. All organizational elements of the Anti-Japanese National United Front should support the government.. Furthermore, they must, under the leadership of the government carry out the mobilization of the entire nation. Communist Party members should be models in the implementation of these tasks.

1. Rouse To a High Degree National Self-Respect and Confidence, Persist to the End With the War of Resistance, and Oppose Attempts at Compromise

It is estimated that there will develop and grow, among part of the people, a mood of pessimism and hopelessness regarding the future of the war of resistance, "because of the loss of major cities and communications, difficulties in finance and economy, and the untimeliness of international aid. The Japanese, traitors, and pro-Japanese factions will definitely take advantage of this mood to vigorously fan up an atmosphere of compromise in an attempt to shake our determination to wage the war of resistance. Therefore, the first task of the entire nation is to rouse to a high degree national self-respect and confidence, overcome the pessimistic mood of some of the people, resolutely support the government in continuing with the policy of resistance, oppose any plans to surrender and compromise, and persist to the end with the war of resistance. This task has become more important than in any other periods of the past.

With this as the objective, we must mobilize newspapers, periodicals, schools, propaganda groups, culture and arts groups, military and political organizations, people's organizations, and all other possible forces and carry out wide-spread propaganda and encouragement among the officers and men on the front lines, rear echelon troops on guard, the people of the lost territories, and the masses of the entire country. We must carry out this policy in a resolute and planned manner, advocate waging the war of resistance to the end, oppose surrender and compromise, and purge the mood of despair. We must repeatedly point out the possibility and inevitability of final victory, that compromise means death, and the way out lies only in the war of resistance. We must call upon the entire nation to unite and not to fear difficulties, nor sacrifices. We definitely will have freedom, we definitely will win. We must utilize these to achieve the objective of the entire country continuing with the war of resistance in one accord.

For this purpose, all propaganda and encouragement must take the following aspects under consideration. In one respect we must utilize national revolutionary models which have emerged and are in the process of emerging (such as courageous resistance in the war and sacrificing oneself for the country, P'inghsingkuan, T'aierchuang, the 800 heroes, the advance of guerrilla warfare, the generous contribution of money, the patriotism of the overseas Chinese, and others) and propagate widely to the front lines and the rear areas, domestically and internationally. In another respect we must expose, purge, and eliminate the negative factors that exist, and are growing, in the national front (compromise tendencies, moods of despair, phenomena of corruption, and others). In still another respect we must announce to the entire country concrete facts concerning all of the enemy's cruel and inhuman acts and make accusations to the world in order to achieve the objective of enhancing national consciousness and rousing national self-respect and self-confidence. We must know that the inadequacy of such consciousness and self-confidence is greatly hampering the tasks of overcoming difficulties and preparing for the counteroffensive.

2. Support Generalissimo Chiang, the Nationalist Government, and the Cooperation Between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and Oppose Separation and Division and Any Puppet Governments

In the new situation the enemy's policy will inevitably concentrate upon opposing Chiang and the Communist Party, and establishing a puppet government on a national scale in an attempt to topple Generalissimo Chiang and the nationalist government, and sabotage the cooperation and unity of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. With the focus on this enemy policy, the second task for the entire nation will be to call upon the whole country to act in complete accord and sincerely support Generalissimo Chiang, the nationalist government, the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and the unification of the whole country, and oppose any enemy action which will be harmful to them and any puppet government ruling China.

For this purpose we must adjust the relationship between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, between the central government and the local areas, between the various armies participating in the war of resistance, and between the government and the people. In these relationships, advocate a fair and reasonable spirit of mutual love and cooperation, reduce friction and divided opinions, and oppose action which utilizes difficulties to create trouble for the government. We must call 'upon the entire country to give serious attention to the enemy's, traitors', and pro-Japanese factions' evil plot to sow dissension in our ranks and create dissatisfaction and division. We must prevent any unfavorable impact upon the prestige of Generalissimo Chiang and the nationalist government; we must create an ever-growing intimacy in the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and the unity of the entire nation, and establish a solid core of continuing to wage the war of resistance in difficult circumstances, and we must use them to oppose the enemy and the puppet government, overcome difficulties, and prepare for the counteroffensive.

3. Strengthen the Combat Effectiveness of the Main Force, Defend Central, Southern, and Southwest China, and Halt the Enemy's Offensive

Focusing on the enemy's current attack on Wuhan and his plans to continue its attack on southern and southwest China, the third task for the nation is to heighten the combat effectiveness of the main force, reorganize existing troops, and increase organization of new troops for the purpose of defending central, southern, and southwest China and stopping the enemy's offensives. With respect to the Chinese main force, it must, for this purpose, first develop a high level of mobile warfare. At the same time support it with necessary and possible line defense, oppose the enemy at every step and drain its effective strength.. Second, it must establish in the vast rear areas those military factories that are possible to construct, and also enhance their manufacturing capability to support the front lines with weapons and ammunition. Third, it must carry out the national revolutionary political work conscientiously among its troops, the education in politics, culture, and entertainment, and enhance the spirit of courageous struggle and prolonged and arduous combat throughout its forces. Fourth, it must improve the

life of the enlisted men on the basis of materials on hand, organize economic committees in the companies, and let the soldiers control the food. Fifth, it must promote conscious discipline, abolish the system of cursing and striking, and advocate friendliness and unity between the officers and men in order to improve their relationship. Sixth, it must implement selling and buying publicly, treat people with friendliness, abstain from coercive levy of food grains and conscripting transportation labor and soldiers by force, and change to the method of political mobilization to resolve the problems of transportation labor and new soldiers so as to improve relations between the military and the civilians. Seventh, enhance the spirit of friendliness and mutual aid between the various armies on the front lines and between the front line armies and the rear area armies, aiding each other in battle and emulating each other in work., and eliminate the bad phenomena' of watching each other and be envious of each other so as to improve the relationship between the various armies. Eighth, reorganize existing troops and make up for the shortages while, at the same time, organizing additional new troops and intensifying their education and training in order to put them in an advantageous position for prolonged combat. Utilize all these methods to enhance the combat effectiveness of the main force for fighting in defense of central, southern, and southwest China and for struggling to stop the enemy's offensives and prepare for our counteroffensive.

4. Expand on a Large Scale Guerrilla Warfare Behind the Enemy, Establish and Consolidate Our Bases, Constrict Enemy-Occupied Territories, and Coordinate With the Main Force in Battle

With the focus on the enemy's objective, which is to carry on with their offensive against us, and, also, to pull out some troops to attack the guerrilla war at a determined period of time, in an attempt to consolidate the territories it has occupied and make it difficult for China to counterattack, the fourth task of the entire nation is to develop on a massive scale the guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear. Establish many bases, consolidate them, and use them to decrease the size of the enemy's occupied territories. Fight in coordination with the main force to stop the enemy's advance at present and, later, to carry out the counteroffensive. An important characteristic of the anti-Japanese national war of the semi-colonial country of China is the wide-scale and protracted nature of the guerrilla war. Without it, it would be impossible to tie up large numbers of enemy troops and give strong support in battle to the regular troops and stop the enemy's offensive; it would not be possible to restrict the enemy's occupied territories to limited areas and prevent the enemy from occupying all of it; nor would it be possible to erect many anti-Japanese bastions behind the enemy's lines, persist in guerrilla warfare, and prepare to coordinate with the regular troops to mount, the strategic counteroffensive in the future. Therefore, first, guerrilla warfare must be developed widely in all the areas behind enemy lines, a vast number of bases for guerrilla warfare must be set up, and those that have already been set up must be consolidated. Second, we must follow the example of North China and retain or dispatch an ample number of regular troops to the various strategic areas in the enemy's rear to form the mainstay of the protracted guerrilla war. These troops must learn

guerrilla tactics gradually, strengthen their political work, develop mass movements, set up bases, and help the people's guerrilla units and the guerrilla warfare they are waging to become regular troops and wage a regular war. Third, the zeal of all men and women in all the war areas and behind the enemy lines to defend the country and protect their villages must be mobilized. Besides mobilizing them in large numbers to participate in the guerrilla units separated from production work and filling the ranks of the regular troops left behind the enemy lines, organize them into quasi-military anti-Japanese people's defense units. The organization of anti-Japanese people's defense units should become a regular and wide-spread system in all the war areas and behind the enemy lines. They must not become divorced from production. Fourth, the people must be helped in organizing guerrilla units on a wide-scale. These units are divorced from production, and all counties and areas should have them so that they will become tiny units for attacking the enemy and defending the area. Fifth, to enhance their combat effectiveness, political work must be established in these guerrilla units, education in military affairs, politics, culture^ and recreation must be strengthened. Sixth, correct systems in military affairs and political matters must be established in the guerrilla units, equal treatment of officers and men implemented, and economic matters handled openly. Seventh, reform the bandit bands and make them take the road of resistance against Japan, and wipe out bandit bands that are behind our lines and those being utilized by the enemy. Eighth, the supply of ammunition for guerrilla warfare is a very important question. On the one hand, the vast rear areas should supply them as much as they possibly can, and, on the other, every guerrilla warfare base should by all possible means set up small ordinance factories, so that they will be able to manufacture on their own ammunition, rifles, and hand grenades so that there will be no worry with regard to the lack of ammunition for the guerrilla war. Ninth, in accordance with the enemy situation and our strategic needs, re-delimit the war areas and administrative areas behind the enemy lines, and make them compatible with the new war situation. Tenth, in accordance with strategic needs, the leadership of the various units and administrative areas behind the enemy lines must be unified in order to concentrate forces to resist the enemy, eliminate contradictions within; but warlord like behavior of swallowing each other up must be opposed.

5. Enhance Military Techniques, Establish Mechanized Corps, and Make Ready the Strength for the Counteroffensive

The chief reason the enemy is able to penetrate deeply step by step despite its inferiority in numbers is, besides our political situation, that of our being inferior in techniques. Focusing on the enemy's strong points and our shortcomings, the fifth task for the entire nation is the enhancement of military techniques, increasing the number of planes, artillery pieces, tanks, and skills for handling them, and prepare our strength to carry out the counteroffensive. For this purpose, it is necessary, on the one hand, to utilize the manufacturing capability we have now, and those that can possibly grow, to begin manufacturing partially, and carry out this work in earnest. On the other hand, use many methods to import new weapons from abroad for gradual improvement of military equipment, and to establish a truly modernized mechanized corps. Without doubt we should view problems in the light

of reality. In fact, large number of inferior weapons are being used in battles. Therefore, we should call upon the troops and civilians of the entire nation to arm themselves. We believe that inferior weapons can also defeat the enemy. We must enhance the political spirit, improve battle methods, develop guerrilla warfare to make up for the inadequacy in modern weapons. If we do not concentrate our efforts in this respect, we are ignoring the current and real problems, and it will not be possible to overcome the present difficulties. In order to prepare for the strategic counteroffensive, we must, in the future, enhance new technics and establish new types of troops. We should know that troops in sufficient strength, but lacking in modern, new techniques and equipment, will find it impossible to carry out the counter-offensive and recover lost territory. If we do not heighten our attention in this respect, and begin working on it as circumstances permit, we will be only looking at the present and forgetting the future, and it will not be possible to overcome difficulties. In China, where man and material power are plentiful, it is definitely not an impossibility to gradually improve technical equipment, if only the political conditions and mobilization methods make progress, plus the fact that there is international aid.

6. Implement Democratic Politics Under Unified Leadership, Make the Relationship Between the Government and the People More Intimate, and Give Play to the Utmost the Massive Strength of the Anti-Japanese Political Power

The enemy is taking advantage of our shortcomings, not only in the military, but also in the political field—our political system is not being democratized and cannot establish close relationship with the broad masses of people. In order to make up for these shortcomings, the sixth task for the entire nation will be in implementing a democratic system under concentrated leadership. If there is no such reform, to win final victory over the Japanese will also be impossible. Democratic politics is the prime mover for mobilizing all new forces of the entire nation. With this system, the anti-Japanese zeal of the people throughout the country will be mobilized to an immeasurable degree, and become an inexhaustible well-spring. The accomplishment of great course of uniting the whole nation thoroughly is also dependent solely upon the establishment of a democratic system. On this point, we must plan and execute on the basis of facts regarding all its aspects. First, the convening of the Kuomintang political council has started the democratization of the nation on its first step. Henceforth, we should effect the open and smooth progress of the work of the council, implement all of the resolutions made by it, and in accordance with the programs already passed by the council, conscientiously carry out the establishment of local political councils at various levels and in various provinces to implement democratic politics. Second, we must ensure that the freedom of speech, publications, gathering, association, and belief set forth in the program of the war of resistance and national construction will be fully implemented within the boundaries of the entire nation. These freedoms are encompassed within the war of resistance and national construction, and only by fully guaranteeing them will it be beneficial to the rousing of the anti-Japanese, national construction forces on a general scale. The problem here is to ensure that the laws and decrees of the central government will be carried out and not restricted at will

locally. What should be restricted is the type of freedom which will not be beneficial to the war of resistance and national construction, that is, the freedom of traitors and pro-Japanese factions, and the others should not be put on the restriction list. Third, many democratic systems should be begun from the war areas and the enemy's rear. For example, local governments to be elected by the people, and the higher level placing them in office. The various levels of government in the war areas should adopt the committee system of democratic concentrated power, and also establish various organizations of people's representatives. The government in the war areas should increase certain necessary work departments. It should change the style of official documents, purge corrupt, decadent, and inefficient elements, and absorb anti-Japanese activists. It should lower salaries and promote a spartan life so as to be compatible with the arduous, complicated, and fluid circumstances of the war areas. Under the unified leadership of the Central Government, the local governments of the war areas have the power to proclaim laws and decrees for the locality only. With the exception of traitors, the male and female citizens of the war areas all have the right to elect and be elected, and the freedom to speak, publish, gather, associate, and arm themselves to resist Japan. All anti-Japanese parties and factions in the war areas have publicly recognized legal status, etc. If there are no such political reforms in the war areas, specially in the enemy's rear, it will be impossible to support a long and difficult war against Japan. The methods mentioned above are all geared to binding closer the relationship between the government and the people, increasing the effective strength of the government so that it will play an enormous role in the war against Japan. There is no question that any local governments throughout the country should be concentrated under the leadership of the Central Government, and there should not be any kind of disrespect shown to the leadership of the Central Government because the administrative area has been carved up by the enemy topographically. The entire nation should implement the democratic system in accordance with the laws and decrees of the Central Government, but it should be unified under the Central Government.

7. Expand the Unified People's Movements and Give Ail-Out Support to the War

The seventh task for the entire nation is to expand various people's movements and unify them to give full support to the war. The long and difficult war against Japan is entirely dependent upon the people. It will not be possible to wage a protracted war without general development and nation-wide unification of the people's movements. This is especially so in the war areas and behind the enemy lines. The war against Japan is now beset with new difficulties. These difficulties can be overcome successfully only by mobilizing the people. The following must be carried out throughout the nation, especially in the war areas and behind the enemy lines: First, guarantee the freedom of all anti-Japanese groups and people's movements, clearly establish the legal status of people's groups. Second, help the people's organizations materially and respect their independence. Third, diligently establish various national salvation associations which have the participation of the broad masses of workers, peasants, youths, women, businessmen, independent

entrepreneurs, people in the field of culture and children, and established a unified organization based upon the two principles of fields of enterprise and areas. Fourth, mobilize the masses to take active part in the various aspects of the war and actively support the government and the troops. Speed is essential especially in the war areas.

8. Improve the Well-Being of the Masses, and Rouse the Enthusiasm of the Masses for the War of Resistance and For Production

In the past, the problem of improving the well-being of the masses has been carried out without much strength. Therefore it was unable to rouse the zeal of the broad masses of working people for the war of resistance and for production, and this was extremely unfavorable for persisting in protracted warfare. For this reason, the eighth task of the entire nation, henceforth, is in the following policies to be carried out to improve the well-being of the masses. First, preferential treatment is to be given to families of anti-Japanese soldiers and disabled fighters. Second, give aid to the refugees and disaster victims of the war areas. Third, initiate suitable cut back in rent and interest behind the enemy lines. Fourth, make equitable arrangement of food grains and important daily necessary items. Fifth, increase wages in a suitable manner and improve the treatment of workers and staff. Sixth, agree to the group contracting right of workers and peasants with employers and landlords. Seventh, prohibit employers, landlords, master craftsmen, and foremen to illtreat, beat, and abuse workers and apprentices. By implementing these preliminary steps toward improving the well-being of the people, it will later cause an inevitable enhancement in the activism of the workers, peasants, and masses of poor people to support the government and participate in the war and in production. Not only all of the mobilized help the war needs will be greatly changed, but the quantity and quality of industrial and agricultural production and flow of commerce will be greatly increased and enhanced, and the nation's economy will also be resolved satisfactorily on the basis of the new agriculture, industry, and commerce.

9. Implement the New Wartime Economic Policy To Pass Over the Difficult Obstacle of War

After the loss of the major cities and the communication lines, great difficulties will appear in the nation's finances and economy. It will be impossible to pass over the period of war without new and effective methods. However, we need only to implement the new policies and mobilize the forces of the people to be able to overcome any difficulties. Therefore, the ninth task for the entire nation is to carry out new wartime financial and economic policies. The main points are as follows: First, the objective of the new policy is to ensure the supply of necessary things to the anti-Japanese armed troops, meet the demands of the people for necessary commodities, and fight against the enemy's economic blockade and economic sabotage. Second, reconstruct national defense industries in the rear areas in a planned manner. Begin on a small scale in the areas of urgent need and gradually expand and improve. Absorb capital from the government, the people, and from abroad, and mobilize workers politically, ensuring a minimum in material

compensation, improve the administrative system of factories so as to increase production ratio. All these are not only necessary, but also possible. Third, coordinating political mobilization and government laws and decrees, develop the growth of agriculture and handicraft production throughout the country, organize spring plowing and autumn harvesting movements so that the agricultural and handicraft industries throughout the country will develop under the new posture. Give attention to protecting agricultural implements, livestock, and handicraft workshops in the war areas so as to ensure that the areas that have been cut off will be self-sufficient economically. Fourth, protect the free enterprise of private industry and business, and, at the same time, pay attention to cooperative enterprises. Fifth, on the principle of paying in accordance with one's ability to pay, alter and regulate various old taxes into a unified escalating tax, abolishing excessive taxation and levies and the system of allocation, so as to lighten the people's burden and benefit revenue gathering. Sixth, utilizing political mobilization in coordination with government laws and decrees exact collections of national bonds and national salvation public rations, and mobilize the people to voluntarily donate money and food grains to supply the fighting troops and to have adequate financial receipts. Seventh, carry out a planned struggle against the counterfeit notes issued by the enemy and its policy to sabotage our currency. Those areas that have been cut off must be permitted to set up their own banks and issue local currency. Eighth, launch a drive for honesty and change to a new wage system on a generally equal basis in accordance with the minimum standard of living. Ninth, the national banks will make low interest loans to help the development of production enterprises and the flow of commodities. Tenth, resume and develop postal and telecommunications in the war areas. The above is but a general account. There must be a determination to earnestly reform the old system and to implement the new, and to apply it as a resolute strength, in order to eliminate the new difficulties. To persist in the protracted war, the core of the matter lies in organizing the productive activism of the broad masses of people to supply and serve the war. The Chinese war of resistance is fought under a special situation, the principal and big cities and communications lines have been occupied, and it is mainly dependent upon the peasants and the rural areas for fighting the war of resistance. The peasants have great power to support the war, but it requires necessary reforms both politically and economically. The new policies mentioned here are set forth in accordance with this kind of special situations.

10. Implement the Educational Policy on the War of Resistance, and Make This Education Serve the Protracted War

Under the principle of all for the war, all cultural education work must be made to meet the needs of the war. Therefore, the tenth task for the entire nation lies in carrying out the following various cultural education policies. First, amend the school system, doing away with subjects that are not necessary or in urgent need, and change the administrative system to teach the subjects necessary to the war and give play to the enthusiasm of the student to study as the principle. Second, establish, expand, and

strengthen various types of cadre schools to foster large numbers of anti-Japanese cadres. Third, develop mass education on a wide scale, organize all sorts of supplementary schooling, literacy movements, theatrical plays, singing, and sports. Establish local popular newspapers of all kinds in front of the enemy lines and behind them so as to enhance the people's national culture and national consciousness. Fourth, operate compulsory elementary schools so as to inculcate the new generation with the national spirit. It is also necessary to mobilize the people politically and in coordination with government laws and decrees to effect all these. But, mainly, it is dependent upon mobilizing the people to educate themselves, with the government providing suitable leadership and adjustment, and giving it what possible material aid there is. It is not sufficient to accomplish the great task of enhancing national cultural and national consciousness by solely dependent upon the government using limited financial resources to run a few schools and newspapers. Since the war began the educational system has already begun to change, and there has been very obvious progress made in the war areas. But, up to now, the entire system has not changed to meet the needs of the war, and this situation is not good. The great war of resistance must be combined with a great war of resistance educational movement, and the situation of non-combination of the two must be eliminated.

11. Strive To Obtain International Aid and Concentrate Our Efforts On Opposing Japanese Imperialism

Proceeding from the principle of protracted warfare and concentrated opposition against Japanese imperialism, we cannot ignore the organization of all possible aid from abroad. Therefore, the current eleventh task is in* first, opposing the advocacy of some people on taking the road of Germany and Italy, because this is in reality a measure taken in preparation to surrendering to the enemy. Second, strive all out to increase the aid given us by the various democratic countries and the Soviet Union, and, at the same time, exert all efforts to bring about a League of Nations sanction against Japan by various countries. Third, set up a permanent organization to systematically collect the facts of enemy brutalities and compile a factual record to report and spread throughout the world to focus the world's attention and rouse it to punish the Japanese fascists. Fourth, select representatives from various parties and factions, as well as various people's organizations and organize them into an international propaganda group which will visit all countries to evoke the sympathy of the peoples and governments of the various countries in coordination with the diplomacy of our government. Fifth, protect the foreign residents of China who are sympathetic to us and those who are peacefully engaged in business or missionary work. Sixth, give attention to protecting the interests of overseas Chinese, and, through the efforts of these overseas Chinese, propel forward the movements in various countries to oppose Japan and help China. In these respects, without regard to whether the aid from various countries has not changed in degree or can possibly decrease in part, and the League of Nations' resolution being fine rhetoric, we should still strive to do our best. In accordance with the protracted nature of the war, the foreign policy should also be geared for long-term and not for immediate benefits. Its emphasis must be in future aid, and this kind of foresight is necessary.

12. Establish An Anti-Aggression Front Between China, the Soldiers and Civilians of Japan, and the Oppressed Nationalities of Korea and Taiwan, and Oppose Japanese Imperialism Together

The Japanese imperialist war of aggression not only endangers China, at the same time it endangers all the soldiers and civilians of Japan and the oppressed nationalities of Korea and Taiwan. To defeat Japan's war of aggression there must be a massive and determined striving together of the soldiers and civilian masses of the two big nations of China and Japan, and the oppressed nationalities of Korea and Taiwan, and a common united front to oppose aggression must be established.

For this purpose, the twelfth task for the entire nation is, first, propose to the masses of soldiers and people of the two countries of Japan and China, and the Korean and Taiwanese nationalities this policy of a united front against aggression, and call upon them to struggle for this. Second, the government is to issue orders to all officers and men of the anti-Japanese and guerrilla units to learn a sufficient Japanese vocabulary. High-level political departments must prepare to dispatch Japanese instructors to the various troops and carry this out. Beginning with a few words until conversations can be held with Japanese officers and soldiers. Educate all the officers and men fighting the Japanese to orally propagandize the enemy's soldiers and low-ranking officers and, at the same time, use written words and illustrations to convert them gradually, requesting their assent to set up a united front, against aggression together, and turning the more than 1 million Japanese troops into a friendly force which will withdraw from China and overthrow the Japanese fascists- Third, respect and treat well enemy prisoners of war and educate them so that they will influence others and efforts will be made to establish a united front against aggression. Fourth, try to organize the people in the field of culture in Japan who are opposed to aggression and bring them to China to participate in this struggle. Fifth, protect the Japanese residents in China who are sincerely loyal. Sixth, educate the military and people masses of our country to, on the one hand, enhance national self-respect and, on the other, to correct the wrong ideas that exist between the military and the people, to distinguish Japanese imperialism from the Japanese people, the enemy officers and their soldiers, and also distinguish high-ranking officers from the low-ranking ones. By implementing the above policies and methods, and together with the massive and determined efforts, this anti-aggression united front can be formed. China's victory is dependent mainly upon the increase of its own strength, but we must seize upon the coordination of the enemy's difficulties and international aid. With regard to the enemy's difficulties, besides the fact of the gradual attrition inflicted on the enemy through our protracted warfare and our strenuous diplomatic efforts to isolate Japan, it is indispensable to have the policy of establishing a common anti-aggression front with the Japanese soldiers and civilians, and the oppressed nationalities of Korea and Taiwan. The longer the Japanese war of aggression goes on, the better the possibility will be for laying the foundation of this united front.

13. Unite All the Nationalities in China In Opposition to the Japanese

Our Anti-Japanese National United Front is not only of the various parties and factions and classes of the country, but also of all the nationalities in the nation. Focusing on the enemy's evil schemes which have already been set in motion to split our minority nationalities within the country, and which they will intensify, the thirteenth task is to unite all nationalities as one to confront the enemy together. For this purpose, it is necessary to give attention to the following points: First, the Meng, Hui, Tsang, Miao, Yao, I, and Fan minorities must be allowed to have equal rights with the Han people. Under the principle of common struggle against Japan, they have the right to control their own affairs, and, at the same time, unite with the Han people to establish a unified country. Second, in areas where minority nationalities and the Han people are intermingled, the local government should organize a committee composed of local minority nationals to form a part of the provincial or county government. It will administer affairs concerning them, adjust relationships among the various nationalities, and there should be a seat in the provincial or county government committees. Third, respect the culture, religion, and customs of the minority nationalities. Not only should they not be forced to learn Chinese and speak it, but they should be helped to develop the culture education of using their own spoken and written language. Fourth, correct the big Han chauvinism that still exists, and promote equal treatment of minority nationalities by the Han people so as to bring relationships closer together. At the same time it is prohibited to use slighting or insulting remarks, written words, or actions toward them. The various minority nationalities should unite together and strive for the implementation of the above mentioned policies. On the one hand the government should implement it on its own initiative. Only thus can the relationships between the various nationalities in the country be truly improved and achieved, in reality, a unity against outsiders. The old method of patronizing is no longer viable.

14. Launch the Movement To Root Out Traitors and Consolidate the Front Lines and Rear Areas

Under the new situation, traitors, enemy spies, Trotskyites, and pro-Japanese factions will become even more rampant than before, vigorously engaging in their schemes to create rumor, slander, division, and sabotage. Therefore, the current fourteenth task is in carrying out the following methods—the launching of a campaign to root out traitors. First, rouse the alertness of all of the military and the civilians in the front lines and the rear areas to keep tight surveillance on traitors, enemy spies, Trotskyites, and pro-Japanese factions and their activities, and mercilessly suppress them in accordance with the government's laws. Second, pay attention to protecting state secrets. Renegades who leak such secrets should be punished as traitors to the country. Third, add a course on rooting out traitors in school books so as to carry out an education to heighten alertness. In the military, set up work departments at various levels for rooting out traitors. Small groups to root out traitors are to be set up in mass organizations and people's defense units, and stepped-up education in rooting out traitors

should be given to the state police so that these traitors will have no place to hide under such concentrated surveillance. Since the war of resistance began, the number of times we have suffered at the hands of these traitors cannot be counted. Long ago, fighters on the front lines, were in general consensus on the frightening numbers of traitors and the magnitude they wrought on the war. In the rear areas, just the two events of leaking state secrets and leading enemy planes to a devastating raid are deeply imprinted with hate in the minds of all. If renegades are not eliminated in the protracted war, there can be no thought of victory in the war. Mobilizing the national revolutionary alertness of the broad masses, and executing the aforementioned rooting out of traitors, as well as making this a massive movement, is a grave task indispensable to achieving victory. It should be pointed out that in rooting out traitors distinction must be made between the leaders and the followers, those who consciously take part and those who were deceived, the determined ones and the vacillating ones. They must be treated differently. Heavy punishment should be given and the latter should be treated leniently. They must not be treated all alike. Attention must be given to factual evidence, no torture must be used in questioning, and false accusations must be strictly guarded against. The objective of rooting out traitors is to eliminate real renegades, and this objective can be achieved only by using correct policies and methods.

15. Develop the Strong and Consolidated United Front of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, As Well As Other Parties and Factions, To Support the Protracted War

All of the urgent tasks set forth above must wait for the various parties and factions in the Anti-Japanese National United Front against Japan to motivate the entire nation, and, under the unified leadership of Generalissimo Chiang, resolutely implement them. In order to achieve this objective, the organizational strength of the various parties and factions in the United Front must be developed. The present strength, regardless of which party, is too inadequate, and they all must be developed. And especially the development of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party is the current urgent task. In this task of development, the various parties concerned should approve of the development of others. They should not become envious of each other and impede each other's progress. We must know that if it is an anti-Japanese party its development will be beneficial to the war against Japan. There is no doubt that the United Front has the Kuomintang and the Communist Party for its base, and the Kuomintang is the main pillar of these two. We admit to this fact. Therefore, we resolutely support Generalissimo Chiang and the Nationalist Government and Kuomintang under his leadership, and we call upon the entire nation to give them support. Admitting and supporting this mainstay and, at the same time, develop the various parties, are mutually related and not mutually conflicting.

In numbers, I believe the Kuomintang should develop to over 5 million men, the Communist Party and the other parties should develop to over a million. In a big nation of 450 million to absorb several million superior elements

to participate in the anti-Japanese parties and factions in an era of a great war of resistance is not only necessary but completely possible. If this can be done, the Anti-Japanese National United Front will be expanded, and along with it it will become even more consolidated. It fully ensures the implementation of all tasks aimed at defeating the enemy. The support of the protracted war and the long-term cooperation, and the basic objective of driving out the Japanese and establishing a new China based upon the three principles will be ours.

V. Protracted Warfare and Long-Term Cooperation

Let us now discuss specifically on the protracted nature of the Anti-Japanese National United Front and give a complete answer to the many problems that have occurred to those people who are extremely concerned about the relationship between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. This has important significance with regard to the consolidation and expansion of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, the consolidation and expansion of the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and the smooth implementation of the current urgent tasks to pass over the difficult obstacle of war.

The problems are as follows: the protracted nature of the war determines the long-term nature of the cooperation, the cooperation in the war determines the cooperation after the war, the context of the long-term cooperation and its chief conditions—the Three People's Principles and communism—the organizational form of the long-term cooperation, the policy of mutual aid and concession in the long-term cooperation, and the problem of a democratic republic. Many people are concerned about these and we should give clear-cut answers.

1. The Protracted Nature of the Struggle Determines the Long-Term Nature of the Cooperation

Due to the fact that the war of resistance against Japan is a protracted one, the entire Anti-Japanese National United Front can and will have to be a long one, and the cooperation between the two principal parties—the Kuomintang and the Communist Party—can, and also will have to be, a long-term one. This is the point from which all policies proceed. Therefore, our policy must, at all cost, have a long-term national united front, a long-term cooperation. We must, at all cost, together preserve a unified government, oppose division and splits, and thus benefit the passing over of the difficulties of war, oppose enemy sabotage, beat back Japanese imperialism, and accomplish the task of establishing a new China after the war. This is quite different from the Kuomintang-Communist Party cooperation from 1924 to 1927. That was only for a short period, but this is a long-term affair.

2. Cooperation in the War Determines Cooperation After the War

The so-called long-term cooperation applies not only to during the war, but also after it. The war against Japan is a protracted one, and the cooperation

in the war can be said to be a long-term one. But that is not enough, we hope to continue cooperating and are determined to do so. What guarantee is there to it? The guarantee lies in the cooperation during the war determines the cooperation after the war. The principal parties of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in the Anti-Japanese National United Front must face difficulties together, exist or become extinct together. They must strive to attain progress, and only through prolonged efforts can they beat back Japanese imperialism. Otherwise, it will not be possible to do so. With two progressive parties that have faced difficulties during such a long period of time after the war is over, they will then form a foundation for continuing cooperation. At that time, conditions domestically and internationally will be even more conducive to cooperation, and this can be estimated now. There is no doubt that the contexts of the various stages of the cooperation in the war will exist, and there will be even more new contents in the cooperation after the war. But the cooperation in the war will determine that there can be cooperation after the war. This is not an estimation made without basis.

3. The Content of Long-Term Cooperation and Its Principal Condition

The so-called long-term cooperation is the long-term national united front. All classes, from capitalists to the workers, all political parties, from the Kuomintang to the Communist Party, all nationalities, from the Han to the Miao and Yao minority nationalities, all the troops, from the Nationalist armies to the Eighth Route Army, and all the governments, from the Nationalist government to the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region Government, are all included, with the exception of national renegades. Furthermore, they will be in the United Front for a long time. There are some people who cannot endure the arduous struggle of the protracted war. When that time comes they are apt to place their individual interests over that of the national interests and become national renegades. Therefore, the National United Front must continuously weed out these national renegades. But these weeding out still leaves the National United Front as it is. The reason is that the main condition for long-term cooperation is, first of all, the brutality of the enemy's war and its protracted nature. Because the enemy is waging a barbaric war it gravely endangers the very existence of the various class strata of the entire nation. Accordingly, it compelled the higher class strata to oppose the Japanese together with the other classes. It is inevitable that a part of the higher class level will withdraw from the anti-Japanese front. But the other parts are generally in the same position as the other classes. They are oppressed and there is no way out except through resistance. Also, because this barbaric war is a long one, it determines the long-term nature of the cooperation. All these concerns the aspects determining the cooperation to be a long-term affair. But there is another aspect. It requires the various cooperating parties, mainly the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, must adopt a correct policy and carry out work that is necessary. What kind of policy and work should they be? They should be policy and work set forth and carried out on the basis of protracted war and long-term cooperation. It should be a policy and work that will take care of the present and the future, this class and that class, this party and that party, this army and that army, and this nationality and that nationality. Otherwise the policy