

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

°. CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 1 January 1945

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

6080

CSO: 4005

YENAN AUTHORITIES ON CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S NEW YEAR RADIO SPEECH 3

January 1945

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

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

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

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

⁰ CHIEH-FAHG JIH-PAO, 4 November 1945.

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

6080

CSO: 4005

YENAN AUTHORITIES REFUTE WEI TAO-MING'S LIES 4

February 1945

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

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

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

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

⁰ CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 5 February 1945.

6080

CSO: 4005

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

7 February 1945

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

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

⁰ "Eulogies of Chairman Mao and Commander in Chief Chu," CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 8 February 1945.

6080

CSO: 4005

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

6 June 1945

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

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

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

⁰ CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 17 June 1945.

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

6080

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SPEECH AT MEMORIAL MEETING FOR CHINA'S REVOLUTIONARY MARTYRS 17

June 1945

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

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

⁰ "The Seventh Chinese Communist Party Congress and Representatives of All Fields in Yen-an Held a Memorial Mass Meeting for China's Revolutionary Patriots 2 Days Ago," CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 19 June 1945.

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

18 June 1945

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

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

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

Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, 18 June. ⁰

CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 30 June 1945.

6080

CSO: 4005

COMMENTS ON CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S SPEECH OK 7 JULY 8

July 1945

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

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

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

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

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

⁰ CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 9 July 1945

6080

CSO: 4005

CHAIRMAN MAO'S CABLED REPLY TO CHIANG KAI-SHEK 16

August 1945

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

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

Mao Tse-tung

⁰ CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 17 August 1945

6080

CSO: 4005

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

22 August 1945

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

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

Mao Tse-tungj Yen-an.

⁰ CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 23 August 1945.

6080

CSO: 4005

CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE DECLARATION ON THE CURRENT SITUATION 25

August 1945

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

Countrymen of the whole nation!

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (1) Recognise the government elected by the people and the resist-Japan troops in China's liberated areas, and withdraw the troops besieging and attacking the liberated areas in order to realize peace immediately and avoid a civil war.
- (2) Designate the areas for accepting the surrender of the Japanese troops by the 8th Route Army, the New 4th Army, and the South China Resist-Japan Column and, in order to show fairness, grant them the right to participate in all work connected with the handling of Japan.
- (3) Severely punish the traitors; disband the puppet troops.
- 04) Reorganize the troops and handle demobilization fairly and rationally; give relief to the refugees and reduce taxes in order to lessen the burden of the people.
- (5) Recognize the legitimacy of the parties and factions; abolish all decrees blocking the people's freedom of meeting, association, speech and publication; abolish the secret service organ; release patriotic political prisoners.
- (6) Immediately call a meeting of all parties and factions and those without party or factional affiliations to discuss the major postwar issues, formulate a democratic political program, end political tutelage, form a democratic coalition government supported by the entire nation, and prepare for a free and unrestricted general election to elect a people's congress.

The Chinese Communist Party declares that it is willing to strive for an agreement with the Chinese Kuomintang and the democratic parties and factions in order to promptly solve all the emergency issues, attain permanent unity and thoroughly implement Dr Sun Yat-sen's three principles of democracy.

Countrymen!

The resistance war has been won! A new period of peaceful reconstruction has begun! We must adhere to peace, democracy and unity and struggle for an independent, free and powerful new China!

Chinese Communist Party Central Committee

25 August 1945

⁰ CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 27 August 1945.

* "Struggle for Peace," HStN-HUA JIH-PAO, November 1945.

6080

CSO: 4005

CHAIRMAN MAO'S SPEECH UPON ARRIVAL IN CHUNGKING 28

August 1945

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 30 August—After arriving and deplaning In Chungking on the 28th, Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Chairman Comrade Mao Tse-tung made the following statement:

My trip to Chungking is upon the invitation of National Government Chairman Mr Chiang Kai-shek to discuss the great issues of unity and national reconstruction. With the successful conclusion of the resistance war, China will soon enter the period of peaceful reconstruction. The current opportunity is most important, and the most urgent issues are to assure domestic peace, introduce democratic politics, and consolidate domestic unity. All existing urgent political and military issues within the country must be rationally solved on the foundation of peace, democracy and unity in order to realize national unification and build an independent, free and powerful new China. It is hoped that all resist-Japan political parties and patriots in China will unite and struggle together for the realization of the above goals. I wish to thank Mr Chiang Kai-shek for his invitation.

⁰ CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 30 August 1945.

* "Struggle for Peace—statement at the Chungking Airport/¹ HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO, November 1945.

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CSO: 4005

INTERVIEW WITH 'TA KUNG PAO'¹ CORRESPONDENT 5

September 1945

[Text] TA KUNG PAO on 6 September published an interview with Comrade Mao Tse-tung. When receiving a reporter of this paper yesterday afternoon, Mao Tse-tung stated:

After having been in Chungking for 5 days and discussing the issue of unity with the Central Government, I have no concrete results to report to my countrymen as yet. The only thing which can be said is that a civil war will definitely be avoided. If China's political and military commands remain disunited, this will be an impossible situation. Yet, unity in political and military commands must be founded on democratic politics. Only a political conference including the representatives of all parties and factions and those without party or factional affiliations will solve the current national issues, and only a democratic and united coalition government will bring happiness to the people. Democracy means power for the people. The situation in the Border Region and liberated areas is different from that in other areas. We have a government elected by the people and a self-defense army, but no tithing chiefs. Tithing chiefs control the people and are most undesirable. Another result of our discussions is the postponement of a people's congress; no accord has been reached on the issue of delegates. The Chinese Communist Party does not wish to retain the old delegates; it advocates, in principle, a general election.

Finally, commenting on the Sino-Soviet treaty, Mao Tse-tung said: This treaty is a safeguard for peace in the Far East. Some people find it unfavorable to China's democratic movement, but actually the opposite is true. We can wait and see with our eyes peeled. Others are amazed that the Soviet Union considers the National Government the objective, but actually there is no other objective than the National Government. Nevertheless, the treaty does not restrict the right of the Soviet Union to criticize China's politics, and it may still express its opinion publicly. A few days ago an article in the Soviet RED STAR stated that China should proceed toward democratic politics, and it eagerly hoped for unity between China's two parties. China is fortunate to have a powerful ally. We should not suspect aggression by another nation. Mao Tse-tung then expressed his hope that the discussions would produce early results.

⁰ "Struggle for Peace," HSIN-HUA JTH-PAO, November 1945.

CHAIRMAN MAO ISSUES STATEMENT IN CHUNGKING HOPING FOR GOOD RESULTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS

13 September 1945

[Text] UNITED PRESS, Chungking, 13 September--Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung stated this afternoon:

The policy of the Communist Party is to establish peace and democracy in China. It is the reason for my trip to Chungking. ^n regard to the two-party negotiations, he said that he could not comment on the progress of the negotiations with the Kuomintang leaders. He said: "The most important thing for China is peace." He said that the Communist Party hoped for favorable results. "Then China will pass from the stage of resistance war to the period of peaceful construction. I believe this is the hope of the whole world as well as of the people throughout China." He declared that the Communist Party would devote all its efforts toward the above goal.

⁰ CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 14 September 1945.

* "Struggle for Peace," HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO, November 1945.

REUTER, Chungking, 13 September--For the first time since the beginning of negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party 2 weeks ago, Communist Party leader Gen Mao Tse-tung made a public statement today:

As the people of the entire nation hope for peace, I have come to Chungking to devote all my efforts toward that end. We Communist Party members hope for favorable results from the negotiations so that China will shift from the resistance war to peaceful construction. The progress of the negotiations will not be made public. Nevertheless, he hoped that the negotiations would be successful. He also said: I hope that, while the negotiations are in progress, no conflict will arise between the troops of the Communist Party and the Kuomintang. The Communist Party troops would rather withdraw than to clash with the Kuomintang troops, but they will continue to fight the enemy and puppet troops.

⁰ CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 14 September 1945.

SPEECH AT A POLITICAL COUNCIL TEA 18

September 1945

[Text] The members of the People's Political Council in Chungking gave a tea on 18 September to welcome Comrade Mao Tse-tung. At the tea, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a statement, which briefly is as follows:

Today is the anniversary of 18 September, and first we must celebrate our victory. After 8 years of resistance war, victory has finally arrived, especially in the Northeast, which, after 14 years of enemy occupation since the 18 September Incident, has now been successfully liberated. On this day I feel doubly excited. I am most honored to be able to see you gentlemen, ray friends and my elders during this period. I recall the extreme hardships during the resistance war. However, as a result of the unanimous effort of the entire country, we have safely weathered them. I am most grateful to Chairman Chiang for his invitation to come to Chungking to discuss national affairs together. The future must be a new era of peaceful development and national reconstruction, and we must unite and firmly avoid a civil war. Any other policy would be wrong. Therefore, all parties and factions must, under the above policy, unite as one and thoroughly implement the three principles of democracy in order to build a modern new China.

⁰ "Struggle for Peace," HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO, November 1945.

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ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY REUTER CORRESPONDENT CAMPBELL

Published by HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO, Chungking, 27 September 1945

[Text] Editor's Note: During the period of Chairman Mao's visit to Chungking between 28 August and 11 October 1945 to attend the negotiations upon invitation, British REUTER correspondent Mr Campbell submitted 12 written questions, and Chairman Mao answered them one by one. The original text was published in the Chungking HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO on 27 September.

(1) Question: Is it possible to avoid a civil war by means of an agreement instead of by force?

Answer: It is possible, because it will be compatible with the interests of the Chinese people and of China's party in power. Currently, China only needs the policy of peaceful national reconstruction and nothing else; therefore, a civil war must be firmly avoided.

(2) Question: What concessions are the Chinese Communist Party ready to make in order to reach an agreement?

Answer: On the condition of realizing national peace, democracy, and unity, the Chinese Communist Party is ready to make important concessions, including reducing the liberated areas and the troops.

(3) Question: What compromises or concessions must the Central Government make before it can satisfy the Chinese Communist Party?

Answer: The views of the Chinese Communist Party were expressed in the recent declaration of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. It requests that the Kuomintang government recognize the government of the liberated areas elected by the people and the people's army, permit them to participate in accepting Japan's surrender, severely punish the traitors and puppet troops, reorganize the troops fairly and rationally, protect the people's freedoms and rights, and form a democratic coalition government.

(4) Question: Are you hopeful that the negotiations will produce an agreement, or even a temporary agreement?

Answer: I have full confidence in the results of the negotiations, feeling that, with the common effort and -mutual compromise of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, the negotiations will produce not just a temporary agreement but one which will guarantee a long-term peaceful reconstruction.

(5) Question: If the negotiations should break down, would it be possible to solve the Kuomintang-Communist Party issue without bloodshed?

Answer: I don't believe the negotiations will break down, In any situation the Chinese Communist Party will adhere to the policy of avoiding a civil war.,. There may be difficulties, but it is possible to overcome them.

(6) Question! What is the attitude of the Communist Party toward the Sino-Soviet treaty?

Answer: We fully support the Sino-Soviet treaty and hope for its early realization, because it will benefit the people of the two nations and world peace, especially peace in the Far East.

(7) Question: After Japan's surrender, do you plan to continue occupying the areas you now occupy?

Answer: The Communist Party requests that the Central Government recognize the government of the liberated areas elected by the people and the people's troops. It is only asking the government to introduce local self-government long promised by the Kuomintang in order to safeguard the local democratic reforms in the political, military, economic and educational spheres carried out by the people during the war. All the reforms are compatible with the ideals of Dr Sun Yat-sen, the creator of the Kuomintang,

(8) Question: If a coalition government is formed, to what extent are you prepared to cooperate with Chiang Kai-shek?

Answer: If a coalition government is formed, the Communist Party will do its utmost to cooperate with Chairman Chiang in order to build an independent, free, and powerful new China and thoroughly implement Dr Sun Yat-sen's three principles of democracy.

(9) Question: (i) How many Communist Party members in North China will be influenced by your action and decision? (ii) How many of them are armed? (iii) In what other areas are Chinese Communist Party members active?

Answer: The policy for Communist Party members is decided by the party's Central Committee. The Chinese Communist Party now has over 1.2 million members, and the number of people who have acquired a democratic life under the party's leadership far exceeds 100 million. According to the principle

of spontaneity, they have organized over 1.2 million troops and over 2.2 million militia. Besides the North China provinces and the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region in the Northwest, they are distributed in Kiangsu, Anhwei, Chekiang, Fukien, Honan, Hupeh, Hunan and Kwangtung. Chinese Communist Party members are distributed throughout all provinces in the nation,

(10) What are the concept and definition of a free and democratic China according to the Chinese Communist Party?

Answer: A free and democratic China will be this kind of nation: All levels of government, including the central government, are created by general and equal secret balloting and are responsible to the people who elected them. It will implement Dr Sun Yat-sen's three principles of democracy, Lincoln's principle of "of the people, by the people, and for the people," and Roosevelt's Atlantic Charter. It will assure the independence and unity of the nation and cooperate with all democratic powers.

(11) Question: In the coalition government of all parties and factions, what are the reconstruction and recovery policies of the Chinese Communist Party?

Answer: Besides the democratic reform of military affairs and politics, the Chinese Communist Party will propose to the government the introduction of an economic and cultural construction program. The goal of the program is mainly to reduce the people's burden, improve the people's life, implement land reform and industrialization, encourage private enterprise (except those units of a monopolistic nature which must be operated by the democratic government), welcome foreign investment and develop 'international trade under the principle of equality and mutual benefit, popularize mass education, and wipe out illiteracy. All these are compatible with Dr Sun Yat-sen's instructions.

(12) Question: Do you support nationalizing the troops and abolishing private forces?

Answer: We fully support nationalizing the troops and abolishing private forces, and the common prerequisite of the two matters is democratization of the state. What is commonly known as the "Communist Party army" has actually been voluntarily organized by the Chinese people during the war, and its only duty is to defend the nation. It is a new-model army, completely different from the old-type troops of the past in China belonging to private individuals. Its democratic essence will furnish valuable experience for the true nationalization of China's troops and serve as a reference for the improvement of its other military units.

⁰ "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol 3, 1947 edition.

* CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 8 October 1945.

* "Struggle for Peace," HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO, November 1945.

A HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO, 27 September 1945.

SPEECH AT A RECEPTION IN THE MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMISSION AUDITORIUM 8

October 1945

[Text] Mr Chang Chih-chung gave a big reception on the evening of 8 October in the Military Affairs Commission auditorium for Comrade Mao Tse-tung. At the start of the reception Minister Chang, as the host, first made a statement. (Middle portion omitted-Editor) Immediately thereafter Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a statement. He said:

For my trip to Chungking this time I must thank Mr Chiang for his invitation and for his hospitality of more than 40 days. I thank Mr Chang Wen-pai, the host tonight, for such a big banquet, and I also thank the people of all fields attending the reception.

The people of the whole nation, our friends of the whole world, and the governments of our Allies are interested in the negotiations, because they concern not just the two parties but are linked with the interests of the people of the whole nation. The progress of the negotiations, as mentioned by Mr Chang, makes us optimistic. After the defeat of fascism in the East and the West, the world has become a bright world, and China has become a bright China. In the last 30 years the world has undergone two great wars. The nature of the second war was different from the first one. During the war this time the world and China both made rapid progress. The goal of the current negotiations is to realize peaceful national reconstruction. Today China has only one path—peace. Peace is supreme, and anything else is wrong. (Applause) The negotiations are being conducted in a friendly atmosphere. As regards those issues on which no accord has been reached, we have agreed to solve them by continued negotiations, and not by any other means. The policy of realizing unification on the foundation of peaceful and democratic unity is compatible with the demand of the people of the whole nation and with that of the people of the whole world and the allied governments. Peace and cooperation must be long-term. All of us must, with one mind, refrain from making other calculations and form a plan of long-term cooperation. (Applause) The people of the whole country and all parties and factions must strive unanimously for several decades and, under the leadership of Chairman Chiang, thoroughly realise the three principles of democracy and build an independent, free and powerful new China!

That there will be difficulties must not be denied; it will be detrimental if this point is not brought to our attention. The Chinese people are now faced with difficulties, and there will be many more difficulties in the future. But the Chinese people do not fear difficulties. When the Kuornintang and the Communist Party and all parties and factions are united, we will not fear difficulties. Regardless of how great the difficulties, under the policy of peace, democracy and unification, under the leadership of Chairman Chiang, and under the policy of thoroughly implementing the three principles of democracy, all difficulties will be surmounted. (Loud applause) Long live the new China! Long live Chairman Chiang! (Sustained applause)

⁰ "Struggle for Peace," HSIN-HUA JIH-PAO, November 1945.

"People of All Fields in Chungking Held a Farewell Party Last Night for Chairman Mao Upon His Approaching Return to Yen-an," CHIEH-FARG JIH-PAO, 9 October 1945.

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PEOPLE OF CHINA AND AMERICA: ARISE TO STOP THE EXPANSION OF THE CHINESE CIVIL WAR

15 November 1945

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 15 November—In view of the extremely tense situation in the Shanhaikuan area, a HSIN-HUA reporter made an urgent appeal to the people of China and America:

Just when the Kuomintang promises to call a political conference and pretends to seek peace by negotiations, the biggest battle in the undeclared civil war has flared up in the Shanhaikuan area. One special feature of this battle is that the Kuomintang is mustering all its crack troops in this area. It has already transferred, or is preparing to transfer, as many as six armies, i.e., the 13th, 92d, 94th, 16th, 52d (and another army whose number will be ascertained), using five of them to attack the Shanhaikuan line and the 92d against Jehol in coordination. The second special feature of this battle is most brazenly manifested in the armed intervention in China's internal affairs by American troops stationed in China. All the Kuomintang troops are aided by American troops and transported by American ships and planes. Ch'inhuangtao, the base of the Kuomintang troops south of Shanhaikuan, has been set up singlehandedly by the American troops, and currently American troops are still stationed there to defend it. All these Kuomintang troops have been, under the excuse of "preparing to launch a counteroffensive against Japan," equipped with American arms and trained by American officers. All are currently under the "assistant" direction of American officers. In some units every regiment has 10 American officers and every battalion 1. American troops supply the Kuomintang troops with heavy arms—artillery, tanks, planes, etc. The ammunition, provisions, and gasoline of the Kuomintang troops have all been transported by American ships and planes. Even the coal for the Kuomintang troops is produced by mines "protected" by American troops and shipped on railways "protected" by American troops. Without such conduct of "noninterference in China's internal affairs," such conduct of "not getting involved in China's civil war," such conduct of "not hoping for China's domestic disputes," and such conduct of "not helping the Central army in the anticommunist war" on the part of the American troops stationed in China, how could the Shanhaikuan battle of such unprecedented magnitude have been started?

Is such conduct by the American troops for the purpose of disarming and repatriating the Japanese? Isn't it 10,000 li from the subject matter? Isn't it a case of the cart in the south and the tracks in the north?

Wedermeier repeats over and over again the phrase "protection of American life and property," while at the same time he puts many Americans among the Kuomintang troops, on the battlefield, and under cannonfire where death stalks constantly. Are these the means to "protect American life?" For the American soldiers to die in a reactionary civil war blocking the independence and freedom of the Chinese people, instead of in the just war against Japan, what is the significance and what the value?

The HSIN-HUA reporter appealed to all the people of China and America for their attention:

An unprecedented massacre will take place in the Shanhaikuan area. It will be a dirty massacre. In its actual significance it is not only China's civil war but a war of the American troops stationed in China against the Chinese people. It must be stopped immediately! The people of China and America in all fields must immediately send their investigation teams there, rise unanimously, and stop the massacre by all possible means.

Take prompt action, stop the imminent big battle in the Shanhaikuan area, and save the thousands and tens of thousands of sons of the Chinese and American people! Oppose the Kuomintang's attack against the liberated areas! Oppose armed intervention in China's internal affairs!

⁰ CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 16 November 1945.

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YENAN AUTHORITIES COMMENT ON THE ISSUE OF CALLING A PEOPLE'S CONGRESS, SAYING THAT THE KUOMINTANG'S UNILATERAL ACTION INDICATES ITS DECISION TO START A LARGE-SCALE CIVIL WAR

16 November 1945

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yen-an, 16 November—According to a report disseminated by REUTER and the U.S. Information Office, the National Government on the 12th of this month declared that a people's congress would be called on 5 May next year. No further details have been learned. Nevertheless, Yen-an is paying serious attention to the report, feeling that the Kuomintang and the National Government have betrayed, once again, the "Double-Ten Agreement." The full text on the people's congress in the "Synopsis of the Kuomintang-Communist Negotiations" published on the 12th of last month is as follows: "3. Concerning the issue of a people's congress, the Chinese Communist Party proposes three items: Reelect the delegates to the people's congress; postpone the holding of a people's congress; revise the organization and election laws of the people's congress and the 5 May draft constitution. The government expressed the following opinion: The credentials of the delegates already elected to the people's congress must remain valid, and their number would be rationally increased and legitimately solved; the people of the various fields had been activated to study and discuss the 5 May draft constitution and express their views on revisions. Therefore, no accord was reached between the two sides. Nevertheless, the Communist Party declared that it would not let the dispute over this issue break up the unity. Both sides agreed to submit the issue to the Political Conference for solution." In the "Synopsis" it was provided that "conferring on national affairs and discussing the program of peaceful reconstruction and the various issues of the people's congress" constituted the main topics of the Political Conference. Barely 1 month after the publication of the "Synopsis" and before the holding of the Political Conference, the National Government, by its unilateral action, actually announced the date for the holding of a people's congress. This proves that, in regard to any major political issue, the Kuomintang has no sincere intention to resort to political means and solve the issues by consulting with all the parties and factions. It also shows that the Kuomintang government has made the decision to split domestic unity and

launch a large-scale civil war. The same authorities indicate that, given. such an arbitrary unilateral action on the part of the National Government, whether the Political Conference, with the discussion of issues concerning the people's congress as one of its major topics, still has any significance is highly questionable. Furthermore, even after the start of the Political Conference, who can guarantee that the Kuomintang will not again break its promise and tear up any agreement reached at the conference?

⁰ CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 17 November 1945.

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CSO: 4005

CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S NEW YEAR SPEECH AND THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE 7

January 1946

[Text] It is reported that the Political Consultative Conference, postponed time and again by the Kuomintang, will convene on the 10th of this month. Though the Kuomintang government agreed to call the conference last October, it is reported that even today, some 3 months later, the Kuomintang has not made "preparations" or given any constructive indications. The Chungking press has long indicated that the Kuomintang takes a superficial attitude toward this conference, which has the unanimous serious attention of all fields here and abroad, and that it does not intend to solve any issue by it. This attitude has been completely verified in the New Year broadcast of National Government chairman and Kuomintang director general Chiang Kai-shek.

Why do all of China and the whole world pay serious attention to the Political Consultative Conference? In a word, they hope that it will find a solution for China's current dangerous political situation, i.e., stopping the civil war, and make decisive reforms in the dictatorial system, which is the source of the civil war. The one-party, military, and personal dictatorship of the National Government should have been abolished long ago. As early as in the fall of the year before last, public opinion of China and foreign countries (primarily America) proposed the formation of a coalition government and a coalition command headquarters. Immediately thereafter the Chinese Communist Party, based on this proposal, made a formal written suggestion to the Kuomintang authorities which won the support of President Roosevelt. Thereafter, though, as President Roosevelt stated, "everything now seems to be hopeless, because the Kuomintang expressed entirely fallacious opposition to the revisions proposed by Yen-an" (Snow: "The Model of Soviet Political Power," Ch 8), and China's democratic parties and factions not only did not abandon the proposal but demanded that a conference of delegates of all parties and factions and democratic elements without party or factional affiliations be held first, so that a coalition government and a coalition command headquarters could be realized through the conference. At the end of last August, when Comrade Mao Tse-tung, upon Chiang Kai-shek's invitation, went to Chungking to discuss national affairs, he

again brought up the issue of calling such a conference. As the arrogant Kuomintang authorities adamantly refused to accept such designations as "party and factional conference" or "political conference," while the Communist Party delegates, striving for unity, did not wish to argue endlessly on the subject, the designation was recorded in the "Synopsis of Negotiations" as the Political Consultative Conference. But its tasks were still described as "ending political tutelage; introducing constitutional politics ... discussing the issues of national affairs, peaceful national construction, and the National Congress." What is the meaning of discussing national affairs and the National Congress? Obviously, the fundamental issue of national affairs today, aside from stopping the civil war, is to end the so-called "political tutelage" of one-party, military, and personal dictatorship. As the Kuomintang "National Congress," exclusively created by the Kuomintang "political tutelage" authorities, opposes democracy, strengthens dictatorship, sabotages unity, aggravates division, and attempts to legalize the one-party dictatorship and extend it indefinitely, in order to end the Kuomintang's one-party dictatorship the National Congress exclusively handled by one party must be simultaneously ended, a coalition government and a coalition command headquarters created, a true National Congress prepared and convened by the coalition government, and democratic constitutional politics introduced. The fundamental crux of China's national affairs was clearly expressed in U.S. President Truman's announcement of 15 December last year. President Truman demanded that "the National Government and the Chinese Communist Party and China's other dissident armed units negotiate and cease hostile actions" and that "a conference of delegates of the major political factions in the entire nation be convened in order to solve the current internal dispute promptly and hasten China's unification." Meanwhile, to solve the internal dispute and hasten unification, the delegates conference must possess the power to end the one-party dictatorship and reorganize the National Government. President Truman said: "The United States well knows that the current Chinese National Government is a one-party government and believes that, if the foundation of this government is enlarged to include other domestic parties and factions, it will promote China's peace, unity, and democracy. Therefore, the United States strongly advocates that the delegates of all China's major political elements hold a national conference and decide on the means to enable them to enjoy fair and effective representation in the Chinese National Government. The United States Government feels that it will require the revision of the one-party political tutelage system created by Dr Sun Yat-sen, the father of the Republic of China, as a temporary measure during the nation's advance toward democracy." President Truman affirmed that political democratization is the prerequisite for the nationalization of the armed forces. He said: "Once an extensive parliamentary representative government is formed ... the autonomous military forces and all armed units in China must be effectively combined into a Chinese national army." On 27 December the official report of the Moscow three-nation foreign ministers conference reiterated the necessity for the democratization of the National Government, and its language was

even clearer: "All the democratic elements in the nation must be widely absorbed into all (or all levels of) the structures of the National Government." On 30 December U.S. Secretary of State Byrnes in his broadcast also repeated this theme and clearly pointed out that unity could be attained only through peace and democracy: "To assure a united, peaceful, and democratic China under the National Government, the civil war must be stopped and the democratic elements must be permitted broad participation in the National Government." Now the facts are clear: The tasks of the Political Consultative Conference are to realize unconditional cessation of the civil war, to end the one-party dictatorship, to reorganize the National Government, to form a democratic coalition government, and to provide extensive, fair, and effective representation of all democratic elements in all structures of the entire democratic coalition National Government. Since this democratic coalition government must unconditionally and effectively end the one-party political tutelage system, it naturally must unconditionally and effectively end the one-party National Congress, the bastard of one-party political tutelage; naturally the 5 May "transfer of power" arranged by the Kuomintang authorities to the mysterious bastard, which is not recognized by any democratic element, prior to the formation of an "effective" democratic government (which is entirely possible), making China more dictatorial and divided and embellishing such a "transfer" as "constitutional politics" in order to hoodwink our countrymen, must not be permitted. The Political Consultative Conference, hoped for and closely watched by all of China and the whole world, is a plenary conference with the power to stop the civil war and end the one-party dictatorship unconditionally. On this point there is no room for any distortion or evasion.

The Kuomintang authorities expressed their consent to President Truman's announcement and the official report of the three-nation foreign ministers conference. Chiang Kai-shek even said that "President Truman's announcement and mine are identical; his views are my views"; therefore, the people entertained high hopes regarding the meeting date of the Political Consultative Conference he announced and his simultaneous broadcast speech. The people hoped that they would hear, in his speech, his views on the conference which would begin 10 days later and which would determine China's historical direction hereafter. Unfortunately, though lavishly embellished with phrases about peace and democracy, Chiang Kai-shek in his 5,000-word speech purposely refrained from mentioning the Political Consultative Conference or the announcements of President Truman and the three foreign ministers. What is even more regrettable is that he has, in fact, absolutely rejected their suggestions on China and absolutely refused to confer any power on the Political Consultative Conference, not even the power to discuss the holding of the National Congress. The Kuomintang authorities, without going through any discussions, declared last November that the National Congress would be convened on 5 May, and Chiang's speech also confirmed it over and over again, though still maintaining that it was in response to the opinions of the various parties and factions. In his

speech Chiang, without naming names, fiercely censured and maligned the Communist Party, blaming it for the civil war and all the destruction resulting from it. But we do not wish to argue excessively, because in the past few months the Kuomintang (especially the HO-P^TTNG JIH PAO of the Political Department of the Kuomintang Military Affairs Commission) has consistently propagandized that "the Communist Party is anti-civil war" while the Kuomintang is "anti-anti-civil war." Just this one thing alone is sufficient to explain everything. Our concern is Chiang's view of China's political future, as it is directly linked with the destiny of 450 million people. Chiang has firmly declared that "the only prerequisite for the solution of the current dispute and unrest" is not peace and democracy but "the unification of military and political commands," regardless of whether such military and political commands are against the interests of the state and the nation or whether they are against the people's fundamental rights and universal desire. He also maintains that it is possible to end the civil war, (which he fastidiously refers to as "concluding military actions"; though the whole world is discussing China's civil war, China's Military Affairs Commission chairman has refused, even now, to admit its existence in China), but not without conditions. "Communications must first be restored," i.e., the means for him to escalate the civil war must first be restored. He says that the National Government can be enlarged, but not before the unification of the armed forces. On the contrary, before the democratization of the government, the 8th Route Army and New 4th Army must first be handed over to the Kuomintang, i.e., to him. In other words, the means for expanding his dictatorship must first be assured. He says that democracy can be realized, but not by means of a coalition government. It must be accomplished by first convening, 4 months hence, a so-called National Congress, or a dictatorial congress exclusively handled by one party, as "the fundamental laws cannot be changed," i.e., the dictatorial laws cannot be changed. Chiang's interpretations are clearly opposed to the views of all the democratic elements in China and of President Truman and the foreign ministers of the three nations. According to his interpretations, there is no need to hold the Political Consultative Conference. Therefore, before the inauguration of the conference we must first look straight at, examine, and solve this fundamental division: On the one hand are the demands of all the democratic parties, factions and democratic figures and the entire population of China, as well as the desires of the people of America, the Soviet Union, and England as expressed by President Truman and the three foreign ministers—the unconditional cessation of the civil war, the ending of dictatorship, and the creation of a democratic coalition government via the Political Consultative Conference, thereby realizing the unification of China; on the other hand are the attempts of Chiang Kai-shek and the few military, party, and financial overlords in the Kuomintang—forbidding the Political Consultative Conference from solving any issue, continuing the dictatorship, and backing up the continued dictatorship by means of continuing the civil war. The former has the support of all of China and the entire world and, until the publication of Chiang's speech,

the verbal support of the Kuomintang authorities. But now Chiang has begun to attack these views, and the division has come to the surface. Over a long period of time this paper has not taken notice of the despicable rumors and vilifications of the Kuomintang papers and the Kuomintang CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY, but when it comes to a division linked with the future of the state and the nation created by Chiang's speech, we, on the eve of the Political Consultative Conference, have no choice but to express our opinions. Solving this division will involve a serious and complex process of struggle. However, it will greatly educate the Chinese people and afford them every opportunity to discern the right and wrong, recognize the political theories of each and every party and faction, newspaper, and individual, and determine their stand—whether they support or oppose the people.

When criticizing Chiang's speech, the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE asked, "How can peace in China be attained by repeating the old tunes?" Though the views expressed in the speech are tedious repetitions of old tunes long rejected by the people of the entire nation and clearly opposed to the views of the democratic elements in China and the democratic nations in the world, for the sake of being careful we will make a patient and objective examination of them and see whether they contain certain partial truths. Chiang's fundamental view, similar to what the Kuomintang papers have been propagandizing in recent days, is that all Chinese affairs should be handed over to him and the small group around him for their dictatorial decisions; as long as the people relinquish all their fundamental democratic rights and unconditionally obey all the military and political orders of the dictatorial group, then China will be unified and, after unification under the dictatorial group, the people will naturally be granted the opportunity for peaceful construction, democratic politics, and improvement of their lives. However, if Chiang's dictatorial plans are not accepted, China will never be unified; it will always suffer from civil war, dictatorship, poverty, and aggression. Therefore, we wish to ask two questions according to the facts: First, will China be able to attain democracy by means of such dictatorial unification? Next, will China be able to attain unification by means of such a dictatorial method?

The answer to the first question is in the negative. In foreign countries, Hitler, Mussolini, and Japan's emperor all practiced such dictatorial unification. However, under their unification they did not attain peace, democracy, or prosperity. They claimed that national defense was consolidated, but the result was the destruction of their own nations. As for China, the Chinese people have had much experience in such unification. China has had a history of unification for several thousand years, and the unification was accomplished by dictatorial, or "political tutelage," means (Chiang on innumerable occasions extolled the "democracy" in China's era of tyranny and criticized the "excessive freedom" of the people at that time), but after several thousand years of tutelage no democracy was created as a result. Since the founding of the republic,

each and every warlord practicing military or personal tyranny declared that there would be peace and democracy under his unification. But in all those 35 years no one has yet honored his promise. Are there differences between Chiang Kai-shek and his warlord forebears? There are. First, he has a nationwide one-party gestapo dictatorship which is a tool of terror undreamed of by the warlords of the past. Next, his military tyranny is much more powerful than theirs, because he possesses an unprecedentedly huge, private, and secret service-type army on a scale also undreamed of by the warlords of the past. Finally, the extent to which his personal power is concentrated also far exceeds that of any warlord of the past* Whether in the party, army, or government, he reigns supreme. His personal "hand orders" can change the decision of any government or military organ. Therefore, aside from resistance by the people, there is no power which can restrict his activities. Does Chiang have a greater "democratic" ideal than the warlords of the past? Absolutely not. Chiang claims that he is unable to introduce democracy at present because of the lack of unification. Such logic will not stand. He has at least "unified" most of China over a period of 18 years, but when and where has he introduced the least bit of democracy or improved in the least bit the people's living conditions? The "unification" of Chiang^T's area of control in the past 18 years has expanded year after year, while democracy has diminished year after year, because his secret service organ and secret service-type army have developed year after year. The poverty of the people and the economic crisis of the state have been aggravated year after year, because the control of his bureaucratic capital and corrupt and tyrannous group has grown year after year. Though his troops and military budget have swelled year after year, facts since the 18 September incident, and especially since the 7 July incident, have proved that the national defense strength of his army has dropped alarmingly, because his army is intended only for the purpose of fighting civil wars and can only fight civil wars, and civil wars, which are destructive of the national defense strength in both the spiritual and material aspects, have never ceased in the past 18 years. The saying "expert in civil war, amateur in foreign war" is an accurate evaluation by the people of his military leadership. He wishes to blame everything on the lack of unification, but don't the facts contradict this, and aren't they all the results of his dictatorial "unification"? Let us look at it another way: It is true that he has not "unified" the entire country, but compared with him the Communist Party has "unified" the country even less. Chiang possesses the political power of the Central Government and the greater part of China, while the Communist Party can only exert leadership over a small part of China. Yet why is it that the Communist Party, in areas under its leadership, whether provinces, countries, districts, or towns, can introduce popular elections, reduce rent and interest, and develop production? The equipment and supplies of the troops led by the Communist Party were not good, yet they could persevere for 7 years on the frontline and repel the greater part of the enemy army and almost the entire puppet army. It is because the Communist Party has "unified" the entire country while Chiang has not? Chiang says that the troops led by

the Communist Party are "a tremendous disgrace and loss to the state." Does he mean that resisting the enemy and puppet troops was a tremendous disgrace and loss, while the army which disintegrated on contact, covered 1,000 li in one retreat, watched and avoided battles, tried to save the nation in a roundabout way, created a 1-million-man puppet army, and even now coexists peacefully with the enemy and puppet troops and joins with them in resisting the communists is a tremendous glory and asset? In his speech Chiang censures the Communist Party for obstructing construction and preventing the people from living in peace and being content in their occupations, but why does he not permit the people to travel freely and compare and decide for themselves whether Yenan or Chungking, Peiping or Kalgan, are the areas in which the people can live in peace and be content in their occupations and pursue construction? The Communist Party vigorously strives to restore communications in peaceful areas, while Chiang, by means of the civil war, not only forces the Communist Party to destroy military communications in belligerent areas, but also disrupts the peaceful communications of nonbelligerent areas by blockading the Liberated Areas, of areas under his control by transporting troops, and of the Liberated Areas by bombing. Then who is guilty of destroying communications? Do not all these facts indicate that Chiang's defense of his own crimes on the grounds of lack of "unification" is completely uncreditable? Moreover, in areas which were once liberated by the Communist Party but which have been occupied by the Kuomintang authorities, areas which, according to Chiang's view, have been "unified," the original political, economic, and military reforms have been cruelly destroyed under the "unified" control of his military and political commands and his corrupt officials, secret service agents, and evil usurpers. This situation is also common knowledge throughout the world. Does it not indicate that all areas "unified" by Chiang and in which his followers faithfully implement his military and political commands are precisely the areas where no political, economic, or military reform can exist? To put it candidly, not only can the areas "unified" by Chiang not compare with the democratic autonomous areas built under the leadership of the Communist Party, but they are even inferior to areas under the control of those whom he has accused of being warlords. On the grounds that Lung Yun was a warlord, Chiang expelled him from Yunnan by force in order to realize the "unification" of his military and political commands. But look: What was the difference between Lung Yun's and Tu Yu-ming's Yunnan? Didn't Chiang have to summarily dismiss Tu Yu-ming by way of apology? After Tu was gone, Kuan Ling-cheng took his place. How did Kuan do in Yunnan? Didn't Chiang again have to summarily dismiss Kuan by way of apology? Even so, Lung Yun was not restored to his former position, while Tu Yu-ming, upon leaving Yunnan, immediately proceeded to Liaoning and Jehol to "unify" the military and political commands in these areas. Due to the bloody tragedy, unprecedented since the beginning of the Republic, which resulted from sending troops and police into the school, Kuan Ling-cheng had to temporarily lie low. Not only did he escape punishment according to the law, but he was awarded a "loyalty medal." The conse-

quences of Chiang's military and political command in the so-called recovered areas under "unification" furnish a particularly chilling lesson to the Chinese people. Chiang's "unification," in certain aspects, is not much different from the "unification" of the enemy and puppet troops, the people's living conditions are even harder than before, and even TA KUNG PAO, which is famous for supporting Chiang, has been forced to appeal loudly against "losing all public support." Do these facts not indicate that, under Chiang's present methods, the greater the "unification," the more tragic become democracy and the people's living conditions? These are the past and current conditions of the Chiang-style "unification." What about the future? Even according to Chiang's speech this time, the outcome will be merely one of calling a one-party National Congress, a dictatorial congress. All the "delegates"¹¹ will be elected by coercion, bribery, proxy, or appointment, and it will be the ugliest congress in the history of the world and the Republic. Through this dictatorial congress and through such a dictatorial constitution, Chiang promises an antiliberal and anticommunist "popular government" emulated by the world's fascists and copied by "China's Destiny," the fascist classic of China. Such will be the Chiang-style "democracy" after the Chiang-style "unification." Can the Chinese people accept such "unification" and such "democracy?" Like the people of foreign countries, the Chinese people naturally desire national unification. But the unification desired by the Chinese people is unification which will protect the state and the people, a democratic unification. Can such unification and Chiang's "unification" be discussed on the same level?

The answer to the second question, whether China will be able to attain unification by means of this dictatorial method, is also in the negative. Whether in foreign countries or in China, there was a historical period when "unification" of this kind could be accomplished, but that period has gone forever. In China it has been at least 50, if not 100, years since such "unification" could be accomplished. For the past 50 years the Chinese people, desiring freedom and independence, peace and prosperity, have always hoped for China's unification—a firm unification on the foundation of democracy. Yet China's dictators invariably rejected it. To preserve their dictatorship they always split with the people, though they then turned around and blamed the people for destroying "unity." Since the time when the emperor in the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty blamed the "autonomous troops" organized by Dr Sun Yat-sen for destroying his "unification of military and political commands" and attempted to preserve by force his own "unification," the situation of division has never been fundamentally changed. In his speech Chiang Kai-shek asks the people not to "sit on the sidelines and watch the nation repeat the mistakes of the early years of the Republic and sink into the desperate situation of division and collapse in the early years of the Republic? Even Chiang himself admitted that "Yuan's usurpation of the nation, the dangers of the Republic, and the inability of the citizenry to truly express its free will and demonstrate its strength created the

balkanization of the country by the warlords, resulting in the revolution since 1913, the 2d year of the Republic." In other words, the one who caused the division and collapse of the nation was none other than usurper warlord Yuan Shih-k'ai, who won the recognition of the nations of the world and who, sitting in the Central Government, vociferously advocated "unification of military and political commands." Naturally, Yuan Shih-k'ai would not admit his own act of warlord balkanization but blamed Dr Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang military governors for it. His only charm to ward off the 1913 revolution was "unification." He said: "Today it is not the issue of reconciling the north and the south but the issue of the local areas' refusing to obey the Central Government and how the latter must accomplish unification.... In the administrative system the Central Government must find the means of unification." But today, after the dust has settled, though Dr Sun (and Chiang, a subordinate of Dr Sun) organized an "autonomous army" and was blamed for destroying the unity of military and political commands and for sabotaging communications, he could be considered, after all, antiwarlord, revolutionary, democratic, and unity-minded. In his late years Dr Sun went north and negotiated for peace and unity with another usurper warlord, Tuan Ch'i-jui, hoping that Tuan would introduce democracy. This was the source of the slogan, "Save China by peaceful struggle," cited by Chiang in his speech. Tuan Ch'i-jui, Intoxicated with dictatorship, refused to negotiate with Dr Sun and forced the outbreak of China's great revolution. China originally had hopes of accomplishing unification in the great revolution, but, unexpectedly, Chiang's usurpation of the nation, the dangers of the Republic, and the inability of the citizenry to truly express its free will and demonstrate its strength created the balkanization of the country by the warlords, resulting since 1927 in the armed self-defense and democratic movement of the Communist Party and the revolutionary people of the entire nation against Chiang's extreme White terror. Under his dictatorship and civil war policy the 18 September Incident occurred. Putting aside the old grudges and following the spirit of "saving the nation by peaceful struggle," the Communist Party appealed for the cessation of the civil war and the united resistance against Japan. This appeal did not begin to be realized until after the peaceful solution of the Sian Incident in 1936, but Generals Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-ch'eng, who were instrumental in the peaceful solution, have not, even today, regained their freedom, while Chiang since 1939 has never, even for a day, stopped his armed attacks on the Communist Party. After the conclusion of the resistance war, the Communist Party still followed the spirit of "saving the nation by peaceful struggle" and appealed for the cessation of the civil war and the united construction of the nation, but since the publication of the "Synopsis of the Kuomintang-Communist Negotiations" last October Chiang has become more adamant than ever, secretly ordering "suppression of the bandits," sending 2 million troops, which had been transferred to the far rear, to the Northeast and to East, Central, and South China to fight a civil war of an unprecedented scale, while vociferously announcing "demobilization" and plunging the entire country into discord

and unrest. China's history of the past 50 years is thus filled with such civil wars created by the dictators. But look: Has China been "unified" in the hands of the dictators? Or has it been divided? Are not all the divisions the outcome of the "unification" policy of the dictators? Dictatorial "unification" can only produce division. Only by uniting with the democratic forces will unification be truly accomplished. Had Tuan Ch^Ti-jui accepted Dr Sun Yat-sen's demands, or had Chiang Kai-shek accepted the demands of the Communist Party, other democratic factions, and the people of the entire country, China's unification would have long been accomplished. Chiang and his faction claim that the local autonomy of the Liberated Areas hampers unification, but isn't the people's election of their own government the fundamental law of all democratic nations in the world? Chiang himself declares that the political power will be returned to the people, but why does he wish to seize the power from the people in areas where the political power has been returned to them? When the people decide their own political orders on a local level, why are such orders considered not unified? Does it mean that only when all 450 million people except one are deprived of their freedom of action will the political command be considered unified? Due to their refusal to recognize the people's commonplace rights to elect local governments and decide on local laws, Chiang and his faction have created the political division in China today. They delude themselves with the idea of solving the political division by means of armed unification. As a result, instead of armed unification, what they get is armed division. Why is it an armed division? Because in the past 50 years the political strife between dictatorship and democracy has often led to military strife between the two. Political dictators always rely on private, dictatorial armies to eliminate the democratic elements, forcing the politically democratic faction to create true national or popular armies. As they are compatible with the needs of history and the people, the national, or popular, armies, instead of being eliminated by the dictator, become ever more powerful. Their main body today is the 8th Route Army and New 4th Army. The Chinese people do not utilize these armies to seek division. On the contrary, they utilize them to seek democratic unification. Therefore, when the resistance war broke out, these troops became a part of the unified National Revolutionary Army. Nevertheless, Chiang-Kai-shek, insisting on a private, dictatorial army, was unwilling to nationalize and popularize his own troops by following the example of these troops. On the contrary, he refused to recognize the 8th Route Army and New 4th Army in fact and in law, maligning them as "disloyal troops" and "bandit troops" making all-out efforts to "encircle and exterminate" them, thus creating today's armed division. Since Chiang, by his own action, has proved that he follows the policy of division, proved that his armies are completely factional, private, and dictatorial, and refused to tolerate any national and popular troops, then, to assure the nationalization and popularization of China's troops, naturally, in the absence of a democratic coalition and a coalition command headquarters, the 8th Route Army and New 4th Army, as the nucleus of China's military reform, cannot be delivered to the dictatorship for extermination.

Such an action would be not only a reckless risk but also a crime—a crime against China's military reform and democratic unification. Since the Chinese people have firmly struggled for democratic unification for 50 years, and since they did not accept the dictatorial unification of the Manchus, or that of Yuan Shih-k'ai and Tuan Ch'i-jui, or that of Chiang Kai-shek in the past 18 years, then if Chiang does not abandon his dictatorial policy today, even if he threatens continued civil war, such threats will not produce any "unification." Therefore, not just politically, but also militarily, the history of the past 50 years has proved that China's unification can be accomplished only by walking the path of democratic unity, never the path of dictatorship.

In view of the above, Chiang's views cannot withstand the test of facts; they contain no truth. His "unification" will bring neither democracy nor unity to China. On the contrary, only by acceding to the demands of the democratic parties and factions of China and the democratic powers of the world, calling a plenary Political Consultative Conference, stopping the civil war unconditionally, ending Chiang's one-party, military, and personal dictatorship, and reorganizing the National Government into a democratic coalition government in which all democratic elements will enjoy extensive, fair, and effective representation will China attain democracy and unification. Democracy is the cause and unification the effect; stopping the civil war is the cause and restoring communications the effect; political democratization is the cause and army nationalization the effect; forming a democratic coalition government is the cause and creating a true National Congress the effect. Is it conceivable that Chiang fails to understand such simple relations between cause and effect? Naturally he understands them. That he intentionally reverses the cause and effect is merely for the purpose of seeking an excuse to preserve his dictatorship. Actually, the Chinese people, like the world's democratic powers, have, since the peaceful solution of the Sian Incident, recognized the National Government as a convenient instrument for realizing democratic unification. They never intended to overthrow this government and start something new. Therefore, Chiang will retain a definite position, though absolutely not dictatorial position, in the reorganized National Government. Chiang says that he "cannot abandon his revolutionary responsibilities." We feel that sacrificing the personal and obeying the people, sacrificing dictatorship and obeying democracy, constitute his greatest responsibility toward the revolution. His persistence in the policy of civil war after the end of the resistance war, as he himself stated, has actually led to the "instant drop in the position of the state and the national glory gained through 8 years of bloody sacrifices" and the danger of "China becoming a scorned international straggler." Therefore, Byrnes, in his broadcast of 30 December, openly declared: "China, divided by civil war, will not be able to take its proper position among the allies or efficiently perform its international obligations." Unfortunately, Chiang has, in his New Year speech, repeated his own past mistakes. Nevertheless, the

direction of history has been determined. No matter how much he and his faction resist, peace and democracy in China, with the firm struggle of the Chinese people and the sympathetic support of friendly democracies, will gain a decisive victory. What we hope for are unity and unification. Therefore, we still hope that Chiang and his faction will make good use of the opportunity, abandon their preconceived ideas, fully cooperate with all the democratic elements in China, and make the Political Consultative Conference successful, thereby enabling China to advance promptly on the bright highway of peaceful construction and. regain its proper international position.

⁰ FHLEH-FANG JIH PAO (Editorial), 7 January 1946

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party,"
Vol 5

+ "Collection of Military Affairs Documents on the Chinese People's
Liberation War" (1)

6080

CSO: 4005

NOTICE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON STOPPING
MILITARY CONFLICT IN CHINA

10 January 1946

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 10 Jan--The Chinese Communist Party Central "Committee today issued an announcement on stopping domestic military conflict:

Chinese Communist Party committees of all levels, leaders of all military units of China's Liberated Areas, and government comrades of all levels:

The delegates of this party and the National Government have concluded an agreement on the method of, and the order and declaration on stopping the domestic military conflict, and the agreement was promulgated today. All units under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, including regular troops, militia, irregular troops, and guerrillas, and the governments and Communist Party committees of all levels in the Liberated Areas must strictly observe the agreement, without any violation.

The efforts of the people of China, after defeating the Japanese aggressors, to create a peaceful situation inside the country have now produced an important result. Henceforth China's new stage of peace and democracy will begin. It is hoped that the comrades of the entire party and the people of the entire nation will cooperate closely, continue their efforts, and struggle to consolidate domestic peace, realize democratic reforms, and build an Independent, free, and powerful new China.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman, Chinese Communist Party Central Committee 10

January 1946

⁰ "Agreement Reached in Peace Negotiations; Kuomintang-Communist Joint Cease-fire Order Issued," 11 January 1946

* "Dawn of the New China/' June 1946

+ "Chairman Mao Issues Cease-fire Orders," "History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 5

YENAN AUTHORITIES COMMENT ON THE GREAT SUCCESS OF THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

1 February 1946

[Text] aSIK-HUA NEWS AGENCY,, Yen-an, 1 Feb--The Political Consultative Conference closed successfully yesterday. Yen-an authorities commented:

The results gained by the Political Consultative Conference are very important. The peaceful national construction program represents the common political program of the National Government after its reorganization and the general direction of democratic reforms to be followed by the entire nation in the transitional period. The principle for revising the draft constitution determines the basic principle for the democratization of China's national political system hereafter, and the resolution on army reorganization provides the basic principle for the nationalisation of all the nation's armed forces, while the resolution on reorganizing the government and increasing the components of the National Congress constitutes the condition for safeguarding the implementation of the common program and the successful formulation and implementation of these resolutions, China will soon, on a nationwide scale, begin to leave the one-party dictatorship of the state system. Though all the resolutions still have to be implemented and, even after their implementation, a long-term, tortuous process of struggle still has to be undergone before thorough democratization can be achieved, in order to overcome all kinds of difficulties and obstacles, China undoubtedly will hereafter enter the new stage of peaceful democratic construction, It is a great historical victory of China's democratic revolution. •,This victory is the result of the Chinese people's indomitable struggle in the past century and of the common efforts of the parties and factions and the substantial concessions they made. The authorities point out that the excellent resolutions are merely the inception and that everything hinges on their concrete and faithful implementation. Always faithful to its promises, the Chinese Communist Party will thoroughly implement all the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference in the Liberated Areas and among the troops in these areas with the most sincere attitude. All members of the Chinese Communist Party will devote their efforts to

peaceful and legitimate struggle throughout the nation for the thorough demonetization of the state and the construction of an independent, free, and powerful new China. The Chinese Communist Party welcomes Chairman Chiang's promise to implement the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference and the program of peaceful national construction, and it hopes that the Kuomintang will follow this spirit and pursue long-term cooperation with the people of the entire nation and the parties and factions, so that all the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference will be completely realized.

⁰ CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 1 February 1946

6080

CSO: 4005

STATEMENT OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE SPOKESMAN OF 17 MARCH

17 March 1946

[Text] Many influential persons in the Kuomintang are currently attempting to revise certain fundamental resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference, especially the one of the principle of the constitution. They will not have the consent of the Chinese Communist Party, other democratic parties and factions, and the broad masses for their action. The resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference are the result of the joint discussions and unanimous agreement of the plenary representatives of the various parties and factions. Everything they decided is compatible with the needs of the state and the hopes of the people. The resolution on the principle of the constitution, in particular, has won the support of international and domestic public opinion, which sees it as the only way to lay the foundation for democratization of the state. National Government Chairman Chiang personally served as chairman of the Political Consultative Conference. In his closing speech on 31 January, he declared solemnly that "as regards the resolutions adopted by the Political Consultative Conference, although I was unable to participate in them, I constantly studied them and gave them my attention, and I found that their entire contents were the crystallization of the sincere discussions of everyone concerned. On behalf of the government I wish to announce in advance that the government will respect the resolutions. As soon as the procedures are formulated, they will be implemented as decided." That the Kuomintang should suddenly propose revisions of the resolutions, including the principle of the constitution, just barely 1 1/2 months after the close of the conference is truly surprising. The Chinese Communist Party pays serious attention to the promises of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang and feels that the political honor of the various political parties and the long-range plan of the state are linked with the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference. Therefore, it will never waver but will adhere to all the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference, especially the resolution on the principle of the constitution, which must be implemented 100 percent. It opposes any

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revision **and appeals to all the** democratic **figures** and the **people of the entire nation to** be ready to wage a solemn **struggle for this** sacred task.

⁰ "Documents of the Political Consultative Conference," Historical Documents Press, July 1946

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REFUTE CHIANG KAI-SHEK

6 April 1946

[Text[On 1 April National Government Chairman Chiang Kai-shek made a long political report to the People's Political Council, which was organized exclusively by the fascists in the Kuomintang and which the Chinese Communist Party refused to attend. The CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY on 3 and 4 April distributed the "essential points" of the 6,000-word report. According to the CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY, there are two genuine "essential points" in Chiang Kai-shek's report: One is to tear up the Northeast cease-fire and again declare a large-scale civil war to the whole nation; the other is to tear up the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference and again declare dictatorship to the whole nation and attempt to gain constitutional sanction by means of the National Congress.

Concerning the first point, Chiang Kai-shek said: "Until the assumption of sovereignty over the nine Northeast provinces is completed, there is no internal political issue to speak of." He also said: "The handling of military conflicts will be carried out on the premise that it does not affect the assumption of sovereignty and the exercise of state administrative power by the government." Here he successively tears up two promises: First, he calls the action of his army in allying with the enemy and the puppets, attacking the Northeast democratic allied army, and slaughtering the people of the Northeast, not military conflict, but "assuming sovereignty and exercising state administrative power," thereby tearing up his promise in the Northeast cease-fire agreement that the executive team must "proceed to the point of conflict or close contact between the government and the Chinese Communist armies, stop the conflict, and make the necessary and fair adjustment and disposal," Next, after overthrowing the local autonomous government of the people of the Northeast and spreading his terrorist fascist control, he said that "there is no internal political issue to speak of," thereby tearing up his promise in the Northeast cease-fire agreement that "the political issues will be discussed separately and solved promptly." Here Chiang Kai-shek reveals his ferocious bloodthirsty features, making a sickening hypocrisy of his statement that "in view of the miseries suffered by the area, it is hoped

that the Military Mediation Executive Department will carefully select and send an executive team to the Northeast to stop the military conflicts." As the whole world knows, the Chinese Communist Party was the one which persistently demanded that the Military Mediation Executive Department stop the military conflict in the Northeast. Chiang Kai-shek and his group vigorously opposed the Northeast cease-fire and announced time and again that the Northeast was not within the scope of military mediation. At the press conference for foreign correspondents on 20 February his spokesman unequivocally answered the question of a foreign reporter: "Question: Is the Northeast included in the functional scope of the Peiping Military Mediation Executive Department? Answer: No. The Northeast is not included." This was officially published by the CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY in its 20 February dispatch from Chungking and cannot be changed by any Tie. Only after the Chinese Communist Party, based on the clear provision in the cease-fire agreement that all military conflicts must cease in the entire nation, urged Chiang Kai-shek time and again to recognize the cease-fire did he accept, on 27 March, with utmost insincerity, the Northeast ceasefire agreement. Yet, barely 5 days later, in his speech of 1 April, he promptly and openly tore it up. He called the vicious civil war waged by him in the Northeast with foreign rockets and tanks against our countrymen "assuming sovereignty and exercising state administrative power." Naturally, it will not earn the forgiveness of the people of the Northeast, because no matter how ingenious the slogan of the executioner, it will not help them escape death from the foreign rockets and tanks. Furthermore, the Chinese people well remember that Chiang Kai-shek, in regard to the civil war in any area, always declared that it was for the purpose of "assuming sovereignty" and "exercising state administrative power," and in regard to any local government organized by the Chinese people after recovering state sovereignty from the Japanese aggressors, he announced that "the assumption of sovereignty has not been completed." According to him, the sovereignty of the Republic of China does not belong to the people but to him and his group. Therefore, only his dictatorial political regime can assume the sovereignty, while the people and all democratic parties and factions have absolutely nothing to say. If they do, it is called "threatening peace in the Far East and world security," as if the Far East and the world were his private property and the friendly nations his private retainers. The Chinese people also well remember that, when Japan occupied the Northeast and large areas of North, Central, and South China, Chiang Kai-shek was never in a hurry to defend the state sovereignty against the Japanese. What he did in the 14 years from the 18 September Incident to Japan's surrender can be summed up in one phrase: Retreating from Heilungkiang to Kweichow Province. During those difficult and dangerous months and years, the troops under his command were like a compass, always running south. He ran for far south that even today he is still sending large numbers of troops from Vietnam, Yunna, Kweichow, Kwangsi, and Kwangtung northward, while criticizing the Communist Party, which persevered in the resistance war in the Northeast and North China, for confronting him. What is especially shameful is that he has completely

disregarded his reputation and fabricated the ridiculous "history" of the Kuomintang's perseverance in the resistance war in the Northeast. Feigning forgetfulness, he acts as though he had never adhered to the principle of nonresistance to Japan or subscribed to Sino-Japanese amity from the time of the 18 September Incident until he was detained by Chang Hsueh-liang, who is himself under detention to this day. To refresh his memory, we urge him to review his past performance, and we will cite a few foul instances here. On 7 April 1933, in his speech entitled "A Study of the Most Recent Bandit Exterminating Tactics" to high-level officers of the Middle Route Army of the "Bandit Extermination Army" in Kiangsi's Fu-chou, he said: "The enemy of our revolution is not the Japanese bandits but the native bandits. The Three Eastern Provinces and Jehol were lost. Naturally, as they were lost under the nominally unified government, we must take the responsibility. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of the revolution, the loss was not very important. The revolutionary party cannot be responsible for Japan's occupation of the Three Eastern Provinces and Jehol. Their loss is not detrimental to the revolution. If at this time we concentrate on the high and the distant and brag about resisting Japan, while failing to seek the truth through the facts and to eliminate the bandits, it will amount to speculation and taking the easy way out, and we will lose the essence of revolutionary soldiers." This passage appears on pages 75-77 of "Theory and Practice of Bandit Extermination," published in July 1935 by the Propaganda Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang Central Executive Committee. In his speech in July 1934 entitled "resisting Foreign Aggression and Rebuilding the Nation," delivered to the Lu-shan Officers Training Corps, Chiang Kai-shek said: "By what means can we resist the enemy and rebuild the nation? Will we be able to fight the enemy by concentrating all our efforts on national defense and the manufacture of airplanes and cannons? The officers must know that not only is it already too late for us to acquire weapons and reorganize national defense and impossible to resist the enemy, but even if we all concentrate on these tasks for the next 30 years the effort will be inadequate. Then by what means can we reorganize the national defense? By what means can we truly fight the enemy? There is no such time! No such possibility! We must stop dreaming! We can say that the life of our state and the life of our nation are now in the hands of the Japanese, and there is no room for any free action!" This speech was printed as a monograph, published in 1938 in all the Kuomintang papers in the country, and included in the "Selections of Committee Chairman Chiang's Instructions" (pages 431-432, Volume 1) edited by the office of his aides. In September 1935 Chiang Kai-shek published an article entitled "Changes in Sino-Japanese Relations" in the Japanese magazine KEIZAI ORAL. He said: "Viewed from whatever aspect, China and Japan must help each other and cooperate in order to promote prosperity in Asia. Though we are in the midst of serious difficulties today, we think of the long history of Sino-Japanese relations in the past and firmly believe that the current disputes will be solved by the sincerity and efforts of the people of the two nations and that true cooperation and amity, which are our constant ideal, will be realized." This passage appears on pages 69-70 of the third

edition of "Complete Works of Committee Chairman Chiang" published by the Shanghai Kuo-t'ai Bookstore. After the start of the resistance war, Chiang Kai-shek, on 18 November 1939, gave a speech entitled "China's Resistance War and the International Situation" at the sixth meeting of the sixth central plenum of the fifth session of the Kuomintang. He said: "Just what do we mean by resisting to the end? I explained at the fifth central plenum that resisting to the end and recovering the status quo prior to the 7 July Incident were based on China as the criterion." These words are found on page 16, Volume 5, of "Selections of Committee Chairman Chiang's Instructions" edited by the office of his aides. Just these random data alone are sufficient to prove that Chiang and his accomplices were guilty of losing the Northeast and had no merit in its recovery. Naturally, one day Chiang Kai-shek will destroy or revise these masterpieces of his so that even kindergarten children will believe that the fable In his 1 April speech is true, that he never ordered nonresistance or Sino-Japanese amity after the 18 September Incident,, that he never signed the Shanghai Agreement, the T'ang-ku Agreement, the China-Manchuria Traffic and Postal Agreement, or the Ho-Umezu Agreement, that he never pursued any diplomatic activities to betray the Northeast and seek surrender and compromise after the start of the resistance war, and that he never charged the puppet army in the Northeast and the Japanese fascist remnants with "assuming sovereignty over the Northeast." Unfortunately, he has not yet had time to accomplish all these. He created the rumor that no Chinese Communist troops were present in the Northeast before Japan's surrender. It has only served to prove the absence of any national concept in him, because no Chinese with any national concept will be so callous as to obliterate the more than a decade of courageous history of the world-famous Northeast resist-Japan allied army, or the 8 years of courageous history of the world-famous Hopeh-Jehol-Liaoning Border Region, or the courageous history of the units of Li Yun-ch'ang, Lu Cheng-ts'ao, Wan Yi, and Chang Hsueh-shih, part of the 8th Route Army, which entered the Northeast under orders of 11 August before Japan's surrender, reinforced the anti-Japanese allied army and the Hopeh-Jehol-Liaoning Border Region, aided the Soviet Red Army to eliminate the enemy and puppet troops in the Northeast, liberated the people of the Northeast, and recovered national sovereignty. That Chiang Kai-shek, as chairman of the National Government, did not hesitate to create rumors for the selfish purpose of one party, one faction, and one individual has truly embarrassed the Chinese people.

In regard to the other goal of his speech—the goal of maintaining dictatorship—Chiang Kai-shek said: "The Political Consultative Conference, in essence, is not a conference to formulate the constitution. Its resolutions on government organization, in essence, cannot replace the Provisional Constitution.... If it truly becomes a conference of this sort, our government and the people (?) of the entire nation will never recognize it." As we all know, the functions of the Political Consultative Conference:, according to the provisions in the "Synopsis of Kuomintang-Communist Negotiations," are to "end political tutelage and introduce constitutional

politics." According to Truman's declaration, it is held by the delegates of all the major political factions in China, who will discuss and decide on the method for them to enjoy fair and effective representation in the National Government of China. The American Government feels that it is necessary to revise, by this means, the one-party political tutelage system established by Dr Sun Yat-sen, the father of the Republic of China, as a temporary measure for the state to advance toward democracy," If the Political Consultative Conference is not for the purpose of ending, or still cannot end, the so-called political tutelage of the one-party dictatorship and the so-called Provisional Constitution of the political tutelage period and the National Government Organization Law, then why is the conference needed? What is its significance? The so-called Provisional Constitution of the political tutelage period was a creation of Chiang Kai-shek's puppet conference (National Conference) of May 1931. In the opening statement of this puppet conference, Chiang Kai-shek openly advocated fascism and opposed democracy. He said: "The political theory of fascism follows the spirit of transcendentalism, is based on the theory of the structure of the state, adopts the syndicalist organization, and considers the state the supreme being. The state may demand any sacrifice from the people. Current welfare is not the criterion for the continuation of national life. The ruling power coexists with society, without any order of precedence. Those in control are the most efficient in ruling in the evolutionary stage.... The political theory of free democracy starts from individualism, subscribes to the principle of the natural rights of man, advocates the view that sovereignty belongs to the entire people, and always stresses individual freedom. Though at times there is an inevitable feeling of sluggishness in efficiency, the democracy of England and America, in view of its long evolutionary history and the people's habitual exercise of their civil rights, can still be practiced, but when it comes to those nations without such a historical and social background, the confusion in Italy before the Fascist Party came to power can serve as an example. The weaknesses of parliamentary politics in other nations have been fully revealed, making it doubtful and difficult for the observers. Freedom must be coupled with responsibility before it can have significance; otherwise, when everyone speaks his mind, who will be responsible for the consequences? This is the most distressing aspect of the matter... When averting a national danger too urgent to permit delay and leading a nation which has never had any political experience, one must rely on a relatively more efficient power control. Furthermore, since it has been clearly provided that fascism is only a transitional stage, it must be differentiated from the fascist theory itself." In other words, China must clearly provide that fascism is a transitional stage. Its differentiation from the fascist theory itself is that China will progress from the fascist Chiang Kai-shek's political tutelage to a sort of Chiang Kai-shek constitutional politics. Such constitutional politics is at least not the "sluggish" and "most distressing" "democracy of England and America," i.e., "parliamentary politics." The Provisional Constitution of the political tutelage period created under the guidance of this fascism has deprived,

"according to law," the people of all freedoms (Articles 8-10, 12-16, 18, and 27 of the Provisional Constitution) on the one hand, and, on the other hand, brazenly decided on a one-party dictatorship by announcing that "in the political tutelage period the Chinese Kuomintang National Party Congress will exercise the ruling power of the Central Government on behalf of the National Congress," and that "when the Chinese Kuomintang National Party Congress is not in session, its functions will be performed by the Chinese Kuomintang Central Executive Committee" (Article 30 of the Provisional Constitution). Article 15 of the Organization Law of the National Government formulated under the Provisional Constitution provides: "The presidents and vice presidents of the five yuan of the National Government will be nominated by the chairman of the National Government from among the National Government Committee members for selection and appointment by the Chinese Kuomintang Central Executive Committee. The National Government chairman will be responsible to the Chinese Kuomintang Central Executive Committee, and the presidents of the five yuan to the National Government chairman." Here the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee is the only supreme organ of power of the state, and each of its members, according to the decision of the first central plenum of the sixth session of the Kuomintang, must swear that he "will obey the orders of the director general with the utmost sincerity and will be willing to suffer the most severe punishment of the party if the oath is violated." Thus, the so-called "fundamental law of the state" is: The people of the whole country must, "according to law," obey the National Government, the National Government must obey its chairman, Chiang Kai-shek, the chairman must obey the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee, and every member of the committee must swear to obey Chairman Chiang Kai-shek with the utmost sincerity. In other words, the people of the whole country must serve as fourth-class slaves of Chiang Kai-shek's personal dictatorship! Chiang Kai-shek, in his speech of 1 April, asks the people of the whole country to continue to recognize the inviolable Provisional Constitution of the political tutelage period and the Organization Law of the National Government, and he asks the democratic parties and factions to join his National Government on this basis, so that the "transitional stage" of the "most efficient" fascist political tutelage will "transit" to his fascist constitutional politics; otherwise, his government "absolutely will not recognize" the Political Consultative Conference, because, in his view, without fascism "the country will sink into an anarchic state!" His insistence on maintaining the fascist dictatorship at present naturally is not merely for the 1 month of legal control before 5 May, but for the continued preservation of this dictatorship into the distant future. This conspiracy has been clearly expressed in his theory on the constitutional issue. He and his group insist on overthrowing the resolution of the Political Consultative Conference on the principle of the draft constitution, describing the resolution as a "reference" document without any binding force on Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang, which unanimously rose and voted for its passage at the Political Consultative Conference. Chiang Kai-shek and his group violate the resolution of the conference, insist that the constitution

must take the national construction program as "the most fundamental basis," firmly oppose a congress as the supreme organ of power, insist that the congress (Legislative Yuan) must possess no powers of consent and nonconfidence in the cabinet (Executive Yuan), insist that neither must the Supervisory Yuan have the power of consent, and insist that the provinces have no need to formulate provincial constitutions as advocated by Dr Sun Yat-sen. Yet he maintains that these stands reflect his "determination to sincerely abide by and vigorously carry out" the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference and his "assiduity in being tolerant and yielding and doing the best possible under the circumstances." His dictionary is so different from ordinary ones! The five principles of the second central plenum of the Kuomintang he firmly follows are apparently all for the purpose of opposing the "most distressing" parliamentary politics, so that, by means of the unlimited concentration of power in the Executive Yuan and the meaningless ornament of the National Congress, he will not be restricted by the Legislative Yuan and the Supervisory Yuan or by the provinces, but will forever maintain the fascist dictatorship, "the most efficient in ruling in the evolutionary stage." There is no other significance.

Right from the start the fascist reactionaries in the Kuomintang opposed the cease-fire agreement, the Political Consultative Conference, and the army reorganization plan, yet these achievements were all won by overcoming the fascist reactionaries. Therefore, the vigorous attempt of the fascist reactionaries to subsequently overthrow the agreements is not in the least bit surprising. What is worthy of attention is that Chiang Kai-shek, during one period in the past, expressed his support of these agreements, yet now he personally takes the standpoint of the fascist reactionaries to attack and tear them up. The fascist reactionaries feel that this reaction may win certain international aid; therefore, they send large numbers of troop reinforcements to the Northeast, recklessly expand the war, and launch serious provocations in other areas of the nation, such as central Hopeh, northern Kiangsu, Shansi, and northern Honan, not only not restoring communications but openly building fortresses, not only disbanding the puppet army but openly continuing to recruit puppet troops. They continue to use armed enemy troops in Shansi, not only not demobilizing them but openly declaring that "demobilization is the beginning of mobilization," announcing that a nationwide civil war will be launched in the next few months, and completely ignoring the Peiping Executive Department and the three-man committee. In politics they recklessly destroy all resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference, continue to spread terror throughout the nation, conspire to murder important political prisoners, openly commend the "abundant merits and great achievements" of the vicious secret service organ, and especially openly demand the passage of the dictatorial constitution by the National Congress, so that China will return to the status prior to January this year. This situation cannot but arouse the vigorous vigilance of the people of the entire nation. The Chinese people cannot but warn Chiang Kai-shek and the fascist reactionaries at this critical moment: You feel that you were forced by

international pressure to accept the cease-fire agreement and the resolutions and army reorganization plan of the Political Consultative Conference and that, with the temporary relaxation of this pressure, you can resume your old ways. You are wrong, not only because you have not truly recognised the international situation, but also because you have not made an adequate assessment of the people's power. To resist troop reinforcements in the Northeast, to stop the civil war in the Northeast and other areas, to preserve the democratic rights of the people of the Northeast and the entire nation, to end the dictatorial political tutelage, i.e., the one-party dictatorship of the Kuomintang, to seek full implementation of the Political Consultative Conference resolutions, to insist on a democratic constitution, i.e., the plenary powers of the congress, the consent and nonconfidence powers of the Legislative Yuan over the Executive Yuan, the consent power of the Supervisory Yuan, and the right of the provinces to formulate their own constitutions which do not conflict with the national constitution and cannot be changed by the laws of the Central Government, and to insist on the thorough reduction and nationalization of the Kuomintang troops, the Chinese people have determined to launch an indomitable struggle. All these goals are linked with the Chinese people's fundamental interests, and the people will absolutely refuse to yield. Peace and democracy in China have been basically won by the struggles of the Chinese people and are not a gift from any Chinese or foreigners, while the things won through struggle can only, and will definitely, be preserved and consolidated by continuous struggles. If the fascist reactionaries persist in their reactionisra to the bitter end, then the Chinese people know how to handle the matter correctly.

(6 April 1946)

⁰ CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO (Editorial), 7 April 1946

* "Documents of the Political Consultative Conference," Historical Documents Press, July 1946

* "Struggle for Peace and Democracy in the Northeast," Mass Cultural Cooperative, 1946

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 5

6080

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EULOGY FOR MARTYRS OF '8 APRIL¹ INCIDENT

19 April 1946

[Text] Dear comrades-in-arms, immortal courageous soldiers:

For decades you performed magnificent tasks in the people's cause. Today you died in the people's cause. Your death was glorious!

Your death serves as an appeal. It will intensify the Chinese people's understanding of the Chinese Communist Party and reinforce their determination to persevere in the cause of peace, democracy, and unity!

Your death serves as an appeal. It will appeal to the entire party membership and to all the people to unite and struggle to the end for a peaceful, democratic, and united new China!

The entire party membership and all the people will continue your wishes and persevere in the struggle until victory, never slackening and never retreating!

⁰ CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 20 April 1946

6080

CSO: 4005