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(1917 - 1949)
VOLUMES 7-10

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NEW INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND WAR OF RESISTANCE IN CHINA 7

September 1939

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

The new imperialist war has widened because the imperialist countries have to resort to war to solve their conflicts; Fascist Germany has to fight its war of aggression at all costs, and England and France, adopting the compromise policy of nonintervention, refuse to conclude a mutual aid pact with the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, though it was the first to be invaded by Germany, and though its people are now participating in the resistance against Fascist aggression, Poland, at the critical moment of its national destiny, has no independent standpoint of principle and refuses the aid of the socialist Soviet Union, but permits the manipulation of the reactionary bourgeoisie of England and France. Thus, countries like Poland have become the bone of contention between the two great imperialist groups. As a result, though the people of Poland are filled with righteous national anger, and the people of England and France are indignant over fascism, from the point of view that "any war is the effort of a certain class to continue its policy 'by another means,'¹" and from the point of view of the narrow bourgeois interest

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

The Chinese people have been waging a war of resistance against the Japanese Fascist warlords for 2 years. China's resistance war is for the liberation of the nation and for world peace and justice. Therefore, our standpoint is easily understood. We sympathize with the revolutionary movement of the laboring people of any nation against fascism and imperialist war, but we oppose the aggressive war of the reactionary bourgeoisie of any nation to sacrifice the interests of the laboring people and redivide the world. Meanwhile, we are fighting a resistance war, and our diplomatic line is also easily understood. "To befriend all those who help us and to resist all those who help the enemy constitute an immutable principle,"¹¹ It was thus with us in the past, and it is thus with us now.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mao Tse-tung

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

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OUR VIEWS ABOUT THE WORK OF¹ THE POLITICAL COUNCIL IN THE PAST AND THE CURRENT SITUATION

8 September 1939

[Text] Organized on the anniversary of the resistance war, the People's^T Political Council has been in existence for over a year.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A. In Politics

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

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

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

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

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

B. In Military Affairs

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (1) Select from the front line X X divisions which have a history of combat merits, without distinction as to party or faction or boundary line, as the foundation of army building.
- (2) Provide for the unified organization of national defense divisions.
- (3) The cadres of the national defense divisions must follow the existing systems of the units selected, receive modern military training and firm political education, and be able to preserve the superior traditions of the particular units.
- (4) The equipment, treatment, and supplies of the national defense divisions must be equal, but relatively better than those of the ordinary units.
- (5) Specific periods and plans for the training of the national defense divisions must be decided on, and meritorious and able high-level officers must be in charge of the training, which will be carried out in different areas and performed in concentrated groups.
- (6) Establish national defense industries, increase purchasing from outside, and plan to complete the modern equipping of X X national defense divisions within 2 years.

C. In Economics

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

1. Destroy the economic construction and material exploitation of enemy-occupied areas, activate the people to boycott enemy goods, and prohibit supplying the enemy with useful native products, such as certain special military-need articles. The indispensable enemy goods must be purchased under state control.
2. The state must subsidize and encourage private investment in order to expand the industrial-agricultural cooperative movement; extensively develop all types of practical industries; vigorously raise agricultural production.

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

D. In Finance

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

1. The issuance of legal tenders and the circulation of capital must be suitably coordinated in order to avoid currency unbalance between the coast and the interior.
2. Foreign exchange must be strictly and thoroughly controlled. The People's Political Council must form a foreign exchange committee to periodically inspect the Finance Ministry's approvals and uses of foreign exchange in order to stop all malpractices.
3. Strictly inspect and prohibit private manipulation of currency and disruption of the legal tender, especially the profiteering, speculation, and manipulation by those in official positions; severely punish the violators.
4. Permit the issuance of a limited amount of local paper currency and circulating mediums in war areas, especially in enemy-occupied provinces.
5. The gold bonds of the state must be sold by wide appeals to overseas Chinese and domestic banking circles; they must be guaranteed with definite funds and the subscribers given the convenience of domestic investment.
6. In regard to the tax policy of the state, the progressive rates of business, income, and inheritance taxes must be enforced according to the environment and feasibility of the various areas; agricultural taxes must be improved and harsh levies abolished.
7. The assets of traitors must be confiscated. In the case of landlords who have fled to enemy areas, the state must, on their behalf, collect the money or grain as a minimal amount, to be considered temporarily as the direct receipts of the state.
8. The state budget, from the central to the local areas, must be formulated anew, increasing the items related to the resistance war according to the need, reducing wherever possible the unrelated items, and deleting all items which can be deleted.
9. The compensation of state administrative personnel, especially of high-level officials, must be uniformly reduced. It must be lower than that of military officers at the same levels. Special expenses and double salary must be eliminated. Commissions on government loans and purchases must be abolished.

E. In Diplomacy

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

1. Conscientiously ally with all peoples and governments aiding and sympathetic with our resistance war; strive to make them increase their material and spiritual aid to us.
2. Firmly oppose the conspiracy of the government of any country to sacrifice China and compromise with the Japanese bandits; firmly adhere to the policy of independence and self-determination in diplomacy.
3. Help the People's Political Council, the parties and factions, and the mass organizations of all fields to send all types of delegations to the various countries for extensive citizens¹ diplomatic activities in order to increase the aid given us by democratic and peace forces.

F. In Party and Factional Cooperation

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

1. Protect the legitimate rights of all resist-Japan parties and factions by unequivocal decrees; conscientiously abolish all means of restricting and controlling the activities of the so-called heretic parties.
2. Strictly prohibit discriminatory and oppressive conduct against the Communist Party and other resist-Japan parties and factions; strictly prohibit damage to the employment and character of the people in the fields of industry, agriculture, military affairs, education, and commerce and of the young people on grounds of party affiliation or ideological issues in order to create a unanimous and sincere unity in the whole nation.
3. In all types of resistance war work, extensively accept the participation and the talents of all parties and factions; refrain from rejecting talents useful to the state on grounds of their party or factional affiliations or private opinions,

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

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

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

8 September

o HSIK-HUA JIH-PAO, 9 September 1939

* CHIEH-FANG, No 86, 10 October 1939

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

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

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

6080

CSO: 4005

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

12 September 1939

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

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

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

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

Our national liberation salute!

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

12 September

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

6080

CSO: 4005

ESSENTIAL POINTS OF SPEECH ON SECOND IMPERIALIST WAR

At the Yen'an Cadres Meeting

14 September 1939

[Text] I. New Stage of the War

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

II. Cause of the War

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

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

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

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

III. Goal of the War

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

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

IV* Essence of the War

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

V. Characteristics of the First Stage of the War

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VIII. Characteristics of the Second Stage of the War

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

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

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

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

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

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

I feel that it should be as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

X. The Future of the War

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

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

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

- o MILITARY AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS MAGAZINE OF THE 8TH ROUTE ARMY, No 9, Political Department of the 18th Group Army of the Citizens Revolutionary Army (8th Route Army), 25 September 1939
- * CHIEH-FAWG (LIBERATION), No 85_t 30 September 1939
- * RESIST-ENEMY NEWS, No 101, 26 October 1939
- *. "On World War II," Education .Bookstore, 1 November 1939
- * "Guide to the Anti-Japanese National United Front" (9), Liberation Press, July 1940
- * "Collection of Important Documents Since the War of Resistance," Chinese Communist Central Secretariat, 1942

6080

CSO: 4005

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

5 October 1939

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

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

Mao Tse-tung 5

October 1939

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

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

* "Long Live Mao Tsetung Thought," April 1967

6080

CSO: 4005

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

9 December 1939

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

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

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

[Preliminary. Prepared for the Maoist Internationalist Movement's Web site, located at <http://www.etext.org/Politics/MIM/>]

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

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

1004

CSO: 4005

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

January 1940

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

This kind of report must have been fabricated by the Japanese. It is rather strange that it came from China's war zone headquarters, I "returned from Sinkiang to Yen-an,"¹¹ but I have not even prepared to go to Sinkiang. As to Li Li-san, he has been arrested by the Soviet authorities because of his participation in the activities of the Trotskyite reactionary bloc, I don't know how he came back! Those who instigate a split between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party and those who are prepared to surrender to the Japanese aggressors have fabricated hundreds of thousands of intelligence reports. This piece is the most clumsy. If it were believed by any person, then that person must be very stupid. "To seize political power from the central government."¹¹ What a big headline! The plain fact is that the border region is being seized [by the Nationalists]. In July this year they seized Hsün-i of the border region. Recently they seized Chen-yyan and Ning-hsien. Bombers and heavy artillery pieces were used in the attack. We heard that they will take Ching-yang, Ho-shui, Shun-yao and Lu-hsien to pave the way for seizing Yen-an. In front of us are the Japanese, who grab large chunks of territory from China. Behind us are the Chinese who seize small pieces of land from our Shensi-Ransu-Ninghsia border

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

o CHIEH-FMG, No 96, 20 January 1940

1004

GSO: 4005

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

3 February 1940

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

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

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

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

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

* "Collection of Important Documents Since the Resistance War/' 1942

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

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

20 February 1940

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20 February 1940

o HSIN-CHUNG HUA-PAO, 28 February 1940

* CHIEH-FANG, No 101, 8 March 1940

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

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

1004

CSO: 4005

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

7 July 1940

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Down with Japanese imperialism!

Carry the war of resistance to the end!

Be united to the end!

Long live Chinese national liberation!

Central Committee, Chinese Communist Party

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

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

A HSIN-CHUNG HUA-PAO, 5 July 1940

A CHIEH-FMG, No 111

1004

CSO: 4005

CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE SPOKESMAN ON THE SOUTHERN ANHWEI INCIDENT

18 January 1941

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

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

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

Actually, all government troops were under secret orders to carry out the plan to wipe out the New 4th Army. On the 13th, when the fierce battle was in its 8th day, the ambushed New 4th Army, on the move under government orders, exhausted its ammunition and food supply. The entire force was sacrificed. The government's objective had been achieved. On the 17th, the Military Council of the National Government issued a formal announcement declaring the New 4th Army a rebellious unit and straightforwardly admitting the annihilation of the New 4th Army units in southern Anhwei. It also said that Yeh T'ing had been wounded and captured and that the deputy commander, Hsiang Ying, had fled. It also announced the elimination of the New 4th Army as an army unit and said that Yeh T'ing would be court-martialed. Such a dignified announcement had in fact exposed to all the people of the country a conspiracy to annihilate an anti-Japanese unit. Coincidentally, on the 17th the Japanese KYODO news agency issued a startling report from Nanking. It said in brief: "The Chungking government has ordered the communist troops stationed south of the lower Yangtze to move to the north of the river before 26 December. In order to prompt the communist troops to move, the commanders of the Third War Zone have started surrounding and attacking the New 4th Army and other communist troops in the vicinity of Tung-liu. Some of the defeated communist troops retreated from Ti-kang to the north of the Yangtze on the 10th. The Japanese Army also attacked the New 4th Army in the vicinity of Hsuan-cheng and Ching-tan. The pacification units of the 'national government'¹ also assisted the Japanese Army in the battle." At this time the true facts of a great conspiracy and a tragic massacre to eliminate an anti-Japanese armed unit and to crush those different from themselves were further bared to the world. The so-called northward move within a specified time limit was but a cunning trick to lure our troops into a trap so that they could be surrounded, attacked and wiped out. The so-called military discipline and the law of the nation meant that those who survived the slaughter were declared rebels and would be turned over to the courts for **trial**. The old tunes glorifying the solemnity of military discipline and the sacredness of the law of the nation are nothing but alibis for intrigues to murder the opponents of those who are in power. The New 4th Army is an anti-Japanese armed unit, and its northward move was made in compliance with government orders, but the army was surrounded and annihilated. Where is military discipline? Where is the law of the nation? The violators of orders were those who gave the orders. The lawbreakers are those who made the law. There should be no more argument about this.

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

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

1. Severely punish the leaders who conspired and perpetrated the crime of annihilating the New 4th Army in southern Anhwei!
2. Release all captured officers and men of the New 4th Army! Protect the lives and safety of Commander Yeh T'ing and other military and political cadres!
3. Give compensation to the family members of officers and men of the New 4th Army who were killed or wounded!
4. Stop the anticommunist war in central China involving several hundreds of thousands of troops!
5. Lift the anticommunist blockade in northwest China!
6. Stop the criminal act of killing and arresting Communist Party members and patriotic personalities throughout the country and release all patriotic political prisoners!
7. Get rid of Ho Ying-ching and all other pro-Japanese elements!
8. Oppose all intrigues to sabotage the war of resistance and destroy national unity!

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

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

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

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

A HSIK-CHUNG HUA-PAO, 18 January 1941

A CHIEH-FANG, No 124

1004

CSO: 4005

PROTEST AGAINST A CAPITAL CRIME 1

February 1941

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

After the New 4th Army was organized pursuant to orders, being new, it was extremely ill equipped. Yet it marched to the front under orders to resist a powerful enemy and established combat merits many times. If rewarded according to their merits, these troops, which were successful in the resistance war, should have received reinforcements and should have been expanded, so that they could become crack troops to resist Japan, defend the nation, and protect China's Southeast. To one's surprise, not only were no reinforcements provided, but orders were issued time and again forcing the troops to move north. For the sake of saving the overall situation and averting national perdition, Commander in Chief Chu took great pains to convince the southern Anhwei troops of the New 4th Army to move north. The troops followed the route designated by Ku Chu-t'ung, commanding officer of the Third Military Region, and headed toward southern Kiangsu in their move north. To their surprise, the so-called order to move proved to be a plot to exterminate the entire force. As stated in the New Year wire of Chu, P'eng and others, "according to information obtained from the encircling army in combat, such a plan to exterminate the entire force was formulated long ago. Catching us unprepared, they wanted to lure us into an ambush. The order from their superiors contained such words as 'catching them all in one net; capturing Yeh and Hsiang alive'¹.... Meanwhile, they are preparing large-scale

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Struggle to punish the conspiratorial ringleaders!

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

Struggle for the destruction of the Northwest anticommunist blockade!

Struggle for the cessation of the nationwide slaughter! Struggle to avert the perdition of the Chinese nation!

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

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

CHIEH-FANG CHOU-K'AN, No 124

6080

CSO: 4005

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

18 February 1941

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

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

- (1) Stop provocations.
- (2) Cancel the order of 17 January,
- (3) Punish Ho Ying-ch'in, Ku Chu-t'ung and Shang-kuan Yun-hsiang, the ringleaders of the southern Anhwei incident.
- (4) Release Yeh T'ing; restore him to his position as army commander.
- (5) Return all personnel and weaponry to the southern Anhwei New 4-th Army.
- (6) Give relief to all the casualties of the southern Anhwei New 4th Army.
- (7) Withdraw the troops fighting against the communists in Central China.
- (8) Remove the Northwest blockade line.
- (9) Liberate all arrested patriotic political prisoners in the nation.
- (10) Abolish one-party dictatorship; introduce democracy.
- (11) Implement the three principles of democracy; follow the Testament of Sun Yat-sen.

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

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

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

18 February 1941

o HSIN-CHUNG HUA-PAO, 27 February 1941

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

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

6080

CSO: 4005

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

8 March 1941

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

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

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

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

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

o HSIN-CHUNG HUA-PAO, 13 March 1941

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

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

March 1941

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

Mao Tse-tung

o CHIEH-FANG, No 127, 30 April 1941

6080

CSO: 4005

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

5 April 1941

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

o HSIN-CHUNG HUA-PAO, 10 April 1941

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

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CSO: 4005

TAKE NOTE WHO IS THE TRUE RULER OF OUR COUNTRY TODAY 18

May 1941

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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CSO: 4005

YENAN COMMENTATOR ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

24 May 1941

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

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

o CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 24 May 1941

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CSO: 4005

RUMOR AND SMOKESCREEN

28 May 1941

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

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

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

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

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

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

What is strange is that certain Chinese--not traitors like Wang Ching-wei, but certain figures of the ruling stratum in the resistance war stronghold--actually copy T'UNG-MENG PRESS¹ broadcast word for word and voluntarily rebroadcast the rumors. While actually stating that "information from the enemy is mostly fabricated and cannot be believed," such news organs as TA KUWG PAO and the CENTRAL PRESS AGENCY repeat the "information from the enemy" and claim that "that the 18th Group Army has been concentrating in northern Shansi and until now has not cooperated with the friendly troops in battle is a fact." The Japanese do not have to spend a penny, and there are those Chinese who volunteer to serve as phonographs and witnesses to their rumors. Isn't it strange?

Nevertheless, actually there is nothing "strange" about it. If we understand the ingenuity of the thief in the story cited above, we will understand the "secret" of the rumors. The spokesman of the Chungking Military Commission more or less leaked a part of this "secret" on the 23d of this month. He said: "Last week there was a general mobilization of the bandit army, totaling over 300,000 men. When they brag about solving the 'China incident'¹ by such means, not only will no one

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

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

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

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

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

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

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CSO: 4005

YENAN COMMENTATOR ON THE DOUBLE MEANING OF 'FIRESIDE TALKS'

30 May 1941

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

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

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

o CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 30 May 1941

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CSO: 4005

YENAN COMMENTATOR'S COMMENTS

2 June 1941

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

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

o CHIEH-FAWG JIH-PAO, 2 June 1941

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CSO: 4005

WHAT THE KUOMINTANG LACKS

17 June 1941

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

o CHIEH-FANG JIH-FAO, 17 June 1941

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