

# **WHO THREATENS CHINA'S UNITY?**

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## INTRODUCTION

We publish in this book four important documents from China which have just reached us and as an appendix an article by Vladimir Rogov which appeared in the August issue of "War and the Working Class," an important trade union monthly published in Moscow. These documents are important for they throw new light on China's heroic battle for liberation, and warn us of dangers that lie ahead of China's national movement in its struggle for democracy and freedom. The documents are mainly concerned with the question of unity and friendly relations between the Kuomintang and the Communists, China's two major political parties.

It might be asked—Is this problem of Chinese 'internal' unity a problem that is the concern of Indians? Have we the right to discuss it?

The answer is that it is very much our concern. The firmness and solidarity of the United National Front in China is of fundamental importance as far as the fighting capacity of China is concerned. Today just because of internal disunity, because reactionary pro-fascist elements occupy high positions in the Kuomintang, China is not in a position to wage war to her maximum capacity. And this inevitably strengthens the Japanese on the borders of our country, increases their capacity to attack our people. It is therefore, not simply just our business but our duty as well to give every possible assistance to those forces in China which are working to rid their people of this disrupting appeasing minority.

The idea however that the National Front in China is not a solid all-embracing front, that conspiring against it are defeatist Fifth Column elements will surprise many patriots in our country. To them the Chinese war of liberation has rightly been a source of inspiration ever since it began. They have in addition always thought that the whole people were united, and that the pro-appeaser forces had been eliminated after Wang Ching-wei had gone over to the Japs. But in fact the path of the National Front in China has been a zig-zag one. and to understand the present, it is well to look back and recollect the past.

The months from the summer of 1937 to the latter part of 1938 saw the high-point of unity between the Kuomintang, the Communists and all other forces in China. But reactionary figures inside the Kuomintang, whose fear of the growing power of democracy was greater than their desire to fight Japan, initiated a desperate counter move

towards the end of 1938 against democratic forces. In control of the machinery of the Kuomintang. led by General Ho Ying-chin, War Minister, they succeeded in stopping this advance towards democracy and achieved a notable 'success' in January, 1941 during the New Fourth Army incident when Kuomintang troops mercilessly slaughtered a part of the magnificent Communist-led force in Central China. That a disastrous civil war did not break out at that time was due solely to the patient and patriotic attitude of the Communists who refused to be provoked.

This struggle between democratic and reactionary elements however still goes on.

Chiang at the start of the war had opposed these reactionaries and welcomed Communist co-operation in these words:

"The Manifesto recently issued by the Chinese Communist Party is an outstanding instance of the triumph of national sentiment over every other consideration. The various decisions embodied in the Manifesto, such as the abandonment of a policy of violence, the cessation of Communist propaganda, the abolition of the Chinese Soviet government, and the disbanding of the Red Army are all essential conditions for mobilising our national strength in order that we may meet the menace from without and guarantee our own national existence."

But as the war went on Chiang increasingly fell into the hands of reactionary elements. By 1939 he who had originally pledged democratisation of Kuomintang China and had attacked "the cowardly minority in the governing class and the society" began to make speeches of mere exoneration of the Kuomintang while all blame was put on the Communists. Typical of his method of discrediting the Communists is this statement in his speech in October 1943 to the Executive Council of the Kuomintang:

"If the Chinese Communist Party can prove its good faith by making good its promises, the Central Government, taking note of its sincerity and loyalty in carrying on our war of resistance, will once more treat it with sympathy and consideration so that we may accomplish hand in hand the great task of resistance and reconstruction."

He accuses the Communists of not fulfilling the pledges they had made at the beginning of the war, when in fact (as a perusal of this book will show) the Communists have completely fulfilled these pledges

Their armies are now National Revolutionary Armies under Chiang's military command, the regions where they dominate are not Soviets but are governed according to the three principles of Sun Yat-sen, they have laid aside their policies of insurrection and land confiscation.

On the contrary it is Chiang who has not fulfilled his pledges.

First, in return for the incorporation of the Red Army in the National Army, it was Chiang's duty to provide the former Communist troops with arms, munitions, funds and medical supplies. At first some supplies and funds were delivered; in 1937 and during 1938 the economic blockade against the North-west was lifted. But with the increase of strength of reactionary forces in 1939, aid from the Kuomintang ceased. And since then it has not only never been resumed but the economic blockade has been reimposed and some half a million of the Kuomintang's best equipped troops have been stationed around the borders of the so-called "Special District" in order to maintain effectively the blockade.

Second and related to the above was the question of the formation of a National Defence Council to discuss the urgent military problems facing the nation and to work out a unified strategy of national resistance. Proposed by the Communists at the time of negotiations in 1937 itself, the Kuomintang first said it would be premature to hold it at that time; that since then not only have they never called together such a Council but have been deliberately hostile to any proposals for joint military action with the Communists; and finally they have even gone to the extent, as in the New Fourth Army incident, of actually provoking civil war.

Third was the question of democracy. The Communists had agreed to the dissolution of the Soviet form of government in their areas. In return the Kuomintang was under the obligation to democratise its programme. A real people's assembly would have united the whole people and ensured the speedy adoption of a thorough-going programme of social and economic reform, designed to make possible prolonged resistance and an eventual military counter-offensive.

Yet the People's National Congress which it was announced would be held in November 1937 for the purposes of ushering in the new constitution has never been held. It was first announced that pressure of war necessitated its postponement and now the latest is that it will

not be held until after the end of the war. This announcement made in October 1943 was widely heralded by many Indian newspapers as a step forward; in fact, however, it is merely another of the interminable moves of the reactionaries to put off China's democracy as long as possible.

Instead an advisory body, the People's Political Council was set up which included a few representatives of minority groups. But its advisory character has been increasingly emphasised and today it has become merely the mouth-piece of the Kuomintang.

Fourth was the economic and social changes to which the Kuomintang was pledged by its '*Program of National Resistance and Reconstruction*' of March 1938. Welcomed and accepted by all minority groups, it contained important points such as arming of the people, court martial of traitorous officials, freedom of press and assembly, fixation of prices, new rules for recruitment, etc. But in fact this programme has remained almost entirely on paper.

From all this it is clear that it is the Kuomintang and not the Communists who have broken their pledges and promises, and whose policy is dangerous to China's future.

But it is not merely a question of broken pledges, of one party not fulfilling the promises it has made to another party. It is far more than that. What these broken pledges of Chiang go to show is that instead of pursuing the path of unity, of mobilising the whole four-hundred millions of China's people by carrying out democratic military, political and economic policies, Chiang has vacillated and more and more surrendered to the capitulatory pro-Fascist elements inside the Kuomintang. The history of these broken pledges is not just the history of the Kuomintang-Communist conflict, a conflict between two political parties in China. It is the history of a struggle between democratic forces (both Communist and inside the Kuomintang) and pro-Fascist forces, a struggle between those who want to annihilate Fascism and build an independent and a democratic China, and those who fear democracy so much that they are even prepared to surrender their country to the Japanese so as to ensure the safety of their own privileged autocratic regime.

The seriousness of this situation in China must be realised by all.

The tremendous victories of the Red Army, the invasion of Italy, the

mighty air offensive that has been leashed in the West have put the Second Front on the agenda of the day. The day of Hitler's doom is approaching. Inevitably, therefore, it is just at this time when the victory of world anti-Fascist forces is rapidly nearing, that the pro-fascist elements all over the world are mustering their forces for a final attempt to stave off defeat. In Europe, Hitler and Goebbels and all their agents outside Germany, are raising the cry of the Bolshevik danger.

Viewed in this light, it is, therefore, not surprising that the Chinese pro-Fascists too are raising the same cry.

Just as Hitler and Goebbels, as the day of retribution nears, are flying peace kites in all Europe's neutral capitals, so too in the Far East, the Japanese, convinced that their adventures will end in disaster have launched a peace offensive. "Join with us," they persuasively say to the Kuomintang: "we shall only keep a few treaty ports, the rest of China you will be given back: and let us together launch a joint offensive to wipe Communism (!) off the map of China." And naturally enough, the autocratic Kuomintang pro-Fascists who are equally afraid of a democratic triumph which might also wipe them out, listen with eager willing ears.

As the Editorial in the "Liberation Daily" of Yenan puts it: they are afraid that "the compradore-feudalist-fascist dictatorship of the Kuomintang will become a tiny islet in a boundless ocean of freedom and democracy all over the world. They are afraid that their Fascism of 'one-party, one principle and one leader' will be overwhelmed in such a world."

It is this fear, therefore, that has brought about the particularly acute internal crisis in China to-day. The extent to which these anti-democratic forces are prepared to go in a mad attempt to save themselves is shown by the attempt of the Kuomintang military authorities to bring off in the summer of 1943 a *blitz* attack on the Shensi- Kangu-Ninghsia Border Region. When the very decline in Fascist strength and the prospect of victory in the near future demanded a closing-up of all ranks in China for the counter-offensive, these reactionaries did their best to provoke a disastrous civil war and totally disrupt the unity of the Chinese nation. Such an attempt if it had been successful could only have helped Japan and resulted in further and more prolonged sufferings for the Chinese and all democratic peoples before they achieved final victory.

The attempt failed.

It failed because:

*Firstly*, the Central Committee of the Communist Party in its meeting in June 1943 took a strong position and declared that it would resist any attack on the Border Region or on the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies.

*Secondly*, the mass sentiment among the Chinese people themselves firmly opposed the idea of civil war and was in favour of national unity for victory over Japan.

*Thirdly*, the U. S. Government had made it clear that it was not in the slightest degree sympathetic to the Kuomintang's moves towards civil war.

And *finally*, the Soviet and international press, i.e. international public opinion, showed itself unmistakably against the project of civil war.

But because this attempt of the pro-Fascists failed it does not mean that they have been defeated and smashed. They still keep their key positions in the Government and the Kuomintang. They still continue to intrigue against unity, and to plan civil war. They still pin their hopes on a sudden blitz attack on the Border Region.

The documents which we are publishing in this booklet throw new light on just this danger, the danger of civil war in China, the danger of pro-Fascist disruption of the Chinese war of national liberation.

The first document is the Manifesto of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, issued on the fifth anniversary of the Sino-Japanese War on July 7, 1942. It outlines clearly what the Communists consider to be the correct policy for winning the war and further, gives their post-war programme.

Second is their Manifesto issued on the sixth anniversary. In it will be found a much sharper warning against dangers of civil war and of not pursuing a democratic policy.

Third is the speech in August 1943 of Comrade Chou En-lai, one of China's most brilliant Communist leaders, who has represented the Communists in Chungking during the last five years. His speech which also sharply underlines the danger of an anti-democratic pro-Fascist policy is of particular interest and importance since he is the Communist leader who has been in the most intimate touch with Chungking.

Fourthly, we print the Editorial of October 6, 1943, from "Liberation Daily," the daily paper of the Communist Party, published in Yen-an, the capital of the Shensi- Kangsu-Ninghsia Border Region. The Editorial deals with the decisions of the 11th Plenary Session of the Kuomintang, held last September. The article shows clearly how the pro-Fascists are still entrenched in power and that the situation even after the failure of the July attempt still remains very grave. It is a burning indictment of the dangerous policies pursued by the Kuomintang leadership.

Finally, as an appendix, we are giving a summary of Vladimir Rogov's article from "War and the Working Class," published in August 1943. We print it because it gives in a clear concise form just where the reactionary and vacillating policy of Chiang and the Kuomintang has led China and warns of the serious results if this policy is not changed and the pro-Fascists not cleaned out.

We print all these documents just because we want to bring home to every Indian patriot what dangers lie ahead for China, our nearest ally. We print them because till now almost nothing but vague sunshine talk has appeared in the daily press, sunshine talk which can only serve to infuse false confidence in us and make us believe that all is well with the Kuomintang and the Chinese people's struggle for freedom.

All this sounds very negative. But against this it has to be remembered that China's war of liberation has been fought by her heroic people for six and a half long years. Despite disunity, despite the influence of reactionaries, many of them in high Government positions, despite the weakness of pro-war and pro-unity elements at Chungking, despite the vacillating policy of Chiang himself, the people of China have endured untold suffering and loss and written some of the most glorious pages in the history of the fight for world freedom. For six long years they have fought on and we can be confident that if we afford them every support, they will not allow the disruption of their mighty national front.

But it is for us and all democrats, all anti-Fascists, all fighters for freedom, to understand the seriousness of the situation in China and not be deceived by sweet words or lying propaganda. It is for us to help the democratic forces in China to ensure that unity is maintained, the pro-Fascist appeasers are eliminated and their nation alongside ours, takes its full part in the struggle to annihilate Fascism and build a free

Asia in a free world

*Bombay,*

January 20th, 1944

Mohan Kumaramangalam.

MANIFESTO OF  
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF  
CHINA ON THE OCCASION OF THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF  
CHINA'S WAR OF RESISTANCE

(July 7, 1942)

DEAR BROTHERS, OUR GALLANT FIGHTERS!

On the fifth anniversary of the war of resistance, we, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, sincerely extend to our brothers and gallant fighters the salute of National Liberation, to the dear ones of our departed heroes our heartfelt condolences, and to the wounded soldiers our warm enquiries after their health.

With the same sentiments we give to our anti-Fascist, anti-aggression comrades-in-arms of the world the democratic and triumphal salute.

ANTI-FASCIST CAMP WINNING

At the beginning of the sixth year of our war of resistance, the world anti-Fascist struggle stands on the eve of victory. We see in the camp of the democratic Allied forces the victories won by the Soviet forces, the consolidation of the Soviet Union's rear, the bravery of the Red Army, the enthusiasm of the Soviet people.

We see the increase of armaments production in Great Britain and America, the upsurge of the fighting morale of their people, the might of their Army, Navy and Air Force, the active preparation for the Second Front. We see also the Soviet-British alliance, the Soviet-American Pact as further steps taken in the mighty unity of anti-aggression countries.

All these show that the British, American and Soviet Allied forces have ample guarantees for defeating Hitler and his European partners within the year.

FASCISTS ON THE RUN

We see on the side of the Fascist Axis countries the bankruptcy of the German spring and summer offensives on the Eastern Front, the loss of Germany's supremacy in the air, the dissatisfaction of her people, the revolt of the peoples in Occupied countries, the drop in her armament production. the shortage of daily necessities, the stupendous casualties on the front, and the shortage of manpower.

And we see in the case of Japan, the partner of German and Italian fascism in the East, the extension of her front, the diversion of her

forces, her economic insolvency, her transportation difficulties; at the same time the most fatal factor for her is the great number of enemies she has made while she has settled accounts with none. All these show that the Fascist Axis countries are approaching nearer and nearer to complete defeat and death.

### A FREE POST-WAR WORLD

It is perfectly clear to whom victory belongs. We ought to have unshakable faith in defeating Hitler this year and Japan in the next year. We should struggle in common for the realisation of this aim. What is still more encouraging is that not only is it already clear who will win the war but also there is a clear-cut orientation as to what the future post-war world will be like.

The Atlantic Charter signed last August, the Joint Declaration of Twenty-six nations in January this year (1942), the recently concluded Soviet-British Treaty (May 26, 1942) and the Soviet-American Pact—have all decided that the post-war world would be a world of liberty, democracy and peace. There will be no territorial aggrandisement, no interference in the internal politics of nations, no hindrance in the way of freedom of every people, no denial of the right of every nation to choose each its own form of government, and there will be no possibility of revival of aggressive Fascism.

All these have been recognised by China, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States. It is the common wish of the Chinese people, as well as of the peoples of the world.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party declares that it supports these declarations and that basing itself on the fundamental principles of these declarations, it will participate in the reconstruction of post war China and the post-war world in conjunction with all the patriotic parties and groups of China.

### TASKS BEFORE CHINA

With such an international situation, there are two important problems confronting our war of resistance. First of all, how are we to seize the time given us and overcome difficulties in order to attain final victory in our war of resistance? Secondly, how are we to strive for a united view-point of all parties and groups with regard to the problems of our war of resistance at present and the post-war reconstruction of China in the future, in order to be united at once more solidly in war

and in the process of reconstruction. These are the two great problems, problems of time and of unity.

With regard to the problem of time, if the Soviet Union, Great Britain and America are able to defeat Hitler this year, then China. Great Britain and America will be able to defeat Japan in the coming year. If Japan treacherously invades the Soviet Union, there is no doubt that the mighty Soviet Far-Eastern forces will give her a severe chastisement. But we know that although the road to victory is short, yet it is paved with considerable difficulties.

The Japanese brigands are still carrying on “mopping up” campaigns in their rear, launching frontal offensives, and trying to disrupt the internal unity of China. While within the anti-Japanese camp there still exists the desire to “wait and see” and to “trust to luck”; the relations between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party are not quite regular, and financial and economic difficulties are still very great.

Although the sixth year of war is the year of approaching victory, yet it is also the year, more than any previous since the outbreak of war, in which great difficulties exist. If ever, even for a moment, we are not careful, if even for a moment we relax our efforts, then there is the danger of losing whatever we have achieved in the past. We must guard against this danger, endure and surmount this year of difficulties before we can win the approaching victory.

For this, the entire nation must take advantage of the time element with a united mind and effort. The Chinese people have been engaged in a bitter war with Japanese imperialism for five years but we must endure this year and the next in the spirit of sweeping away all difficulties and in a spirit of granite endurance. When this trying moment has passed, victory will be there in front of us.

## UNITY IN WAR AND PEACE

With regard to the question of unity, the Communist Party of China believes that all anti-Japanese parties and groups in China should be united not only during but also after the war of resistance.

Post-war China should be an independent country which establishes relations of mutual benefits with all friendly countries on a basis of equality and not as a colonial, semi-colonial or a vassal country.

Post-war China should be a unified and peaceful country, and not a disunited country with its parts waging internecine war against each

other.

Post-war China should be a democratic country which is neither an autocratic semi-feudal state, nor a Soviet or socialist country.

Post-war China should be a country where the people's livelihood and happiness is secure and economic prosperity flourishes, and not a country which regards only the financial interests of the small minority, reducing the overwhelming majority to suffering, want and privation; nor should it be a country which confiscates land and factories by force.

Post-war China should be a democratic republic, with universal suffrage and the co-operation of all parties and groups, and not a country where the minority usurps power while the great majority are deprived of all rights. To sum up, the setting up of the new order in post-war China should be based on the "Three Principles" of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the "Programme for the War of Resistance and Reconstruction of China" of the Kuomintang, "The Administrative Programme of the Chinese Communist Party and its social policies."

The Chinese Communist Party declares that ever since the outbreak of the war of resistance, it has striven to fight side by side with all parties, groups and the whole Chinese people in the war and for the building up of such a new China.

## STAND OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Far back on September 22, 1937, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party had stated in its declaration:

(1) The "Three Principles" of Dr. Sun Yat-sen are essential to present-day China and our Party will struggle for their complete realisation.

(2) We shall liquidate the Red Movement and all insurrectionary measures that aim at the overthrow of the Kuomintang and we shall stop the policy of forceful seizure of the landlords' land.

(3) We shall liquidate the existing Soviet government and establish a democratic form of government so that the form of government of the whole nation may be uniform.

(4) We shall cancel the name and ranks of the Red Army, reorganising it in the National Revolutionary Army under the command of the Military Council of the National Government, and shall await orders to march to discharge our duty in the anti-Japanese front.

Throughout the last five years, the Chinese Communist Party has not only stood by its promise but has also transformed its promise into

concrete action. As, for instance, the gallant resistance carried out by the Eighth Route Army and New Fourth Army against the Japanese Invaders, the policy of co-operation with the Kuomintang and all other anti-Japanese parties persistently maintained by the Communist Party, the drawing up and carrying into practice of such an administrative programme, a land policy, a labour policy, a cultural policy and the political "one-third ratio system" in all anti-Japanese bases in the enemy's rear, which answer the needs of the present environment and situation, etc. These are concrete measures based on the spirit and principles of its promises.

We want to declare once again that the spirit and principles of our promises, those policies and programmes referred to above, are not only applicable in the period of the war of resistance, but also in the post-war reconstruction period, and the Chinese Communist Party pledges to struggle for their complete and thorough realisation. Only those who are intoxicated by selfish interests will wildly spread the rumour that the Chinese Communist Party is attempting to either undermine the war of resistance to-day, or to usurp power and paint China Red after the war.

#### ALL-IN UNITED FRONT

In this period of approaching victory the entire Chinese people should have not only a common orientation in striving for victory but also a common orientation for the reconstruction of China after the war, so as to build up, as one man, in place of suspicion and struggle, mutual trust for the attainment of victory and the establishment of an independent, unified, peaceful, democratic and prosperous new China in the post-war period with co-operation between all parties and groups.

The Chinese Communist Party believes that all civilians and soldiers in China must support with one accord the leadership of Chairman Chiang Kai-shek in the war of resistance. The Chinese Communist Party acknowledges that Chairman Chiang Kai-shek is the leader not only in the war of resistance but also in the reconstruction of post-war New China.

The Chinese Communist Party believes that in order to achieve the above-mentioned aim the relations between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and other anti-Japanese parties and groups should be improved according to rational principles, and national unity should be strengthened, giving the Japanese no opportunity to provoke

dissensions in our camp.

We are willing to do our best in discussing with the Kuomintang authorities the settlement of any old disputes between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party; and in discussing with the Kuomintang and all anti-Japanese parties and groups the attainment of victory in the war of resistance and the reconstruction of the new post-war China.

#### RAISE PEOPLE'S MORALE

The Chinese Communist Party believes that, before we can defeat the Japanese invaders and lay the foundations for the reconstruction of China after the war, the national policies must be improved now on the basis of the principles advanced in the "Three Principles" and the "Programme for the war of resistance and national reconstruction," so as to win the active participation of the people in the war.

The Chinese Communist Party believes that faith in victory should be more firmly rooted in civilians and soldiers all over the country; pessimistic and forlorn sentiments should be overcome, the desire to "wait and see" and "trust to luck" should be smashed and efforts should be devoted towards victory in the war of resistance and the struggle for executing our strategic offensive. Every doctrine or action harmful to the war of resistance should be suppressed.

Dear Brothers and Our Gallant Fighters! The war of resistance has gone on for five years and during these years the Chinese people have shown a spirit of infinite bravery, perseverance and endurance, undaunted by hardships and unafraid of sacrifice and difficulties. We firmly believe that the Chinese people will be able to maintain this spirit until Japanese Imperialism is driven out of China, and a New China of independence, liberty, democracy and prosperity is established.

*The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party,  
July 7th in the thirty-first year of the Chinese Republic.*

# MANIFESTO OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY ON OCCASION OF THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WAR OF RESISTANCE

(July 7, 1943)

Six whole years have elapsed since the Chinese nation rose up in its united holy war against criminal Japanese Fascist-Imperialism. On the occasion of this great festival of the sixth anniversary of the beginning of the war of resistance, just when the relationship of forces between the world anti-Fascist alliance and the Fascist alliance of aggression is undergoing a great change, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party would like to set its views before all the people, the commanders and the soldiers of our country.

Since the notorious Fascist Powers commenced their war of aggression, China and all anti-Fascist countries of the world have for long fought severe battles and have been in an inferior position. But such an unfavourable situation has already changed fundamentally.

This change is of decisive significance in the international sphere and has come about through the victory of the second winter offensive launched by the Soviet Union, the victory scored by the British and American troops in North Africa and the blows struck by China in the sixth year of resistance and by Britain and the United States on the Pacific in the past year.

Among these, the victory of the Red Army at Stalingrad has played the main and decisive role in transforming the whole war situation.

These victories have brought about a world situation extremely favourable to the anti-Fascist Allies and extremely unfavourable to the Fascist aggressors in the course of the past year.

## ALLIES' FAVOURABLE POSITION

The anti-Fascist Allies, therefore, are in an unprecedentedly favourable position now.

1. The unity between the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States has been further consolidated by the first joint planned campaign of the Battle of Stalingrad and the battles waged by Britain and the United States in North Africa. The Fascist aggressors have failed completely in their attempt to disrupt the unity between the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States with their peace intrigues.

This is of great historical significance and is a landmark in the whole course of the anti-Fascist war.

2. The decisive battles in which China, the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States will defeat the German and Italian Fascists will develop in the forthcoming year. Originally, these decisive battles might have been concluded in the past year. But as Britain and the United States were unable to put into practice the decision of opening a Second Front in Europe, it was postponed for one year.

At present, however, when the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States have already secured a great success in their first joint operation, when the land and air forces of the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States and the Navies of Britain and the United States have been developed to a strength, which is matchless, the moment has arrived for the Soviet Union from the East and Britain and the U.S.A. from the West to wage the second and third greater joint battle in order to inflict the final decisive blows on the German and Italian Fascists. Only if the second front in Europe is quickly opened, will it be certain that the German and Italian Fascists will be defeated in the coming year. All the pre-requisites for defeating the German and Italian Fascists have been established during the past year; and the coming year will be a year of decisive battles.

3. The consolidation of unity between the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States and the conclusion of the decisive battle against the German and Italian Fascists will result in the defeat of not only the German and Italian Fascists, but also of the Japanese Fascists, owing to the fact that Hitler is the leader of the aggression countries and that Hitler's failure means the failure of all Fascists.

Some do not hope to defeat Hitler first because either their heads are not clear enough or because they do not want to witness the defeat of the Hitlerite Fascist system which also means that they are unwilling to witness the defeat of the Japanese Fascists. There can be no other explanation for such an attitude.

4. The situation in the Pacific has also become favourable to the Allies and unfavourable to the Japanese Fascists as a result of the strengthening of American forces, the victories of the Anglo-American Allied troops and China's stubborn resistance. The strength of the United States is growing rapidly. The Japanese Fascists with their short legs are trying to run a race with the United States, but they will

be beaten.

It is natural that the Japanese Fascists are greatly frightened by the American war production plans, according to which the United Nations will have, in the course of one year, 125,000 planes, 120,000 tanks, 2,000 big and small warships and vessels with a displacement of 20,000,000 tons.

### CRISIS IN AXIS CAMP

In the camp of the Fascist aggressors, the following important changes have taken place:

1. The Fascist aggressors have been completely isolated internationally. In the past year, because of the first successful joint blow dealt by the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States against the German-Italian bandits, because of the increase of American military strength threatening Japan, because of the blows against and the encirclement of the Japanese bandits effected by the Chinese, British and American forces in the Pacific and on the China fronts, all the Fascist countries are feeling the menace of defeat. Therefore, they have resorted to peace intrigues in an attempt to disrupt, through provocation, the great alliance between Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union.

They imagine that one section of the Allies might conclude a dishonourable peace with them, and thus enable them first to crush the other section in order to save themselves and to fulfil their aim of ruining the whole world. But the trick has been countered with the resolute joint blows of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. Henceforth the only way left for either the German and Italian Fascists or the Japanese Fascists is the one of "unconditional surrender."

The Fascist countries also attempt to trap the neutral countries which are not yet engaged in this war. Nevertheless, the neutral countries which were formerly expected by Hitler to join the aggression bloc have seen the fading prospects of the aggressors and do not want to join their bloc. Those neutrals who formerly were pro-United Nations, but hesitated and wavered, fearful of the aggressors' offensive, are putting or have already put this kind of hesitation and vacillation to an end. Peace intrigues have been destroyed. Tricks of trapping the neutral countries have proved fruitless. All the Fascist aggressors have been placed in a completely isolated position in the family of nations.

2. Internal unity in the camp of the Fascist countries is passing

through a crisis. Under the successful military and diplomatic blows of the anti-aggression allies, growing internal dissension has occurred among the Fascist countries, and this dissension has now developed into a crisis. This crisis has come into being not only between Germany and Italy, not only between Germany and its vassal states, but also between Germany and Japan.

Owing to Hitler's military and diplomatic failures, his prestige, and therefore, his capacity to keep Italy, Japan and all the vassal states with him, has suddenly dwindled. Inside Italy there exists a growing force demanding withdrawal from the war; inside Japan the extremely pro-German clique has been rejected by other groups. If Hitler only meets one or two more blows like the one at Stalingrad and North Africa, no clique in the Japanese ruling camp will any longer dare to rely upon Hitler and the Fascist alliance. The Fascist aggression alliance then will be completely isolated both externally and internally.

The menace of falling into a position of complete isolation internationally compelled Tojo, the head of Japanese-Fascist bandits, to attempt in the past year the shameless manoeuvre of the so-called "New Policy" to ensnare the national traitors in the occupied areas of China and in the occupied areas in the South Seas. Tojo covers the faces of these traitors with a mask of "independence" in order to increase his own prestige and to deceive the Chinese and Indian people who are determined to fight Japan. The so-called "New Policy" of the chieftain Tojo reflects nothing favourable to the Japanese Fascists. It signifies only the complete international isolation of the Japanese Fascists.

3. The great victories won by the anti-Fascist alliance in the past year have created a military crisis for the Fascist aggressors. In spite of the fact that there are still persons on Hitler's General Staff who are unwilling to give up the adventurous plan of launching another offensive against the Soviet Union, in spite of the fact that there are still some members on the Japanese General Staff who are unwilling to give up the adventurous plan for attacking the Soviet Union or striking in other directions, the feeling that the "situation is no longer favourable" is common among all the Fascist armies and peoples. The general initiative has now passed to the hands of the Allies and out of the hands of the aggressors.

The material strength forming the basis of war, such as the resources of manpower, munitions and means of living, were mobilised on a very

large scale in the past year by the Allies. In all this, the Allies have won superiority over the aggressors, and with added mobilisation in the coming year, they will certainly achieve overwhelming superiority. For the bloc of aggressor countries, however, the resources of Germany and Italy are on the verge of exhaustion, while Japan's production has nearly reached its peak. These conditions have further created a grave military crisis for all the aggressor countries.

4. A political crisis has overtaken all the Fascist aggressor countries and the areas occupied by them on count of their international isolation, their internal dissensions, their military crises, and, in addition to all these, their cruel and inhuman rule.

The gap between the rulers and the people, between the generals and the rank and file of all the aggressor countries' is growing day by day, generating a tremendous explosion like that of a volcano.

This political crisis is a big arsenal which will blow up the Fascists under their own feet. No doubt it will explode all at once when the internal and external crisis of the Fascists reaches a climax. This can be easily understood if we look back at the position of the German and Austrian imperialists in 1918.

Moreover if we look at the changes that have taken place in the past year in public opinion in occupied China and in the morale of Japanese soldiers, there can be no difficulty in predicting that if these changes continue, then the political crisis of the Japanese robbers will inevitably mature. The Japanese people themselves are like a volcano. The people in China, in the South Seas, in Korea and Formosa, who are under Japanese rule, are like many other volcanoes. These volcanoes will explode only if the anti-Fascist allies, including China, deal heavy military blows to Japan.

## SIX YEARS OF HEROIC STRUGGLE

Brother countrymen! Officers and soldiers! China's war of resistance has been waged for six years. Our war of resistance has been carried on under extremely difficult conditions. Unlike the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States which are all industrially advanced, our country is a backward agricultural one. Nevertheless, we have carried on our resistance bearing incredible hardships for six years which is longer than the period of the war of resistance of any other country.

This has been achieved by a united effort on the part of all our countrymen, commanders and soldiers. In the course of these six years

of armed resistance, we have faced a situation in which a decisive change has occurred in the correlation of forces between the Allies and the aggressor countries, resulting in a position extremely favourable to us and to our Allies, and extremely unfavourable to the aggressors. We shall meet a new and more favourable change in the seventh year.

All the Fascists will be defeated and the liberation of the major part of the peoples of the world will be achieved when the final decisive blow against the Western Fascists has been delivered by the Allies. Then, the defeat of the Fascists in the East and the liberation of the Eastern nations will follow.

It is clear that still greater efforts are necessary to win victory and liberation both in the West and in the East. Victory and liberation are impossible without such efforts. Being one of the anti-Fascist allies, in what way must we exert our energy when we are in such an extremely favourable international position?

Our country is an agricultural country and cannot be compared with the industrially advanced countries. But we have the advantage of vast territory and population. Furthermore, our people are persistent in struggle. The six years' war of resistance is a clear proof of this. Under such circumstances, what effort should we exert so as to collaborate effectively with the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States in the war and carry out the tasks that we should carry out?

In the course of six years we have accumulated a great deal of experience. What are these experiences? How should we, in the seventh year of the great war of resistance, make use of such experiences so as to make ourselves more capable of overcoming the many existing difficulties and of preparing our strength for the future counter-offensive against the enemy?

## STRENGTHEN FRONT AND REAR

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party considers:

Our capacity to fight must be strengthened. The Chinese theatre of war during these six years has been divided actually into two battle-fields: a frontal theatre of war and a theatre of war behind the enemy front. These two battle fronts are complementary. Lacking either we will be unable to check the rushing Fascist beasts in the present, and of driving them out of China in the future.

For this reason, it is necessary to strengthen the work of mutual assistance in these two theatres of war, especially due to the fact that

the troops and people behind the enemy front are resisting and attacking more than half of the total number of the Japanese bandit troops and whose position is a hundred times more difficult than that in the frontal war-theatre.

To increase the aid to them is a necessity that cannot be neglected. We believe that the concrete measure of strengthening the capacity to fight of the China front as a whole lies only in the strengthening the mutual assistance of these two war-theatres and especially the increasing and making more effective the aid to the troops and people behind the enemy front.

In the past few years, however, there has been hardly any help to the overwhelming majority of the fighting troops and people on the war theatre behind the enemy front, while the activity on the frontal theatre of war has also been exceedingly insufficient. We hope that the Government will improve this.

Affected by the intrigues of the Japanese robbers and the traitor Wang Ching-wei, already 33 officers of high rank surrendered to the enemy with their troops and betrayed our fatherland in the past few years. Yet we have never heard that our government issued any order against them. As a consequence, the number of puppet troops is increasing rapidly, and the so-called “new policy”, deceitful propaganda used by the Japanese and Wang Ching-wei, is in free circulation.

We hope that the government will take some steps to change this situation in order to raise the morale of the army for the benefit of the war of resistance.

For the purpose of strengthening our capacity to fight, the reform of the conscription system should no longer be delayed. There are many serious short-comings in the existing conscription system such as arrest, coercion, bribery and the absolute negligence of political mobilisation. These shortcomings greatly handicap the carrying out of the task of mobilising wide masses for the front. We hope the government will take quick measures to remove such shortcomings.

## **BUILD THE UNITED NATIONAL FRONT**

Unity must be strengthened. We do not intend to relate here in details the old phenomena such as friction, conflict, hindrance and restriction which should never have existed but which have existed inside China’s anti-Japanese camp during the past few years and in recent times as well. We only hope that the Government will be able to

remove these things in the future.

We Communists are always persistently upholding anti-Japanese national united front and supporting the government's war effort. In order to overcome the increasing difficulties in the future and to prepare the counter-offensive against the enemy in alliance with the Allied countries, we are ready to continue negotiations with the National Party of China (Kuomintang) and other parties and groups to solve existing problems and bring about an improvement in the relations between parties and groups.

The anti-Japanese war should begin with unity and end with unity. Unity is the foundation of resistance against the Japanese by the entire people of the nation, it is also the foundation of resistance against Fascism by the people all over the world. The most important task above all is to strengthen and consolidate this foundation for the benefit of war against the Japanese, for the benefit of collaboration with the Allied countries in order to defeat Fascism as a whole.

The internal political situation must be improved. Many times already, we Communists have expressed our views with regard to how the political situation in China should be improved in order to meet the requirements of the war of resistance against the Japanese. As before, we believe that the only policy is the implementation of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "Three People's Principles". The total number of Japanese invasion troops is no more than thirty odd divisions; then why is it that such a big country like ours possessing four hundred million people still cannot defeat the Japanese invaders or score greater victories? Is the fact that our industry is undeveloped the sole reason? No, it is not the only reason, nor the principal one.

The main reason is that there is no democracy in China, and therefore, the participation of the people of this country in this war of resistance has not yet been developed. China is different from the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States where the longer the war lasts the higher the fighting spirit. In China, on the contrary, the fighting spirit of the people in most places has been greatly reduced because it has encountered absolutely unnecessary obstacles and restrictions. The buoyant air of the first two years of the war of resistance has gradually disappeared during the following four years.

If the necessary reforms to abolish these political repressions and restrictions are not carried out, then they will become an immeasurable

hindrance to our war effort. They bring about many dissensions between classes, political parties and groups and people in this country, when amity is an absolute necessity for the war effort.

We hope the government in this seventh year of the war of resistance will be able to effect some necessary reforms in accordance with the “Three People’s Principles” in order to bring about more friendly relations between different classes, political parties and groups and in order to develop the participation of the people in the preparations for the counter-offensive.

### INCREASE PRODUCTION

Production must be increased. We have talked many times about, this problem. Serious economic difficulties have already appeared. Without timely and appropriate reform it will be, impossible to cope with the ever-increasing difficulties of the war and to prepare a powerful counter-offensive.

We are of the opinion that the fundamental measures for economic reform should be the practice of a democratic and centralised economic policy which should be aimed at the development of production and the adjustment of the economic interests of different classes.

All the troops of our country should be mobilised to wage armed resistance, on the one hand, and do production work on the other.

All institutions and schools should be mobilised to do production work while working and studying.

All the farmers of this country should be mobilised to increase food production and at the same time, the policy of reducing rent and interest should be resolutely carried out.

All the workers of this country should be mobilised to increase production, and at the same time, the wages of the workers should be raised. The medium and small industries should be protected from the blows dealt by the bureaucratic capitalists and by business speculators.

While carrying out these new economic policies, it is necessary to cancel first of all the obstructions to public as well as private production that exist in the present financial and economic policies. This is our opinion with regard to the development of production so as to overcome the economic crisis.

Many things should be reformed for the sake of winning this war. At present we point out the above-mentioned four items for the government to consider. As for our opinion regarding post-war co-

operation and reconstruction, our Party has declared its views in its Manifesto last year on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the war of resistance, which have been approved by all people in this country. It is not necessary to mention this again here.

The nearer to victory comes the war of resistance, graver will be the difficulties, and eventually the heavier will be the responsibilities of the government, the people as well as the members of the Communist Party, especially those Communists who are fighting in the war-theatre behind the enemy lines.

During the six years of the war of resistance, the immense faith of the Chinese Communist Party in the war in defence of our fatherland has been proved by the war itself. The hard struggle of the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and the people behind the enemy lines is an example unprecedented in our history. It is they who for six years have taken on one half of the enemy's invasion troops, and will fight them until the enemy troops are driven out of China.

They have not had any aid by way of any ammunition and rations at all; they have achieved such a miracle only on the strength of their own faith and creative power. They have won vast territories from the enemy, established democratic anti-Japanese bases therein, resolutely practised the "Three People's Principles", carried out the 3-3-3 policy.\*

They have carried out the land policy of rent-reduction and interest-reduction while at the same time insisting on rent-payment and interest-payment; executed a labour policy of encouraging production while at the same time protecting the workers; brought into effect the cultural policy of inspiring people's patriotism and developing the fighting capacity of the people.

Because this has been their policy, they have aroused the burning hatred of the Japanese and the traitors including Wang Ching-wei, who are determined to annihilate them. The ceaseless and ruthless "mopping-up" campaigns, the venomous encroachment policy, the dense forts and fortresses, the lengthy blockade ditches and walls, the

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\* (Translator's remarks: In anti-Japanese bases, behind the enemy lines the enemy lines, the policy of the Communist Party of China is purely democratic. The officials of the local government as a rule consist of no more than one-third of Communists, one-third from the Kuomintang and one-third drawn from non-Party or other party patriots. This 3-3-3 policy was promoted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and strictly brought into practice in places where Communists have overwhelming influence.)

ceaseless practice of the “killing, robbing and burning policy” and of the “order strengthening movement” as well as the universal establishment of “anti-Communist committees” are all aimed at exterminating them. There are still among us some countrymen in the rear who perhaps not know yet how cruel is the struggle in the war-theatre behind the enemy lines.

## FUTURE TASKS

Members of the Communist Party! Commanders and fighters of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth! Men and women behind the enemy lines! Strengthen your unity, unite yourselves like one man. This brutal war must only inspire in you extraordinary boldness and fortitude. It must become impossible for the enemy to bring about your surrender.

Members of the Communist Party stand closely together with the people. Protect the people as you protect your own eyes, trust, the people as you trust your own parents, brothers and sisters; genuinely carry out the policy of acquiring soldiers of the best quality, of simplifying administrative affairs, of supporting the government, of loving the people and of supporting the army in order to attain thoroughly the aim of concord between the people, the troops and the governmental institutions.

Organise better fighting collaboration between all the main forces, partisan units and militia groups. Strengthen the blows against the enemy, crush the mopping-up campaigns of the enemy and develop armed struggle.

Strengthen the counter-encroachment struggle. Enable all the military and political cadres to learn how to sum up their fighting experiences so as to bring the art of anti-mopping-up and anti-encroachment to a higher standard. You are experts in partisan warfare and guerilla war. You have admirable achievements to your credit in the course of the six years of our patriotic war. All the people of this country feel concerned about you and place their greatest hopes in you. Hence you have to try even harder to improve your military art and the art of political work in order to co-ordinate it with fighting in the frontal war-theatre and to drive the enemy out of China.

Pay sufficient attention to the task of winning over Japanese soldiers and puppet troops to our side. Launch the work of demoralising the enemy and puppet troops in collaboration with the Japanese

Communist Party. Strengthen this work to a greater extent. Organise Japanese workers', peasants' and soldiers' academies. Develop the Japanese Anti-War League. Develop the anti-Japanese armed forces and anti-Japanese groups of the Korean people. Turn all these forces into strong armies, friendly to the Chinese people and enemies of the Japanese Fascists!

Develop co-operative production. Without allowing this to interfere with their fighting in the war, all troops and institutions should take part in the self-sufficient production movement in order to better their own life or to lighten, with their own hands, the burden on the shoulders of the masses. Develop private enterprise.

Party Members must go deep into the villages, learn to help farmers in making agricultural plans, in organising mutual-aid groups of labour, in organising co-operatives in order to improve the life of the masses. The prominent and private production movement in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region and in many anti-Japanese bases behind the enemy lines should be untiringly and persistently carried on. Encourage the labour heroes, develop production emulation, oppose corruption and waste, punish the idle persons, overcome the bureaucracy that keeps aloof from the masses; everything for victory!

Members of the Communist Party should continue to learn humbly culture, business, politics and theory, continue the 'study movement' for purging themselves of non-Marxist ideology, develop self-criticism and overcome subjectivism, sectionalism and dogmatic formalism in their own camp resolutely, thoroughly, frankly and strictly. Your study should not be relaxed no matter how cruel a war or what heavy work you are engaged in. You must develop super-human ability in the course of this hard and protracted war.

The enemy is always attempting to destroy you and annihilate you from outside and inside with every means possible. You should increase your alertness and watchfulness ten times, a hundred times and even a thousand times. You should learn all new methods of struggle against the enemy's special service organs.

## GLORIOUS TRADITIONS

The sixth anniversary of the war of resistance coincides with the twenty-second anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party. At its birth, the Chinese Communist Party immediately and for the first time in China's history, put forward an anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist

programme before the Chinese people. And based upon this programme, it has fixed different kinds of concrete policies at different times.

In the course of these twenty-two years, the members of this Party have sacrificed their blood and life, one following the other, waging together with the masses of people a brilliant, heroic and stubborn struggle for the purpose of realising such a programme and such policies, for the purpose of opposing imperialism and its lackeys in China and for the sake of national salvation and social emancipation.

No matter how powerful was the enemy and how difficult the path, they have always marched forward resolutely without the least hesitation or fear, and finally enabled the whole Chinese people to see the light in the midst of darkness and a road to life from the road to death.

Historical facts in the course of twenty-two years have proved that the direction of our struggle is the right direction, the direction of resuscitating the Chinese nation. It will continue hereafter until the advent of complete victory.

The Communists are men of a special mould; they do not work for personal interest; they work only for the welfare of the nation and the people. They are rooted in the people. They are the sons of the people and also the teachers of the people. They are always on the alert to see that they do not desert the masses. They always take the interest of the masses as their starting point in the consideration of any question. Therefore, they have got the faithful support of the wide masses of the people, this being the guarantee that their plans will undoubtedly succeed.

With China's anti-Japanese war and the world anti-Fascist war entering the decisive stage, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party believes that all the members of the Communist Party will certainly unite solidly around the Central Committee with Comrade Mao Tse-tung at its head, resolutely and strictly carry out the policy of the Central Committee, shoulder their own responsibility, exert their own creative power, build up the anti-Japanese national united front, utilise every possibility and exert every ounce of their effort to unite with all anti-Japanese parties, groups, and people, to support the National Government and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, to win victory over Japanese Imperialism!

**Long live the liberation of the Chinese Nation!**

—*The Central Committee of the  
Communist Party of China.*

ADDRESS OF COMRADE CHOU EN-LAI TO A RECEPTION PARTY  
AT YENAN ON AUGUST 1, 1943.

Comrades!

Thank you for your warm welcome. I have done too little while away from you. However, during these three years, the changes, both international and national, and the progress of our Party have been great and many. This is specially clear to us who stayed outside.

Internationally, we have seen the disasters in Europe brought on by the Fascists since the surrender of France, the perfidious and mad attack of Hitlerite Germany on the U.S.S.R.; the blitzkrieg of the Japanese pirates on Britain and America in the Pacific; the activities of the Fifth Columnists throughout the world, with the exception of the U.S.S.R.

At the same time, we have seen the rise of the Red Army and the Soviet people under the leadership of Stalin to resist and attack, and their heroic military achievements and enthusiasm in production. From the defence of Leningrad and Moscow to the defence of Stalingrad; from the winter offensives of the past two years to the summer offensive of this year—all these have won the world's admiration.

We have also seen the formation and the development of the Anti-Fascist front among the Allies: from the declaration of the Atlantic Charter of Churchill and Roosevelt to the conclusion of the Anglo-Soviet Alliance and the Soviet-American agreement, to the signing of the 26 nations' pact in Washington; from the successes of the British and American armies' counter-offensive in North Africa to the landing in Sicily.

We have also seen the rise and growth of the struggle against Fascist domination throughout the world; from the development of guerilla fighting in the occupied counties, to the rise of anti-fascist demonstrations and strikes within Germany and Italy; from co-operation with the Free French National Committee to the establishment of the Free German National Committee; from the recognition or the re-acknowledgement of the legal status of the Communist Party in Britain and the U.S.A. to the arrival of Comrade Okano, leader of the Japanese Communist Party at Yen-an.

During those three years, the anti-fascist national liberation war of the Allies has emerged from danger to safety, from defeat to victory, from passive operations to active attacks. These changes have been

mainly brought, about by the three counter-offensives and the fighting of the past two years of the Red Army and the Soviet people.

They also depend upon the victory of the British and American Allies in North Africa and their active operations in the South Pacific; upon America's great production and the war mobilisation of the Allies. They also depend upon the firm resistance of the Chinese nation, especially the development of guerilla fighting behind the Japanese lines.

Mussolini has fallen, the Italian Fascist Party has been dissolved; in short, we have seen that the weakest spot of world fascist domination has begun to crumble. World Fascism is marching towards death. The victory of the world anti-fascist fighting front is dawning. The doom of the once active fascist members and their Fifth Columnists is coming nearer and nearer every day. Do you not see the end of the Italian Fascists and the plight of the German Fifth Columnists in Italy? This is a living example to all disciples of Fascism throughout the world, a living example to Chinese disciples of Fascism.

On the national side, for these past three years the stalemate in our war against Japan continues. During these three years some people have imagined that since the Soviet-German war and the Pacific war have broken out in succession, the Japanese will inevitably either attack India or the U.S.S.R. and consequently will have no time to fight in China. Thus by shifting from active resistance to passive fighting they tried to give the Japanese the hint that they should not attack China; at the same time, these people work actively against the Communists in order to encourage Japan to withdraw troops to attack the U.S.S.R.

Although this trick has been cleverly tried, the Japanese have not accepted this advice entirely. Japan has her own national policy. She may approve of your passive fighting, but since you have not disarmed and capitulated she will take whatever chance there is to attack China as opportunity offers. She may approve of your active anti-communist actions but since you are not yet anti-Communist with all your force, and besides, since you have no way to exterminate the Communists it becomes necessary for Japan herself to employ more than half her forces in China for the consolidation of the peace-maintenance movement behind the Japanese lines in order to "mop up" the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army.

During these same three years, some people have imagined that

either Britain and the U.S.A. will be able to defeat Japan in a short time, or they will have to give ample help to China; thus China has only to sit and reap the fruits of war. But Britain and the U.S.A. cannot defeat Japan in a short time; this has already been proved by facts.

Everybody hopes that Great Britain and the U.S.A. will send help to China but the quick fulfilment of their production plans is not an easy matter. Besides they will want first to help those of their own and others' troops, directly engaged in fighting and in those places where effective fighting is being carried on. Hence Great Britain and the U.S.A. will carefully watch over those who may falter in fighting and those who may show themselves guilty of double-dealing.

Moreover from the time of the arrival of Wu'ai-hsien at Chungking from Nanking up to the present time, flirtations between the secret service agents of both sides have been going on up to yesterday, and the Japanese Radio openly broadcast terms for negotiations to induce capitulation. Thus, on account of this development, our Allies have to have still more considerations before them when giving help.

In these three years some have thought that if only we could drag on the war, we could somehow carry on until final victory. But, however much you may want to let things drag, the enemy will not let you do so. The enemy wants to solve the Chinese problem before Hitler's fall, and before the decisive phase of fighting opens in the Pacific. This is evident. The recent open announcement from Tokio of terms for China's capitulation is promoted by the fall of Mussolini. Not only will the enemy not let you drag on, the internal conditions also will not allow you to drag on.

Can the morale of the army be raised if many of the troops are not despatched to the front to engage in active fighting? Can the fighting strength be increased, if the conscription system is not reformed, if the armies are not replenished? Can bankruptcy financially and economically be avoided if the financial and economic policies remain unchanged, if bureaucratic monopoly capitalist control is not overthrown, if those guilty of graft and corruption are not punished, if hoarding is not exterminated?

Can the rear of the war of resistance be peaceful and stable if the people have no freedom, if the people's livelihood is not improved, if labour productivity is not raised, if bureaucratic politics are not wiped out, if the oppressive policy to alienate those not belonging to the same

group is not completely changed?

If these phenomena do not disappear and are not wiped out of existence, can China's war of resistance drag on till the final victory? Our answer is: To attain victory, the way is not to drift along but to fight. The way to attain victory is to fight not passively but actively, the way to attain victory is not to have a split within the country, but to have unity between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party; the way to attain victory is not to continue political oppression but to establish political democracy.

In these three years, some have thought that the internal political situation has been very bad and that if only the control of the special secret service agents is strengthened, the war of resistance may be maintained until victory. However, the war is being fought for national emancipation and democracy, not for the victory of the Japanese regime of secret agents. If the control of the special secret service agents be consolidated, it will pave the way for the victory of the Japanese Fascist militarists, not for the victory of China in her war of resistance.

Thus, for the last three years, such forms of thinking on the part of the Kuomintang authorities have been wrong. Is there any way left after this to fight for the victory of the war of resistance of China? We say: Yes. The way is shown by the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, the way is shown by the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army and the anti-Japanese strategic bases behind the enemy lines, the way is shown by the Chinese people, by the really anti-Japanese parties and troops, by the Chinese Communist Party, especially by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Speaking of the war against Japan, our Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army behind the enemy lines, have never received arms and ammunition or replenishments from outside, never got food and clothing supplies from outside, never received medical supplies from outside. To hold on in the anti-Japanese strategic bases and to pin down as they are doing, over half the number of enemy troops in China they have to depend on supplies provided by the people and on production by the people themselves.

Even the enemy themselves cannot deny the military achievements of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army and recognise in them the most formidable and the strongest anti-Japanese force. Will not such a force be praised as an example for all troops willing to fight

against the Japanese? Are not those who try to wipe out such a force pro-Japanese fifth columnists?

Speaking of democracy, in three years, our Party has promulgated a programme for administration in the Border Region and the anti-Japanese bases; carried into practice popular elections on the basis of the one-third system; and the law of protecting the rights of individuals and property rights; the policy of reducing rent and interest but at the same time, of making the payment of rents and interest obligatory, of reasonable share of war contribution; the labour policy of a ten-hour working day while improving the life of the workers and at the same time raising the efficiency of production. It has adopted the system of voluntary recruitment and a voluntary militia, a system of correct financial and economic policies; cultural and educational policies; and the policy which permits anybody to engage in anti-Japanese work of all kinds, allowing industrial, cultural and religious activities in the Border Region on the principle of respecting its law. Thus, the Party is working towards self-sufficiency and plenty of food and plenty of clothing.

Such Border Regions, can they not be models to those places earnestly wishing to realise the three principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen? Those who want to attack the Border Regions and abolish them, are they not fascists, opposed to democracy and the “Three People’s Principles”? Therefore, those which are genuine anti-Japanese parties and troops and in fact all patriotic people certainly will not accept the present wavering policy of the Kuomintang towards the war of resistance, its wrong internal policy, especially the double-dealing policy of fighting against the Communists and against the Japanese at the same time. Such honest patriots will want to be friends with the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, to conclude an alliance with them, taking lessons from the experience of the Border Regions in democracy. They will want to establish a real united front with the Chinese Communist Party.

Therefore, the experience of these three years has made it clear to everybody as to which is the army which has been actively fighting and which is the army which has been passively fighting; which is the region which practises democracy and which is the region opposed to democracy in China. This is not only clear to everybody, but is well-known and openly expressed by public opinion abroad and inside our country.

Now we must pass on to mention the great progress our Party has made during these three years. Our Party has become even greater in the course of these three years than in the past twenty years, and has even greater achievements to its credit.

For the whole country, our Party has twice averted the crisis of civil war (the new Fourth Army incident and exposure of the intrigue to attack the Border Region recently); it has maintained difficult guerilla fighting, strengthened the leadership of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army and increased the anti-Japanese sentiment and the determination of the people in the occupied areas and their confidence and hope in the future of the war against Japan.

In the international sphere, our Party has not only foreseen the international changes of these three years, viz., that world fascism inevitably will die and that the democracies will inevitably emerge victorious, but also let the Allies understand that the Eighth Route Army and the Chinese Communist Party and their anti-Japanese bases behind the Japanese lines are the real force and the real bases in the heart of the continent for the counter-offensive against Japan.

For the Border Regions the reformation movement under the leadership of our Party has reaped unprecedented fruits by way of ideological transformation, and in the consolidation of strength through the “efficiency-in-the-army” and “simplicity-in-administration” movements. Unity of leadership has brought about political unity. The call—“To support the government on the one side, and to love the people on the other”—has brought about the complete unity of the army, government, people and Party as one body. In developing production, the model for self-sufficiency has been established. Finally, the work of understanding and examining cadres has consolidated and united our Party in an unprecedented manner.

How did we achieve these successes? We achieved them by relying on the strength of the people, on the unity of the Party under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and particularly, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Under Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s leadership and instructions in these three years, in times of crisis and at important decisive turning points, our Party has never been wrongly led, has never lost its direction.

Nothing can be clearer than the way in which events have developed during these three years. Those who had been opposed to Comrade Mao

Tse-tung's leadership formerly have been proved now to have been completely on the wrong track.

The twenty-two years of the history of our Party have proved that in all these years Comrade Mao Tse-tung's policy has been to develop a particular line for Chinese Communism, to Sinonize Marxism and Leninism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's direction is the direction of the Chinese Communist Party. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's line is the line of the Chinese Bolsheviks.

Comrades, should we not be proud of such a Party? Should we not be proud of such a good leader?

However, there are anti-Communist elements inside the country who dare to demand loudly and shamelessly the dissolution of the Chinese Communist Party. Are not such people the Fifth Column of the invaders. They did not raise this cry before, but only now when the Communist International has been dissolved. They claimed that after the dissolution of the Comintern, Communism is no longer fit for China, the Chinese Communist Party has lost its support, the Chinese Communist Party will split from within. Will any one believe their slanders?

For, is Communism unfit for China? If the general truths of Marxism and Leninism can be applied to the whole of mankind, then why should China be an exception? The anti-Communist elements irresponsibly say this just because they are afraid of us, of our using Marxism and Leninism as instruments to expose their fifth columnist faces before the Chinese people. The anti-Communist elements speak so irresponsibly because they are terribly afraid of our using the philosophy of Marxism and Leninism to explain the various phenomena of Chinese political, economic and social life, to point out the truth of the Chinese revolution to our people.

We openly declare to all anti-Communist elements that Communism not only is fit for China, but that as a result of the use made of it and the development it has undergone in the hands of the leader of our Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, it has already become closely united with the Chinese national emancipation movement and the actual interests of the Chinese people, and has taken deep roots in the Chinese soil. Those who want to kill it will kill themselves.

Has the Chinese Communist lost its support through the dissolution

of the Communist International? Yes, at its birth and during its development the Chinese Communist Party did receive much help and instructions from the Comintern; but the backing of the Chinese Communist Party is not the Comintern but the Chinese people.

The Chinese Communist Party grows and develops among the toiling masses of China, it lives among the people. To-day it has 800,000 Party members, 500,000 troops and it has united with over 100,000,000 of our people in flesh and blood through an actual life of fighting. The Chinese nation needs it; the Chinese people need it. Who can abolish it or dissolve it? Let us formally tell those anti-Communist elements that the Chinese Communist Party not only will not be abolished but that it will live for ever. While World Fascism is moving towards destruction what ought to be dissolved is not the Communist Party but the fascist Chinese special secret service organisations.

Is the Chinese Communist Party split from within? Day and night, the anti-Communist elements dream of our Party having branches and sects as numerous as theirs.. Thus they manufacture rumours, attempting to slander us. However, they do not understand that our Party is united, because it is based on belief in Communism and class-consciousness and revolutionary training. It has its voluntary discipline to consolidate it. It differs entirely from the Kuomintang which allows sects and branches to exist and is not unified at all.

Yes, our Party has made many mistakes, and our Party has many who have made mistakes; but our Party grows and develops from the struggle against these mistakes and finally conquers the mistakes. Thus it brings about oneness of ideas inside the Party, it brings about the consolidation of the Party organisation.

Those who have made mistakes but wished to be corrected, naturally, will once more accept the correct policy of our Party; but those who repeatedly made mistakes and refused to be corrected naturally will be spat upon and forsaken by the Party. Were not Ch'en Tu-hsien and Chang Kuo-tao among the founders of the Chinese Communist Party? However, when they had repeatedly made mistakes and stuck to them obstinately, they were driven out of the Party. They have not been able to split the Party but, on the contrary, their departure only strengthened and consolidated the Party. In the past three years during which our Party, united under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung underwent the ideological reformation

movement and carried out the work of understanding and of examining of cadres, it has reached the highest degree of consolidation, never before achieved.

I would like formally to declare to all anti-Communist elements that the Chinese Communist Party will not split because of their slanders but will be more alert and united because it is aware of their intrigues and slanders. We think that during the war with Japan it is getting more and more difficult for such intriguers, and the revolution is going further and further forward. The Party which will split is not the Communist Party but some other. Such things have happened before in history.

After the dissolution of the Comintern, one thing should be kept clear in mind. The Chinese Communist Party will be more responsible and more independent to solve the problems of the Chinese Revolution.

We are supporting the war against Japan to the last. We think that only with the forces of China can we drive the Japanese from Chinese territory. Passive fighting and a double-dealing policy will inevitably fail in the midst of war, and then there is the danger of capitulation and compromise against which we have to guard. Besides, it is only if we fight actively that we will be qualified to ask for foreign assistance, that we will be able to co-operate with the Allies to struggle for victory in the war.

We are firmly supporting national unity. We are still prepared to work with the Kuomintang, to discuss how we can jointly solve the danger of civil war and solve existing problems. However, negotiations must be sincere, based on equality, and both sides must make concessions. It must not be negotiations on the one hand, conflicts and clashes on the other, letters and liaison going back and forth on the one hand, massing of troops on the other; talk of unity and at the same time, talk about the dissolution of the Communist Party. If there are people in the Kuomintang who believe that co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party means the incorporation of the Communist Party in the Kuomintang and that force must be used to bring the Communist Party under control, it will be unfortunate for the cause of unity. For this can only bring about civil war and not unity.

We are firmly maintaining democracy and progress. We still hope that the Kuomintang authorities will correct their mistaken internal policy and really carry out Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "Three People's

Principles". We also hope to co-operate with all the other anti-Japanese parties and forces on the basis of democracy, in order to hold on firmly in the war, and to move forward to victory.

This is our policy.

Comrades, now I have ended. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, I shall continue to struggle till the end, following the policy which I have outlined.

## ON THE ELEVENTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE KUOMINTANG AND THE SECOND SESSION OF THE THIRD PEOPLE'S POLITICAL COUNCIL

(Editorial, "Liberation Daily", October 6, 1943).

From September 6 to 13, the Kuomintang held its 11th Plenary Session. Two days later, the second Session of the Third People's Political Council also took place. Now that details of the two sessions have reached us, we are able to express our opinions as follows:

The international situation is now on the eve of a great change, a change that is felt everywhere. The European Axis is the first to feel it, and therefore, Hitler has to resort to the policy of a last desperate struggle. The Soviet Union is the main force that has caused this change. She is now utilising it, and her Red Armies have driven the Nazis back to the Dnieper River with incredible rapidity, and are going to wreck and crush the German war-machine soon. Another winter offensive will surely bring the Red Armies to the Soviet's new border, or at least to the old one.

Britain and America are also utilising this new situation. Churchill is silently preparing his forces, preparing to drive into Germany as soon as Hitler shows his first sign of collapse. In the eyes of the British Premier, the Italian war-theatre, where only a little more than ten divisions of the Allied forces participate in fighting, is only a third front—not the real second front. In a word, the problem of Europe is on the eve of a general final solution, and the main force determining this solution lies in the Soviet Union. Since Europe is the pivot of the world problem, the solution of the European problem will surely decide the destiny of the world fascist and anti-fascist fronts. The Japanese imperialists now begin to feel that the road ahead is not so smooth, and are concentrating all their might for a last desperate struggle. In China, this policy of Japan is shown in enticing the Kuomintang to surrender while mercilessly "mopping up" the Communists.

### REACTIONARIES HOPES DASHED

The Kuomintang also feels this change. Faced with the international situation they are glad, on the one hand, and afraid, on the other; because they imagine that the solution of the European problem will enable Britain and America to shift their forces to the Orient, to defeat Japan for them, and that the Kuomintang can recapture Nanking

without much difficulty; afraid because they think that if the three fascist Powers collapse at the same time, and the world enters an epoch of great liberation, such as has never been witnessed by mankind before, then the compradore-feudalist-fascist dictatorship of the Kuomintang will become a tiny islet in a boundless ocean of freedom and democracy all over the world. They are afraid that their fascism of “one party, one principle and one leader” will be overwhelmed in such an ocean.

To speak openly, the aim of the Kuomintang is to let the Soviet Union fight single-handed against Hitler; to provoke if possible a Japanese attack on the Soviet Union so that the latter will be destroyed or be exhausted to the point of death; and to urge Britain and America not to open a Second Front in Europe but to shift their whole forces to the Orient to crush first the Japanese and then the Communists for them, before other questions are discussed. It is with this base aim that the Kuomintang at first advanced the theory of “Asia First” and then shouted for “equal attention to Europe and Asia.” This is why when Roosevelt and Churchill spoke a few words to T. V. Soong on the last day of the Quebec Conference last August, the Kuomintang could not control their excitement and claimed boastfully that the Quebec Conference is a British-American-Chinese Three Power Conference and that “Roosevelt and Churchill have shifted their attention to the Orient,” and the “Europe First” plan has been altered.

But the joy of the Kuomintang lasted only for a moment. They soon realised that their “Asia First” or “equal attention” hopes have been shattered and their feelings are somewhat changed. Other preparations have to be made. And the 11th Plenary Session of the Kuomintang and the 2nd Session of the Third People's Political Council may be the starting point of these preparations.

The 11th Plenary Session of the Kuomintang wrongly accused the Chinese Communist Party of “destroying resistance and endangering the nation” and declared that its objective was “to solve the problem through political means” and “to prepare for a constitutional government”. The Kuomintang-manipulated People's Political Council Session also passed a resolution similar to that of the Kuomintang Session. In addition to the above “achievements”, the Kuomintang Plenary Session “elected” Mr. Chiang Kai-shek as Chairman of the National Government, thus strengthening the mechanism of the dictatorship.

## THE CAPITULATOR'S WAY

What preparations can the Kuomintang possibly make after its Plenary Session? There are three possibilities:

1. To surrender to the Japanese,
2. To delay the fundamental solution, and
3. To alter its political policy.

The defeatists and the capitulators inside the Kuomintang have advocated surrender all the time, echoing the Japanese demand of “fighting the Communists but coaxing” the Kuomintang. They crowd round Mr. Chiang Kai-shek and incessantly attempt to unleash a civil war which they know will inevitably lead to the collapse of resistance and open up the road of capitulation. This is why the Kuomintang has concentrated some 400,000 to 500,000 of its troops in the North-West and is still secretly transporting more from other battlefields to that region. The “crusader” generals are said to have been particularly brave and self-confident this time. “To seize Yen-an is a question that should not be a question” was what these generals said after Mr. Chiang reported on the Communist problem in the Kuomintang Session and the session passed a resolution advocating a political solution as suggested by Mr. Chiang.

We remember that in the 10th Plenary Session of the Kuomintang last year a somewhat similar resolution was adopted. However, immediately after that, the Kuomintang generals were ordered to draft a military plan to annihilate the Border Region. In June and July this year, a blitz attack on the Border Region was attempted, only to be stopped later by national and international pressure. Now when the ink on the resolution of the Plenary Session has not yet dried, the Kuomintang generals already boast of their fighting capacity and busily transport their troops. What does this question mean—“To seize Yen-an is a question that should not be a question”? It can only mean a deliberate and definite desire to surrender to the Japanese.

## A FEW REMINDERS

No doubt, not all Kuomintang members who approve of a civil war are determined capitulators subjectively. Some of them may think that they can fight the Communists on the one hand, and the Japanese, on the other. Many Whampoa militarists may have thought that way. But we want to ask these gentlemen a few questions.

Have you entirely forgotten the experience of the ten-year civil war?

Do you realise that once the civil war breaks out, the Japanese, Wang Ching-wei and the determined capitulators in the Kuomintang will not allow you to continue your resistance? And what fighting capacity have you to be able to fight on two fronts at one time? You have 3,000,000 troops in name, but they are extremely demoralised.

People have drawn a parallel between your troops and a basket of eggs: one clash and it will be crushed. This has been clearly shown previously in the battles of the Chungtiao Range, the Taihang Range, the Tapiéh Range, and in Chekiang, Kiangsi and Western Hupeh. The comparison as given above is correct, because you are carrying out the two fatal policies of being “active in anti-Communism” and “passive in the War of Resistance”, When a national enemy is penetrating deeply into our territory, the more you carry out fatal policies, the more will your troops be demoralised. Your fighting power, if it is so low towards a foreign enemy, can it be any better towards the Communists and the people? Surely it cannot. Once you fire the first shot in the civil war, you will have to concentrate all your efforts on it, and the so-called “resistance, on the other hand” will eventually be neglected with the result that you will be forced to agree to an unconditional surrender to the Japanese. Capitulation is the inevitable outcome of such a course.

We want to remind those Kuomintang members who do not really want to surrender to the enemy that once you start or participate in the civil war you will inevitably become a capitulator. No other result can be obtained if you let your blood be stirred by the capitulators and try to utilize the resolutions of the two Sessions as a preparation of “public opinion” or an instrument for starting a civil war. The wrong step taken will surely lead you to the road of capitulation, no matter whether you intend to go that way or not.

The above is the first possible policy of the Kuomintang after the 11th Plenary Session. Thus a crisis of an extremely grave character is now facing us. The so-called : “solutions through political means” and “preparation for constitutional politics” are merely camouflage for civil war and surrender.

All Communists, patriotic Kuomintang members, anti-Japan parties and fellow compatriots must open their eyes, watch attentively the development of this grave situation so that they are not fooled by the tricks of the capiylators, They must remember that the crisis of civil war is unprecedentedly serious in China after the 11th Session of the

Kuomintang.

## THE PATH OF THE CHEATS

The resolutions of the Kuomintang and of the Sessions of the People's Political Council may, of course, develop in another direction—a direction of delaying the affair temporarily while preparing an attack in the future. This is a line somewhat different from that of the capitulators, and is approved by those who wish to continue the resistance but do not wish to give up the desire of practising an anti-Communist dictatorship.

Seeing the inevitable approach of the great world change, the inevitable doom of the Japanese imperialists, the inseparability of civil war and surrender, the popular support for resistance and opposition to civil war, the isolation of the Kuomintang from the masses, the lack of confidence among the people in the Kuomintang, the seriousness of the situation, and finally the opposition of the Allies to a civil war in China, these people are compelled to delay the affair for a time, using “solution through political means” and “preparation for constitutional politics” as pretexts for this delaying.

These people are expert cheats and delayers. They will not forget the “March to Yen-an” nor the annihilation of the Communist Party even in their dreams. In this respect, they resemble the capitulators. But they still do not want to cast aside their banner of resistance, nor do they want the Kuomintang to lose its status among the people, and they are still more or less afraid of international opinion: so they decide that they had better delay the matter for a while until favourable conditions arise. Such people never had any genuine desire to solve the national problem by political means, nor to prepare for a constitutional government: at least they do not have the desire at present. The following facts will serve to explain this.

## CHIANG'S VOLTE FACE

Sometime before or after the 10th Plenary Session of the Kuomintang last year, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party sent Lin Piao to interview Mr. Chiang in Chungking, but the latter and the Kuomintang Central Executive evaded talking on concrete problems and Lin Piao had to wait for ten months without any result. Then in March this year, Mr. Chiang published *China's Destiny* in which he laid great stress on anti-liberalism and anti-Communism,

shifting the responsibility of the ten-year-civil-war on the shoulders of the Chinese Communist Party, denouncing the Chinese Communist Party, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies as “modern warriors” “modern partitioned” etc., and hinting that he will annihilate the Communists within two years. Again on June 28th this year, Mr, Chiang, while permitting on the one hand Chou En-Lai and Lin Piao to return to Yen-an, ordered his generals, on the other, to transfer their troops from their positions defending the Yellow River to positions surrounding the Border Region. He also mobilised the “people’s organisations” to utilize the occasion of the Comintern’s dissolution to demand the dissolution of the Chinese Communist Party.

Under these intolerable conditions we are compelled to appeal to the people and to expose the intrigues and plots of the Kuomintang “to destroy resistance and endanger the nation”. The fact that we have been tolerant to the utmost degree can be proved by the following events.

Since the fall of Hankow, the attacks of the Kuomintang on the Communists in the North and Central China have never ceased. If the Japanese have carried on the Pacific War for two years, the Kuomintang has attacked the Communists just as long.

New forces are sent to regions where Communists are to be “annihilated”, as was the case in the dispatch of the group armies under Wang Chung-lan and Li Hsien-chow to Kiangsu and Shantung respectively. The group army under Pang Ping-hsien has been instructed to carry on attacks on the Communists and so are other Kuomintang armies in Anhwei and Hupeh.

All these attacks we have tolerated for years without even making them known to the public. Kuomintang propaganda has insulted and cursed us for years; we swallowed it and did not utter a word in return. The Kuomintang secret service organisations have arrested, insulted and killed thousands and thousands of Communist Party members and non-Communist youths; we tolerated it. The Kuomintang unreasonably disbanded more than 9,000 troops of the brave, anti-Japanese New Fourth Army in Southern Anhwei, arrested the Commander Yeh Ting, killed its Vice-Commander Han Ying, and captured and imprisoned hundreds of its cadres which is an intolerable criminal attack on an ally, on the people and on the nation, we tolerated it just the same, and did not go further than forwarding a protest and certain demands for

settling the incident.

## PLAYING THE JAPANESE GAME

Then there is the case of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, which was formed with the agreement of Chiang in an interview in Kuling with our delegate, Chou En-Lai, in June and July 1937, and by order of the Executive Yuan was proclaimed an administrative unit under its control, and its officials were appointed by the Government. Now Mr. Chiang not only fattens himself by eating his words, but also sends 500,000 troops to effect a military and economic blockade of that region, as if he can never be at ease unless the whole population of the Border Region and the staff of the Eighth Route Army in the rear arc all strangled to death. As for cutting off the supplies of the Eighth Route Army, calling the Communist Party a "traitorous Party", the New Fourth Army "rebels", and the Eighth Route Army a "traitorous army", etc., these are the facts too well-known to require our repeating them here.

To be brief, in the eyes of the Kuomintang, the Communists are the worst enemies, enemies ten times, a hundred times worse than the Japanese. The Kuomintang has concentrated practically all its hatred on the Communists, while its enmity towards the Japanese, if there is still any of it left, is negligible. This attitude of the Kuomintang is identical with that of the Japanese, who also concentrate their hatred on the Communists, and are more and more peaceful and moderate towards the Kuomintang day by day. If the Japanese previously shouted "Down with the Communists and the Kuomintang", they have now cancelled the latter objective. And do you see any more of such slogans as "Down with the Kuomintang" or "Down with Chiang Kai-shek" in the propaganda of the Japanese and Wang Ching-wei to-day? No, we do not.

The Japanese use 58 per cent of their forces to fight against the Communists and leave only 42 per cent to watch over the Kuomintang. Some more of their troops have been withdrawn lately from Chekiang and Hupeh in order to facilitate by enticement their surrender. The Japanese dare not mention a word about surrender to the Communists, but, alas, they have repeated over and over again such suggestions to the Kuomintang! The Kuomintang are fierce indeed towards the Communists and the people, but such fierceness vanishes before the Japanese.

Not only has the Kuomintang in its actions changed from “fighting the war” but even in speech, it does not dare to put forward any sharp refutation to the repeated insulting, surrender-enticing speeches of the Japanese. The Japanese say: “The direction outlined in Mr. Chiang’s *China’s Destiny* is by means wrong” but has Mr. Chiang or have any of his followers ever protested or refuted this extremely insulting but quite correct criticism of the Japanese? No, they have not and dare not. How can the Japanese not help despising the Kuomintang when they see that the “military orders” and the “military discipline of the Kuomintang are made only for the Communists, but not for the 20 Kuomintang Central executives or the 58 Kuomintang generals who went over to the enemy? Right in front of the people and the friendly nations of the world the Kuomintang disbanded the New Fourth Army, attacks the Eighth Route Army, surrounds and blockades the Border Region, calls them a “traitorous army”, “modern warriors”, “modern Partitioned” etc.. accuses them of “destroying resistance” and endangering the nation, and repeatedly emphasizes the necessity of “orders” and “discipline”, but nothing of the sort is said or done against the 20 Kuomintang Central executives and the 58 Kuomintang generals who surrendered. Even in this 11th Plenary Session of the Kuomintang, we see only the anti-Communist resolution, but not a resolution against the capitulators. What will the people and the friendly nations of the world think of such an attitude on the part of the Kuomintang?

If the Kuomintang really intends to solve the problem through political means or to prepare for a constitutional government, it is welcome. But according to the political line adopted by the Kuomintang in these years, we can only consider it as camouflage to win the necessary time for preparation for civil war and the realisation of the never-to-be-given-up dictatorship.

### THE REAL WAY OUT

Can there be a third policy in the development of the national situation? Yes, there can, and such is the hope of a portion of the Kuomintang members, of all the people and of the Communists. This third policy consists of the following:

1. to solve the problem of Kuomintang-Communist relations justly, reasonably and through political means:
2. to realise a constitutional political form of true democracy and freedom, to abolish the fascist dictatorship of “one party, one

principle and one leader”;

3. to call a National Assembly that genuinely represents the people.

We Communists insist on this policy from beginning to end. A portion of the Kuomintang, we believe, may also agree with this. And we had hopes during all these past years that Mr. Chiang and his close followers would also move in this direction. But according to the past and recent attitude of the Kuomintang, we do not see any sign of Mr. Chiang's or of the Kuomintang's willingness to pursue such a course.

To carry out such a policy we must rely on internal and international conditions. The international situation (the eve of the collapse of the European Fascists) is favourable to China's resistance, but just because of that the capitulators inside the Kuomintang are more anxious than ever to start the civil war so that total capitulation can be realised. and so are the Japanese, and Wang Ching-wei.

The latter recently said: “Dear brothers are after all dear brothers, Chungking shall go the same road in the future as we did. but we hope that the time can be shortened as much as possible” (Oct. 1st Domei). How intimate, friendly and anxious are the words of Wang Ching-wei! In the light of this, the best we can hope for in the present situation is only a “delay” for some time while a blitz attack on the Communists is not at all unlikely. We do not see any condition that will lead us to the third policy, which can be achieved only through the endeavour of all parties, all patriots and the whole people.

## LIES VERSUS FACTS

Mr. Chiang declared in the 11th Plenary Session: “It should be made clear here that the Central Government has no other demand to make to the Chinese Communist Party except that they should give up their military partition, stop their attack on the Kuomintang armies and their destruction of resistance, and realise their declaration of 1937 and the four points in their promise to us”. Here, Mr. Chiang prejudicially and cruelly accused the Communists of “attacking the Kuomintang armies and destroying resistance” which in fact are the very crimes of the Kuomintang itself.

We have good reasons for so saying, because since the fall of Hankow, there have been three anti-Communist crises brought about by the Kuomintang and during each of these crises there were actual Kuomintang attacks on the Communists.

The first time was during the winter of 1939 and the spring of 1940,

when the Kuomintang troops occupied the five cities of Hsun-hua, Shun-i, Ching-ning, Ning-hsien and Chen-yuan in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, the garrison ground of the Eighth Route Army. At the same time the Kuomintang General Chu-Huai-ping was ordered to attack the Eighth Route Army in the Tai-hang Range. Aeroplanes were used in the assaults and the Eighth Route Army fought only in self-defence.

The second time was the disbandment of the New Fourth Army in January, 1941. The story began with a telegram sent by Ho Ying-chin and Pai Chung-hai to Chu Teh, Peng Teh-huai, Yeh Ting and Han Ying on Oct. 19th, 1940, ordering them to move all the 8th Route and New 4th troops then south of the Yellow River, to the North Bank within a month's time.

We replied that our troops in southern Anhwei would be moved as ordered, but troops in other places could not be moved as required by the situation because our troops on the north bank of the Yangtse were then closely surrounded by the enemy; but we promised that all our troops would move after the war to the location designated. But just when 9,000 of our southern Anhwei troops were on their way northward on January 5th, 1941, Mr. Chiang issued the order for "complete annihilation." The Kuomintang troops in south Anhwei did annihilate a portion of the New 4th Army during the battle which raged from Jan. 6th to 14th. Following that, Mr. Chiang issued on January 17th an order to disband the New Fourth Army and Commander Yeh Ting was sent for trial. From that time on, in all the anti-Japanese bases of North and Central China, where there were both Kuomintang troops and Communist-led troops, the latter were always attacked by the former and fought only in self-defence.

The third crisis was from March this year up to the present when Mr. Chiang published his anti-Communist work "China's Destiny", transported a great number of his river-defence troops to surround the Border Region, prepared to carry out a blitz attack on it, mobilized the so-called "mass organisations" to demand the dissolution of the Chinese Communist Party and ordered the Kuomintang members in the People's Political Council (the great majority of the People's Political Council members are Kuomintang members) to approve Ho Ying-chin's military report and pass an anti-Communist resolution, thus turning the People's Political Council which was originally meant to be a symbol

of consolidation and resistance, into a tool of the Kuomintang for “manufacturing” anti-Communist “public opinion”, preparing a civil war and compelling Comrade Tung Pi-Wu to withdraw from the meeting as a protest.

In a word the three anti-Communist crises are all parts of the perfected plot of the Kuomintang, produced after well-planned preparations. If that is not called “destroying resistance”, what is it?

#### CHINESE COMMUNISTS KEPT THEIR WORD

On September 22nd, 1937, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued its famous declaration of readiness to cooperate with the Kuomintang to meet the danger to our nation. The declaration in one part says:

“In order to stop the propaganda of the enemy to avoid the misunderstanding of some good-willed sceptics, we, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, find it necessary to make known to the public our true enthusiasm in the work of liberating our nation, and now solemnly declare before our fellow countrymen that:

(1) Dr. Sun’s San Min Chu I is a necessity today, for the thorough realization of which our party is willing to exert its utmost effort;

(2) We shall forsake our past policies of military opposition and sovietization that aim to overthrow the Kuomintang Government, and shall stop the agrarian policy of confiscating lands from Landlords by force.

(3) We shall dissolve the present Soviet Government and practise democratic politics in its place in order that national unification may be realised and:

(4) We shall abolish the name and titles of the Red Armies and reorganize them into National Revolutionary Armies to be controlled by the Military Council of the National Government, and we shall wait for orders to move to the front to perform anti-Japanese duties.”

All the above four promises we have fulfilled. Neither Mr. Chiang nor other Kuomintang members will be able to show that we have not fulfilled anyone of them.

Firstly, the policies carried out by the Communists in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region and other anti-Japanese bases in the rear of the enemy lines are all policies for the realisation of Dr. Sun’s principles, and not a single item is against the San Min Chu I.

Secondly, under the conditions that the Kuomintang will not

surrender to the enemy, will not disrupt Kuomintang-Communist co-operation, and will not start an anti-communist civil war, we shall ever keep our promise of not overthrowing the Kuomintang regime by military opposition or sovietization, and not confiscating any land from the landlords by force. We have acted, are acting and shall act according to this principle. That is to say, unless the Kuomintang surrenders to the enemy, disrupts co-operation and starts civil war, unless any possibility of keeping our promise is taken from us, we shall always stand by this principle.

Thirdly, the Soviet form of government was abolished long ago in the first year of the war and what is realized in its place in the Border Region now is a "Triple system" democratic government. It is only the Kuomintang which has not kept its promise of recognizing the Border Region and which continues to proclaim the Border Region as "feudal partition." Mr. Chiang and Kuomintang members must understand that we do not desire the existence of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region, this so-called "feudal Partition"; we do not desire the continuance of this state of affairs when the Border Region is not recognized by the Kuomintang. It exists because we are forced to it. You have broken your promise, have not recognized this region or its democratic politics which you promised to recognize; instead you have denounced it as a "feudal partition."

What reason have you? And whose responsibility is it when we daily demand your recognition, demand that you do away with this "partition" so that national unification may be realised."? Yet you persistently refuse it, persistently let the "partition" go on? Without the least sense of responsibility, Mr. Chiang, as Director-General of the Kuomintang, and the most responsible member of the National Government, unreasonably curses the "partition" in his book *China's Destiny*." What is the reason for it? Just as Mr. Chiang demands that the Communists keep their promise, we demand that Mr. Chiang should keep his own, and adopt the necessary legal procedure to announce the recognition of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region that has long ago "dissolved the Soviet form of Government and practised democratic politics." He should also recognise the other anti-Japanese bases behind the enemy lines, "so that national unification maybe realised." If he still adopts the attitude of non-recognition, it will mean that he compels us to go on "partitioning," and the responsibility,

therefore, as in other things, lies with him.

Fourthly, the name and the titles of the Red Armies have long been “abolished,” and they have long ago been “reorganised” into National Revolutionary Armies and are controlled by the Military Council of the National Government; hence our promise regarding the Red Armies was fulfilled long ago. Only the New Fourth Army of the National Revolutionary Armies is under the direct control of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at present, because the Military Council of the National Government disbanded it on January 17th, 1941 by a counter-revolutionary order which in fact had the effect of “destroying resistance and endangering the nation”; it thus deprived them of the privilege of being “controlled” by the National Government. They have been attacked everyday by the Government, but they continue to resist the Japanese. More than that, they have realized the first three of the four promises, and are willing to see that the fourth promise too is realized, i.e., to see that Mr Chiang withdraws his order of disbandment, restores the legal status of that army, so that they can have the possibility of keeping their fourth promise again, viz “to be controlled by the Military Council of the National Government.”

#### WHAT ABOUT THE KUOMINTANG’S WORD?

Besides the above points, the 11th Plenary Session of the Kuomintang added the following in its resolution concerning the Communist question: “As regards other questions, we have resolved that the National Assembly shall be called and a Constitution announced within one year after the conclusion of the war, and such questions may be brought forth for discussion in the National Assembly.” What are these “other questions”?

Could they possibly be the abolition of the Kuomintang dictatorship, the abolition of the Fascist secret service, the practice of nation-wide democracy, the cancellation of the oppressive taxes and of economic methods that are obstacles to the livelihood of the people, and the practice of a nation-wide agrarian policy of reducing rent and interest as well as an economic policy of assisting the small and medium industries and bettering the lives of the workers?

In our declaration of Sept. 22nd 1937, the following was stated:

“In order to realize democracy, to call the National Assembly, to draw up the Constitution, to draft the directions for national salvation, and to realise the prosperous livelihood of the Chinese people we must first

relieve the famine and other natural calamities, stabilize the people's livelihood, develop the economy of national defence, relieve the agony of the people, and improve their living."

Since Mr. Chiang recognised the whole of our declaration in his statement of Sept. 23rd 1937, he should therefore not only demand that the Communists carry out their four promises, but also demand that he himself and the Kuomintang and the National Government realise the other part of the declaration as well. Now that Mr. Chiang is not only Director-General of the Kuomintang, but also the Chairman of the Kuomintang Government (which in name is called the National Government), he should certainly carry out the above-mentioned items concerning democracy and people's livelihood and the other promises that he had made to the Communists as well as to the Chinese People.

We hope that he will not eat his words or resort only to high handed pressure or talk in one way and practise in another. We Communists and the people want facts, not just empty words. If there are facts, we welcome them. If not, empty words cannot cheat the people for long.

#### WE APPEAL FOR UNITY

In short, the following are our demands on Mr. Chiang:

- To resist to the end, to stop the crisis of surrender;
- To continue co-operation, to stop the crisis of civil war;
- To recognize the Border Region and the democratic anti-Japanese Governments behind the enemy lines;
- To restore the New Fourth Army, to stop the anti-communist movement, and withdraw the 500,000 troops surrounding the Border Region;
- To cease using the People's Political Council as a tool for preparing anti-Communist "public opinion";
- To call the National Assembly before the war is over;
- To give the people freedom of speech, assembly and organization;
- To abolish the one-party dictatorship;
- To reduce rent and interest, to better the living conditions of workers, and to assist the small and medium industries;
- To cancel all the secret service organizations and to give up education of people for secret service work;
- To realize democratic education.

A great many of the above demands have been promised to us or to the people by Mr. Chiang and by the Kuomintang. If he is going to keep

his promises and to grant the above demands, we assure him that we shall continue to implement our promises. We are willing to see negotiations between the two parties resumed at any time, as soon as Mr. Chiang and the Kuomintang are also willing to do so.

In conclusion, the first policy—the policy of surrender and civil war—is a blind alley for Mr. Chiang and the Kuomintang; the second policy—the policy of cheating people with empty words, of delaying the solution of the problem while in reality never forgetting the practice of dictatorship and the preparation for civil war—is not a road to life either; only the third policy—the policy of the fundamental withdrawal of the dictatorship and the preparations for civil war, of the realization of democracy and co-operation—is the correct way out, for Mr. Chiang, for the Kuomintang and for the whole people and the nation. But evidence of a trend in this direction is lacking; therefore all people, the whole nation must guard against the extremely grave crisis of surrender and civil war today.

All the patriotic members of the Kuomintang must unite, to fight against the first policy, to stop the second, and to realise the third!

All the patriotic anti-Japanese parties and people must unite, to fight against the first policy, to stop the second. and to realise the third!

A day of great world change unprecedented in history is approaching. We sincerely hope that Mr. Chiang and the Kuomintang will face this Great Epoch appropriately, and so will all the patriotic parties and people of China.

## APPENDIX

### CHINA'S WAR WITH JAPAN

(Article that appeared in "War & the Working Class."

August 1943)

By VLADIMIR ROGOV

During six years of war at the cost of considerable territorial losses, the Chinese Command succeeded in saving its troops from defeat. Despite numerous odds, the Chinese army proved its capacity of resistance.

The Japanese militarists failed in their plan of rapid conquest of China. They proved incapable of breaking the resistance of the Chinese people. The war against China became clearly a long drawn out one, threatening Japan with ever growing complications. In defensive battles on an extremely long front the Chinese army by weakening the Japanese troops gained the necessary time for reorganising its troops and strengthening their fighting capacity.

Soon after Wuhan fell in October 1938, Chiang Kai-shek outlined a programme for reorganisation of the country's armed forces. Its principal points are:

*Firstly*, China's national policy must become a policy of a long defensive war.

*Secondly*, this condition imposed upon her the necessity to develop a guerilla movement.

*Thirdly*, for conducting a general counter-offensive it was necessary to create a new army, many millions strong, trained in the use of most up-to-date equipment.

Three years have passed since then. Reforms in the army with the aim of training new cadres, reorganising army control, strengthening discipline have not been completed.

The resources of war economy of National China are tremendous, affording an adequate base for the armament supply for a mass army. On its own territory National China has all the strategic raw materials necessary for the conduct of a prolonged war. Nevertheless large-scale armament construction has not been undertaken.

Unrestrained profiteers advance "theories" that the people are weary of the war, that it is primarily necessary to satisfy the demand of the

population for consumer-goods. This situation leads to the weakening of the army's fighting capacity, greater dependence on the supply of armaments from the United States and Britain, which supply has encountered great difficulties since the start of the Japanese War against the United States and Britain.

China has no lack of manpower reserves but the Chinese army has nevertheless received no regular reinforcements. There is an insufficiency of trained reserves. There is no organised military registration of the population. The Law on universal military service is not fully carried out. The main defect of the Chinese army is shortage of trained commanding personnel.

All foreign military observers who have visited the Chinese army agree that the Chinese soldier is tenacious, enduring in the field, unpretentious as far as food and uniform is concerned, whereas the commanding personnel is backward in military-technical training. The organisational control of troops is far from perfect. One defect of the Chinese army is lack of an effective, united command, and co-ordination of operations on the separate fronts.

Since December 1941, Japan's main attention has been centred on the Pacific War. The war on the Chinese mainland receded into the background. This led to the appearance among Chinese military and political leaders of a certain complacency, which the Japanese imperialists have taken advantage of in order to intensify their "Peace Offensive."

The Japanese conquerors are now concentrating on deepening and sharpening the internal contradictions in China; they are making every effort to deepen and sharpen the internal conflicts in China to weaken Chinese resistance and strengthen their own position. In this attempt they are aided by the manoeuvres of the Chinese "appeasers" who are doing their utmost to undermine the military collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and to incite the persecution of the Eighth Route and New Fourth armies which, as units of China's united national army, have inscribed many heroic pages in the history of the resistance of the Chinese people to the Japanese invaders.

But the Chinese Government has shown no firmness in eliminating the capitulators who are undermining national unity and weakening China's resistance to the Japanese invaders. The Chinese Command has in fact transferred new divisions to districts where Eighth Route and

the New Fourth Armies are stationed.

In the last few years, however, I had occasion to visit more than fifteen provinces of China. At the front and in the rear, representatives of various circles in China are watching with concern the criminal activity of the defeatists. Nevertheless they are unanimous in their confidence that all plans to provoke civil war are doomed to failure.

In the course of the past hard fighting National China has accumulated much strength which will not permit the great national cause of liberation of the Chinese people to die.

With inexhaustible strategic raw material resources, tremendous man-power reserves at its disposal, National China has every possibility for victory over the enemy.

Necessary conditions for victory are the implementation of radical measures, reorganising the entire war economy on a war-footing, subordinating all economic life to the needs of the front and strengthening the armed forces. Most important of all is genuine unity of all national forces in the struggle for freedom and national independence.

Chinese victory depends primarily on whether or not Chiang Kai-shek and his ruling circle understand this last condition and whether they are able to eliminate the civil war threat—a civil war which would inevitably follow the persecution of the Communist New Fourth and Eighth Armies. If the anti-democratic, anti-popular elements gain the upper hand in Chungking and fratricidal war results, it will lead to fatal consequences for the Chinese war of liberation.

