

# **THE WAY OUT OF CHINA'S CIVIL WAR**

**A report on COALITION GOVERNMENT delivered to the 7th National  
Congress of the Chinese Communist Party**

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## FOREWORD

In this booklet we are giving the text of the report given by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, leader of China's fifteen lakh Communists at the Seventh Congress of the Chinese Communist Party.

Though delivered nearly a year ago, this report is vital and necessary reading for anybody who wishes to understand what is going on in China today.

In the year that has passed by, big things have happened in China as elsewhere in the world. Biggest of all for China has been the conclusion of the nine-year-old heroic national war against Japan, a struggle which ended in victory due, no small extent, to the persistence of the Chinese people in the face of the greatest difficulties.

Despite these historic events, however, the problems facing the Chinese people remain essentially the same.

Then, as Mao brilliantly outlines in his report, it was a question of uniting the Chinese people on the basis of democracy for achieving speedy victory over Japan—a unity that was not to be merely a formal agreement between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang, the two main political parties of the Chinese people, but a unity that was to be based on the application of democracy to all fields of the nation's life, whether it was the organisation of the front or the rear.

Today also the basic problem facing the Chinese people is the problem of unity.

Are the Chinese people to build a strong, free and prosperous China, based on democratic principles and on democratic unity, or are the Chinese people to remain divided and weak, allowing the American imperialists to dominate their land by backing the most reactionary elements in China's society—the extreme right (formerly pro-Japanese and now pro-American) of the Kuomintang?—This is the decisive question facing the Chinese people today.

Mao Tse-tung, in this report, clearly and sharply describes the development of these two trends—one for unity and democracy, the other of disruption and reaction—during the war period. He shows how the first has gained tremendously in strength while the second has grown weaker, though it yet has the capacity to disrupt and divide, to hinder the people's advance. He shows how the Chinese Communist Party, determined vanguard of the Chinese people, is today strong enough to lead the Chinese people to victory in this battle against reaction. And already in the eight months since the defeat of Japanese fascism, we can see that this confidence of Mao Tse-tung was entirely correct and justified.

After the Japanese surrender, the Kuomintang, encouraged by its American advisers and utilising the strength of the still armed Japanese troops, launched a vicious war against the Chinese Communists; though in the first weeks after victory Mao Tse-tung came to Chungking to discuss with Chiang Kai-shek the question of achieving China's unity, it later became clear that these discussions were merely a cloak behind which the Kuomintang put through its plans for a civil war.

The attempts to crush the Communists, however, failed. The Americans gave the Kuomintang all the arms they wanted, all the transport assistance necessary to

move Kuomintang troops to the northern areas; yet the attempt failed for the Communist-led armies, over 900,000 strong, backed by 25 lakh peoples' volunteers and 9 crore people of the democratic areas, were too strong and determined.

In December the American imperialists—who had imagined they could destroy the Chinese Communists through backing the Kuomintang—realised that nothing short of fighting a major war in China with large U.S. air and land forces would achieve their objective. This, democratic American opinion and the U.S. people would not have stood and finally the U.S. Government retreated ; the openly anti-democratic imperialist Ambassador, Hurley, was recalled and fresh attempts to bring about unity between the Kuomintang and the Communists were made.

And this time unity was achieved.

“Observers are amazed,” reported the United Press of America in February, “at the rapidity with which President Truman’s two requests to China have been carried out—cessation of hostilities and a national conference of political parties to bring about the country’s unification.”

The report concludes that:

“Foreign political observers express the belief that the U.S. applied strong economic pressure to end the Chinese civil war.”

Early in February an agreement was signed between the Communists, the Kuomintang and the other democratic parties, by which a united coalition government was to be established and the armed forces of the two parties to be united into a single national army. And the latest news is that this agreement has now been translated into concrete terms by a three-man military committee.

The agreement, however, does not mean that China’s feet are planted firmly on the democratic path—on the path of establishing a united and free China.

In spite of the agreement, civil war has broken out in parts of north China ; in Chungking itself, a rally of all democratic parties held to welcome the unity agreement, was broken up by “right-wing diehard Kuomintang elements”—elements, in the words of Reuter's correspondent, who “are not pleased by the concessions made in the recent truce talks.” All over China specially-staged anti-Soviet demonstrations have been held in recent weeks and the office of the Communist paper in Chungking was attacked.

Thus it is clear that the achievement of unity has by no means ensured the final defeat of reaction. It is a fact also that the most reactionary individuals in the Kuomintang, who are bitterly anti-democratic and anti-communist, still hold high posts in the government\*. Thus while the agreement to which the Communists and the Kuomintang, with other parties, have pledged themselves, does represent a step forward in that it has forced Chiang Kai-shek to commit himself, it is as well to see

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\* For instance General Ho Ying-ching, who was the author of the notorious Ho-Umetsu Agreement by which the Northern Provinces were sacrificed to Japan, remains Commander-in-Chief ; the C.C. clique of the two Chen brothers remains in high positions ; H. H. Kung, the monster-profitier is yet Governor of the Bank of China ; General Hu Chung-nan, Commander of the 5-lakh anti-Communist army in Sian, still has his army and his area.

clearly the dangers ahead.

And it is Mao's report that will help everyone to understand the real forces at work in China today. It clearly explains the real reason for the growth of the Communist Party, the fact that it bases itself on the urgent needs of the country and the people and therefore is indestructible. And finally it details the real strength of democracy and reaction in China and how in spite of the fact that reaction remains powerful, yet the Communist Party, today with over 15 lakh members, is strong enough to unite all progressive forces in China and ensure the victory of democracy.

For it is only democratic unity in China, based on Kuomintang-Communist unity, that can ensure the emergence of a strong and free China, whose strength and freedom will be of decisive importance in rallying all Asia—including our own people—for the pending battles to end imperialist domination.

March 1st, 1948.

Mohan Kumaramangalam.

# ON COALITION GOVERNMENT

Political report of Chairman Mao Tse-tung to the 7th National Congress of the Kungchantang (Chinese Communist Party) on April 24, 1945.]

## I. THE BASIC DEMANDS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

COMRADES! The long-awaited 7th National Congress of our Party is now opened. On behalf of the Central Committee I am going to make you a report. The present situation demands that a number of important questions be discussed and decisions taken in this Congress. Then, we shall have to explain our decisions to the Chinese people, win their co-operation and their approval to carry them out.

Our Congress is meeting under the following circumstances :

First, the Chinese people, having fought against the Japanese aggressors resolutely, courageously and indomitably for almost eight years, experiencing untold hardships and making heavy self-sacrifices, have created a new situation in our country.

Secondly, decisive victories have been scored in the holy and just war against the Fascist aggressors in the West.

Thirdly, the time is near for the Chinese people to defeat the Japanese invaders in collaboration with our Allies but China, still hard pressed by them, is not yet united and a grave crisis still exists.

Under such circumstances, what should we do? Indubitably, what China urgently needs is the establishment through the unity of all political parties and non-party leaders, of a democratic, Provisional Coalition Government so that democratic reforms may be instituted, the present crisis overcome, all anti-Japanese forces mobilized and united for the defeat of the Japanese invaders in collaboration with our Allies, and the Chinese people freed from the invaders' clutches.

This being done, the National Assembly, based on broad democratic principles, will have to be summoned to form a regular democratic Government of a similar kind of coalition but embracing more broadly all parties and non-party representatives. This Government will then lead the liberated people of the entire nation to build up an independent, free, democratic, unified, prosperous and strong country—in short, to build a new China after having defeated the aggressors through unity and democracy.

We think that only by so doing can the basic demands of the Chinese people be met. Hence my report is mainly concerned with a discussion of these demands. It also lays special emphasis on the problem of Coalition Government, as this problem has been regarded with the greatest interest by the Chinese people and the Allied press.

The Kungchantang (Communist Party) has overcome many difficulties and achieved great results in its work: in the eight years of the Anti-Japanese War. But,

under the present circumstances, grave difficulties are still to be overcome by the Party and the people. The situation demands that our Party intensify its efforts in further overcoming these difficulties and in striving to realize the basic aims of the Chinese people.

## II. THE INTERNATIONAL AND THE NATIONAL SITUATION

Can the Chinese people realize these basic demands? The answer, in our opinion, depends on the extent of the Chinese people's awakening, their solidarity, and their effort. But the present international and national situation offers the Chinese people many advantageous conditions, which, if well utilized, will undoubtedly facilitate their task of defeating the aggressor and building up a new China. The Chinese people should redouble their efforts for the accomplishment of this, their own task.

What are the special features of the present international situation?

Contrary to the expectations of Chinese and foreign reactionaries, the three great democracies—Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union—remain united. Disputes among these democracies did, and may in the future exist; but eventually unity reigns supreme.

This all-decisive condition, finally demonstrated at the Crimea Conference, was created in the most critical moment in the history of the world in the 1940s. It was created when, as the Fascist war of aggression threatened the existence of the peace-loving peoples of the world, reactionary forces in many of the more important countries (not all the countries), who had aided the Fascist aggressors by opposing Anglo-American-Soviet unity, were forced down from the political stage decisively, the anti-Fascist forces in favour of Anglo-American-Soviet unity came to power.

The whole aspect of the world has changed since this condition made its appearance. All Fascist forces including their hidden agents in various countries are now to be extirpated, international problems are to be solved by conferences led by the three or the five major nations; the internal problems of the various nations will have to be solved—without exception—in accordance with democratic principles; the world is being led towards progress instead of towards reaction. Such is the new situation in the world.

But whoever fails to be fully alive to the possibilities of certain transient or even grave historical set-backs, or fails to understand the still considerable strength of the reactionary advocates who hate to see the unification, progress and liberation of their own and other peoples and who do not like the new world order led by the alliance of Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, France and China, shall be committing a political error.

However, the general trend of historical development cannot be reversed. The face of the world has been changed.

This new transformation is unfavourable only to the Fascists and their assistants, the reactionaries in all nations (including China). To the common peoples and to organized democratic forces, it bears the message of glad tidings.

The people, and only the people, is the motivating force of creation. The Soviet people has created a mighty force which was mainly responsible for the defeat of Fascism. The strenuous efforts of the peoples of Britain, the United States, China, France and other anti-Fascist nations made possible the defeat of the Fascists, after

which the peoples of these nations will build a world peace that is durable. The United Nations Conference in San Francisco which began on April 25, will be the starting-point.

War has educated the people. They shall win the war, and also the peace, and build progress. This is the logic of the new situation.

This new situation is radically different from that of the first World War and from the so-called era of "peace" immediately following it. At that time, there was no Soviet Union as we see it today: there was no such political awakening among the peoples of Britain, the United States, China, France, and other anti-Fascist nations as they now possess, and consequently there could not be the world solidarity which we now see led by the three or five major nations. We are in a totally new situation. We now have increasingly conscious and united people > all over the world, as well as their organized forces, factors determining the direction of history and the path it takes.

The defeat of the Fascist aggressor nations and the advent of general peace does not mean that there will be no more fighting. Widely scattered remnants of the Fascist forces will continue to do mischief; the anti-democratic forces existing in the anti-Fascist camp will continue to oppress the people.

Hence, after the realization of international peace, the struggles between the anti-Fascist peoples and the remnants of the Fascist forces, between democratic and anti-democratic forces, will go on in most parts of the world. The broadest popular victory will be achieved only when, after long drawn-out struggles, the remnants of the Fascist and anti-democratic forces have been overcome.

That day will not come quickly or easily, but, nevertheless, it shall come. Its coming, prepared by the victory in the Second World War—the anti-Fascist war—will make the peace firm and enduring. It shall be the herald of the bright and new future.

Due to the solidarity of the three great democracies—Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union—and other European nations, the war to end Fascist Germany will soon be brought to a close. The Red Army will soon capture Berlin—the nerve centre of Hitlerite Germany; the Anglo-American-French forces are battering the remnants of Hitler's hordes; the Italian people have risen in revolt. Hitler will be beaten, and his defeat will create a new situation.

The liberation of Europe shall immediately enhance the possibility of the liberation of Asia, which will eventually be brought about.

Britain, the United States and China are united in tire anti-Japanese war. The prolonged and arduous fight put up by the Chinese people in their eight years' war of resistance, the participation of Britain in the Far Eastern war, and in particular, the American victories in the Pacific, have brought the war to the very doors of Japan.

Yet, though the Japanese aggressors are in a very unfavourable position and their morale is more shaken than ever, they still have enough strength to prepare for a protracted struggle, and are hoping to obtain a negotiated peace through the vacillating elements in China and among the Allies. However, the interests of the

people of all Pacific nations demand the complete extermination of the Japanese aggressors. The Soviet Union has denounced its neutrality pact with Japan, an act that greatly heartened the Chinese and other Pacific peoples.

Under the present circumstances, we may say that an arduous path still lies ahead in our task of finally and completely exterminating the Japanese aggressors, that we must not under-estimate the enemy; but also that; we are surer of victory, we are sure to win.

The Chinese people have never before had such favourable international conditions to encourage them to fight a protracted war.

And what is the internal situation in China at the present time?

The prolonged war in China has exacted and will continue to exact huge sacrifices from the Chinese people, but at the same time it has fortified and will continue to fortify them for the heroic struggle. It has awakened and united them to an extent never before witnessed, not even in the great struggles of the past hundred years.

Confronting the Chinese people are not only powerful national enemies, but also powerful reactionary forces that actually support the national enemies. On the other hand, the Chinese people today are not only awakened to an unprecedented extent, they have also established strong and extensive Liberated Areas in China and are in the midst of a powerful, ever-rising democratic movement. These are the favourable conditions in China.

If we say that all popular struggles in the past hundred years in China failed to achieve their end because of the absence of necessary international and internal conditions, then the result will be different this time, because all the necessary conditions are here, and the possibility of avoiding defeat and achieving victory fully exists.

If we can unite the people of the entire nation in their fight and provide them with the proper guidance, we shall speed the victory.

The confidence of the Chinese people in their ability to defeat the aggressors and build up a new China through unity has been greatly strengthened; the opportunity for the Chinese people to overcome all difficulties and realize their historically significant basic demands has arrived. Can there be any doubt of this? I do not think so.

Such is the general political situation, internationally and nationally.

### III. TWO COURSES IN THE ANTI-JAPANESE WAR THE CRUX OF THE CHINA PROBLEM

Speaking of the national situation, let us concretely analyse China's role in the anti-Japanese war.

China is one of the five great nations in the anti-Fascist camp and the major nation on the Asiatic mainland to oppose the Japanese aggressors. The extent of the Chinese people's active participation in the war is of great importance not only for the war against Japan, but also for post-war world peace, while for the maintenance of Far Eastern peace, it will be decisive.

In the eight years of their Anti-Japanese War, the Chinese people have made great efforts for their own liberation as well as to help bring about an Allied victory. Large numbers of Chinese soldiers have shed their blood on the battle-fields; Chinese workers, peasants, intellectuals and industrialists are all working hard in the rear; overseas Chinese have contributed much to the war-chest; all anti-Japanese political parties, with the exception of some anti-people elements, have contributed something toward the war effort. In short, the Chinese people have sweated and shed much blood in their courageous fight against the Japanese aggressors these past eight years.

But for many years Chinese reactionaries have succeeded in distorting or preventing the truth of the Chinese people's fight against the Japanese from reaching the general public. Moreover, nobody has yet summed up the total experience of China's eight-year war against Japan. This Congress should therefore make a proper summary of this experience, both as a lesson to the people and as a basis on which we shall make our decisions on policy.

Speaking of the summing up of our experience, we see clearly that there exist in China two different guiding policies: one that helps to defeat the Japanese aggressors, and the other, which is not only incapable of defeating the Japanese aggressors but, in some respects, actually helps them to undermine the war of resistance.

The negative policy adopted by the Kuomintang Government towards the war with Japan and its reactionary policy towards the people have resulted in military defeats, the loss of large portions of our territory, a financial and economic crisis, the oppression of the people, the inflicting of many hardships on the people and the disruption of our national unity. These policies hamper the mobilization and unification of the people's anti-Japanese forces for effectively waging the war and are impediments in the path of the people's awakening and their solidarity. But the process of the people's awakening and unity has never been halted; it has been developing in a circuitous manner under the double pressure of the Japanese aggressors and the Kuomintang Government.

The two policies—the Kuomintang Government's course of oppressing the people while carrying on a war of negative resistance, and the Chinese people's course of rising and uniting for the prosecution of the war—these two policies have existed in China for a long time. This is where the crux of the "Chinese problem" lies.

## HISTORY ALONG A ZIG-ZAG PATH

In order to understand why the crux of the Chinese problem lies in the existence of these two courses, we must turn back to the history of our war against Japan.

The Chinese people's war against Japan has been developing along a tortuous path. It began in 1931, when, on September 18th, the Japanese aggressors occupied Mukden, and within a few months of that, the whole of the Three North-Eastern Provinces.

The Kuomintang Government adopted the policy of non-resistance, but the people and a part of the patriotic troops in the Three North-Eastern Provinces, led or assisted by the Kungchantang and acting in contravention of the Kuomintang's wishes, organized the North-East Anti-Japanese Volunteer Army and embarked on a courageous guerilla war, which developed into a large-scale war. The Volunteer Army has since met with many difficulties and set-backs, but has never been destroyed by the enemy.

In 1932, the Japanese aggressors attacked Shanghai, but were resisted by the 19th Route Army led by the patriotic elements in the Kuomintang, whose wishes they disobeyed. In 1933, when the Japanese aggressors invaded Jehol and Chahar, other patriotic elements in the Kuomintang, acting in contravention of the Kuomintang's policy of surrender for the third time, organized the Anti-Japanese Union Army and offered resistance.

All these resistance movements were supported by the Chinese people, the Kungchantang, other democratic groups and the Chinese overseas. The Kuomintang, basing its policy on non-resistance, did nothing to help. On the contrary, the Kuomintang Government wrecked the resistance movements in Shanghai and Chahar. The Popular Government set up by the 19th Route Army in Fukien in 1933 was also destroyed by the Kuomintang Government.

Why did the Kuomintang Government adopt the policy of non-resistance? The main reason lies in the fact that it had destroyed the Kuomintang-Kungchantang collaboration and the unity of the people in 1927.

In 1924, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, accepting the proposal of the Kungchantang, summoned the First National Convention of the Kuomintang, in which Kungchantang members participated and the Three Policies of alliance with the Soviet Union, alliance with the Kungchantang, and assistance to peasants and workers were initiated. It was then that the Whampoa Military Academy was founded and the United National Front rallying the forces of the Kuomintang, the Kungchantang and the people was realized.

In 1925, the reactionary forces in Kwangtung were wiped out; and in 1926-1927 the Northern Expedition was victoriously launched, the Yangtze-kiang and the Hwangho valleys were occupied, the Northern militarist Government was defeated, and a widespread war of emancipation, unparalleled in the history of China, was begun.

But in the early summer of 1927, when the Northern Expedition was developing to its crucial stage, the United National Front and its revolutionary policy which was leading to the emancipation of the Chinese people was destroyed by the

Kuomintang's treacherous, anti-popular policy of "purging the Kuomintang" and massacring the people. The allies of yesterday—the Kungchantang and the people—were now regarded as enemies, whilst the enemies of yesterday—the imperialists and feudalists— were now regarded as allies of the Kuomintang.

This sudden and treacherous attack on the Kungchantang and the Chinese people killed the growing Revolution. Thereafter, national unity was replaced by civil war, democracy by dictatorship, and national awakening by obscurantism. But the Kungchantang and the people were not frightened into submission nor could they be exterminated. They stood up again, wiped the bloodstains, buried the bodies of their dead comrades, and resumed the fight. They held high the banner of the Revolution, carried on armed resistance, set up popular Governments in large areas, carried out land reforms, created the people's army—the Chinese Red Army, and preserved and developed the revolutionary forces of the Chinese people.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary San Min Chu I, forsaken by the reactionary elements in the Kuomintang, were and have since been inherited by the Kungchantang and other democratic elements.

When the Japanese aggressors invaded the North- East, the Kungchantang proposed, in 1933, a truce with all Kuomintang armies then attacking the Soviet area and the Red Army, so that a united front might be presented against the Japanese. They proposed the following conditions:

(a) Cessation of hostilities; (b) Recognition of the people's freedom and rights; and (c) The arming of the people.

These proposals were rejected by the Kuomintang authorities.

Thereafter, the Kuomintang Government carried out its policy of civil war with greater fanaticism than ever before. On the other hand, the people's demand for stopping the civil war and for a united front against Japan was gaining force, and various popular patriotic organizations were set up in Shanghai and many other places. In 1935-36, the main forces of the Red Army on either side of the Yangtze-kiang, under the direction of our Party Centre, and after enduring untold hardships, were moved to the North-West, where they joined the Red Army forces there.

In the same period, the Kungchantang, adapting itself to the new circumstances, decided upon and followed a new and full-blooded political course of a United National Anti-Japanese Front, aimed at national unity, armed resistance, and the building up of a New-Democratic Republic.

On 9th December, 1935, the students and masses of Peiping, led by our Party, launched a courageous patriotic movement by forming the Chinese National Liberation Pioneer Corps. This movement was later taken up by other big centres. On 12th December, 1936, two groups of patriotic elements in the Kuomintang—the North- Eastern Army and the 17th Route Army—jointly started the famous Sian Incident, courageously defying the Kuomintang's reactionary policy of appeasing Japan and massacring the people. At the same time, other patriotic elements in the Kuomintang also started feeling dissatisfied with' the policy of their party.

Under these circumstances the Kuomintang was forced to give up its civil war

policy and recognize the people's demands. National unity was initiated, with the peaceful settlement of the Sian Incident as the turning point of the political change, and later the National Anti-Japanese War was launched. In May, 1937, on the eve of the Lukouchiao Incident, our Party held a historic National Representative Meeting, in which our new Party line, which we had followed since 1933, was ratified.

From the Lukouchiao Incident of 7th July 1937 up to the loss of Wuhan in October 1938, the Kuomintang Government waged the Anti-Japanese War with a comparatively better effort. In this period, the onslaught of the Japanese aggressors and the rising wave of national indignation resulted in the Kuomintang Government stressing the anti-Japanese side of its policy, culminating in the high tide of national anti-Japanese feeling and the appearance of new signs of vigour. The entire nation—we of the Kungchantang, and other democratic parties and groups --placed great hopes on the Kuomintang Government at that time, hoping that it would go in for democratic reforms and carry out Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary San Min Chu I while the nation was in peril and public feeling was running high in favour of reform. But these hopes, as we shall see, were dashed to the ground.

During those two years, however, the nation's war effort was comparatively positive; the Government did modify its attitude toward the Kungchantang and other anti-Japanese parties or groups. On the other hand, the Governmental authorities continued to oppose the mobilization of the vast masses for waging the people's war and to restrict the people's voluntary efforts at unity and resistance as well as other democratic activities. It refused to give other parties equal status, tried energetically to limit their activities and did nothing to release the numerous patriotic political prisoners.

This was mainly because the Kuomintang Government persisted in maintaining the form of oligarchic autocracy it had adopted since the outbreak of the civil war in 1927 and failed to set up a nationally-supported, democratic Coalition Government.

It was then that we of the Kungchantang pointed out there were two courses in China's war against Japan. There must either be a total war involving the entire nation, which would lead us to victory, or a partial war with the people oppressed, which would result in our defeat. We also pointed out that the war would be protracted, that we would have to face many difficulties and hardships, but that, through the people's efforts the ultimate victory would be ours.

### **THE PEOPLE'S WAR**

In the same period, the main body of the Chinese Red Army, which had moved to the North-West at the direction of the Kungchantang, was re-organized and named the 8th Route Army of the Chinese National Revolutionary Forces; and the guerilla units of the Red Army left behind along the lower Yangtze were re-organized and named the New Fourth Army. These two armies then fought in North and Central China respectively. In civil war times (1927-37) the Chinese Red Army, at one time several hundred thousand strong, maintained and developed the democratic tradition of the Whampoa Military Academy and the National Revolutionary Forces

of Northern Expedition times (1925-26). But due to the Kuomintang Government's savage attacks on our southern bases, due to the losses sustained during the Long March, and other causes, the Red Army was reduced to some tens of thousands. It was then even ignored by certain people, who thought the Kuomintang was mainly responsible for the conduct of the Anti-Japanese War.

But the people were the best judge of such things. They knew that the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army, though numerically weak, at the time, were of very high fighting quality and that they could truly wage the people's war, once they moved to the battle-fronts and united with the vast masses. The people proved to be correct.

While I am making this report, our regular forces have been expanded to the strength of 910,000 men, not including the 2,100,000 and odd militiamen. Our regular forces are still numerically smaller than the existing Kuomintang Army (including Central forces and provincial troops) by hundreds of thousands; but considering the numbers of enemy and puppet troops they are opposing and the vast territory they have to defend, their combat strength, their collaboration with the people, the Militia, and the Self-Defence Corps, their political quality, and their internal solidarity, our regular forces have become the mainstay of China's war of resistance.

Our forces are powerful, because all who joined them, are consciously disciplined. They have come together and have fought not for the selfish interests of a few or a limited group, but for the people's war of justice, for the interests of the vast masses and the entire nation. Their sole aim is to stand closely by the people and to serve the Chinese people with all their heart and will.

Guided by this aim, our armies possess that determined spirit which is absolutely necessary to overcome one's enemies without being overcome by them. So long as a single man is left alive, this one man will fight on, no matter under what hazardous conditions.

These armies possess a high degree of solidarity, both within themselves and with others. Solidarity must be maintained internally between the officers and men, the upper and the lower ranks, and among the military, political and supply services; and externally—between the army and the people, the army and the administration, and between our armies and all friendly forces. Anything that impairs this solidarity must be pushed aside.

Our armies follow the correct policy of winning over enemy officers and men and treating prisoners of war well. All enemy or puppet soldiers, who after surrendering or laying down their arms wish to join in the fight against the common foe, are welcomed to do so, and receive suitable training. Killing, abusing or insulting any prisoner is strictly prohibited.

These armies have invented a series of tactics and the strategy necessary for the prosecution of the people's war. They are past-masters of guerilla warfare, with their adaptability to changing conditions, and are skilled in conducting mobile warfare.

They have initiated the political work necessary for the prosecution of the

people's war. They have been striving for their own unification, for the co-operation of friendly forces and of the people, so as to crush the enemy and secure our victory.

Under the conditions of guerilla warfare, all our soldiers work at the production of foodstuffs and daily necessities while they are not fighting or not in training, so that they may be self-supporting in varying degrees in certain requirements, so that economic difficulties may be overcome, so that the soldiers' living conditions might improve (as they actually have improved) and the people's burden lightened. Every possibility has been exploited in setting up small-scale war industries in our various military bases.

Our armies are powerful because they are assisted by such large armed organizations as the People's Self-Defence Corps and the Militia, who fight side by side with them. All young, middle-aged, and even old men and women in the Liberated Areas in China, are voluntarily, democratically organized into the anti-Japanese People's Self-Defence Corps, on the principle that they would not be separated from production work. The abler elements of the Self-Defence Corps often join the regular armies or guerilla units, or they may be incorporated into the Militia. Without the support of such masses of armed strength, it would be impossible to defeat the Japanese aggressors.

Our armies are divided into groups of Main Forces and Regional Forces; the former execute super-territorial combat orders, while the latter are confined to the task of defending certain areas or attacking enemy forces in those areas in collaboration with the Militia and the Self-defence Corps. Such a division has been enthusiastically supported by the people.

If no such correct division were made; if, for example, attention were centred exclusively on the Main Force groups, ignoring the role of the Regional groups, then, under conditions existing in the Liberated Areas, it would be impossible to beat the Japanese aggressors. The Regional Force groups have organized many well-trained Armed Work Units soundly-grounded in military, political, and mass movement work, which have achieved invaluable results by attacking the enemy from his rear and rousing the people to armed resistance, thus helping the front-line forces in the Liberated Areas.

In the Liberated Areas, all anti-Japanese elements in labour, peasant, youth, women's, cultural, and other organizations, under the leadership of a democratic Government, are engaging themselves heartily in various kinds of work to help the army—such as persuading people to join the army, carrying food for the troops, giving preferential treatment to the families of soldiers, and solving material difficulties for the troops. In this respect, their important contribution is the mobilizing of guerilla units, Militiamen and Self-Defence Corps to attack the enemy, lay mines, do reconnaissance work, look out for spies, carry and protect the wounded, and give direct support to regular troops in combat.

At the same time, all the people in the Liberated Areas are co-operating heartily in political, economic, cultural, and health work. The most important achievement in these fields is the general mobilization for the production of foodstuffs and daily necessities, making even Government organizations and schools, with only a few

exceptions, join in the production work in their spare time, so that self-sufficiency is achieved.

This has resulted in a great production drive, which sustains the prolonged fight against the Japanese and is a characteristic feature of the Liberated Areas where the destruction wrought by the enemy is keenly felt and floods, drought, and havoc by locusts often occur. But the people in the Liberated Areas, led by a democratic Government, are overcoming these difficulties. The work of exterminating locusts, preventing floods, and of relief has achieved great results, enabling the Anti-Japanese war to be carried on uninterruptedly.

The main slogan and aim of all the soldiers and civilians in the Liberated Areas is, in short: All for the front, all for the overthrow of the Japanese aggressors and for the liberation of the Chinese people!

This is truly the people's war, by waging which alone can we defeat the enemy. The Kuomintang has failed because it obstinately opposes waging such a war.

Once they are equipped with modern weapons, our armies will be the more invincible and able to defeat finally the Japanese aggressors.

## **TWO BATTLE-FRONTS**

The China theatre has been split from the beginning into two battle-fronts: the Kuomintang front and the Liberated Areas front.

After capturing Wuhan in October 1938, the Japanese aggressors stopped their strategic assaults on the Kuomintang front, gradually shifting their main force to the Liberated Areas front.

At the same time, prompted by the defeatist feeling inside the Kuomintang administration,^ they announced that they were willing to negotiate with it for a peace. They also induced the traitor Wang Ching-Wei to desert Chungking and to set up a puppet Government in Nanking, so that they might carry out their policy of deceiving the Chinese nation.

The Kuomintang Government then began to change its policy, gradually transferring its attention from the battle lines to the home front. The change v/as first reflected in its military policy of passive resistance, aiming at preserving its military strength while putting the burden of the war on the Liberated Areas, so that it might from a safe distance watch the Japanese attack on the Liberated Areas.

In 1939, the Kuomintang Government adopted the reactionary "Measures for the Restriction of Alien-Party Activities", withdrawing all the rights granted to the people and certain anti-Japanese parties in the early stages of the war.

Thereafter, the Kuomintang Government has succeeded in driving underground all democratic parties in the Kuomintang-dominated territory and particularly the Kungchantang. The prisons and concentration camps in this territory have been filled with Kungchantang members, patriotic youths, and other democratic fighters. In the five years beginning from 1939 to the fall of 1943, the Kuomintang started three waves of anti-Kungchantang attacks, thus disrupting national unity and causing a serious threat of civil war. The notorious "New Fourth Army Incident", in which the New Fourth Army was "dissolved" and about 9,000 of its members were

slaughtered in South Anhwei, happened in this period. Up to the present attacks on the armies in the Liberated Areas by Kuomintang troops have not ceased, and there is no sign of their cessation.

Under such circumstances, the reactionary elements in the Kuomintang are becoming very vituperative. Their favourite missiles aimed at misleading people are the use of terms like “the traitorous party”, “the perfidious army”, “the vile area”, which is “undermining the war of resistance and the nation”. To cope with the crisis, the Central Committee of the Kungchintang issued a manifesto on July 7, 1939, in which, the following slogans were adopted: “Resist to the End, No Surrender! Unity Instead of Dissension! Go Forward, Not Backward!” Guided by these slogans, the three waves of reactionary anti- Kungchintang attacks were repulsed with determination and the crisis was overcome.

In recent years, practically no serious fighting has occurred on the Kuomintang battle-front, the sword of the Japanese aggressors having been pointed at the Liberated Areas front.

By 1943, 64 per cent of the Japanese forces in China and 95 per cent of the Puppet Government forces were fighting and posted on the Liberated Areas front; only 36 per cent of the Japanese forces and 5 per cent of the Puppet troops were on the Kuomintang battle-front.

In 1944, when the Japanese aggressors were battling for the possession of a trans-continental communication line, the Kuomintang’s unpreparedness and weakness were at once revealed, and large parts of Honan, Hunan, Kwangsi, and Kwangtung were lost to the enemy within a few months. It was only then that a change in the proportion of the enemy forces on the two battle-fronts took place.

But even as I am making this report, out of the 40 enemy divisions of 580,000 enemy troops in China (not counting those in Manchuria), 22½ divisions of 320,000 men, or about 56 per cent, are being used on the Liberated Areas front; only 1754 divisions of 260,000 men, or about 44 per cent, are on the Kuomintang front. There is no change in the disposition of Puppet forces.

We should point out here that the majority of the Puppet troops of more than 800,000 men (including the regular troops and regional armed forces) consist either of Kuomintang officers who deserted to the enemy or of troops led by deserting Kuomintang officers. Prior to the desertion of these officers, the reactionaries in the Kuomintang supplied them with such fallacious theories as “National salvation through a zig-zag course”; later they supported them morally so that they might attack the Liberated Areas in collaboration with the Japanese aggressors.

In addition, troops numbering 797,000 men were used in blockading and attacking the Shensi Kansu-Ningsia Border Region and other Liberated Areas. This serious state of affairs has never been made known to the majority of the Chinese people and to foreigners on account of the Kuomintang Government’s policy of news-blockade. Many people know that there was one Mihailovich in Yugoslavia, but how many know that there are tens of Mihailoviches in China?

### **THE LIBERATED AREAS IN CHINA**

The Liberated Areas in China, with a total population of 95,500,000, are placed

as far north as Inner Mongolia and as far south as the Hainan Island. Wherever the enemy goes there 8th Route Army, the New 4th Army, and other popular forces will follow to fight him.

The Liberated Areas of China consist of nineteen large areas, extending over the provinces of Liaoning, Jehol, Chahar, Suiyuan, Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Shansi, Hopei, Honan, Shantung, and Fukien—with Yen-an as the directive centre. Within this vast liberated territory, the Shensi-Kansu Ninghsia Border Region, west of the Yellow River, with a population of 1,500,000, is but only one of the Liberated Areas, and the smallest of the lot in point of population—with the exception of the East Chekiang and Hainan areas.

Certain people mistake the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region for the whole liberated territory, a mistake attributable to the Kuomintang Government's policy of news-blockade.

In this vast liberated territory, the necessary policy of the anti-Japanese National United Front has been carried out, a Government elected by the people—a regional Coalition Government, in which Kungchintang and other parties and independent elements collaborate—is in the process of being set up, and the people are wholly mobilized.

This has enabled the Liberated Areas to stand firm, to develop themselves, to expand at the expense of enemy-occupied territory and to become the model for a democratic China, the centre in the fight against the Japanese aggressors and for the liberation of the Chinese people, in spite of the enemy's pressure, of the Kuomintang's blockade and attacks, of having no outside aid.

The 8th Route and the New 4th Armies and other popular forces in the Liberated Areas are exemplary not only in fighting the Japanese, but also in carrying out the democratic policy of the anti-Japanese National United Front.

On September 22, 1937, the Central Committee of the Kungchintang issued a manifesto in which it recognised China's need for Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's San Min Chu I and pledged itself to strive for its thorough realisation. The policy adumbrated in that manifesto has been fully carried into effect in the Liberated Areas.

### **KUOMINTANG-DOMINATED AREAS**

The main ruling cliques in the Kuomintang have persisted in maintaining a dictatorial regime and carrying out an anti-popular internal policy of passive resistance. As a result, the Kuomintang armies have shrunk to half their former size, and the major part of them has almost lost its combat ability; a deep chasm exists between the in-ang Government and the people; causing poverty, discontent, and revolts among the people; the Kuomintang itself has not been able to function properly in the war against Japan, and has, moreover, become an obstacle to the mobilization and unification of China's anti-Japanese forces.

Such things happen under the leadership of the main ruling cliques of the Kuomintang because these ruling cliques represent the interests of China's big landowners, big bankers, and the compradore class. These extremely small, reactionary groups control the military, political, economic, cultural, and other important organs under the Kuomintang Government. They place the preservation

of their selfish interests above the war effort. They, too, speak of “the Nation First”, but their actions do not comply with the needs of the majority of the people. They also speak of “the State First”, but what they mean by “State” is the feudalistic, Fascist dictatorship of the big landowners, big bankers and the compradore class, instead of a democratic State of the people.

Hence, they are afraid that the people may rise, they are afraid of democratic movements, and of truly mobilizing the nation for the war against Japan. That is why they adopt the policy of passive resistance against Japan as well as the anti-people, anti-democratic, anti-Kungchintang reactionary internal policy. That is why their policy assumes a dual character—on the one hand they wage war against Japan and on the other they adopt the policy of passive resistance and so become the recipients of repeated Japanese peace offers.

On the one hand, they clamour for the development of China’s economic resources, on the other hand, they actively support bureaucratic capital—the capital of the big landowners, big bankers, and compradores, monopolize China’s chief economic interests, and oppress the peasants, the workers, the lower-middle class and the liberal upper-middle class.

They loudly proclaim the practice of “democracy” and of the “return of political power to the people”, yet they actually suppress the people’s democratic movement and are unwilling to effect the slightest democratic reform.

They claim that “the Kungchintang problem is a political problem and should be solved by political means”, yet, at the same time they persecute the Kungchintang members militarily, politically and economically, regard the Kungchintang members as their “Enemy No. 1” and the Japanese aggressors as their “Enemy No. 2”, and are actively preparing for another civil war to exterminate the Kungchintang.

They assert that Kuomintang members should be “firmly united”, yet actually they encourage the Central armies to treat the provincial armies (the so-called “mixed armies”) overbearingly, they incite the absolutist faction to oppress the democratic faction, and encourage the antagonism of the various factions—so that they may utilize the situation to continue their dictatorial rule.

They announce that they will build up a “modern nation”, yet they uphold with all their might the feudalists, Fascist dictatorship of the big landowners, big bankers and compradores; they formally maintain diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, yet in reality they adopt an anti-Soviet attitude; they rely on Britain and the United States for help, but oppose the liberalism of the Anglo-Americans.

They sing the same “First Asia, then Europe” tune as do the American isolationists, so as to prolong the life of Fascist Germany, and of all Fascists, including their own; but at the same time, they play the opportunist in the family of nations, putting on the disguise of anti-Fascist heroes. These conflicting, double-faced policies come from the big land-owners, big bankers, and compradores.

The Kuomintang is a motley organisation. Although it is controlled and directed by the reactionary cliques, representing the big landowners, the big bankers, and compradores, it is not they who are the whole of the Kuomintang.

Many of its leaders do not belong to these cliques, who bully or spurn them. Many of its officers, members, and members of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps are dissatisfied with the leadership of these cliques, some are even opposed to them. Such dissatisfaction exists in the armed forces, in the Government, and in the economic and cultural organisations under the Kuomintang. Large numbers of progressive, democratic elements may be found in these armed forces and organisations.

The reactionary cliques are divided among themselves, and, far from being a unified whole, they often quarrel with one another. It is wrong therefore, to regard the Kuomintang as a whole as a reactionary party.

### A COMPARISON

The Chinese people can get a clear idea of the Liberated Areas and the Kuomintang-dominated territory by comparing them together.

The two courses stand out clearly: the course of the people's war, and the course of passive resistance—the direct opposite of the first. The former will bring victory, even with the unenviable position of the Liberated Areas which are deprived of outside help; the latter will bring defeat, even with the advantageous position occupied by the Kuomintang-dominated territory and with foreign assistance.

The Kuomintang Government blames the lack of armament for its failure. But who is more inadequately armed, the Kuomintang armies, or the armies of the Liberated Areas? The latter are the most inadequately armed of all the Chinese armed forces. They produce their own weapons under very difficult conditions or take them from the enemy.

The weapons used by the Kuomintang's Central armies are far better than those used by the provincial armies. But the former's combat ability is frequently lower than that of the latter.

The Kuomintang is in a position to draw upon vast resources of man-power, but due to its defective conscription policy, man-power replenishment has become an extremely difficult problem. The Liberated Areas, though hemmed in by the enemy and the scene of frequent battles, can mobilize their man-power without interruption, because the system of the Militia and Self-Defence Corps which is well-adapted to the needs of the people, has been generally instituted and because man-power resources are never abused or wasted in these areas.

The Kuomintang rules over large, well-provisioned areas where the people give annual contributions of rice to the extent of 70,000,000 or 100,000,000 shih tan. However, a large part of this rice goes to line the pockets of those who handle it, so that Kuomintang soldiers are regularly starved. In the Liberated Areas some destitute areas like North Shensi and all those mostly behind the enemy lines and therefore subject to ruthless destruction under the enemy's policy of "burn all, kill all, and take all", successfully solve their food problem by the development of agricultural production on the basis of the self-help and self-reliance movement.

With the major part of their industries gone bankrupt, the Kuomintang-controlled areas are confronting a grave economic crisis. Even such consumer goods as cloth have to be imported from America. The Liberated Areas on the other hand,

develop their own industries and produce their own cloth and other consumer goods.

The workers, peasants, shop clerks, Government employees and intellectuals in the Kuomintang-controlled areas live under extremely painful conditions. Whereas all in the Liberated Areas have enough to eat and to wear, and are provided with jobs or training. In some places they have even attained the state of the “well-fed and well-clad.”

War profiteering, officials engaging in business corruption and shamelessness are the characteristic features of the Kuomintang-controlled areas. Hard work, exemplary behaviour, spare time devoted to production, encouragement of honesty and absence of corruption are the characteristic features of the Liberated Areas.

In the Kuomintang-controlled areas, the people are deprived of their freedom; in the Liberated Areas, the people are allowed complete freedom.

Where does the blame lie? In the foreigners not helping China, or in the Kuomintang Government’s dictatorship, corruption and incompetence? Is not the answer obvious?

### **WHO UNDERMINES THE WAR OF RESISTANCE AND THE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT?**

Is it not the Kuomintang Government itself that actually undermines the Chinese people’s war of resistance and jeopardizes national unity? For ten years that Government devoted itself to civil war, treated the people like enemies, neglected every form of national defence, and lost the four North-Eastern Provinces through its policy of non-resistance.

When the Japanese invaded China proper, it kept on retreating from Lukouchiao to Kweichow. Yet it accused the Kungchantang of “undermining the war of resistance and jeopardizing national unity.” (See the resolutions of the 11th Plenary Session of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee, September, 1943). The accusation was based on the fact that the Kungchantang had created the Liberated Areas together with other political parties and the people. There is apparently such difference in the-logic of the Kuomintang’s way and that of the Chinese people that it is small wonder that so much confusion exists.

Two questions arise:

I. What caused the Kuomintang Government to abandon so much territory and so many people by retreating first from Heilungkiang to Lukouchiao, and then from Lukouchiao to Kweichow? Is it not in the first case the Kuomintang Government’s policy of non-resistance, and then the policy of passive resistance and refusal to organize the people’s war and suppression of those who do so?

II. What enabled the Liberated Areas to beat off the long and brutal attacks of the Japanese and Puppet armies, to recapture from the enemy so much territory, and to liberate so many people? Is it not because they adopted the correct course of waging a people’s war?

### **THE SO-CALLED “DISOBEDIENCE TO GOVERNMENT AND MILITARY ORDERS”**

The Kuomintang Government has been accusing the Kungchantang of

“disobedience to Government and military orders.” We can only say that fortunately Kungchantang members have enough sense not to obey the so-called “Government and military orders” that would have allowed the return of territory taken with much difficulty from the Japanese again to the Japanese. Such, for instance, were the orders about “measures for the restriction of alien-party activities” (1939), the orders to “dissolve the New Fourth Army and to retreat to the north of the old Yellow River” (1941), the demand to “dissolve the Kungchantang” in 1943, the demand to “disband all the armed forces above the limit of ten divisions” in 1944, and the recent proposal that our armies and regional Governments be handed over to the Kuomintang, that there should not be a Coalition Government and that in return, a few Kungchantang members would be appointed officials in the Kuomintang’s dictatorial Government.

The Kuomintang even called this proposal its “Concessions”. Fortunately, we have not obeyed these orders, and so have retained some free territory and a gallant anti-Japanese army for the Chinese people. Should they not congratulate themselves on this disobedience? Is it not enough that the Kuomintang Government, through its Fascist and defeatist orders, has already made a present to the Japanese of the vast territory from Heilungkiang to Kweichow, together with its people? Who, except the Japanese and the reactionary faction<sup>^</sup>, would welcome these “Government and military orders?”

Without a really democratic Coalition Government, is it imaginable that the Chinese people would permit the Kungchantang to hand over to the defeatist and Fascist Kuomintang dictatorship the Liberated Areas and the embattled people’s army? If there were no Liberated Areas and their armies, what would the people’s Anti- Japanese War be? What would the nation’s future be?

### **THE DANGER OF CIVIL WAR**

Up to the present, the main ruling cliques in the Kuomintang are still persisting in their reactionary policy of dictatorship and civil war.

There are indications that they have prepared or are preparing, to launch another civil war once the Japanese aggressors are sufficiently driven out of China by invading Allied armies.

They also hope that certain Allied officers will fill the same role in China as General Scobie’s in Greece. They cheered the bloody career of Scobie and the reactionary Greek Government. They want to hurl China again into a civil war, like the one of 1927 to 1936. Under the smoke-screen of “convening the National Assembly” and “solution by political means”, the main ruling cliques of the Kuomintang are secretly carrying on preparations for another civil war.

If their sinister plans are not exposed and their preparations not stopped, the nation will one day hear the gunfire of civil war again.

### **NEGOTIATIONS**

To defeat the Japanese aggressors, to build a new China, and to prevent another civil war, the Kungchantang, with the consent of the other democratic parties and groups, proposed before the People’s Political Council in September, 1944, the

immediate ending of the Kuomintang dictatorship and the setting up of a democratic Coalition Government.

Undoubtedly this proposal was very timely, because it was soon warmly supported by the majority of the nation.

Negotiations were conducted between us and the Kuomintang Government to discuss the way to end the one-party dictatorship, to form a Coalition Government and to effect the necessary democratic reforms.

However, all our proposals were rejected by the Kuomintang Government, which was unwilling not only to end the one-party rule and to set up a Coalition Government, but also to effect any necessary democratic reform, such as the liquidation of Special Service organs, the rescission of their reactionary decrees that deprived the people of their freedom, the release of political prisoners, the recognition of the legal status of the various political parties, the recognition of the Liberated Areas, or the withdrawal of the troops surrounding and attacking the Liberated Areas.

Thus China has been placed in a very grave political situation.

## **TWO FUTURE COURSES**

Viewing the situation as a whole and as analysed above I must warn you against thinking that all our undertaking will be successful and perfectly smooth. No, far from being so the fact is that two probabilities, two future courses, one good and the other bad, are co-existent.

Persistence in dictatorship and in preventing democratic reforms; the policy of oppressing the people instead of fighting the Japanese aggressors; the possibility of another civil war which will drag China to her former dependent, undemocratic, disunited, poor status, even if the Japanese aggressors are beaten, this is one of the probabilities, one of the future courses.

This probability still exists and has not been removed by the favourable turn in the international situation, the increasing consciousness of the people at home, or the development of the people's organised strength.

Those who hope for the materialisation of this probability are the anti-people groups in the Kuomintang in China and the reactionary elements in foreign countries who believe in imperialism. This is one side that must not be ignored.

But on the other hand, viewing the same situation as a whole and as analysed above, we are encouraged to grasp the other probability, the other future course, that is to overcome all difficulties, to unite the entire nation, to abolish the dictatorship, to effect democratic reform, to consolidate and expand the anti-Japanese forces, to beat the Japanese aggressors completely, and to build up a new, independent, free, democratic, united and prosperous China.

Those who hope for the materialisation of this pro- y are the people, the Kungchintang and the other democratic elements and groups in China, as well as all the other peoples who consider us their equals, the progressive elements and the masses in foreign countries.

We know very well that many difficulties are still confronting us and the Chinese people, and that a tortuous path beset with obstacles lies before us. But we

know equally well that we and the Chinese people will certainly be able to overcome all these difficulties and obstacles and to accomplish our mission.

To oppose the first probability and to strive for the materialisation of the second is the chief task of the Chinese people and of ourselves. The main conditions—international as well as national—are favourable for us and for the Chinese people, as has been clearly explained before.

We hope that the Kuomintang authorities, conforming themselves to the trend of the world in general and the Chinese people in particular, will resolutely change their erroneous policy, so that the war against Japan may be won, the suffering of the Chinese people relieved, and a new China born.

No matter how difficult it may prove to be, the task of liberating the Chinese people and giving them independence will be accomplished and the opportunity for such accomplishment has arrived. The magnificent ideals of our countless revolutionary heroes will have to be realized by the present generation. Their realization cannot be prevented.

#### **IV. THE POLICY OF THE KUNGCHANTANG**

I have just made an analysis of the two courses of China's war against Japan. Such an analysis, I think, is necessary because a part of the Chinese people is still ignorant of the truth about China's Anti-Japanese War. The Kuomintang Government's policy of news-blockade throws much dust into the eyes of many living in Kuomintang- controlled areas and foreign countries.

Before the Press Party and the American Observers' Group came to the Liberated Areas in 1944, many foreigners knew almost nothing about these areas.

The New York Times on January 28, 1945, said: "The best way to solve the Chinese Communist problem is to allow people to travel to these different areas. By doing this much misunderstanding will vanish."

But the Kuomintang Government is afraid to do this. Immediately after the Press Party's tour, it closed the door and has since then allowed no newspaperman to travel to the Liberated Areas again.

The Kuomintang Government imposes a similar blockade in the areas under its control. I feel, therefore, that we should make it our duty to reveal to the public as much as possible the truth about "The Two Areas". Only when the complete truth is revealed can the world understand why such differences exist in the policies of China's two major parties— the Kuomintang and the Kungchantang.

Only then will people understand that the disputes of these two parties concern matters of life and death for millions of people and are not merely unimportant, or even wilful quarrels, as certain people have alleged them to be.

Confronted by the present grave situation, the Chinese people, all Chinese democratic parties and elements, all foreigners who are concerned for China and many United Nations Governments hope that China will be united again and that she will effect democratic reforms. They also want to know the Kungchantang's policy vis-a-vis the present problems. Members of our Party are, of course, also interested in this.

Our policy of the Anti-Japanese United National Front has always been clear, and has been tested throughout the eight years of war. This Congress should draw conclusions from this policy, to be used as a guide for future action.

I shall presently explain certain conclusions respecting our policy which were made while the Party was trying to solve China's problems.

#### **OUR GENERAL PROGRAMME**

To mobilize and unite all the anti-Japanese forces among the Chinese people, to annihilate the Japanese aggressors, and to build an independent, free, democratic, united and prosperous China, the Chinese people, the Kungchantang, and other anti-Japanese democratic parties and groups urgently need a common programme upon which they can all agree.

This common programme may be divided into two parts: General and specific. We shall deal first with the general programme, and then with the specific.

For the annihilation of the Japanese aggressors and the building up of a new China, the fundamental views of us of the Kungchantang are, at the present stage,

identical with those held by the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people.

These are: first, China should not have a feudalistic, Fascist, anti-popular system of Government exclusively controlled by big landowners and big capitalists, because such a system has been proved to be entirely bankrupt by the main ruling cliques of the Kuomintang in their eighteen years' rule.

Secondly, China cannot, and should not attempt to, build a state along the old democratic lines entirely controlled by the bourgeoisie. For, in China, the bourgeoisie has so far proved itself to be very weak economically and politically, while on the other hand there has developed in China a politically powerful factor that leads the vast masses of the peasant class, the lower-middle class, the intellectuals and other democratic elements—the Chinese proletariat with its leader, the Kungchantang.

Thirdly, in the present stage, while the task of the Chinese people is still to oppose imperialistic and feudal oppression, while the requisite conditions of socialist economy are 'still absent in China, the Chinese people cannot, and therefore should not attempt to build a socialist state.

What is it then that we want?

We want to build, after annihilating the Japanese aggressors, a system of Government based on the support of the overwhelming majority of the people, on the United Front and the coalition of democratic parties and groups. We shall call this the New Democratic system of Government.

This system is truly in conformity with the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people, for—firstly, it has the support of several million industrial workers and tens of millions of handicraft workers and farm labourers; secondly, it has the support of 360,000,000 peasants and farmers, or about 80 per cent of the entire population; thirdly, it has the support of many of the upper and lower-middle classes, the enlightened gentry, and other patriotic elements.

Of course, these classes have different aims. In this respect, there still exist among them conflicts, for instance the conflict between capital and labour. To ignore these differences would be insincere and erroneous.

However, these diverse aims and conflicts should not, in the stage of the New Democratic system, be allowed to develop to the point where they would endanger the common objective. These diverse aims and conflicts can be harmonized in the political, economic, and cultural reconstruction of the New Democratic state.

The New Democracy we uphold demands the expulsion of imperialistic oppression and the overthrow of feudalistic, Fascist oppression. But after removing these oppressions we do not propose to set up an old democratic political system. Instead, we want to set up a political system based on the United Front in which all democratic classes shall collaborate.

These views of ours are identical with Dr. Sun Yat-sen's views. In the Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang, Dr. Sun Yat-sen said; "The so-called democratic system in modern nations is often exclusively controlled by the moneyed classes, and is therefore a tool with which to oppress the common people. But the Kuomintang's democracy is meant for the general mass, and not for a few."

This great political revelation from Dr. Sun Yat-sen should be strictly observed and resolutely put into practice by the Kungchintang and all other democratic elements—who should also light against any person or group that violates or is hostile to this declaration—so as to safeguard and develop this completely correct political principle of the New Democracy.

The formation of this New Democratic Government should be based on the system of democratic centralization, with various grades of people's assemblies making decisions on the administrative policy and electing the Government.

This system is at once democratic and centralized, that is to say, it is centralization of power based on democracy, and at the same time it is democracy directed by centralized power.

This system alone can give expression to democracy in the broad sense of the term by investing the highest power in the various grades of people's assemblies; at the same time, it permits the state affairs to be dealt with in a centralized manner, with the various grades of Governments doing the work entrusted to them by the various grades of people's assemblies and safeguarding all the necessary democratic activities of the people.

The problems of the New Democratic state and its Government include the problem of a Union of States. The various nationalities in China should, in accordance with their own will and the principles of democracy, form a Union of Democratic Republics of China, and set up a Central Government based on that Union.

Troops and armed forces form an important part the New Democratic state authority. Without them, the nation is without protection. Like all other Governmental authorities and completely different from old-time troops and police—who belong to a few and are tools for oppressing the people—all armed forces of the New Democracy shall belong to the people and protect them.

Our views *on* the New Democratic economy also conform to the principles laid down by Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

On the question of land, Dr. Sun maintained that, "every tiller should own his own land."

On the question of industry and commerce, Dr. Sun said in the Manifesto mentioned above: "All native or foreign enterprises that are either of the nature of monopolies or on a scale beyond the means of private interests—for instance, banking, railways, shipping, etc,—should be managed and controlled by the state, so that private capital may not control the livelihood of the people. This is the essence of the restriction of capital."

Our views on the present stage of economy are in complete accord with those of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's.

Some people fear that the Kungchintang is opposed to the development of private enterprise, of private capital and the protection of private property. These fears are unfounded. In fact it is imperialism and feudal oppression that has restricted the development of private enterprise and private capital, and has ruined the property of the masses.

The task of our New Democratic system is to remove this restriction and ruination, to safeguard the free development of the people's enterprise in their social life, to promote the free development of private capitalist economy that benefits instead of controlling the peonies livelihood, and to protect all legitimate private property. Dr. Sun's principles and the experience gamed in the Chinese Revolution show that the present economy of China should be managed partly by the state, partly by private concerns, and partly by co-operatives. Here "that" is not one "monopolised by a few", but a New Democratic state "of the common people".

The New Democratic culture should also belong to the common people, that is to say, should be national, scientific, and popular in character and should decidedly not be monopolised by a few.

Such is the general or basic programme advocated hv us of the Kungchantang in the present stage—the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, in contradistinction to the future, or ultimate, programme of our socialist or communist system, this is our minimum pro. gramme.

The carrying out of this programme will take China one step forward from her present national and social character, that is to say, from her semi-colonial and semi-feudal character to the national and social character of a new bourgeois democracy. It will, with the annihilation of the Japanese aggressors, build up an independent, free, democratic, united and prosperous nation of such a character.

The carrying out of this programme cannot advance China to socialism. This is not a question of the subjective willingness or unwillingness of certain individuals; but is due to the fact that the objective political and social conditions in China do not permit the advance.

We of the Kungchantang never conceal or disguise cur political aims. Our future, or ultimate, programme will advance China into the realm of socialism and communism; this has been settled and cannot be doubted The very name of our party and our Marxian conception of the world definitely point to this bright direction of cur highest ideal.

When we joined the Party we had in our mind two clearly defined objectives—to fight for the new bourgeois-democratic revolution, and to strive for the materialization of the future socialist revolution of the proletariat.

We must resolutely rebut the ignorant and base hostility, false accusation, vituperation, and slanders of the enemies of communism. To the sceptics bearing no ill will, we should explain good-naturedly and patiently our cause. Such things are very clear, definite, and not the least bit ambiguous.

But all members of the Kungchantang and their sympathisers must fight for their immediate objective; they must fight against internal and feudal oppression; to deliver the Chinese people from their tragic, semi-colonial and semi-feudal state and to build up an independent, free democratic, united, and prosperous China in conformity with the new bourgeois-democracy—the Now Democracy-and Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary San Min Chu I.

We of the Kungchantang have been doing this assisted by the majority of the Chinese people, we have been striving for this end for the last twenty-four years.

Any member of the Kungchantang or its sympathizer who would not fight for this objective, who slighted this bourgeois-democratic revolution, would fight only half-heartedly for it, without meaning to be ready to lay down his life for it, and yet talked unpractically of socialism and communism—would be inadvertently or intentionally repudiating socialism and communism, and therefore could not be considered a conscientious and sincere member of the Kungchantang.

Socialism can be reached only through democracy; this is an undisputed axiom of Marxism.

In China, the period of struggle for democracy will be very long. Without a New Democratic, united state, without the economic development of a New Democratic nation, without the development of a private capitalist and co-operative economy, without the development of a national, scientific and popular, i.e., New Democratic culture, without the emancipation and development of the individuality of millions of people, in short, without the thorough, democratic revolution of a new-bourgeois nature, to establish socialism over the ruins of the semi-colonial, and semi-feudal China of today would be an Utopian dream.

Some people cannot understand why the Kungchantang far from being unsympathetic to capitalism, actually promotes its development. To them we can simply say this much: To replace the oppression of foreign imperialism and native feudalism with the development of capitalism is not only an advance, but also a necessary step; it will benefit not only the bourgeoisie, but also the proletariat. What China does not want is foreign imperialism and native feudalism and not native capitalism—which is too weak.

Strangely enough, certain spokesmen for China's capitalist class fear to advocate openly and directly the development of capitalism; they talk about it in a very roundabout manner.

On the other hand, some people maintain that we should not allow capitalism to develop freely in China, and that the San Min Chu I and socialism can be established "at one stroke". Obviously, such things reflect at once the weakness of China's bourgeoisie and the deceitfulness of the big landowners and big capitalists towards the people.

We of the Kungchantang, however, understanding the Marxist law of social development, know very well that under the conditions in China and the rule of the New' Democratic state, private capitalist economy, in addition to state economy, the individual economy of the labouring classes, and co-operative economy, must be given facilities for free development, if the state, and the people are to benefit and the development of our society accelerated.

No empty and deceptive talk can mislead the clearheaded members of the Kungchantang.

Some people doubt the sincerity of the Kungchantang when it "recognizes China's need for the San Min Chu I in the present stage", and declares its determination to "fight for its complete realization."

This comes from not understanding the fact that the fundamental principles of the San Min Chu I, as explained by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in the Manifesto of the First

National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1924, concur with certain fundamental principles in the present—that is, the minimum—programme of our Party.

It should be pointed out, however, that Dr. Sun's San Min Chu I concurs only with certain fundamental principles in our present programme, and not with our entire programme. The New Democratic programme of our Party is of course much more complete than Dr. Sun's programme. Events in the Chinese Revolution in the twenty years after Dr. Sun's death have helped to develop our New Democratic theory, programme, and their carrying out; and this development will continue further, judged by its intrinsic character, Dr. Sun's San Min Chu I as explained in the Manifesto is New Democratic and should be distinguished from the older San Min Chu I.

This new San Min Chu I is what China needs at present, and, of course, we are willing to fight for its complete realization. To the members of Kungchantang to fight for the Party's minimum programme and to fight for that revolutionary San Min Chu I—the new San Min Chu I—of Dr. Sun's is basically (but not completely!) the same thing. Therefore, it has been and will be proved that the Kungchantang is sincerely and thoroughly carrying-out the San Min Chu I.

Some people wonder if the Kungchantang, once in power, will establish a dictatorship of the proletariat and a non-party system, as has been done in Russia.

We can tell these people this: a New Democratic State of a union of democratic classes is different in principle from a Socialist state with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

China, throughout the period of her New Democratic system, cannot and should not have a system of Government of the character of one-class dictatorship or one-party autocracy. We have no reason not to co-operate with non-Kungchantang political parties, social groups, or individuals who are willing to co-operate with the Kungchantang and are not hostile to it.

Russian history determined the Soviet system. There the social system in which man exploits man has been abolished; the newest form of democracy—the socialist political, economic, and cultural system—has been established; all anti-socialist political parties have been rejected by the people, who support only the Bolshevik Party. To the Russians, such a system is completely necessary and rational.

But even in Russia, where the Bolshevik Party is the only political party, the Governmental authority is invested in the hands of workers, peasants, and intellectuals, or in the hands of Party members AND non Party members and not in the hands of the working class or the Bolsheviks alone.

In the same way. Chinese history will determine the Chinese system. A peculiar form—a New Democratic state and regime of a union of the democratic classes—will be produced, which will be entirely necessary and rational to us and different from the Russian system.

Here I want to answer another question, we are asked: You of the Kungchantang advocate the setting up of a Coalition Government, because, in the absence of a democratic election system, a Coalition Government is necessary for national unity and for waging the Anti- Japanese War; but why insist on setting up a Coalition

Government in the future too, when there will be a democratic election system? Why not let the majority party in the National Assembly set up a one-party Government?

Our answer is this: China's historical conditions prescribe a Coalition Government.

I have said somewhere before that the situation has been changed by the appearance of the Kungchantang, which represents not only the proletariat, but by virtue of its programme and actual work, also the vast peasant class, the petty bourgeoisie, the intellectuals, and other democratic elements.

Any Government that excludes from itself the Kungchantang will be able to achieve nothing good; this is one of the fundamental characteristics of the New Democratic stage.

As far back as 1924, when Dr. Sun Yat-sen established a real Coalition Government in which the Kungchantang participated, he did accomplish something great. Since 1927, the Kuomintang Government has been repudiating the Kungchantang, and for some time, it waged a ruthless anti-Kungchantang war; this Government has since launched itself on a reactionary career.

Today, confronted by the Japanese aggressors, the Kuomintang Government is trying to get rid of the members of Kungchantang by local fights, Special Service methods, blockades, slanderous propaganda, preparing for another civil war, and refusing to set up a Coalition Government—instead of openly declaring war on them.

But the more it tries to suppress the Kungchantang, the more degenerate will it itself become. Under the present conditions in China, a Government that repudiates the Kungchantang repudiates the overwhelming majority of the people. No one can entertain the idea that the members of the Kungchantang demand to be admitted into the Government because they covet Governmental posts. Participation of members of the Kungchantang in the Government would mean the carrying out of New Democratic reforms.

Even when China has a democratic election system, there should be a Coalition Government working under a commonly accepted New Democratic programme for better accomplishing the constructive work of the New Democracy, no matter whether the Kungchantang is the majority Party in the National Assembly or not. This necessity has become quite obvious now.

### **OUR SPECIFIC PROGRAMME**

Based on the general programme mentioned above, we should draw up specific programmes for different periods. In the whole bourgeois-democratic revolution stage for a long time to come our new democratic general programme will remain unchanged.

But conditions in the various periods within the stage are changing and so it is necessary that changes should occasionally be made in our specific programmes. For example, from the Northern Expedition through the Agrarian Revolution to the Anti-Japanese War periods, our New Democratic general programme has undergone no change, but our specific programme has changed in these three

periods, because changes have occurred in our relationship with our enemies and our friends in these periods.

The Chinese people are at present living under the following conditions: (1) the Japanese aggressors have not yet been defeated; (2) the Chinese people urgently need unity and democratic reform, which will effect national unification and speedy mobilization and unification of all anti-Japanese forces for the final defeat of the Japanese aggressors; (3) the Kuomintang Government impairs national unification and resists democratic reforms.

What is our specific programme—that is, the Chinese people's present demands—under these conditions?

We consider the following demands appropriate and the least the people can make.

The Chinese people demand the mobilization of all forces for the annihilation, in concert with the United Nations, of the Japanese aggressors and for building up international peace.

They demand the abolition of the Kuomintang one-party regime and the setting up of a democratic Coalition Government and a Coalition Supreme Command.

They demand national unification and the punishment of the pro-Japanese, Fascist and defeatist elements that impair national unification and oppose the people.

They demand the punishment of those reactionary elements that instigate civil war, and an assurance of internal peace.

They demand the punishment of traitors and Japanese spies, and the prosecution of officers who have surrendered to the enemy.

They demand the abolition of concentration camps and the reactionary Special Service organizations and activities that are used for suppressing the people.

They demand the rescinding of the reactionary decrees that suppress the people's freedom of speech, of publication, of assembly, of association, of thought, of belief, and of body, so that the people may enjoy their rights

They demand the recognition of the legal status of all democratic parties and groups.

They demand the release of all patriotic political prisoners.

They demand the withdrawal of all armed forces now surrounding and attacking the Liberated Areas and employment of those troops on the anti-Japanese front.

They demand the recognition of all anti-Japanese forces and popularly elected Governments in the Liberated Areas.

They demand the expansion of the Liberated Areas and their armed forces at the expense of enemy-occupied areas.

They demand that the people in the enemy-occupied territory be given assistance in organizing underground forces for an armed revolt.

They demand to be armed for the defence of the nation.

They demand the political and military reforming of Kuomintang-directed troops that always lose to the enemy and always oppose the people and non-Kuomintang forces, and the punishment of the officers responsible for China's defeats.

They demand the improvement of the conscription system and the living conditions of the rank and file.

They demand privileges for the families of soldiers so that they may be relieved of their worries for their families.

They demand special privileges for the families of soldiers killed in action and for disabled veterans, and employment for veterans.

They demand the development of the armament industry for better waging of the war.

They demand fair distribution of Allied military and financial aid to all anti-Japanese forces.

They demand the punishment of corrupt officials and their substitution by honest ones.

They demand better treatment for middle and lower classes of Government employees.

They demand the democratic right of self-government for themselves.

They demand the setting apart of large funds for the relief of the people in enemy-occupied areas when these areas are recovered.

They demand the abolition of oppressive taxes, and the imposition of a consolidated progressive tax.

They demand rural reforms—reduction of rent and interest, proper protection for the rights of tenants, low-interest loans to poor peasants, and organization of the peasants for the development of agricultural production.

They demand the prohibition of bureaucratic capital.

They demand the abolition of the present system of economic control.

They demand the checking of endless inflation and of rise in commodity prices.

They demand assistance to small industries by extending them loans and facilities in purchasing raw materials and in sales.

They demand the improvement of the living conditions of workers, relief for the unemployed, and the organization of workers for the development of industrial production.

They demand the abolition of party-controlled education and the development of national, scientific, and popular culture and education.

They demand the assurance of the livelihood of teachers and the freedom of study. They demand the safeguarding of the interests of youth, women and children, relief for refugee students, the organization of the youth and women for war and social work, freedom of marriage, equal status for both sexes, and education for the youth and children.

They demand better treatment for the racial minorities in China—according them the right of self-determination and of forming a union with the Hans on a voluntary basis.

They demand protection for the interests of overseas Chinese and assistance for Chinese returned from overseas.

They demand protection for aliens fleeing to China from the Japanese, and assistance to them in their anti-Japanese struggle.

They demand improvement in Sino-Soviet relations.

To meet these demands, it is necessary to put an end at once to the Kuomintang dictatorship, and to set up a nationally supported, democratic, unified, provisional Central Coalition Government that includes all anti-Japanese political parties and representatives of non-party elements. Otherwise, it will be impossible to institute reform on a national scale—that is, in the Kuomintang-controlled areas.

These demands are demands of the vast majority of the Chinese people, and of Allied public opinion.

As it is completely necessary to formulate a minimum specific programme to which all anti-Japanese, democratic parties can agree, we propose to negotiate with other political parties on the basis of the programme outlined above. Our various parties may have different aims, but they should agree upon their common demands.

In the Kuomintang-controlled areas, this programme is, for the time being, a series of demands; in the enemy-occupied areas, it can be carried out only after they are recovered with the exception of the item dealing with the organization of an underground army for armed revolt; in the Liberated Areas, it has been, and is being, carried out.

The demands of the Chinese people, or our specific programme, imply some war-time and post-war problems of importance that require clarification. While clarifying these problems, we will criticize some of the erroneous views held by the main ruling cliques of the Kuomintang, and at the same time will reply to some questions put by certain people.

## **1. THOROUGHLY EXTERMINATE THE JAPANESE AGGRESSORS, NO HALF-WAY COMPROMISES!**

The Cairo Conference correctly decided that the Japanese aggressors should be made to surrender unconditionally. But, as the Japanese aggressors are secretly attempting to get a negotiated peace, and as the pro-Japanese elements in the Kuomintang are not checked in their secret dealings with the Japanese through the Puppet Government at Nanking, the danger of a half-way compromise is not completely past.

It is very good too that the Cairo Conference further decided to return to China the four North-Eastern Provinces, Formosa, and the Pescadores. But the present policy of the Kuomintang Government makes it impossible to recover all lost territory by itself.

What should the Chinese people do under such circumstances? They should ask the Kuomintang Government to annihilate the Japanese aggressors, and not to compromise with them: all attempts at compromise must be immediately stopped. The Chinese people should demand that the Kuomintang Government change its present policy of passive resistance and employ all its armed forces in active combat.

The Chinese people should also expand their own armed forces—the 8th Route and New 4th Armies and other popular forces, voluntarily increasing the anti-Japanese forces in areas under enemy occupation, be ready to light by the side of

Allied forces and to recover all lost territory, not relying entirely on the Kuomintang.

To exterminate the Japanese aggressors is the right of the Chinese people who should deal determined blows to any reactionary attempting to deprive them of this right, to suppress their anti-Japanese activity or to undermine their anti-Japanese strength—because such reactionary and traitorous attempts actually help the Japanese aggressors.

## **2, ABOLITION OF THE ONE-PARTY AUTOCRATIC RULE & ESTABLISHMENT OF A COALITION GOVERNMENT**

To annihilate the Japanese aggressors, it is necessary that the democratic reforms should be effected, on a national scale. This, however, is not possible, unless the Kuomintang dictatorship is abolished and a democratic Coalition Government set up in its place.

The Kuomintang one-party rule is in practice a dictatorship by the anti-popular groups within the Kuomintang. It is the disrupter of Chinese national unity, responsible for China's failures in her war against Japan and chief obstacle to the mobilization and unification of the anti-Japanese forces of the Chinese people.

The sad experience of eight years of the war has taught the Chinese people to demand for its immediate abolition. It is an anti-democratic dictatorship and the root of Civil war—which it will bring about if it is not abolished soon.

The demand of the Chinese people for the abolition of this anti-democratic dictatorship is so universal and loud that the Kuomintang authorities themselves cannot help recognizing openly the need of an “early conclusion of Political Tutelage”. This shows how corrupt and bankrupt is the so-called “Political Tutelage” or the one-party dictatorship.

No one now dares to defend this “Political Tutelage” or the one-party dictatorship, or to argue that it should not be abolished. This is a great change in the present situation.

That it should be ended is no longer disputed.

But opinions vary on how it should be ended. Some would say: It should be immediately ended and a democratic, provisional Coalition Government set up. Others would say: We can wait, until the “National Assembly returns the rule to the people” we cannot return the rule to the Coalition Government.

What is the meaning of this difference?

It means two methods of approach—one earnest, the other pretentious.

The first method calls for the immediate announce- of the abolition of the Kuomintang one-party rule, the setting up of a provisional Central Government jointly by the Kuomintang, the Kungchantang, the Democratic League and other non-party elements and the promulgation of a democratic administrative programme like the ton outlined above, for the restoration of our national unity and defeat of the Japanese aggressors.

A Round-Table conference of representatives of all political parties and non-party leaders should be called to discuss these measures, agreement should be reached and action should be taken at once. This method conduces to unity and is

therefore resolutely supported by the Chinese people.

The second method, the method of ignoring the demands of the overwhelming majority of the people and democratic political parties, is to convene the “National Assembly”, controlled by the anti-popular groups in the Kuomintang.

This “National Assembly” will pass the so-called “constitution” that in reality maintains the dictatorship and opposes democracy; it will put the cloak of legality on the illegal “National Government”, set up by several Kuomintang men and entirely unsupported by the people; it will outwardly “return the rule to the people”, while in reality letting the anti-popular groups within the Kuomintang retain the rule. What is more, it will label those who oppose this method enemies of “democracy” and “unity”, and, armed with this excuse, will not hesitate to use force against them.

This method will lead to disunity, and is therefore resolutely opposed by the Chinese people.

These measures, based on such a method and ready to be taken by our anti-popular heroes, will lead them into a blind alley. They are preparing to put a noose— called the “National Assembly”—around their own necks and tighten it so that it cannot be loosened. They intend to make the “National Assembly” a magic wand with which they can counter the Coalition Government proposal, maintain the dictatorship, and prepare for civil war.

But history is against them. For, as everybody knows, the people have no freedom in Kuomintang-controlled areas, they cannot participate in elections in enemy-occupied areas, and the status of those in the Liberated Areas is not even recognized by the Kuomintang Government.

Under such circumstances, how can representatives be elected? How can the National Assembly come into being? The “National Assembly” that is scheduled to be convened soon was created by the Kuomintang dictatorial Government eight years ago, in the period of civil war.

The convening of this “Assembly” will certainly provoke indignant protests from the entire nation, much to the embarrassment of our anti-popular heroes. Even should the “National Assembly” be successfully convened, they would succeed only in splitting China into many parts.

We of the Kungchintang do not want China to be torn by internal disruption, and we propose two measures to save her from this fate.

The first, which deals with the present period, calls for the setting up of a provisional Coalition Government through the conference of representatives of all political parties and non-party elements.

The second, which deals with the future, calls for the convocation, through free and unrestricted election, of the National Assembly, which will set up a regular Coalition Government.

In short, it is necessary to set up a Coalition Government, which will unite all classes of the people and all parties under a common, democratic programme for the fight against Japan and for the future work of reconstruction.

China will take this course, despite the opposition or unwillingness of the

Kuomintang or any other party, group, or individual. This is a certainty, an unalterable historical law that cannot be changed by any force.

Respecting this problem and any problem concerning democratic reforms, we of the Kungchintang wish to state that despite the persistence of the Kuomintang authorities in their erroneous policy and their recourse to negotiations as a means to gain time and to appease public opinion, we are willing to resume negotiations with them if they will renounce their present erroneous policy and agree to effect democratic reforms.

But these negotiations must be based on the general anti-Japanese policy of unification and democratization. We cannot agree to any measure plan or grandiose but empty talk that deviates from this policy

### 3. THE FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLE

At present, the Chinese people have to fight for their freedom primarily and chiefly against the Japanese aggressors. But the Kuomintang Government incapacitates the people for the fight by binding their hands and feet.

Such a state of affairs prevents the mobilization and unification of all anti-Japanese forces on a national scale

Many of the demands enumerated in our programme above are aimed at freeing the people from their fetters so that they may fight the Japanese, unite themselves, and strive for democracy.

The people should fight for their freedom, not wait for it to be bestowed on them. In the Liberated Areas, the people have secured their freedom, and those in other areas can and should secure theirs.

The more freedom the Chinese people get, the greater will be their organized democratic forces, and more probable will become the setting up of a united, provisional Coalition Government.

This Coalition Government will in turn give the people full freedom with which to consolidate the foundation of that Government.

Then, and only then, after annihilating the Japanese aggressors, will it be possible to conduct free, unrestricted elections all over the country, to produce a democratic National Assembly, and to set up a united regular Coalition Government.

Is it not clear that if the people are without freedom, there will be no popularly elected National Assembly or Government?

The most important freedom of the people is the freedom of speech, publication, assembly, association, thinking, belief, and body. In all China, only the people in the Liberated Areas enjoy this freedom.

In his will, Dr. Sun Yat-sen said in 1925: "I *have* devoted 40 years of my life to the National Revolution- with the aim of securing freedom and equality for China. The experience of these forty years has told me that to achieve this end, it is necessary to awaken the people and ally »hem to other peoples who treat us as their equals.

His unworthy inheritors have disobeyed him by oppressing the people instead of awakening them, by completely depriving the people of their freedom of speech,

publication, etc.

They call the Kungchantang and the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies—which really awaken the people and protect their freedom and rights—the "Perfidious party" and the "Traitorous Armies", and the Liberated Areas the "Traitorous Areas". We hope such practice of calling black white will soon be discontinued. It will not be tolerated by the Chinese people.

#### 4. THE UNIFICATION OF THE PEOPLE

To eliminate the Japanese aggressors, to avoid further civil wars, and to build up a new China, it is the duty of the Chinese people to unify China into a whole

But what kind of unification will it be? The arbitrary unification by a dictator, or a democratic unification by the people? Northern war-lords, since the days of Yen Shih-kai, had stressed arbitrary unification. But what did they achieve? Contrary to their wishes they got disunity instead of unity, and finally all of them were overthrown.

The anti-popular groups in the Kuomintang followed Yen Shih-kai's course by pursuing arbitrary unity and plunging the nation into ten years of civil war. with the result of inviting the Japanese aggressors into China. They retreated to Mount Omei, where they still continue to boast about their theory of arbitrary unification.

But who will listen to them? Is there any patriotic, conscientious Chinese willing to listen to them? Sixteen years of autocratic rule by the Northern war-lords and eighteen years of the Kuomintang dictatorship have opened the eyes of the people and they now demand a democratic unification instead of the arbitrary unification by dictators.

We of the Kungchantang proposed the anti-Japanese policy of the National United Front in 1935 and have been fighting for it ever since. In 1939, the Kuomintang, by enforcing its reactionary "measures for the restriction of alien-party activities", plunged China into the danger of surrender, disunity, and retrogression.

While the Kuomintang was vaunting its theory of arbitrary unification, we made it clear that unification could not be achieved by surrendering to the enemy, or by splitting the people and going back, but by fighting against the enemy, uniting the people and progressing, and that only a unification by these latter methods is genuine, the unification by all other methods being false. Six years have elapsed since then, but the problem remains unsolved.

Unification can be achieved only if the people have freedom and democracy. The Chinese people, while striving for freedom, democracy, and a Coalition Government, are striving for unity. We enlisted our demands in the specific programme quoted above for the same end.

It is common knowledge that if the dictatorship of the anti-popular groups within the Kuomintang is not abolished and a democratic Coalition Government is not set up, it will be impossible to bring about any democratic reform in Kuomintang-controlled areas, to mobilize the people there for the annihilation of the Japanese aggressors, or to avoid another civil war.

The reason why so many parties and non-party democratic elements—including

democratic elements in the Kuomintang,—are unanimously demanding a Coalition Government is because they see in it the only means of overcoming the impending crisis and of attaining unity in the war period and in the post-war work of reconstruction.

## 5. THE ARMY OF THE PEOPLE

The Chinese people want freedom, unity, a Coalition Government, the annihilation of the Japanese aggressors and the building up of a new China.

They cannot get what they want if there is no army of the people, like the Eighth Route and the New Fourth Armies—which are entirely for the people and which the anti-popular groups in the Kuomintang have been trying to destroy.

In 1944, the Kuomintang Government demanded that the Kungchantang disband four-fifths of the armed forces in our Liberated Areas “within the specified time”.

In 1945, during the last negotiations, the Kuomintang Government told the Kungchantang that all the armed forces in the Liberated Areas must be handed over to it before it could give “legal status” to the Kungchantang.

The Kungchantang was told that it would have freedom once it surrendered its troops.

It might be inferred, therefore, that unarmed political parties should have freedom.

But in 1924-1927 the Kungchantang, then directing a small army, enjoyed comparative freedom, which it lost when the Kuomintang Government adopted the policy of “purge and kill”.

The Democratic League of China, as also the democratic elements within the Kuomintang, do not have troops or freedom.

The workers, peasants, students, progressive cultural workers, educationists and industrialists under the Kuomintang Government have no freedom.

Is it because they have an army, because they carried on “feudalistic partition”, set up a “traitorous Government”, or disobeyed “administrative and military orders”?

No, the exact opposite is true: they have no freedom because they have done none of these things.

“The army belongs to the state”, we are told. True, an army should belong to the state. But what kind of state? The feudalistic, Fascist dictatorship of the big landowners, big bankers and big compradores? Or the New Democratic state of the people?

China should be built up only as a New Democratic state with a New Democratic Coalition Government, to which all armed forces should belong, so that it may safeguard the people's freedom and effectively protect them against foreign aggressors.

The armed forces in the Liberated Areas will be handed over to the New Democratic Coalition Government and the Joint Supreme Command once these organs are established in China; but at the same time, all Kuomintang troops must also be handed over to them

To defeat the Japanese aggressors and build up a new China, to attain freedom and unity, to prevent further civil wars and safeguard internal peace, the Chinese people cannot shirk the duty of reforming the Kuomintang troops—who always flee before a Japanese advance and whom the Kuomintang employs to oppress the people and to prepare for another civil war—so that they may become an army of the people.

The rank and file and a great number of the officers of the Kuomintang Army are good men, who have fought with courage and are actively anti-Japanese.

Unwilling to be opposed to the Kungchintang, the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army, or the Liberated Areas, they have been forced to take an anti-popular stand by the Kuomintang Supreme Command and corrupt generals who, in direct contravention of the democratic tradition of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, have assumed defeatist, Fascist leadership by taking up reactionary political work and setting up a network of Special Service organs. They are placed in a very grave situation; their internal—as well as their public—relations are extremely strained; their combat strength is feeble, and they live under painful conditions.

Moreover, the Kuomintang's anti-popular conscription system forbids the people to arm themselves for the defence of their own land.

All this has to be reformed and cannot be allowed to continue. This is the demand not only of the Chinese people, but also of the Allied press as well as the rank and file and a great number of officers of the Kuomintang army.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen said in 1924: "Today marks the beginning of a new era in the National Revolution... We must first wed our armed might to the people, and then identify it with the people." The Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, by following this direction, became the armed might of the people and therefore are so often victorious.

The Kuomintang Army was victorious in the stages of the Northern Expedition because it was united with the people. Since then it has been put to anti-popular use and therefore has been steadily degenerating. It is good at fighting civil wars, but no good at fighting foreign aggressors.

Every patriotic conscientious officer in the Kuomintang army should try to regain Dr. Sun Yat-sen's spirit by reforming the troops under his command.

While reforming the old army, proper education should be given to those officers who are willing to learn, so that they may learn to correct their old views and to serve in the army of the people.

To create an army of the Chinese people is the responsibility of the whole nation, including all democratic political parties. Without a people's army, nothing popular can be achieved. We must not simply talk about this problem, but should act towards its solution.

We of the Kungchintang are willing to assist in the reforming of Chinese armed forces. The Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies should regard all those in favour of national unity and those anti-Japanese troops not hostile to the Liberated Areas as friendly forces, and should give them proper assistance.

## 6. THE LAND PROBLEM

To annihilate the Japanese aggressors and build up a new China, it is necessary to effect agrarian reform and bring about the emancipation of the peasants. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's policy that gives "the tiller his fields" is a correct policy at the present stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Why do we call the present stage of the revolution bourgeois-democratic? Because what the revolution wants to eliminate now is not the capitalist class; but imperialist and feudal oppression; the revolution does not to abolish private property, but wants to protect it. The revolution will pave the way for the development of capitalism.

"Land for the tiller" means the transfer of land from the hands of feudalistic exploiters to the hands of peasants so that the peasants may be freed from their feudal relationship with the land, agriculture may be advanced from its old backwardness to the modern level, and industry may be furnished with a market, thus creating the possibility of changing the nation's agricultural economy into an industrial one.

So, "land for the tiller" is a democratic policy of the bourgeois class, not a socialist policy of the proletariat. It is the policy of all revolutionary democratic groups, not of the Kungchintang alone. We of the Kungchintang act differently from the others in that we take the policy seriously: we do not only talk about it, but also act upon it.

But who form the revolutionary democratic groups?

The workers are of course the most thorough revolutionary democrats. Besides the workers, the peasants form the largest revolutionary democratic group.

All peasants, with the exception of those rich farmers unable to shake off their tails of feudalism, are actively demanding "land for the tiller".

The lower-middle class in cities and towns is another revolutionary democratic group, because the development of agricultural productivity made possible by the policy of "land for the tiller" benefits it.

The upper-middle class forms a vacillating group: it favours the policy of "land for the tiller" because it, too, wants a market; but some of them fear the policy because they own land.

Those who are resolutely opposed to the policy are the anti-popular groups within the Kuomintang, because they represent the class of big landowners, big bankers, and big compradores.

As there is no political party in China representing exclusively the peasants, and as political parties representing the middle classes lack a solid land programme, the Kungchintang, which has a solid land programme, which really fights for the interests of the peasants and looks upon them as its allies, naturally becomes the leader of the peasants and all other revolutionary democratic groups.

In the years from 1927 to 1936, the Kungchintang carried out Dr. Sun's policy of "land for the tiller". Those unworthy followers of Dr. Sun Yat-sen—the anti-popular groups in the Kuomintang—revealed their true colours when they started a ten-year anti-popular war, a war against the policy of "land for the tiller".

Since the outbreak of the present war, the Kungchantang has made a great concession by replacing the policy of “land for the tiller” with the policy of rent and interest reduction.

The concession is right: it precipitated the Kuomintang’s participation in the Anti-Japanese War and united the landowners in the Liberated Areas with the peasants in their fight against the Japanese aggressors.

If no unusual difficulty arises, we intend to let it stand after the war. We will first carry out the reduction of rent and interest through the entire country, and then gradually realise “land for the tiller” in a suitable way.

But the renegades from Dr. Sun’s principles are opposed not only to the policy of “land for the tiller”, but also to the reduction of rent and interest. The Kuomintang Government did promulgate such decrees as “25 per cent Reduction of Rent”, but they have never been enforced. It labels the Liberated Areas “traitorous areas” because here these decrees have been put into effect.

A fallacious theory made its appearance after the outbreak of the war. It was called the “Theory of Two Stages—the Nationalist Stage and the Democratic-Livelihood stage”.

“We should not bring out the problem of democracy and the people’s livelihood while the Japanese are still here”—such is the fallacious theory advanced by the anti-Popular groups in the Kuomintang, who do not want a complete victory in the war against Japan. Some people are foolish enough to believe in it.

“We cannot drive the Japanese away without first having solved the problems of democracy and the people’s livelihood”—such is the correct opinion held by Chino’s revolutionary democratic groups. It has been proved to be right by the whole of modern Chinese history, especially by the history of the eight years of Anti-Japanese War, and by the anti-Fascist struggles of the French, Italian! Polish, Yugoslav, Bulgarian, Rumanian, and Hungarian peoples.

In Poland, they are even distributing “land to the tiller” instead of merely reducing rent and interest, as we are doing in the Liberated Areas.

The reduction of rent and interest and other democratic reforms are not isolated acts, but are related to the anti-Japanese war, to which everything should be made subservient. To unite all classes in their fight against the common foe, we do not repudiate the landowner’s right of possession, but instead, allow him to collect reasonable rent and interest, encourage him to invest his capital in industrial enterprises, and at the same time invite the enlightened gentry and other popular representatives to participate in social and Governmental work.

We encourage the rich farmers to increase their production. All this is implied in the course of carrying out rural, democratic reforms, and is completely necessary.

Two courses exist: the determined opposition to the solution of the problems of democracy and livelihood for the peasants, thus rendering the nation powerless against the onslaughts of the Japanese, OR assisting the peasants in their solution of the problems of democracy and livelihood, thus raising the nation’s anti-Japanese strength by securing the support of 80 per cent of the nation’s population.

The former is being pursued by the Kuomintang Government, the latter in the

Liberated Areas.

To vacillate between these two, to profess sympathy with the peasants, but abstain from reducing rent and interest, or arming the peasants and setting up democratic institutions in the rural areas is the course of the opportunists.

With all the forces available to them, the anti-popular groups in the Kuomintang are openly and covertly, politically and militarily, assailing the Kungchintang.

The Kuomintang-Kungchintang disputes, as seen in their social setting are basically centred on the peasant problem. We have infuriated the anti-popular groups of the Kuomintang with our approach to this very problem.

They on the other hand, have been applauded and encouraged by the Japanese aggressors. because they have greatly helped the Japanese by their approach to this problem.

Such slanderous vituperations as “the Kungchintang is undermining the war of resistance and jeopardizing rational unity”, “the perfidious party”, “the traitorous army”, “the traitorous areas”, and “disobedience of Government and military orders” are heaped on the Kungchintang because it has been striving to solve this problem in our national interests.

The peasants are potential reinforcements to China's army of workers. Millions of them will go to the cities and into factories. If China wants to build up a powerful national industry and modern cities, then she has to undergo the lengthy process of adapting the rural population to city life.

The peasants are a powerful factor in China's industry. They alone can supply it with enough food and raw material, and consume the largest part of its products.

The peasants are the source of our armies. Our soldiers are peasants in military uniform. They are the mortal enemies of the Japanese aggressors.

The peasants are the main foundation on which China's democracy rests. Chinese democrats can achieve nothing if they do not depend on the 360,000,000 peasants for help.

The peasants are the main foundation on which rests China's cultural movement. Divorced from the 360,000,000 peasants, all illiteracy-elimination campaigns, the so-called universal education, popular literature, and national health campaigns, are devoid of meaning.

I said “main foundation”, because I would not ignore the political, economic and cultural importance of the rest of about 90,000,000 people, particularly the working class—politically the most conscious of all classes of the Chinese people and the experienced leader of all democratic movements. This should be made clear.

It is necessary to understand all this not only for the members of the Kungchintang, but for other democratic groups as well.

The peasant's interest in production will be increased once land reforms—even preliminary reforms such as reduction of rent and interest—are carried out. By degrees, the peasants will be organized, on a voluntary basis, into agricultural production co-operatives or other co-operatives, so as to develop their productive power.

Such agricultural production co-operatives at present can only be collective,

mutual-aid, labour organizations such as the labour-exchange corps and mutual-aid groups, built on the peasant's individual economic basis (the peasant's private property); but the development of his productive power and the increase in his productive capacity thereby can be astonishing.

This system, universally adopted in the Liberated Areas, should be extended to other areas in the future.

It should be pointed out here that co-operative organisations such as labour-exchange corps are old institutions among the peasants, but they were the results of the peasant's miserable life. The labour-exchange corps in the Liberated Areas are now different from the old ones in form as well as in essence. They are an expression of the peasant's effort to develop his own productive power and to strive for better living conditions.

The extent of the beneficial effect on the Chinese people of the respective policies and actions of all Chinese political parties is largely measured by the extent to which they are successful in stimulating the development of the people's productive power.

The Chinese people welcome the annihilation of the Japanese aggressors, the carrying out of agrarian reforms, the emancipation of the peasantry, the development of modern industry, and the building up of a new, independent, free, democratic, unified and prosperous China. These alone can free China's productive power.

It should also be pointed out that educated people, who have come from the cities to work in the areas, cannot easily understand the characteristics of the backward individual economy in the areas, and in the Liberated Areas, these are the additional features arising out of the enemy's influence and guerilla warfare.

Failure to understand these characteristics has caused them to view rural problems and do rural work by city standards. As a result, they drift away from reality and cannot work in close harmony with the peasants. Such defects should be corrected through education.

The countless educated Chinese revolutionaries should be aware of the necessity of allying themselves to the/ peasants, who need them and are waiting for their help.

They should go to the villages, exchange their students' clothes for the garb of the peasants, condescend to do even the most trivial work, try to understand the peasants' demands, help to arouse the peasants and organize them, and fight for the completion of an important task in China's democratic revolution—the democratic revolution of the villages.

After annihilating the Japanese aggressors, landed property belonging to them and to the principal traitors should be confiscated and distributed among those peasants who have little or no land.

## **7. THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM**

To defeat the Japanese aggressors and build up a new China, it is necessary to develop our industry. But as the financial and economic policy of the Kuomintang Government—which depends upon foreign powers for everything ' undermines the nation's economic life, the only light industries in the Kuomintang-controlled areas

are mostly in a state of bankruptcy. If this policy is allowed to continue, all productive power, industrial and agricultural, will be paralysed.

Generally speaking, a China without independence, freedom, democracy, and unity cannot be an industrial China. Independence can be gained through the annihilation of the Japanese aggressors; freedom, democracy and unity can be attained by abolishing the Kuomintang dictatorship, setting up a democratic Coalition Government, freeing, unifying and arming the people, instituting land reforms, and freeing the peasants.

Again, without independence, freedom, democracy and unity, there cannot be a truly large-scale national industry. And without an industry, there will be no powerful national defence, no happiness for the people, no prosperity for the nation. This has been proved by the history of the 105 years after the Opium War and particularly by the history of the eighteen years of Kuomintang rule.

China can be prosperous only if she is not colonial, or semi-colonial but independent, not semi-feudal but free and democratic, not torn into pieces but unified. In the past, numerous people had hoped to develop the nation's industry, build up the nation's defence; make the people happy and the nation prosperous in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal and disunited China, but their hopes were invariably frustrated. Many well-intentioned educators, scientists and students, ignorant of politics, had hoped to serve the nation, but their hopes were also dashed to the ground.

This is good, because this rude awakening from the infantile dreams means the starting point of a prosperous China. The Chinese people have learned a great deal in their war of resistance.

They know, for instance, that it is necessary to build up an independent, free, democratic, united, prosperous, New Democratic China after the Japanese aggressors have been annihilated, because the freeing of the Chinese people's productive power and its full development is dependent upon the establishment of the New Democratic political conditions in entire China. More and more people come to appreciate this truth every day.

Having established the New Democratic political conditions, the Chinese people and their Government should take practical steps to build up light and heavy industry gradually and within a specified number of years, so that China may be raised from the position of an agricultural nation to that of an industrial nation.

China's New Democratic independence, freedom, democracy and unity cannot stand firm if they are not built on a solid economic foundation, on the foundation of an agricultural industry far more advanced than it is, on the foundation of large-scale industries that weigh heavily on the nation's economic scale, with corresponding development in communications, commercial and financial enterprises.

We of the Kungchintang are willing to fight for the objectives mentioned above in co-operation with all anti-Japanese democratic parties and groups, and industrialists. The Chinese workers will be a powerful factor in this fight.

Since the first World War, the Chinese workers have been fighting on their own

initiative for the independence and emancipation of China.

In 1921, the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat, the Kungchintang, was born. Since then the struggle for China's emancipation has entered upon a new phase. The Chinese workers and their vanguard have contributed much to the cause of China's emancipation in the three periods of the Northern Expedition, the Agrarian Revolution, and the Anti-Japanese War.

In the final elimination of the Japanese aggressors, specially in the recovering of big cities and communication centres, the contribution of the Chinese workers will be great. It may be predicted that the effort and contribution of the workers after the conclusion of the Anti-Japanese War will be much greater.

The Chinese workers fight not only for China's independence, freedom, democracy and unity, but also for her industrialization and agricultural modernization.

The New Democratic system of Government will adopt the policy of harmonizing the relationship between capital and labour. The interests of workers will be protected. An 8 to 10-hour day system, according to varying circumstances, will be established, as well as suitable relief for the unemployed, social security, and the rights of labour unions.

On the other hand, legitimate profits of state, private and co-operative enterprises will be protected. Thus both labour and capital will work jointly for the development of industrial production.

Large amounts of capital will be needed for the development of our industries. They will come chiefly from the accumulated wealth of the Chinese people, and in a lesser degree from foreign investments.

We welcome foreign investments if they are beneficial to China's economy and are made in observance of China's laws. What is beneficial to both the Chinese people and foreigners is that China, after winning a firm internal and international peace, and having her thorough political and agrarian reforms, should be able to develop her large-scale, light and heavy industries and modernized agriculture. On this basis, we shall be able to absorb vast amounts of foreign investments. A politically backward and economically impoverished China will be unprofitable not only for the Chinese people, but also for foreigners.

With the annihilation of the Japanese aggressors, the enterprises and property they and the principal traitors now own are to be confiscated and placed at the disposal of the Government.

## **8. CULTURE, EDUCATION AND THE INTELLIGENTSIA**

Among the miseries inflicted upon the Chinese people by imperialist and feudal oppression is the suffering of our national culture, particularly the progressive cultural and educational enterprises, cultural workers and educationists.

To wipe out this imperialist and feudal oppression and to build a New Democratic China, we need a large number of educators, teachers, scientists, engineers, technicians, doctors, journalists, writers, artists' and cultural workers who will serve the people and mix with the people. These intellectuals, if they have done meritorious service to the people, should be respected by their government and

society in general, and be regarded as the precious possession of the nation and society.

The intellectuals' problem is particularly important in China, because China is culturally backward owing to imperialistic and feudalists oppression, and because China urgently needs a large number of intellectuals for the fight for her own emancipation.

In the past fifty years of the people's fight for emancipation, particularly in the struggles since the "May 4th Movement", and in the eight years of anti-Japanese war the vast mass of revolutionary intellectuals have contributed much to the Chinese people's emancipation, and will continue to do so in the coming struggles.

The Government should in future systematically train all kinds of intellectuals, and should pay attention to the unification and education of useful intellectuals now available.

To wipe out illiteracy from 80 per cent of the nation's population is a necessary pre-condition to the building up of a new China.

Suitable and determined measures should be taken to wipe out all traces of slave, feudalists, and Fascist culture and education.

Active reform and relief measures should be taken in dealing with the ignorance of health rules and disease, caused by imperialistic and feudalists oppression, which has enervated the Chinese people physically and morally. National health enterprises should be encouraged.

Cultural and educational workers and physicians of the old school should be properly re-educated, so that they may be taught to see things differently and be made to serve the people.

The aims of China's national culture and education should be New Democratic, that is to say, China should build up her own new, national, scientific and popular culture and educational system.

Towards foreign culture, it is wrong to take a hostile attitude. Progressive foreign culture should be absorbed as much as possible, for the benefit of China's cultural movement. But it would also be wrong to copy *it* slavishly. Foreign culture should be critically absorbed on the basis of the practical needs of the Chinese people.

Similarly, ancient Chinese culture should neither be totally repudiated nor blindly swallowed, but should be critically accepted for the promotion of China's New Democratic culture.

Under the general policy of fighting for the emancipation of the Chinese people, we of the Kungchantang should join hands with all intellectuals irrespective class, religion, or political affiliations.

## **9, NATIONAL MINORITIES**

The anti-popular groups within the Kuomintang deny the existence of different nationalities in China, and call the Mongolians, the Mohammedans, the Tibetans, the Yi's, the Miao's and the Yao's "clans from a common ancestor."

They have followed the same reactionary policy taken by the Manchu and the Northern Militarist Governments by oppressing and exploiting these minorities.

The massacre of certain Mongolians in 1943, the use of force against certain Sinkiang tribes since 1944, and the mass killings of Kansu Mohammedans in recent years are proof of this.

This Fascist Pan-Hanism which is diametrically opposed to Dr. Sun Yat-sen's principles, comes from chauvinistic nationalism and a wrong national policy.

In the Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang (1924), Dr. Sun Yat-sen said: "The Nationalism of the Kuomintang has a two-fold meaning: the self-emancipation of the Chinese nation, and the equality of all races in China".

Then he said: "The Kuomintang can state with solemnity that it recognizes the right of self-determination of all Chinese republics (i.e. formed with the voluntary consent of the various races) as soon as the war against imperialism and war-lords is victoriously concluded."

The Kungchantang is in complete accord with Sun's racial and national policy indicated above.

All the members of the Kungchantang should actively assist the masses of the various minority nationalities in their fight for the realization of the policy.

They should assist the people of the national minorities, including the popular leaders, in their fight for political, economic and cultural emancipation and development, as well as for the establishment of their own armed forces to protect their own interests. Their language, customs and religious beliefs should be respected.

The attitude of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region and North China Liberated Areas Governments towards the Mongolians and Mohammedans has been correct. Their efforts towards these peoples have shown good results.

## **10. FOREIGN RELATIONS**

The Kungchantang agrees with the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the resolutions of the Moscow, Cairo, Teheran and Crimea Conferences because they help to hasten the defeat of the Fascist aggressors and in the maintenance of world peace.

The Kungchantang fervently approves in particular the decisions of the Crimea Conference, which call for the ultimate defeat of Fascist Germany, the extirpation of Fascism and its causes, the wiping out of the last vestiges of Fascism in liberated Europe, the establishment of internal peace in the various countries, and the setting up of democratic systems chosen by the people of the various nations.

Regarding the procedure of setting up these democratic systems, the Crimea Conference decided that provisional Governmental authorities, "broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free election of Governments responsive to the will of the people should be formed.

The Crimea Conference also decided that Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union should stand united for the maintenance of a firm and durable world peace and for the early establishment of a world peace organisation.

We consider the course taken at the Crimea Conference as being in conformity with the Kungchantang's fundamental policy toward the solution of Eastern and

Chinese problems.

Respecting the annihilation of the Japanese aggressors and the solution of Chinese problems, the following points must be achieved:

*Firstly*, the Japanese aggressors must be finally defeated and Japanese Fascism, militarism and their causes must be utterly destroyed, there should be no half-way compromise: *secondly*, the last vestiges of Fascism in China must be wiped out; *thirdly*, China must establish internal peace, there should be no further civil wars; *fourthly*, the Kuomintang dictatorship must be brought to an end.

Two steps, both essential, should be taken after the abolition of the Kuomintang dictatorship:

I. A nationally supported, provisional Coalition Government, formed by the representatives of all the democratic elements in the Chinese population, should be set up.

n. After the liberation of all Chinese territory, a real Coalition Government, responsive to the will of the people, should be established through free and unrestricted election.

We must do this in accordance with the Crimea decisions and our own national demands.

The fundamental principles in the Kungchantang's foreign policy are the establishment and consolidation of friendly relations with foreign nations on the basis of the annihilation of the Japanese aggressors, the maintenance of world peace, mutual respect for each other's independence and equal status, and the mutual promotion of national and popular interests and friendship as well as the solution of all war-time and post-war problems— such as the co-ordination of action in the war, the peace conference, trade, foreign investments, etc.

Respecting the establishment of an international organisation for the maintenance of world peace and security, the Kungchantang completely agrees with the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals and the Crimea decisions concerning this problem.

The Kungchantang welcomes the United Nations Conference in San Francisco. It has sent its own delegate to the Chinese Delegation to San Francisco, as a representative of the will of the Chinese people.

We maintain that the Kuomintang Government must desist from taking a hostile attitude towards the Soviet Union and improve Sino-Soviet relations.

The Soviet Union was the first nation to abrogate the old unequal treaties and to sign equal, new treaties with China.

During the First Kuomintang National Congress, summoned by Dr. Sun Yat-sen himself in 1924, and the subsequent Northern Expedition, the Soviet Union was the only nation that assisted China in her fight for emancipation.

In 1937, when the war of resistance broke out, the Soviet Union was again the first to come to the aid of China in her fight against the Japanese aggressors. The Chinese people are grateful to the Soviet Government and its people for their help. We maintain that the final, thorough solution of Pacific problems is impossible without the participation of the Soviet Union.

We are also grateful to Britain and the United States, particularly the latter, for

their immense contribution to I the common cause—the defeat of the Japanese aggressors, and for their sympathy with the Chinese people and their help to us in our common war.

But we ask the United Nations Governments, principally the British and the United States Governments, to Pay serious attention to the voice of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people, so that their foreign policy may not go against the hopes of the Chinese people, and so as to avoid impairing our friendship or losing the friendship of the Chinese people.

Any foreign Government that helps the Chinese reactionaries to stop the Chinese people's pursuit of democracy will be committing a grave error.

The Chinese people welcome foreign Governments to abrogate their unequal treaties with China, to sign new, equal treaties with her and treat her as an equal. ’

But the signing of equal treaties alone will not mean that China has really attained equality with other powers. China cannot attain real equality with other powers merely by depending on the goodwill of foreign Governments and foreign peoples, she must build up herself, politically economically and culturally a free, independent, united and prosperous New Democratic nation, or she shall never truly attain equality with other powers.

In other words, the present policy, pursued by the Kuomintang Government, will not give China true independence and equality.

We maintain that to exterminate Japanese Fascism militarism, and their political, economic and social causes, we must—after beating the Japanese aggressors and forcing them to surrender unconditionally—help all the democratic systems, without which Japanese Fascism and militarism cannot be thoroughly exterminated and peace in the Pacific cannot be maintained.

We think the decision to restore Korean independence, reached at the Cairo Conference, is correct. The Chinese people should help the Korean people to liberate themselves.

As the United States has promised the Philippines independence, we hope Britain may do the same to India. An independent, democratic India is not only the need of the Indian people, but also necessary to world peace.

We hope that the British, American, French and Dutch Governments, after helping the peoples of Burma, Malaya, the Netherland’s East Indies and French Indo-China defeat the Japanese aggressors, will give them the right to build up their own independent, democratic nations, in much the same attitude as was taken by the Crimea Conference towards liberated Europe.

In the case of Thailand, the treatment, accorded the Fascist vassal states in Europe should be used.

The late President Roosevelt once said that the world had become smaller. In fact, the American people, once thought by the Chinese people to be living very far away, are now our next-door neighbours. Together with the British, American Soviet, French, and other peoples of the world, the Chinese people will build up firm and durable world peace.

So much for our specific programme.

Let me reiterate that, without a popularly supported democratic Coalition Government, the successful carrying out of this programme by the entire nation is impossible.

In the twenty-four years of its struggle for the emancipation of the Chinese people, the Kungchantang has created for itself such a position that if any political party or social group, Chinese or foreign, ignores or scorns at the opinions of the Kungchantang it will be committing a great mistake.

There are people who, ignoring or scorning our opinion, act obdurately in accordance with their own, but they invariably fail. Why? Because our opinions, our policy and our New Democratic general and specific programmes for the present stage are in conformity with the interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people.

We are the most faithful spokesmen for the Chinese people. Those who dare to ignore or scorn us are in reality ignoring or scorning the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people, and therefore, must invariably fail.

### **THE TASK IN KUOMINTANG-RULED AREAS**

I have now fully dealt with the general and specific programmes of our Party. Indeed, these programmes are to be carried out all over China: the favourable international and national situation makes their carrying out highly probable.

But present circumstances force us to adopt different Methods of execution in the three different areas the Kuomintang-ruled areas, the enemy-occupied areas, and the Liberated Areas. Different circumstances in these three areas demand different types of work, some of which I have mentioned previously, and some of which I am going to explain now.

In Kuomintang-controlled areas, the people do have freedom to engage themselves in patriotic activity Democratic movements are considered illegal. But the activities of various groups, democratic parties and democratic elements are nevertheless steadily developing.

The Democratic League of China issued a Manifesto in January demanding the termination of the Kuomintang one-party regime and the setting up of a Coalition Government.

Similar manifestoes have been issued by numerous other organisations. A large number of members, followers and important personages in the Kuomintang itself are becoming increasingly sceptical about, and dissatisfied with, the policy of the directive organs of their own party. They feel the growing danger of a widening gulf between the majority of people and their party, and demand suitable democratic reforms.

Centring in Chungking, a democratic movement, in which many workers, peasants, Government employees, merchants, industrialists, cultural workers, students, teachers, women and even soldiers participate, is developing.

All this indicates that the democratic movements of all oppressed classes are gradually converging on the same objective.

The fact that lower social layers have not yet been broadly drawn into them, and that the very important and miserable peasants, workers, soldiers and lower ranks

of Government employees have not yet been organised, reveals however, the weaknesses of these movements.

Another weakness is the lack of definite and determined spirit on the part of many of the democratic participants towards making changes in accordance with democratic principles.

However, the international and national situation is gradually forcing the oppressed classes, parties, and individuals to clearer consciousness and solidarity and to claim their right of fighting the Japanese and saving the country.

However bitterly it may try, the Kuomintang Government shall not be able to arrest the development of these movements.

The democratic movements undertaken by the oppressed classes, parties, groups and individuals in the Kuomintang-controlled areas should be extensively developed; their scattered forces should be united, so that they can fight better for the realization of national unification and a Coalition Government, for the defeat of the Japanese aggressors and the building up of a new China. The Kungchintang and the Liberated Areas should give them all possible aid.

In the Kuomintang-controlled areas, members of the Kungchintang should continue to carry out the broad policy of the anti-Japanese National United Front. They should join forces with anybody, even those who were hostile to us, but are no longer so, and fight for the common objective.

Everything done by the members of Kungchintang should be done for the general objective of mobilising and unifying all forces, annihilating the Japanese aggressors, and building up of a new China.

### **THE TASK IN ENEMY-OCCUPIED AREAS**

In the enemy-occupied areas, the members of the Kungchintang should rally all anti-Japanese people and organise them, after the fashion of the French and Italian underground armies, into societies and underground forces, so that when the time is ripe, they can rise and, together with the regular armies attacking from outside, annihilate the Japanese aggressors.

Our people in the enemy-occupied areas, infuriated by the Japanese aggressors and their minions, who rob them, violate their women and humiliate them in every conceivable way, are waiting for the time to avenge themselves.

These people, heartened by the victories of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, which have greatly changed their anti-Japanese feeling, urgently need to be organised, to be prepared for their own liberation.

Therefore, we must raise the work in the enemy-occupied areas to the same important status as that in the Liberated Areas. Large numbers of agents must be sent to work in the occupied areas, large numbers of active elements in the occupied areas must be singled for training.

We should intensify our underground work in the four North-Eastern Provinces, for they have been under enemy occupation longer than any other area and they form an industrial centre and an important military base for the Japanese aggressors.

Exiles from the North-Eastern Provinces should be unified for the task of

recovering their homes.

In all enemy-occupied areas, members of the Kungchantang should carry out the very broad policy of the anti-Japanese National United Front by joining hands with anybody who is opposed to the Japanese aggressors and their minions in the fight against the common enemy.

It is necessary to warn the Puppet troops and police, who help the enemy to oppress their own people, that they should repent of their criminal conduct in time and help the people in their fight against the enemy, if they want to make amends for their crimes, or they will be severely dealt with once the enemy is defeated.

Members of the Kungchantang and anti-Japanese elements should persuade all Puppet organisations with mass followings to stand on the anti-Japanese front. They should also keep a record of all unrepentant traitors who persist in their criminal conduct, so that charges may be preferred against them as soon as the territory is cleared of all the Japanese aggressors.

Reactionary elements and traitors within the Kuomintang should be warned against their oppression of the people, the Kungchantang, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, and other criminal acts. They should be told to stop their crimes, or they will certainly be severely punished as soon as all lost territory has been recovered.

### **THE TASK IN THE LIBERATED AREAS**

Our New Democratic programme has the fervent support of the people in the Liberated Areas, where the carrying out of this programme has achieved significant results and has gathered together huge anti-Japanese forces. These forces should be further developed and consolidated.

Under the present conditions, the armed forces of the Liberated Areas should attack all places newly or long occupied by the enemy but weakly defended, so as to extend the Liberated Areas into enemy-occupied territory.

But at the same time, it should be noted that the enemy is still very strong and will certainly attack the Liberated Areas if the opportunity presents itself. The armed forces and the people of the Liberated Areas should hold themselves in readiness for any enemy advance, and should consolidate their position in the Liberated Areas.

The regular armies, guerilla units, the Militia, and the Self-Defence Corps in the Liberated Areas should be fully expanded; their combat strength should be increased by perfecting their organisation, that they may carry out strategic operations in conjunction with Allied moves.

In the Liberated Areas, members of the armed forces should co-operate with the civil administration and be friendly towards the population, while the Governments should lead the people in giving the armed forces support and in treating the families of the soldiers considerately, so that the relations between the Army and the people may be further improved.

In their work in the popularly elected 'One-Third System' Governments (Regional Coalition Governments! in the various Liberated Areas and in their social work, the members of the Kungchantang should continue to follow their old policy

by closely co-operating on the basis of their New Democratic programme with all anti-Japanese democratic elements irrespective of class, political affiliation, and religion.

Similarly, in their military work, members of the Kungchintang should collaborate with all anti-Japanese democratic elements in and outside the armed forces of the Liberated Areas in building a powerful people's army for the annihilation of the Japanese aggressors and the defence of the nation.

To strengthen the resistance and production effort of the workers, peasants and the labouring masses, the policy of a suitable definite reduction of rent and interest and better treatment of workers and employees should continue to be followed.

Government workers in the Liberated Areas must learn hard how to do economic work. All available force must be mobilized for the large-scale development of the agriculture, industry and trade in the Liberated Areas for the improvement of the army's and the people's living conditions, and for the preparation of material conditions necessary to the winning of a protracted war and the annihilation of the Japanese aggressors. Labour contests should be held, and labour heroes and model workers should be rewarded.

After annihilating the Japanese aggressors in our cities, our Government workers should learn in a short time to do economic work in these cities.

To increase the consciousness of the people in the Liberated Areas, especially the countless workers, peasants and soldiers, and to train large numbers of Government workers—culture and education in the Liberated Areas should be developed.

While engaging in their pursuits, cultural and educational workers should base the contents and the form of their work on the characteristics of today's villages, on the needs of the rural populace, and on the people's degree of willingness to learn.

In embarking on our work in the Liberated Areas, local turnover and material resources must be used as sparingly as possible. We must take the long view and avoid misuse and waste. This is essential in order to defeat the Japanese aggressors and build up a new China.

While embarking on our work in the Liberated Areas, we should pay special attention to encouraging the local populace to handle their own affairs, thus the more capable elements should be singled out for training, to make them into local Government workers.

The huge task of democratic revolution in the villages cannot be accomplished if outsiders do not thoroughly mix with the local populace, if they do not help the local Government workers with ardour and diligence, if they do not love them as they love their own brothers and sisters.

The Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and other popular troops should help the people to organise Militia units and Self-Defence Corps, as well as regional units and army corps all led by officers selected from the local populace. In this way, regular armies, led by local leaders, may be formed.

This is a very important task, and, without it the establishment of strong anti-Japanese bases and the development of the people's army is impossible.

Naturally, the local populace should welcome and help Government workers and troops from other places, so that the common cause may be served.

I should call your attention to the problem of dealing with disguised disrupters of national unity. Open enemies and disrupters of national unity are easily recognised, and therefore can be dealt with accordingly. But disguised enemies and disrupters are hard to recognise and therefore difficult to deal with. We should forever be on the look out for this latter kind of enemies.

In accordance with, the principle of religious freedom, all religions are allowed to exist in the Liberated Areas. The Government will protect all Protestants, Catholics, Mohammedans, Buddhists and followers of other religions, if they observe its laws and decrees. It is forbidden to force people to accept any religion, or to discriminate against unbelievers.

This Congress should propose to the people of the various Liberated Areas to hold at the earliest possible moment a People's Assembly of the Liberated Areas at Yen-an, which will discuss the unification of the activities of the various Liberated Areas, the intensification of anti-Japanese work in the Liberated Areas, the assistance to people's anti-Japanese, democratic movements in the Kuomintang-controlled areas, the assistance to the people's underground army movement in the occupied areas, and the promotion of the cause of national unity and Coalition Government.

The Liberated Areas have in reality become the centre on which the majority of the people depend for continued resistance and national salvation. The people have pinned their hopes on us, and we must not disappoint them. The convocation of the People's Assembly of the Liberated Areas will be a great propelling force to rouse people to the cause of the Chinese people's national emancipation.

## V. MEMBERS OF THE KUNGCHANTANG, UNITE AND FIGHT!

COMRADES! our mission is great and our policy is definite and clear. What attitude should we adopt in carrying out this policy and mission?

Obviously and indubitably, the international and national situation has revealed a bright future for the Chinese people and us. It has created unprecedentedly favourable conditions.

But at the same time, grave difficulties still exist. Those who can see only the bright side will not be able to fight well for the realization of the Party's mission.

Since its birth in 1921, the Kungchantang has experienced, in the twenty-four years of its history, three great struggles—the Northern Expedition, the Agrarian Revolution, and the still raging Anti-Japanese War.

From the very beginning our Party has based itself on Marxist theories, because Marxism is the crystallization of the world proletariat's most impeccable, revolutionary scientific thought. The universal truth of Marxism, once wedded to the concrete conditions of the Chinese Revolution, has changed the appearance of the Chinese Revolution and has given birth to the New Democratic stage in its history.

The Kungchantang, armed with the theory of Marxism has created for itself a new working style, particularly the style of combining theory with practice, of closely collaborating with the masses, and self-criticism.

The universal truth of Marxism, reflected in the struggles of the proletariat all over the world, becomes a useful weapon for the Chinese people only when it is wedded to the concrete conditions of the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese proletariat and people. The Kungchantang has achieved this union.

The development and progress of our Party originated in the determined fight against the dogmatism and empiricism that repudiate the universal truth of Marxism.

Dogmatism holds itself aloof from actual practice while empiricism mistakes local experiences for the universal truth; both these opportunist ideas are contrary to the principles of Marxism. In its twenty-four years of struggle, our Party has been overcoming such erroneous thinking, greatly consolidating itself in this respect.

We have now about 1,210,000 Party members, most of whom joined the Party during the Anti-Japanese War. Some of these members, as well as some who joined the Party before the Anti-Japanese War, still entertain various erroneous ideas. Years of ideology-remoulding work have greatly eliminated these erroneous ideas.

But this work should be continued, and theoretical education inside the Party should be intensified. All key Party workers throughout the land should be made to understand that the close union of theory and practice is a salient feature by which the Kungchantang is distinguished from all other political parties. Therefore, theoretical education is the principal factor in consolidating the Party for its great political struggle. Without it, the Party's political tasks cannot be accomplished.

Another salient feature by which the Kungchantang is distinguished from all other parties is the very close relationship that exists between it and the great

majority of the people.

We begin by devoting ourselves to serving the Chinese people and not to desert them for a single moment, serving the interests of the people and not the interests of any particular group or individual, and holding ourselves responsible to the people as well as to our directing organs.

Members of the Kungchantang must always be ready to uphold truth, because all truth is in conformity with the people's interests. Members of the Kungchantang must always be ready to rectify what is wrong, because what is wrong means what is against the people's interests.

The experience of our twenty-four years has told that all correct tasks, policies, and working principles are in conformity with the demands of the people at a particular time and place, and they can never be separated from the people.

All erroneous tasks, policies and working principles do not conform to the people's interests and so are unrelated to the people's struggle.

Dogmatism, empiricism, authoritarianism, tailism, sectarianism, bureaucratism, militarism and arrogance are undesirable because they alienate the people. Such things should be rectified.

This Congress should warn every comrade in every link of the party work not to allow himself to be isolated from the people. Every comrade should learn to love the people, to listen to them carefully, to mix with them instead of over-riding them, to develop and raise the consciousness of the masses with due consideration to their intelligence, and to help them, if they are willing, to organise themselves gradually for all necessary struggles.

Authoritarianism is wrong because it tends to ignore the people's understanding and their will. Our comrades must not assume that the people understand what they themselves have understood. We must go into the masses if we want to know whether they understand what we have done and whether they are willing to do as they are told. In this way, we can avoid authoritarianism.

Khvostism, (tailism, i.e. following behind the masses) is also wrong, because its slow pace will cause it to lag behind the understanding of the masses, and so will not be able to lead the people forward. Our comrades must not assume that the people cannot understand what they themselves have not yet understood. Often the people overtake us. They want to go forward, but our comrades, instead of leading them on, keep airing the views of some of the laggards mistaking these views to be the views of the people.

In short, every comrade should be made to understand that everything a member of the Kungchantang says or does is judged by its conformity with the major interests of the majority of the people or its acceptability by the majority of the people. Every comrade should be made to understand that as long as we rely upon the people, have confidence in inexhaustible creative power, trust them and join forces with them, no difficulty will be too great to be overcome and no enemy will be able to crush us, but on the contrary we shall be able to crush our enemies.

Yet another salient feature by which we can be distinguished from members of other parties is our serious self-criticism.

We have often said that a house should be frequently cleaned, or dust will gather in it, and that our face should be washed often, or it will get dirty. The ideas of our comrades and the work of our Party can often get dusty, and should also be cleaned. “A running stream does not get putrid; a door-pivot does not get worm-eaten” illustrates the resistance of continual motion to contaminating influence or erosive action.

To us, the most effective means of resisting the contaminating influence of political microbes is the constant review of our work, always with a view to widening the democratic practice, the ability to take criticism and self-criticism without flinching, and the putting into practice of the ancient adage, “Say what is in your mind and without reservation”, “The speaker is not to be blamed, while the listener should take notice”, “Rectify your errors if you made any; strive to excel yourself if you have made none.”

We have been able to reap the fruits of our ideology-remoulding movement mainly because we launched in that movement a successful campaign of correct and serious criticism and self-criticism.

Are we members of the Kungchantang—who serve the major interests of the majority of the people who are confident that our case is just and are always ready to sacrifice our own lives for it,—unwilling to give up any erroneous idea, viewpoint, opinion or measure that does not conform to the people’s demands?

Are we willing to let our clean appearance and sound bodies be dirtied by political dust or defiled by political microbes? Countless revolutionary heroes have given up their lives for the interests of the people. Can we not give up our personal interests or wrong ideas?

Comrades! As soon as this Congress is over, we will go into the battlefield, to defeat the Japanese aggressors and build a new China, in accordance with the resolutions taken by this Congress. To attain this end we must be united with all the Chinese people.

Let me repeat; we must join hands with anyone who favours the defeating of the Japanese aggressors and the building up of a new China irrespective of his class or political affiliation. To do this well, we must, under the organisation and discipline of democratic centralisation, keep the Party more powerfully united than ever. We must join hands with any comrade who is willing to abide by the Party’s platform, statutes and resolutions.

In the period of the Northern Expedition, our Party had only 50,000 members, most of whom were later killed or dispersed by the then enemy. In the Agrarian Revolution period, we had about 300,000 members, a large part of whom was also killed or dispersed later. Now we have over 1,200,000 members, and this time we cannot be killed or dispersed by the enemy.

If we can make good use of our experience of these three periods, if, by taking a humble instead of an arrogant attitude, we stand together in greater solidarity and are more closely united with all the Chinese people, then it is certain that we shall not be dispersed by the enemy, but shall instead thoroughly exterminate the Japanese aggressors and their faithful servants, and, after exterminating them,

shall build up an independent, free, democratic, united and prosperous China.

The experience of the three revolutions, especially the experience of the Anti-Japanese War, has made the Chinese people and us believe that without the efforts of the Kungchantang, without the support given to the Chinese people by the members of the Kungchantang, China's independence, her freedom, democracy and unification, or her industrialisation and agricultural] modernization, would be impossible.

Comrades! I strongly believe that the Kungchantang, experienced in the three revolutions, can accomplish our gigantic political mission.

Thousands of people and Party heroes have bravely laid down their lives for the interests of the people. Let us, holding their banner high, advance along the path sodden with their blood!

An independent, free, democratic, united and prosperous China will soon be born. Let us welcome the happy day.

Down with the Japanese aggressors!

Long live the emancipation of the Chinese people!