

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

21 February 1942

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

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

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

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

Long live the Red Army and its supreme commander Stalin! Long

live the victory of the war against fascist aggressors!

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

Mao Tse-tung

CCP Central Committee

o CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 22 February 1943

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CSO: 4005

LETTER TO P'ENG TE-HUAI CRITICIZING HIS <sup>T</sup>TALK ON DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION' 6 May

1943

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

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

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

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

Mao Tse-tung 6

May 1943

CHAIRMAN MAO'S CRITICISM AGAINST THE P<sup>T</sup>ENG-HUANG-CHANG-CHOU ANTI-PARTY CLIQUE, 6 May 1943

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CSO: 4005

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

26 May 1943

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

Comrade Mao Tse-tung first pointed out:

"The dissolution of the Comintern, as reported by American news agencies, is a great <sup>T</sup> epoch-making event.<sup>T</sup> That in the last A days all countries in the world, no matter whether they belong to the antifascist camp or the fascist aggressors' camp, and all political parties in the world have been paying extreme attention to this problem is sufficient to prove this point."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung asked:

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

Comrade Mao said:

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

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

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

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

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

Comrade Mao Tse-tung also pointed out:

"Revolutionary movements can be neither exported nor imported. Although the Comintern provided help, the birth and development of the Chinese Communist Party can be attributed to the existence of an awakened workers class in China. The Chinese workers class created their own party—the Chinese Communist Party. Although the Chinese Communist Party has a short history of 22 years, it has embarked on three great revolutionary movements.<sup>1</sup>

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

Comrade Mao Tse-tung answered the question:

"According to Marxist-Leninist principles, the organizational form of revolution should be dictated by the need of the revolutionary struggle. If the form of organization is no longer suitable to the need of revolutionary struggle, then that form of organization should be abolished.<sup>1</sup>

Comrade Mao pointed out:

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

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

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

"The Chinese Communist Party went through three revolutionary movements, and these revolutionary movements are continuous and very complicated, even more complicated than the Russian Revolution. In these revolutionary movements the Chinese Communist Party had a superb cadre of its own which had gone through numerous crucial tests. Since the seventh world meeting of the Comintern in 1935, it has not interfered in the internal affairs of the Chinese Communist Party, and the Chinese Communist Party, during the entire anti-Japanese war for national liberation [deletion]."<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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

Comrade Mao continued:

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

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

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

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

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

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

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



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

Comrade Mao Tse-tung made this appeal:

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

Comrade Mao said:

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

<sup>0</sup> CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 28 May 1943

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CSO: 4005

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

26 May 1943

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

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

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

(3) The founding of the Chinese Communist Party is a result of the development of the workers movement in China after the 4 May movement of 1919, as well as the development of the contemporary history of China. Wherever there are proletarian and workers movements there will appear someday a political party of the workers class. If there had been no Comintern, the Chinese Communist Party would still have been born at some opportune time. This is an inevitable rule of history. Since its inception the Chinese Communist Party has, for the first time in the contemporary history of China, clearly pointed out for the Chinese people the anti-imperialism and antifeudalism road. In addition, all comrades of the party have set themselves as examples in their conduct, loyal and devoted to the liberation of their country. They shed their blood and immediately take the place of their fallen comrades. During its revolutionary struggle the Chinese Communist Party has received a great deal of assistance from the Comintern. However, the Chinese Communists have been able for a long time to determine independently their own direction, policy and action according to the special situation in their own country. Since the adoption of the resolution at the seventh conference of the Comintern in August 1935 that the Comintern shall not interfere with the communist organizations in various countries, the Comintern had always observed this resolution and had never interfered with the organization of the Chinese Communist Party. The various revolutionary forces created by the Chinese Communist Party have been the pillars of China's progress in all aspects and have been undertaking an unprecedentedly difficult struggle behind the enemy lines since the beginning of the war of resistance. These revolutionary forces were built with bare hands and bare fists by the Chinese Communist Party independently and out any external help. It may be said that this is unprecedented in China's revolutionary movement in the last few decades. Revolution can be neither exported nor imported. It can only be caused by the internal development within each country. This is a truth always expounded by

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

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

o CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO,- 27 May 1943

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

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

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

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CSO: 4005

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

1 July 1943

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

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

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

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

He pointed out:

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

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

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said in a firm tone:

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

Comrade Mao pointed out:

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

Comrade Mao Tse-tung further explained:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Comrade Mao said:

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

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

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

He said:

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

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

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

Comrade Mao pointed out:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Comrade Mao pointed out:

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

o CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 3 July 1943

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CSO: 4005

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

1 September 1943

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

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

Mao Tse-tung

o CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 15 September 1943

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CSO: 4005

## ON COOPERATIVES

(A Talk to Senior Cadres in the Border Region)

October 1943

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the army, for instance, the 359th Brigade made equipment with willow and elm branches. The regulation is that if public tools are used in handicraft work, 50 percent of the proceeds goes to the public and 20 percent to the individual soldiers. If no public tools are used, two-thirds of the proceeds go to the public and one-third to the soldier. This method not only provides goods needed by the public but also tends to increase the subsidy for the fighters. It also contains the idea of cooperatives.

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

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

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

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

CABLE TO STALIN IN CELEBRATION OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY 5

November 1943

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

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

Mao Tse-tung

Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

o CHIEH-KFANG JIH-PAO, 8 November 1943

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CS0: 4005

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

6 November 1943

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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CSO: 4005

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LETTER TO YENAN PEKING OPERA ACADEMY AFTER SEEING THE SHOW <sup>1</sup>PI SHANG LIANG SHAN<sup>1</sup>

9 January 1944

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

o JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 25 May 1967

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CSO: 4005

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

22 May 1944

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

o CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 26 May 1944

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CSO: 4005

## PRESS CONFERENCE WITH CHINESE AND FOREIGN REPORTERS

12 June 1944

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Questions and Answers

##### Questions

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

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

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

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

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

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

##### Chairman Mao's Answer

"Your questions can be summarized in three questions.

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

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

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

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



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

<sup>0</sup> "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol 2.

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

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

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CSO: 4005

## CRISIS ARISING FROM THE FALL OF CHANGSHA

24 June 1944

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>0</sup> CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO (Editorial), 24 June 1944.

1004

CSO: 4005

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

18 September 1944

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

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

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

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

Chairman Mao continued by pointing out:

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

Chairman Mao continued:

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

Finally, Chairman Mao shouted:

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

<sup>0</sup> CHIEH-FAWG JIH-PAO, 23 September 1944

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

September 1944

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



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

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

about the Letter of Opinion offered by the CCP Central Committee. The Central Committee cabled Comrade Lin Po-chu on 21 May. to make a 20-article proposal. The proposal was delivered to Chang and Wang. After reading the proposal, the two said: "The way this is written is not any different from exposing the crimes of the Kuomintang."<sup>11</sup> The proposal was rejected. After learning of the rejection, the Central Committee reduced the proposal to 12 articles and instructed its negotiator to propose the other 8 articles verbally during the negotiations. On 5 June, Chang and Wang still refused to forward the proposal to the government. After many days of argument, the proposal was finally transmitted to the government. From this instance alone one can see that the CCP Central Committee, to show respect for the opinions of the other side, did not mind compromising by reducing the formal articles for the sake of the success of the negotiations. On the contrary, the government representatives fully showed their rascal-like faces, because transmittal of the opposite side's opinion to the organization they represent is the minimum duty and obligation of the representatives in any negotiations. To agree on negotiating and at the same time refuse to transmit the opinion of the opposite side is seldom seen in any negotiations. We don't know how to describe this kind of attitude except by calling it "rascal-like" or "scoundrel-like."

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

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

<sup>0</sup> CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO [Liberation Daily], 20 September 1944.

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

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

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

1004

CSO: 4005

## YENAN OBSERVER ON THE WAR SITUATION IN CHINA

21 September 1944

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>0</sup> CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 23 September 1944.

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

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

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

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## UNITED FRONT POLICY ON THE CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL FRONTS

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

30 October 1944

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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## YENAN AUTHORITIES COMMENT ON KUOMINTANG PARTY AND GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL RESHUFFLE

22 November 1944

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

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

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

<sup>0</sup> CHIEH-FAKG JIH-PAO, 23 November 1944.

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## TASKS FOR 1945

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Among the 90 million people there must be at least 5 percent, i.e., 4,5 million, serving in the militia. In other words, the current number of militia must be doubled. Some areas have not given serious attention to this work. In these areas the militia is too small in number, short of training and inferior in quality. This situation must be changed in 1945. The self-defense army and the militia must not miss the farming seasons, absence from work must be reduced, and production must not be hampered. Here the labor exchange method is necessary. The fighting militia organization and the productive labor exchange can often be combined. The leadership organs of the self-defense army and the militia must be democratically elected. Only thus will we be able to expand the self-defense army and the militia and raise their combat power. The major means of combat of the militia is the land mine, and the land -mine movement must be popularized in all rural villages. The manufacture of all types of land mines and training in the technique of detonation are critical.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHIER-FANG JIH-PAO, 16 December 1944.

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## NEW YEAR MESSAGE--STRIVE FOR EARLY VICTORY 1

January 1945

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

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