

# CHINA AND THE SECOND IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR

By MAO TZE-TUNG



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# **An Outline Of The Second Imperialist War**

(An Address by Mao Tze-tung to the Staff Conference at Yen-an,  
September 14, 1939.)

## **1. The New Stage of the War**

The second imperialist war started long ago and has been going on for a good many years. The Japanese imperialist invasion began in 1931 with the occupation of the three North-eastern Provinces. In 1937 the aggressors launched their large-scale invasion of China. Italian imperialism invaded Abyssinia in 1935; and in 1936 Germany and Italy jointly intervened in Spain. Austria and Czechoslovakia fell to Germany in 1938. By that time more than 500,000,000 people had become involved in the second imperialist war in both the West and the East, while such imperialist states as Britain, France and the United States still did not participate. Consequently, we may well call this period the first stage of the second imperialist war. The present period, when such imperialist states as France and England have begun to participate, may be designated the second stage, for the conditions are entirely changed. If the first period of armed aggression by Japan, Italy and Germany be not counted a world war, since not all the major nations were involved, then certainly the term can be applied to the present conflict. The war being waged today is the second imperialist world war in a new stage.

## **2. Causes of the War**

The facts of history and Leninist theory show us that the development of capitalism in the imperialist stage is uneven. Thus wars between the imperialist states are inevitable. Now, less than twenty years since the first world war for the redivision of the world, the second imperialist war has broken out. Again the rival imperialisms are fighting for a redivision of the colonies of the world. The first stage of the present war developed from the last world-wide economic crisis. Instead of prosperity, slumps and depressions followed the crisis of 1929-1933. Such imperialist states as Germany, who had received little or no spoils in the first world war, have again armed themselves for war in the hope of overcoming their economic crises and of staving off the collapse of capitalism. Thus the second imperialist war has begun and the first stage has already been completed.

The new world economic crisis since 1937 has affected the so-called democracies: England, France and the United States, as well as Germany, Japan and Italy. Serious political crises spring from economic crises. And from this new economic crisis has come the large-scale war involving Germany, France, England and Poland. Today the peoples of the world are dissatisfied with capitalism, whether they be the citizens of states long since turned fascist or of those who practice fascism during the war. Political crises and the discontent of the people become more acute from day to day. On the other hand, the U.S.S.R. has so grown in strength that today she is impregnable. Faced with these facts, the propertied classes of the imperialist states realized that they must turn the "one-sided" war into a general world war and defeat their imperialist rivals, if they were to avert

economic and political dangers and their own doom.

Thus reason the capitalists of the imperialist states on the eve of their downfall. But they do not see that their calculations for averting the economic and political crises and their own certain doom by resorting to war for redivision of the world, will most certainly aggravate the crises and hasten the hour of their death. Today the capitalists are like mad dogs, maddened by their own system. They are forced to fly at the throats of their imperialist rivals throughout the world. This is the imperialist war we are witnessing today.

### **3. The Aim of the War**

“War is the armed continuation of international politics.” The essence of imperialism is plunder; and the policy of imperialist states, even in peace times, is to plunder. When the aggressions of some imperialisms clash with those of their rivals and an agreement cannot be reached by diplomacy, then the rival systems resort to war in order to continue their policies of aggression. Corresponding exactly with the first imperialist war, the second has for its sole aim the redivision of the world. Again they are fighting to divide up colonies, semi-colonies and spheres of influence in order to rob and to maintain their rule over the peoples of the world. In both the first and the second stages of the present war, the aim has remained constant. But are there other aims? Are there any humanitarian aims? No! Not one. Whether it be Germany, Italy, Japan, England, the United States, France or any state either directly or indirectly participating in this war, there is only one counter-revolutionary and imperialist aim:—to plunder the peoples of the world. Japanese imperialism’s “Permanent Peace,” Hitler’s “National Self-Determination,” Chamberlain’s “Opposition to Hitlerism,” and Daladier’s “Help to Poland,” are all so much camouflage for policies of PLUNDER. But in order to make their aim more palatable and in order to deceive their people, these imperialists order their propaganda experts to manufacture strange and fine-sounding words and slogans.

### **4. The Essence of the War**

The essence of war is determined by its political aim. According to Comrade Stalin, there are two kinds of wars: (1) just, non-aggressive and emancipatory wars; and (2) unjust and aggressive wars. The first and second imperialist wars alike belong to the second category. The aim of these wars was and is to plunder the people; they neither had nor have one single aim which is not detrimental to the people. Both wars are aggressive, unjust and imperialist. And now, in order to deceive their own peoples and to mobilize public opinion, both parties to the present war shamelessly claim that they are working in the cause of justice and that their adversaries are unjust. This is a ridiculous fraud. Only wars of national emancipation and people’s wars of liberation are just wars. In the present situation many people have lost their judgment. Many believe that while Germany is decidedly in the wrong, England, France and Poland are more or less progressive, because England and France are democratic states opposed to fascist states, and that Poland is waging a war of national liberation. This bad confusion of thought comes partly from a failure to understand clearly the aim of the war and partly from an inability to comprehend

the differences between the first and second stages of the second imperialist war.

## **5. The Characteristics of the First Stage of the War**

The characteristics of the first stage of the second imperialist war are:

(1) The fascist imperialist states, such as Germany, Italy and Japan frantically waged wars of aggression against weaker countries, encroaching upon the interests of the “democracies,” while inciting fascist provocations within the democracies. Against these crimes the peoples throughout the world demanded opposition to aggression and defense of democracy and urged the so-called democracies, England, France and the United States, to take a stand against aggression so that democracy might be preserved. On more than one occasion the Soviet Union has proposed an anti-aggression united front with the so-called democratic nations. If a war had resulted from such a united stand against the aggressors, if England had supported the efforts of the Soviet Union to check Germany, Italy and Japan by helping Spain and China, then such a war would have been just and progressive. But England and France did not intervene—instead, they adopted a policy of “non-intervention.” Rather, they preferred to let the aggressors and their victims become exhausted in the conflict so that they might then step in and seize the lion’s share of the spoils. England and France gave Austria and Czechoslovakia to Germany in exchange for Germany’s attack on the Soviet Union. England, France and the United States wanted the Soviet Union and Germany to come to blows, so that they might then establish world hegemony after both the Soviet Union and Germany had been crippled in the projected internecine war. In connection with their policy of “non-intervention” some of the imperialist states participated in the first period of the war, while others sat on the fence and looked on. Thus it is clear that the war was one-sided and limited in scope, for it was carried on without the participation of some nations. As long as the people had insufficient power to compel the capitalists of the so-called democracies to discard their counter-revolutionary policy of “non-intervention,” so long could the one-sided war be prolonged. This is the first characteristic of the first stage of the war.

(2) At the same time that imperialist Germany, Italy and Japan were prosecuting their wars of aggression, the so-called democratic states were conniving with them. Meanwhile wars of another kind were being waged—wars of national emancipation. Such were the anti-Italian war of Abyssinia, the war of the Spanish Republic against Italy and Germany and the great anti-Japanese war of China. The Soviet Union and the peoples of the entire world have supported these victims of aggression in their wars for national liberation. Their wars are just and non-aggressive and their aim is emancipation. This is the second characteristic of the first stage of the war. The limitations of the imperialist war and the existence of the antiimperialist war are the two characteristics of the first stage of the second imperialist war.

## 6. Our Revolutionary Policy in the First Stage of the War

Based on a clear understanding of the characteristics of the first stage of the war, our revolutionary policy was to organize the anti-aggression united front of the invaded states in order to resist the attacks of the aggressors, and to carry on an ever-increasing anti-fascist struggle in the democracies, the better to defend democracy. Meanwhile it was necessary to continue the struggle for the formation of an anti-aggression united front between the Soviet Union and the democracies to check the further encroachment of fascist aggression. Even after Munich, when the indignation of the peoples of Britain and France (including the progressive sections of the propertied classes) had risen over the betrayal of Spain and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, there was still a possibility that the Chamberlain and Daladier governments would be compelled to discard their “non-intervention” policy and enter an anti-aggression united front with the Soviet Union. In short, the main task of the revolutionary forces in that period was to weld all the potential forces of the whole world into an anti-fascist and anti-aggression united front in order to resist the frantic invasions of the three fascist states and to defeat the fascist attacks on democracy from within. At that time the united front might have taken the following four possible forms:

(a) In the capitalist states, the people's united front and the united front of the proletariat.

(b) In the colonial and semi-colonial states, the national united front and a united front of the proletariat and the propertied classes.

(c) An anti-aggression united front of the Soviet Union and the democracies.

(d) A fourth type of organization was possible at that time, because in the face of the frantic invasions of the fascist states and the fascist attacks from within, the capitalists of the democratic countries and their government had to a certain extent a common interest with their own people, the peoples of their colonies and semi-colonies, and even with the Soviet Union.

In all of these four, the strongest factor was and is the Soviet Union. If the Soviet Union could have organized a really effective united front with the governments of the so-called democratic states, coordinated with the people's united front of the several countries and the national united fronts of the colonies and semi-colonies, to check further aggression by the fascist nations, and thus delay the outbreak of the second world war; (if war had developed in spite of such a united front, the fascist states would have been defeated);—then such a united front would have actually benefited the peoples of the entire world, as well as the peoples of the invaded countries. And such an action would have been supported by the international proletariat. In order to accomplish this policy, the Soviet Union entered the League of Nations, concluded the Franco-Soviet and the Soviet-Czechoslovakian mutual assistance pacts and even carried on the Anglo-French-Russian talks. This revolutionary policy, consonant with the international situation at that time, was necessary and correct.

## **7. The Breakdown of the Anglo-French-Russian Talks and the Beginning of the Second Stage of the War**

The propertied classes of the so-called democracies feared that the fascists would encroach upon their own interests and at the same time they dreaded the growth of the revolutionary forces. They feared the Soviet Union, the democratic movements of their own peoples and the national emancipation movements of the colonies and semi-colonies. Consequently they refused to join the Soviet Union in a real anti-aggression united front and a real anti-aggression war. On the contrary, they formed a counterrevolutionary alliance and proceeded to conduct their own aggressive warfare. For more than four months, from April 15 to August 23, the Anglo-French-Russian negotiations were carried on. The patience of the Soviet Union was tried severely. England and France, from beginning to end, refused to agree to the principle of equality. While they demanded that the Soviet Union guarantee their own safety, yet they refused to guarantee the Soviet Union. They refused to offer assurances to the Baltic States, thus giving Germany an opening for further encroachment. Nor would they permit the Red Army to pass through Polish territory in order to resist the aggressors. The proposals of England and France supported counter-revolutionary, and not revolutionary, aims. Naturally such proposals could not be accepted by the Soviet Union, while her offers, which were based on the principles of equality and reciprocity, and which would have served to check the spread of aggression and really benefited world peace, were turned down by England and France. This was the basic cause of the breakdown in the Anglo-French-Russian talks. It was then that Germany deserted her opposition to the Soviet Union, was willing to throw overboard the so-called Anti-Comintern Pact and recognized the inviolability of the Soviet Union's frontiers. Thus the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact was concluded. England and France demonstrated their lack of sincerity in the parleys with the Soviet Union and in their failure to check aggression. Their sabotage of the Moscow talks proves that Chamberlain had made up his mind to war.

Hence, the outbreak of the second imperialist war follows directly from Chamberlain's and not only Hitler's desire to fight, for the effective prevention of war demanded the participation of the Soviet Union. Even such representatives of the propertied classes in England as Lloyd George realize the truth of this. But until today, some fools still fail to understand this obvious conclusion and maintain that Chamberlain went into the war without any preparation. Nor do they understand that Chamberlain only participated in the parleys with the Soviet Union for the sake of deceiving public opinion, that he might say, "We, the British and French Governments, have tried our best. Since the alliance of the three powers has not been possible, we have to declare war on Germany."

It is for these reasons that the war between Germany and England, France and Poland broke out early in September. Thus opened the new stage of the second imperialist war—the second stage.

## **8. Characteristics of the Second Stage of the War**

Since the outbreak of the general European war, conditions have radically changed. The differentiation between the democratic and the fascist states has lost meaning. Today differentiation can only be made between:

- (1) Those states which carry on the unjust, aggressive and imperialist war or those states that actually support it. And,
- (2) The countries that carry on and support the just, non-aggressive and people's wars for national emancipation.

Today we must make new distinctions on the basis of new conditions, discarding the old methods of differentiation. The propertied classes of the democracies have finally refused to collaborate with their people and with the Soviet Union and they are now waging a war of spoliation. Faced with these facts, every Communist realizes that the time is now past to try to win over the propertied classes of the so-called democracies and their respective governments, to set up a united front with the Soviet Union, with the peoples of other states and with the colonial and semicolonial countries. Every Communist realizes that the only possibility today is for the Soviet Union to mobilize an antiwar and anti-aggression united front of the peoples of all the capitalist states and the oppressed peoples of all the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and excluding the propertied classes of the so-called democracies. These classes must be excluded because they are the ones who waver and then retreat to the camp of the enemy. Hence the possible constituents of the united front have been reduced from four to three. This changed situation, first of all, has turned the one-sided second imperialist war into a general war (turning the one-sided reaction into general reaction) ; and has simplified the constitution of the new antiwar and anti-aggression united front. These are the two characteristics of the second stage of the second imperialist war.

Many comrades, without understanding the changed conditions and the characteristics of these changes, think the situation is the same as before. They view the new developments from their old standpoint and thus neglect the qualitative changes which have produced the new incidents. In consequence, they unconsciously make the same mistakes as the social-democrats. I am certain that once these comrades realize the nature of the present situation, they will remedy their errors.

## **9. Our Revolutionary Policy in the Second Stage of the War**

Realizing the nature of the characteristics of the second stage of the war, what is the revolutionary policy of the proletariat led by the Communist Party?

(A) In all belligerent states, our policy is to call upon the people to oppose this imperialist war and to expose its imperialist nature. In every belligerent state the war must be regarded as robbery and the people warned not to be deceived by imperialist aggression. The people must be won to the struggle for the establishment of the united front against the imperialist war and persuaded to turn the imperialist war into a revolutionary war in their own countries.

In every belligerent state, Communist members of parliament must be prepared to cast their votes against the war, firmly and bravely, just as Comrade Karl Liebknecht, leader of the German proletariat, did in the Reichstag during the first imperialist war. They must not permit themselves to be confused by the Social-Democratic Party's false slogan of "defense of the fatherland" (which means nothing but the fatherland of the propertied classes and their gangs of bandits). By shamelessly advocating support of the second imperialist war they repeat the same old games they played in the first imperialist war.

The Japanese Social-Democratic Party, called the "Social Mass" Party, has long since sold out the proletariat by supporting the Japanese militarists' war of aggression. Giving way to the threats and bribes of Chamberlain and Daladier, the social-democratic parties in England and France are selling out the proletariat and supporting the predatory-imperialist war of England and France. In Poland the Social-Democratic Party supported the reactionary government of the Polish propertied classes, the running dogs of Chamberlain, and sold out the national interests of the country. Undoubtedly, in Poland all the people should have been and should be mobilized to resist the invasion of Germany and to fight for their national emancipation through alliance with the Soviet Union. But the fascist government of Poland suppressed the Polish national emancipation movement, refused the assistance of the Soviet Union and chose to use its people as cannon-fodder for British and French capitalists and financiers. It chose to make its country part of the battlefield of the counter-revolutionary war of international capitalists. That we sympathize with the people of Poland is beyond question, but in no way do we sympathize with the reactionary government of Poland, nor with the Polish Social-Democratic Party which supports such a government.

Whether they be citizens of Germany, Italy and Japan, or of England, France and Poland, all Communists in the belligerent states must solely work to win over the masses to the revolutionary united front in preparation for turning the counter-revolutionary war into a revolutionary war. To accomplish this aim, it is necessary to expose the treachery of the Social-Democratic Parties.

(B) In all such neutral nations as the United States, Communists should expose to the people the imperialist policy of the government of the propertied classes. Though nominally neutral, the policy of the United States is to support the imperialist war and to reap profit from it. During the past two years, the American imperialist, wearing the false mask of sympathy, have made tremendous fortunes out of the Sino-Japanese War. In my interview on September 1, I still believed that the American capitalists would, for the time being, not give up their democratic institutions; but within these last two weeks they have already declared a state of "Partial Emergency." In this way they have followed England and France and openly turned reactionary and militarist. Communists must oppose this false neutrality which actually supports imperialist war. They must oppose the capitalists' drive toward fascism, and the treachery of the Social-Democratic Party; and they must struggle to keep their country out of the war, and to limit the conflict.

(C) In the colonial and semi-colonial countries, as in China, it is the task of the national united fronts to resist the aggressor; or to oppose the aggressor, as in India. The united fronts should strive to win national independence. In order best to develop the united front and defeat the enemy, traitors who betray the interests of the nation must be opposed. In the colonies of the belligerent nations, the people must oppose the national traitors who advocate support of the imperialist war; and they must oppose mobilization of the people for the war. The colonial peoples must be told of the suffering and destruction in the first imperialist war. The national liberation movements cannot succeed in the colonies and semi-colonies if the national traitors are not opposed.

## **10. The Future of the War**

The second imperialist war will not end soon. I am in complete agreement with Comrade Voroshiloff's address to the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He said, "Modern war is war of attrition, prolonged, unending and indecisive." "The inevitable general armed conflict will be a life and death struggle unprecedented in the history of the world." The second imperialist world war is an unparalleled calamity to mankind. The entire world will be swept with death, disease, hunger, unemployment, curtailment of civil rights and destruction of families. Faced with such annihilation, we cannot doubt that the peoples of the imperialist nations will awake and join hands with their oppressed brothers of the colonies and semi-colonies. Together they will oppose the imperialist war and sweep the world with revolutions far greater than those of the first world war.

At the time of the first imperialist world war, with the exception of Russia, there was no Communist Party. Today, conditions are entirely different. Communist Parties have been established in the nations of the world and their political organizations have been strengthened and tested in the years of conflict. During the first imperialist world war there was no socialist state. Today, the Soviet Union lives—the greatest power in the world! The Soviet Union firmly opposes imperialist war and unflinchingly supports the peoples' wars for national emancipation. Today, the world is clearly divided into two camps. The propertied classes, whether they participate directly or indirectly in the imperialist war, are the reactionaries. But clashes between these two factions will never prevent them from joining forces against the Soviet Union, the emancipation movement of the peoples, the national liberation movements of the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies and the world revolution. It is childish to hope that they will continue to fight until they are easily overthrown by the revolutionary forces. Today we have the world front of reaction and opposing it, the Soviet Union, the movements for emancipation in the imperialist nations and the national liberation movements in the colonies and semi-colonies. Together they are charged with the responsibility of building the revolutionary front, of overthrowing the front of reaction, of turning the imperialist war into a revolutionary war, of destroying the basic cause of war—the capitalist class, and of releasing all the oppressed peoples from capitalism and imperialist war. This is a tremendous struggle. It requires of every revolutionary that he hold out staunchly and firmly. It is a process of educating, organizing and leading the

people in the struggle against the capitalist class. Capitalist economy is dying. Great change and revolution are at hand. We are living in a new period of revolutionary struggle—a time of birth for a new world. Today we are entering this momentous period.

Having carried on the war of resistance against the Japanese militarist aggressors for two years, the Chinese nation, today, is an important and powerful constituent of the revolutionary front of the world. None can doubt that the war for the national liberation of four hundred and fifty millions will have tremendous influence on the struggle for reforming the world. Imperialist war is destructive, whether it be in Europe or in China. But the existence and growth of the Soviet Union, of the people's movements for emancipation in the capitalist nations and of the movements for national liberation in the colonies and semi-colonies—all these are friends of China and her reliable supporters. Together, China, the Soviet Union and all the peoples' movements for freedom and independence must build a strong and unshakeable united front—a revolutionary united front—to oppose the front of counter-revolution. Wars and crises weaken and cripple the imperialists. This is favourable for the people's national liberation and freedom movements, for China's resistance and for the construction of a Communist order by the Soviet Union. Clouds darken the horizon, but breaking through them we see the bright sun of tomorrow. The days of imperialism are numbered—the fighters for freedom are girding for the final conflict. If the National Anti-Japanese United Front of the Chinese people remains firm, if we hold out in the war of resistance, oppose surrender, strengthen unity and progress in democracy, if we struggle on shouting the slogan of progress and freedom—then will our enemy be annihilated and then will the new, free and independent China come into being.

## 2. Friction Aids Japan

(An interview given by Mao Tze-tung to the reporters of the Central News Agency, *Sao Tang Pao* and *Hsin Min Pao*, Yen-an, September 11, 1939.)

**Reporters:** We have just read in the *Hsin Chunghua Pao* the speech which you delivered on September 1 in which you touched on a number of problems, concerning which we would like to have more information. We have therefore prepared a list of questions, divided into three sections, for you to answer.

**Mao Tze-tung:** I shall be glad to answer them. In accordance with the order in which you have written down your points, let us first discuss the problem of the War of Resistance. You ask whether the stage of stalemate has commenced. I am of the opinion that it has done so subject to certain conditions—the development of the new international situation, the further increase of Japan’s difficulties, and China’s continued determination not to compromise with the enemy. Of course, we do not neglect the possibility that the Japanese will launch new and larger offensives, such as drives on Pakhoi, Changsha and Sian. But, if the above conditions hold, we may say that the period of large-scale enemy offensives accompanied by tactical withdrawals of our forces has come to an end.

The essential content of the “stage of stalemate” is active preparation for a counter-attack against the enemy. This conception is an all-embracing one. It means that during the second stage, China must prepare all possible forces required for this purpose. Under “preparation for a counter-offensive” we do not understand an immediate attack. Such an attack should not be begun prematurely, and the counter-offensive we speak of is a general strategic counteroffensive and not an isolated, partial, counter-attack associated with any single engagement, such as the recent annihilation of the Japanese in Southeast Shansi. Counterattacks of this nature are already possible, and they are indispensable. But for the strategic counter-offensive, the time is not yet ripe. Now is the time for active preparation only. The possibility is not excluded, of course, that, during this period of preparation, we may be called upon to repulse possible tactical attacks by the enemy.

Speaking of the tasks of the stage in their every phase, we must determinedly carry on our guerrilla warfare in the rear of the enemy, smash the “mopping up” campaigns of the Japanese and frustrate their plan of economic aggression. On the main fronts, we must strengthen our defences so as to throw back any Japanese tactical attack. In our own rear, the most essential task is to achieve positive political improvement. All these things are necessary for the preparation for the counter-offensive. The reason for active political reform, in particular, is that one of the enemy’s chief methods of attack in this stage will be political. Therefore, we must strengthen our political defences. Moreover, the more rapidly we solve the problem of democracy, the more will our political and military power be strengthened. The basis of our War of Resistance is, and must be, complete self reliance. In the light of the new situation in Europe, it is all the more important to stress this. Internal democracy is the main essential of regeneration on the basis of

self-reliance.

**R:** Since you point out that democracy is indispensable to national regeneration on the basis of self reliance, will you tell us how we can realise it under present conditions ?

**M:** The division of the country's development into the three periods of Military Government, Tutelage, and Constitutional Government, was indeed created by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. But, during the last year of his life, Dr. Sun never mentioned this scheme in his public pronouncements. Instead, he laid constant and particular stress on the need of summoning the National Assembly. This serves to prove that Dr. Sun's theories and ideas were modified by the changed situation of our revolution. In a critical moment such as the present, the only way to avoid the disaster of enslavement and to drive out the enemy is to summon the National Assembly and establish the most widespread democracy.

There are many opinions concerning this problem. Some hold that the intelligence of the people is not yet on a sufficiently high level to warrant the introduction of democracy. This is entirely wrong. The progress of the people, in understanding and experience, during this war has been very great. With additional guidance, democracy can certainly be practiced. North China is a fine example of this, although we are not yet satisfied with what has been done there. All the officers of the local governments are elected by the people, including a number of district magistrates. Many of the newly elected magistrates have been elected from among the progressive local gentry and the able youth. These things should be generally known and discussed.

As for the problem of the "restriction of alien parties" which you mention in the second section of your list of questions, this refers to local conflicts between the parties in the rear. I am very glad indeed that this point has attracted your attention. The position in this regard seems a little better now, but the essentials of the problem have not changed.

**R:** Has the Communist Party expressed its opinion on this point to the Central Government?

**M:** We have lodged a protest.

**R:** How did you do this?

**M:** Early in July, Comrade Chou En-lai, the representative of our party, wrote about it to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. On August 1 we telegraphed to Generalissimo Chiang and the Government from Yen-an demanding the abolition of the "Restriction of Alien Parties" which appear to have been secretly circulated and applied, causing friction between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in various places.

**R:** Has the Central Government replied?

**M:** No, we have had no formal reply yet. It is said that the "Restrictions" have not been finally approved by Generalissimo Chiang and that many Kuomintang members also oppose them. Since we consider all armies fighting the Japanese to be "friendly armies" there is no reason why parties standing shoulder to shoulder against Japan should be considered as "alien" and not "friendly" parties. Indeed,

there are many parties and groups in our anti- Japanese United Front, differing in numbers and influence. What we need at a time like the present is absolute unity and not mutual obstruction.

What is an “alien party”? The only real alien party is that of Wang Ching-wei, the treacherous tool of the Japanese. This party has, politically, nothing in common with the parties which are opposing Japanese aggression, and it should certainly be checked and suppressed. The Kuomintang and Communist Party, on the other hand, have common political aims—anti-Japanese resistance and the establishment of a democratic republic. The problem that now faces the whole nation is to consolidate our national strength to fight against the Japanese and Wang Ching-wei and defend ourselves against their intrigues. It is not the Communists who should be checked and guarded against.

The slogans advanced by Wang Ching-wei are “Down with Chiang Kai-shek”, “Down with the Communists”, and “Be Friendly with Japan”. They expose him as the common enemy of the Kuomintang, the Communist Party, and the entire people. The Kuomintang and the Communists are not enemies. Why should they obstruct each other, when the real need is greater unity and closer co-operation? The slogans of our two parties must be opposed in every respect to those of the traitor Wang Ching-wei, so that he will have no opportunity to confuse the issues. He howls, “Down with Chiang Kai-shek.” We say, “Support Chiang Kai-shek.” He says, “Oppose the Communists.” We reply, “Support unity with the Communist Party”. He advocates friendship with the Japanese. We fight Japanese imperialism to the end. This was our stand before, it is our stand today, and it will be our stand in the future. Whatever is opposed by the enemy will have our support. Whatever is supported by the enemy will meet with our opposition.

There is an old Chinese proverb popular among our modern writers. It has its origin in the Eastern Han dynasty, when Chu Fu, one of the greatest generals of the First Emperor, sent the following order to Peng Chun, the prefectural governor of Yuyang: “Do nothing that will dishearten our kinsmen or please our enemies.” This is a simple political proposition which we shall all do well to absorb and remember.

As for the attitude of the Communist Party towards the “friction” which you mentioned in your question, I wish to speak frankly. We are fundamentally opposed to any friction whatsoever because, by indulging in it, the two parties only cancel out each other’s anti-Japanese force. Nevertheless, if we are subjected to discrimination which we can no longer endure, or if any attempt is made to suppress our activities we shall take a serious attitude. We will, of course, never attack others unless we are attacked, but if others attack us we shall certainly reply in kind. An old proverb says: “Courtesy, to be real, must be mutual.” It is wrong to receive courtesy and not reciprocate it, and it is equally wrong to give it if it is not reciprocated. To treat our friends with civility is our fixed principle. But, at the same time, we stand firmly on self-defense. No Communist can afford to neglect this, and no Communist will be allowed to go beyond this limit. You gentlemen know all the facts of the situation and there is no need to trouble you with further explanations.

**R:** How is the problem of friction in North China?

**M:** Chang Ying-wu and Chen Chi-yung are two famous “friction experts” there. The activities of Chang in Hopei and Chen in Shantung are in no way different from those of the traitors. They attack the Eighth Route Army more than they attack the Japanese. We have submitted much concrete evidence of this to the Generalissimo, for instance Chang’s written order to attack our army.

**R:** Has the New Fourth Army experienced the same friction?

**M:** Yes. The tragedy of the Pinkiang massacre shocked the whole nation.

**R:** Some people contend that the United Front is the most important thing, and that it is necessary for unity that the Border Region Government be liquidated. What is your opinion on this point?

**M:** All sorts of nonsense is being talked, of which this contention is one example. The Border Region is a democratic anti-Japanese base and is, politically, the most progressive area in China. I do not see any reason to abolish such an administration. Moreover, the Border Government was recognized by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and, in September, 1937, was expressly sanctioned by the Executive Yuan of the National Government. It is true that China needs unity above all—unity in the War of Resistance, in national consolidation, and in political progress. The opposite way will lead the country to enslavement.

**R:** The Kuomintang and Communist Party have different views on the question of national unification. Is there any possibility of a split between them?

**M:** If we speak only of “possibilities” then, of course, there the “possibility” exists both of greater unity and of a split. The problem depends entirely on the attitude adopted by both parties and particularly on the attitude of the entire people. The Communist Party has already declared its policy of co-operation. We not only desire long-term co-operation, but we are actively fighting for it.

It has been reported that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek declared at the Fifth Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang that military force will never again be used to settle the country’s internal problems. With the experience of the past behind them, both parties realize clearly the need for long-term co-operation and how imperative it is to avoid a split. For long-term co-operation, political security, is essential. Only thus can a split really be made impossible. Political security means that the war must be fought to the end and democracy must be practised. If this is done, unity will continue and there will be no split. The joint efforts of the two leading parties and of the entire people must be applied to this end.

“Insist on protracted war and oppose all forms of surrender !”

“Insist on unification and oppose a split!”

“Insist on progress and oppose retrogression!”

These are the three great political slogans contained in the Double Seventh (July 7) declaration of our party. They point out what we must do to avoid enslavement and drive out the enemy. We consider that there is no other way out for the country.

(REMARKS : The part of the interview dealing: with the imperialist world war has been omitted, since it corresponds entirely to Mao Tze-tung’s speech of

September 1 which is given elsewhere.)

### 3. The German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact

(An interview granted by Mao Tze-tung to a representative of the *Sin Xua Rhboa*, organ of the Eighth Route Army, at Yen-an on September 1, 1939.)

**Question:** What is the significance of the sudden conclusion of the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact.

**Answer:** The pact is an outgrowth of the increasing power of Socialism in the Soviet Union and the resolute peace policy of the Communist Party and the Government of the U.S.S.R. Far from being incidental, it possesses great political significance. The pact has smashed the plot of the reactionary international bourgeoisie, headed by Chamberlain and Daladier, to provoke a war between Germany and the Soviet Union. It crushed the encirclement of the anti-Comintern alliances of Germany, Italy and Japan. It exposed the demagogy of these fascist states and their use of the Anti-Comintern Pact as pretext for aggression. This new non-aggression pact has put peaceful relations between Germany and the U.S.S.R. on a stable basis and it has insured the forward march of socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

In the Far East the conclusion of the pact has discouraged Japan, stimulated China in her war of resistance, strengthened the position of the anti-Japanese war camp and poured cold water over the spines of the capitulators of China. In these ways the pact assists the peoples of the world in their struggle for freedom and emancipation.

**Question:** Please explain the reason for the breakdown of the British-French-Soviet talks in Moscow. Some people claim that it was the conclusion of the German-Soviet Pact that stopped the parleys.

**Answer:** The talks were not successful because both Britain and France were insincere in these discussions.

In the past few years the reactionary bourgeoisie of the world, particularly the capitalists of Britain and France, have been pursuing a reactionary policy *vis-a-vis* the aggressions of German, Italian and Japanese Fascism. Their policy has been the so-called non-intervention policy which tolerated wars of aggression in the hope of obtaining greater profits through them. It is because of this policy that Britain and France have categorically turned down the Soviet proposal, repeatedly put forth, for the organization of a genuine anti-aggression front; but stood aloof, refusing to make any resistance to German, Italian and Japanese aggression, in order that they might come out openly for intervention which the Fascists lay prostrate, exhausted by their wars. In fact, this reactionary policy has already sacrifice half of China to Japan, the whole of Ethiopia, Spain, Austria and Czechoslovakia to Italy and Germany, and, at the same time, has endeavoured to betray the Soviet Union.

In the Moscow parleys which lasted more than four months, from April 15 to August 23, although the Soviet Union tried its best to come to an agreement, Britain and France stood adamant in their opposition to the principles of equality

and reciprocity, but, instead demanded guarantee of safety from the Soviet Union, while refusing to give a similar guarantee of safety to the U.S.S.R. and to the Baltic states. Thus they left open a loophole for German invasion and encouraged it by refusing to agree to the passage of Soviet troops through Polish territory in order to fight aggression.

At this juncture, Germany departed from her anti-Soviet stand, showed her willingness to desert the anti-Comintern bloc and recognized the inviolability of the Soviet frontiers. Thus the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact was signed.

The non-intervention policy of British and French reaction has been sheer imperialist egotism. It was put into practice the moment Chamberlain was installed as premier and culminated in the Munich Conference of September, 1938. It is responsible for the fiasco of the Moscow talks. Hence forth a situation was bound to arise, where the British-French imperialist combination would try to cut the throat of their rival imperialist group: that of Germany and Italy.

In the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in 1938, I said that Chamberlain's policy would result in his being "hoist by his own petard." Chamberlain ended by falling prey to his own egoistic scheme. This law governs the development of all reactionary policies.

**Question:** What is your view of the possible changes in the international situation?

**Answer:** The international situation has today entered a new phase. The second imperialist world war (which has for long been waged on a limited scale—that is to say, with one imperialist combination attacking while the other stood by and watched, as a result of the non-intervention policy) will now involve ever greater areas and numbers of countries, judging by the present tendencies in Europe. The second imperialist war is entering its second stage. In the Far East a new stage will also emerge.

In Europe an imperialist war is imminent between the German-Italian and British-French combinations for a redivision of the colonies of the world. To deceive the masses and to mobilize public opinion in support of the war, both belligerents will be shameless enough to claim that their cause is just and that of their adversary unjust. This is obviously a lie. Both belligerents, pursuing their imperialist aims, have nothing more in view than control of colonies and semi-colonies. It is nothing but a predatory war. Today a fight is raging for the control of Poland, the Balkans and the Mediterranean coast.

Only a war for liberation is a non-predatory and just war. Communists oppose predatory wars but support those which are waged for freedom and emancipation. Today there is a split taking place in the Social Democratic Parties affiliated to the Second International. Faced with threats and bribes from Chamberlain and Daladier, the upper strata favors the second imperialist war just as they did the first; while the lower sections are joining the anti-war, antifascist popular front together with the Communists. Following the pattern of German and Italian Fascism, Chamberlain and Daladier are now attempting to make their regimes more reactionary and more Fascist with the excuse of emergency regulations for

mobilization and wartime economic control. In short, the two powerful imperialist groups are making fervent preparations for war and the danger of massacre threatens millions of people.

Realizing these conditions, we cannot doubt that the broad masses of the world will arise in a great anti-war movement. The peoples of Germany, Italy, Britain, France and all other sections of the world, who are unwilling to be used as cannon fodder, will rise against the second imperialist war.

Besides the two warring groups, there is a third headed by the United States and including many of the states in Central and South America. This group, likewise impelled by its own interests, stands aloof at least for the time being. It is possible that it will cooperate with the Soviet Union for the promotion of world peace. By remaining neutral, American imperialism hopes to emerge with the hegemony of world capitalism. For the present, American capitalism is not prepared to overthrow their democratic institutions and peace-time national economy. This is conducive to world peace.

As to Japanese imperialism, it is looking forward to a more difficult future as a result of the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, which is extremely unfavorable to Japan. Japanese foreign policy is undecided in the face of the struggle going on between the two imperialisms in the West. Japanese Fascist militarism still dreams of an alliance with Berlin and Rome, conquest of China, invasion of the South Seas and exclusion of British, American and French interests from the Far East. Their liberal bourgeoisie contend that concessions must be made to Britain, America and France in order to secure help for consolidation of the conquest of China. Formerly it looked as though an Anglo-Japanese *rapprochement* could be effected. The reactionary bourgeoisie of Britain wished to divide China with Japan and to aid Japan financially and economically, in exchange for Japanese protection of British interests in the Far East. Be that as it may, Japanese imperialism will not and cannot change from her basic policy of conquest of China. A large-scale Japanese drive may be unlikely in the future, but Tokyo will launch with greater vigor than ever the political offensive for playing Chinese off against Chinese and the economic offensive of supporting the war through the war. In the occupied areas Japan will continue her savage mopping-up campaigns. She has always planned in the war to force China to surrender by calling a Far Eastern Munich with the assistance of Britain, when the situation best suited. By making minor concessions to China she hoped to conclude peace and convert our country into a Japanese colony. This aim of Japanese imperialism will never be altered until the day when the Japanese people rise in revolt. It will never change no matter what changes in government the ruling class of Japan may make.

Beyond the capitalist world there is another brilliant world—that of Socialist Russia. The German-Soviet Pact has strengthened the position of the Soviet Union in foreign affairs. It has increased the power of the Soviet Union to aid the peace movement throughout the world. It has increased the power of the Soviet Union to aid China in her resistance and to help all the oppressed nations of the world in their struggle for liberation. The Soviet Union is ready to give assistance to all

nations and peoples in their struggle for emancipation. This is my view of the international situation.

**Question:** What are the prospects for China in the present situation?

**Answer:** Two possible roads are open before us. The one leads to regeneration—if we continue the resistance, maintain our unity and promote democracy. The other leads to disintegration if we surrender, become disunited and follow reactionary policies.

Whatever the new international situation may be, the stage of our tactical retreat has been completed under conditions of increasing difficulty for the enemy, because of our refusal to compromise. Today we are approaching the stage of stalemate—the stage of active preparation for the counter-offensive. The stalemate at the front is, however in inverse proportion to that in the rear of the enemy. In other words, the greater the deadlock at the front, the less at the rear. Hence, the large-scale mopping-up campaigns in the occupied areas, especially in North China, where they have been intensified since the fall of Wuhan.

The policy of Great Britain in the Far East is to call a Far Eastern Munich conference and this drastically increases the dangers of capitulation and factional warfare. Since there is great discrepancy between Japan and China in the matter of strength, we must, all of us, strenuously exert our lives to thoroughly prepare for the counter-offensive, or the third stage. Our tasks are so serious that they require our complete devotion. China must take a resolute stand and cherish no illusions at this critical moment. China must carry on the war of resistance, oppose every move for compromise, smash the Wang Ching-wei clique, whether it be exposed or masked, resist every temptation offered by Japan or England and refuse to listen to the talk of a Far Eastern Munich. China must preserve her unity and oppose every attempt to create friction, whether it be made by Japan, England or Chinese capitulationists. Friction endangers the war of resistance and it must be stopped.

Then too, China must encourage democracy within the country and oppose every reactionary tendency. Thoughts, institutions and measures which are inimical to the war of resistance must be revised, no matter whether they involve the army, the government, the economy, finance, parties, culture, education or mass movement of our country. If this be done, it goes without saying that China will the more efficiently be able to prepare for the counter-offensive. From today hereafter the whole nation must prepare for the counter-offensive—this is the chief task of resistance. Defences in certain areas must be bolstered up and substantial assistance to our warriors who fight behind the lines of the enemy. On the other hand, political and military reforms must be instituted.

In the field of foreign relations we regard those who assist us as our friends and those who aid the enemy as our foes. Germany and Italy for instance, have helped the enemy in the past, and for that reason Wang Ching-wei's demands for *rapprochement* with those two nations are wrong and treasonable. Should Germany and Italy cease aiding the enemy we might reconsider our position and improve our relations with them in order to weaken Japan. Should Britain, assist our enemy, then we should abandon all hope of aid from her and vigilantly guard against being

caught by any traps she might set to endanger our war of resistance.

As to the Soviet Union, we must strengthen the relations between our country and her and form a true united front of the two great nations; for we need greater assistance from her in our struggle. The same should be our attitude toward America.

We clearly understand that it is the broad masses, and not the governments of the capitalist nations, who are our most reliable friends and who give us the most help in our resistance. In short, we are ready to use anything that will benefit our war of liberation and ultimate victory is certain if we take a resolute stand and pursue a correct policy.

The whole of the people must support Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and the National Government, oppose capitulation, insist on unity, oppose splitting tactics, insist on democracy, oppose reaction, and mobilize all forces for the counter-offensive. Whether China will triumph in her future counter-attack is predetermined by her stand and work today. I hope that every patriotic party and group, that every patriotic fellow-countryman, will give careful consideration to this vital question and assume the responsibilities and march toward the bright future of a liberated Chinese nation! The greatest battle for emancipation in the history of mankind is being waged today and the Chinese nation is sure of achieving its liberation if we fight hard for it!

## 4. The Gravest Danger In The Present Situation

(An article by Mao Tze-tung on the second anniversary of the War of Resistance, July 7, 1939.)

Confronted with Japanese imperialist aggression, the Chinese nation has but one choice:—to fight or to surrender. During the period between the Mukden and the Marco Polo Bridge Incidents (1931 to 1937) controversy over this problem involved the whole of our nation. All patriotic parties, organizations and citizens came to but one conclusion —we shall survive if we fight and we shall be dismembered if we capitulate. But the defeatists arrived at another conclusion. They said we would be dismembered if we fought and that we should give in if we wish to survive. The outbreak of war at Marco Polo Bridge ended the controversy for the time being and the long resistance following it has confirmed the correctness of the first conclusion and exposed the fallacy of the second.

But no irrevocable decision was taken even then because of strong pressure from three sources: the Japanese imperialists' policy of instigating capitulation, the attempts at appeasement by the international defeatists and the instability of certain sections of our National Anti-Japanese United Front. These people have tried to cover the old issue with a new "problem of war or peace." They have encouraged conflict between the camp for continued resistance and the cliques advocating peace. And the conclusions for each remain the same as before.

But the war camp includes all patriotic parties and groups and all the patriotic citizens—the majority of our nation; while the peace clique—i.e. the defeatists, can count only a few wavering elements in our anti-Japanese camp. Lacking numbers they resort to lies. They attack the Communists in the war camp with slander of disruption, inactivity and insubordination of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Route Armies. They tell of secession and aggrandizement by the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsha Border Region; | they whisper of Communist expansion and of attempts to overthrow the National Government and they are horrified at attempted aggression by Soviet Russia. They manufacture falsehoods and forge documents in order to deceive the people and kill the truth that they may the better mould public opinion in favor of surrender. They know, these defeatists, that the Communist Party of China is the pioneer for and the strong supporter of the National Anti-Japanese United Front, and they know too that they can destroy the cooperation between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, split the National United Front and make for surrender only if they oppose the Communists. Moreover, they have pinned their hopes to the compromise advocated by the Japanese imperialists. They actually believe that Japan, having failed to win the war, will change her fundamental policy and withdraw her troops from Central, South and North China and that China will score her "victory" without having to fight at all.

On the international field they have their plans too. Many of those waverers hope for intervention by world powers in the East; they expect them to force Japan to talk peace—but they also expect pressure to be put on the Chinese Government, so that they (the defeatists) may say to the patriotic,

“You see, the international situation is like this. How can we continue to fight? Let us talk peace then. The Pacific Conference is for the benefit of China. No, no, it is not a Munich, but aid for the recovery of China.”

These are their point of view, their policy and their intrigues. This is the game of Wang Ching-wei and he has played it again and again. And there are still many of the same stripe playing the same tricks behind the shield of the Anti-Japanese United Front.

We Communists openly declare our complete and lasting adherence to the continuance of the war of resistance. We support Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the National Government and the national programme for the war. We firmly oppose the so-called peace group. We are willing to join hands with all patriotic parties and organizations— with all patriotic citizens of our country to strengthen the National Anti-Japanese United Front and the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and to execute the Three Peoples Principles (San Min Chu I). We have but one objective—to drive the enemy back to the borders of Korea and recover all of our lost territories.

We have nothing but condemnation for either the Wang Ching-wei's who are openly traitors or their brothers, who secretly exacerbate fraction between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang in order to split our unity and reduce our country to civil war. It is undeniable that their splitting intrigues are preparation for capitulation and that their policy, at the cost of the whole nation, is the expression of nothing but the selfish interests of a few. We have faith in the judgment of our people and we know! every intrigue will be exposed for what it is. Those who declare that the proposed Pacific Conference is not a Munich in the Orient are uttering nonsense. The so-called Pacific Conference is intended to do for China exactly what Munich did to Czechoslovakia.

And equally nonsensical are the illusions of some who hope that Japanese imperialism will repent and make radical concessions. These fascist aggressors will never change their policy of dismembering China—they cannot change it!

After the fall of Hankow the Japanese adopted mealy-mouthed words and made enticing promises that they would discard their policy of refusing to negotiate with the National Government and that they would withdraw their troops from Central and South China. These are but bait with which they hope to catch unwary fish. He who is willing to take the bait into his mouth should be prepared to be caught!

Similar intrigues are used by the international defeatists to induce China to surrender. These appeasers acquiesce in and their mouths water over the prospects of gain at the proposed Pacific Conference. Their proposals are equally deceptive. The question of whether to fight or give in is now called the “question of peace or war.” But the substance has not changed. This is the fundamental, basic question for us. The past six months have been crucial—Japan has intensified the use of every means to force us to surrender; the international defeatists have increased their activities for appeasement and above all certain sections of the Anti-Japanese National United Front have become less stable and fomented disputes over the question of “peace or war.” These developments show how the possibility of

capitulation might constitute a grave danger in the present situation and that opposition to the Communists—a split in the unity between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and the resultant national solidarity in resistance—can be regarded as first steps toward surrender.

Faced with these dangers, our patriotic parties and fellow countrymen should open their eyes to the activities of the defeatists and they should understand that capitulation is the main danger at the present time and that attacks on the Communists are preludes to surrender. They should make every effort to oppose splitting intrigues and plots for capitulation. A few traitors to our country cannot be permitted to weaken or sabotage the sacred war of resistance which the flesh and blood of the whole nation have fought for two years. These defeatists cannot be permitted to break or split the National Anti-Japanese United Front and the Kuomintang-Communist cooperation which have been so dearly won by the whole nation. Continuation of the fight and strengthening of our solidarity mean survival for China. Disunity and compromise mean conquest and dismemberment of our country. It is the people of our nation who must make the final decision.

We Communists are for the continuation of the war and for strengthening national unity. So are all patriotic parties and citizens. Even should the defeatists seem to be making a success with their intrigues for a while, eventually they will be exposed and subjected to the wrath of the people of China. The historic mission of the Chinese nation is to unite to carry on the war of resistance in order that emancipation may be won.

At the present time opposition to peace talks and splitting tactics is the most urgent demand on all patriotic parties and citizens. Let all the people of China unite and persevere in the resistance! Let us stamp out the intrigues for surrender and disunity!

## 5. Political Aspects Of The Spiritual Mobilization Movement

(An address before the mass meeting on Spiritual Mobilization and May Day, May 1, 1939, Yen-an.)

Comrades:

Today the people of Yen-an, of all walks of life, are holding this great meeting in order to translate the Spiritual Mobilization Movement into action. At the same time, this meeting commemorates Labor Day. Consequently it is of enormous significance.

Today is May First. On this day, the proletariat and the toilers of the world, wherever they are able to do so, are holding large-scale demonstrations. Comrades: Against whom do they demonstrate? Against Fascism! Against aggression!

In China on this day the entire working class and all toilers hold mass meetings, wherever it is possible, in celebration of May Day and against the aggression of Japanese imperialism. At the same time, rallying to the call of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the whole people, workers, peasants, merchants, students, soldiers, party functionaries, government officials, military officers, ordinary citizens and people of different political affiliations are participating in the Spiritual Mobilization movement and taking the oath against the traitors, for continued resistance, for the consolidation of the people's force and will throughout the length and breadth of the country. What is the purpose of this? To defeat Japanese imperialism (thunderous applause), to bring the country out of the crisis, and to build a new China (applause, followed by cries: Down with the Japanese imperialism! Fight for a New China!) This is the first point I wish to emphasize in connection with the significance of our meeting here today.

Next, why is it that we must launch a general mobilization of the spiritual forces of the nation? Why does Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek sponsor such mobilization? Because our enemy, the Japanese military Fascists, in order to achieve their object of conquering China, are mobilizing all the national resources of Japan to continue their aggressive and predatory war against China and the massacre of our people. Moreover, rotten elements in China, such as Wang Ching-wei and his followers, are helping Japanese imperialism by activities harmful to resistance and the interests of the nation. They are carrying on a campaign under the slogan "Down with Chiang Kai-shek and Communism." They have organized "Anti-Communist National Salvation Leagues" in Hong Kong and Shanghai with Wang as the leader. They want also to set up a puppet government which will capitulate to Japanese imperialism. In the face of these increase activities of Japanese imperialism and its allies, the traitors, it is necessary for us to carry on a campaign of spiritual mobilization, calling upon our 450,000,000 compatriots for unity and firm determination to fight to the end against Japanese imperialism, the traitors, Wang Ching-wei, the Trotzkyites and corrupt politicians; for Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and the National Government, for cooperation between Kuomintang and

Communists, for the mobilization of all our forces in the fight for ultimate victory!  
How far shall we push forward in our struggle? As far as the Yalu River!  
(Border of Korea—ed.) (Applause) Until all our lost territories have been recovered!  
(Applause.)

We shall not stop until our object is gained. For this reason, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has called for the general mobilization of the spiritual forces of the people and we, the Communists, have rallied to him and support him in his call. Here, in Yen-an, today, we have a large gathering of people from our party, government, army, popular organizations, institutions and schools, who have assembled to take the oath to carry out the programme of Spiritual Mobilization. We are here with one object: to beat the enemy and build up a new China!  
(Applause, followed by shouts: All Chinese unite! Support Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek! Carry out Spiritual Mobilization! Support the Kuomintang! Support the Communist Party! For continued Kuomintang-Communist cooperation Down with the traitor, Wang Ching-wei! Down with the Trotskyites! Down with Japanese imperialism! Long Live the Emancipation of China!)

Let us turn to the questions of state and nation. Our state is for the whole people, for workers, peasants, soldiers, students, merchants and all patriotic Chinese, but not for the Japanese invaders, the traitors, Wang Ching-wei and his gang or the Trotskyites. Our state will exclude not only traitors like Wang but also those who follow in his footsteps and, while not openly committing treason, are doomed by their short-sightedness to fall into the traps set by the traitors and the enemy. Our nation has been independent and self-respecting for thousands of years. It cannot co-exist with Japanese imperialism. Only anti-Japanese administrations can exist in our state. Puppet organizations cannot be tolerated. We must defend our Fatherland. We want to liberate China completely, to smash the attempt of Japanese imperialism to encroach on our independence and to destroy the traitors who sell out the interests of the nation. This is what we mean when we say, “The state and nation are supreme.” (Loud cries: Defend the Fatherland to the last drop of blood! Long live the liberation of the Chinese nation! Down with the traitors!)

To defend the Fatherland and liberate the Chinese people, we must achieve victory in our war of resistance. The Communist Party of China has persistently held the view that “anti-Japanese resistance is above everything; everything must be subordinated to anti-Japanese resistance; all forces must be mobilized for the final victory!” What does this mean? It means—the army first, victory first. Today victory is our only objective. We shall do and defend anything that is conducive to victory and beneficial to resistance. We shall refrain from doing and oppose whatever is harmful to victory and resistance. We must fight against the activities of Wang Ching-wei and his gang, of Trotskyites and trouble-makers, of reactionaries and intriguers. We must destroy everything and everyone that undermines our resistance! (Applause; Shouts of “Anti-Japanese resistance above all! Mobilize all forces! Fight for the final victory! The army first Victory first! Against compromise and capitulation! Down with the traitors!)

In order to achieve the final victory, push on to the banks of the Yalu River and

recover all the lost territories, we must unify and concentrate the thoughts, will and force of the entire people. This means that we must further unify and consolidate the Anti-Japanese National United Front. This is what Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has in mind when he calls for the concentration of force and will. All thoughts must be focused on the final triumph.

Can we concentrate on any other objective? Is it possible to reach a peaceful compromise with Japan? By no means. We must fight for victory and achieve it. All forces must be concentrated on the anti-Japanese front.

Wang Ching-wei wanted to concentrate all the national forces on the side of treason and capitulation. Other trouble-makers and provocateurs have tried to split our strength instead of consolidating it. In opposition to them, we say that all energies must be concentrated on the maintenance and strengthening of the Anti-Japanese National United Front. Any other action is a violation of the national interest. We shall fight against such violations and brand all those who advocate them as traitors. (Shouts: Focus all thought on the final victory! Concentrate all forces on the anti-Japanese front!)

The fight for final victory and the consolidation of the Anti-Japanese National United Front necessitates a change of outlook on the part of the entire people, completely eliminating all that is bad and degenerate. Selfishness, cowardice, corruption and lethargy—we must rid ourselves of these entirely. It is for this reason that we hold up hard struggle as a model for work. We must adopt on a wider scale this method of action, which our forefathers, as hard workers, have handed down to us as their heritage. We must eliminate completely the selfishness, cowardice, corruption and lethargy which can still be observed among a section of our people.

The firm and correct political orientation on which we Communists insist helps us, in wartime, to rectify all ideas prejudicial to the state, the nation and our war of resistance. These ideas are, first of all, the traitorous theories of the Wang Ching-wei group and the Trotzkyites. Then there are some people who say: “Marxism is incompatible with the Three People’s Principles (Sam Min Chu I).” Is this remark right or wrong? It is entirely wrong. Sun Yat-sen, himself, clearly said: “Marxism is a good friend of the Three People’s Principles,” a statement that is now repudiated by these people, who try to foster antagonism between the Kuomintang and the Communists. Such distortions are harmful to the united front, to the interests of the toilers who constitute more than 90% of our people, and consequently to the entire nation.

In order that we may achieve a firm and correct political orientation all such wrong ideas must be rectified or stamped out. Such a political orientation is inseparable from the encouragement of hard struggle as a model for work. Conversely, without hard struggle as a model for work, it is impossible to translate a firm and correct political standpoint into action. (Applause; shouts of “Down with selfishness! Down with cowardice! Down with corruption! Down with incorrect thought! Persevere in a firm and correct political orientation! Rigidly follow hard struggle as a model for work!”)

Finally, our sole guiding general principle in the war of armed resistance and national reconstruction is the Three People's Principles. The Three People's Principles form the political basis of the Anti-Japanese National United Front and must be put into practice during the struggle against Japanese aggression and for a new China. The principle of People's Nationalism is nothing other than the overthrow of Japanese imperialism. The principle of People's Democracy means nothing other than the granting of freedom to the entire people. The principle of People's Livelihood means that the whole people must be given work, food and clothing. These things are good and necessary and we must resolutely put them into action. From now on, the entire people must fight for their realization.

Only by resisting to the end, advancing to the banks of the Yalu River, recovering all our lost territories, and taking a definite stand against capitulation and betrayal can one really be a faithful adherent of Sun Yat-sen's principle of Nationalism. Only by giving freedom of speech, publication, assembly and association to the *Lao Pai Hsing* (common people), refraining from oppressing the people and "arousing the masses" in accordance with Dr. Sun's will can we carry out his principle of Democracy. Only by striving to reduce the hardships of the majority of the people, through, for example, the realization of Sun Yat-sen's slogan "the land to those who till it" and through the launching of a production campaign to give work, food and clothing to everyone can we justify a belief in the principle of Livelihood. Comrades! Let us all strive to be faithful adherents of the Three People's Principles and good disciples of Sun Yat-sen. Let no one, who is a hypocrite, pose as a follower of the Three Principles. Let no man who is corrupt pretend to be a student of them. We should not only talk of the Three Principles but we must completely put them into practice.

I hope that the entire people will enforce the kind of nationalism that is determined on the overthrow of Japanese imperialism and the liberation of the Chinese nation; that the whole people will realize the kind of democracy that helps and arouses the *Lao Pai Hsing* and endows them with democratic rights; that the whole people will strive to carry out the principle of Livelihood that gives the *Lao Pai Hsing* work, food and clothing. The whole country demands the enforcement of the Three People's Principles.

Let us fight for it! (Applause and shouts of "Carry out the Three People's Principles throughout the Country!")

We are meeting today precisely for these aims, and these aims too are the object of Spiritual Mobilization. We must thoroughly carry out and really enforce the Three People's Principles! We must mobilize all forces to fight for final victory, push on to the banks of the Yalu River and recover our lost territories! We must drive Japanese imperialism out of the country! We must build the New Republic of China! (Prolonged cheers and applause.)