

Publications of the New China Information Committee:

BULLETIN NUMBER

1. *Chinese Communist Leaders Speak to the World Student Delegation*—Wang Ming and Mao Tze-tung.
2. *The Defence of Wuhan and the Third Stage of the War of Resistance*—Wang Ming, Chou En-lai and Chin Po-ku.
3. *The Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region; Annual Report*—Lin Chu-han, President of the Border Region Government.
4. *The Eighth Route Army and One Year of War*—Chu Teh.
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8. *The Shansi-Chahar-Hopeh Border Area*—(publication delayed)
9. *China and the Second Imperialist World War*—Mao Tze-tung.

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3 FRICTION AIDS JAPAN

Documents Concerning
Instances of Friction
1939-1940



BULLETIN NUMBER 14 OF THE
NEW CHINA INFORMATION
COMMITTEE



FRICION AIDS JAPAN

DOCUMENTS CONCERNING
INSTANCES OF FRICTION
1939-1940

Bulletin Number 14 of the
NEW CHINA INFORMATION COMMITTEE
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The Pinkiang Incident

June, 1939

In September, 1937, the Chinese Red Army in the Hunan-Hupei border district was reorganized into the First Regiment of the First Detachment of the New Fourth Army, in accordance with the order of the Central Government. In January, 1938, it was despatched to the front. Since then it has been constantly engaged in active warfare against the Japanese in the battlefields of the lower Yangtze Valley.

The Regiment maintained a branch office in the rear (at Pinkiang, Hunan Province) in order to render aid to the families of the soldiers, to care for the wounded, and to reimburse the loans which the Regiment had raised among the population during its period of reorganization.

In addition to fulfilling the tasks of its own army, the branch office has given every possible assistance to the local authorities in mobilizing the people and suppressing banditry. When the Japanese army was advancing southward, after the capture of Hankow, local militia and bandits in Hunan often took advantage of the chaotic situation to seize rifles from individual soldiers who had lost contact with the main body of the troops. The branch office of the New Fourth Army, however, gave a warm reception to the retreating soldiers, helping them to re-establish contact with their superiors. These unselfish acts won the respect and love of the local population, as well as high praise from the Government authorities. And for more than a year and a half the branch office has been able to carry on its work in peace.

It was on the 12th of June, 1939, that a bloody incident took place in Pinkiang. That afternoon a company of soldiers belonging to General Yang Sen's 27th Army Corps made a sudden attack on the branch office of the New Fourth Army. Colonel Tu Cheng-kung, in charge of the office, and his assistant Lieutenant Tseng Kung-shen were shot. In the evening, eight other members of the staff and their dependents, including Lieutenant-Colonel Lo Tse-ming, were buried alive.

The local authorities tried to keep this hideous crime a secret, prohibiting the people from talking about it.

Immediately upon receipt of news of the Pinkiang Incident, Chou En-lai, Communist leader and Vice-Director of the Political Department of the National Military Council, made strong protests to the Central Authorities. The latter sent telegrams of inquiry to General Hsueh Yo, Commander-In-Chief of the Ninth War District and to General Yang Sen, Commander of the 27th Army Corps. These generals responded with vague and evasive reports, each version of the incident contradicting the other.

On August 1, 1939, a mass meeting attended by more than 10,000 people was held in Yen-an in memory of the martyrs of the Pinkiang Incident. In his speech, Mao Tze-tung, leader of the Communist Party, said:

"We demand that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and the National Government enforce the law protecting the safety of revolutionaries and anti-Japanese comrades. We demand unity under the banner of resistance, solidarity and progress! If the law remains unenforced, and if disruption of unity is permitted, all our countrymen must arise and fight for their just demands! The law must be enforced. Unity must be realized. Sinister forces, disruptive ele-

ments, reactionary 'peace' cliques must be mercilessly suppressed. There must be no further Pinkiang Incidents!"

These ringing words of Mao Tze-tung express not only the wish of the Communist Party, but that of all Chinese patriots.

Crimes of the Magistrate of Chinkiang, Kiangsu

November 24, 1939

Dear Fellow-Countrymen:

On November 8th and 9th, General Liang's and another brigade of our New Fourth Army engaged the enemy at Kiuli and Hochiatsun in a battle lasting 36 hours, defeating the Matsu, the Ikeda and the Yamamoto Detachments of the 15th Division of the Japanese army, with losses totaling 400 killed. This victory was the first along the Yangtze River since the evacuation of Nanking.

Immediately after the victory, we discovered that three of our fighters had been murdered by the Magistrate of Chinkiang County. The circumstances were as follows: after meeting serious defeat, the enemy returned to the offensive with 4,000 cavalrymen. One of our soldiers from the Liang Brigade and two men from the other special brigade lost connection with the main forces in the course of the fighting. Carrying their two rifles and one rifle they had captured from the Japanese, they stopped at the house of a villager, named Yang Shih-siao, in the village of Maku, in the vicinity of Kaochuang, the sixth section of the County of Chinkiang. As it so happened, the special corps of the Chinkiang County government was also stationed in the village. Shamelessly, they seized the arms of our three soldiers, murdered the men, and did away with their corpses. Chuang Mei-fang, the Magistrate of Chinkiang county, under whose orders these crimes were committed, proceeded to warn and to threaten the people of the village against speaking of these deeds.

Greatly angered, the local people ignored the injunctions of Chuang Mei-fang and hurried to New Fourth Army Headquarters and reported the facts to us. We examined the village and found many proofs of the crime, discovering the body of the soldier of the Liang Brigade in the river nearby.

Fellow-Countrymen: With the enthusiastic support of the people of the Yangtze Valley, our Army has engaged in numerous ruthless struggles with the enemy, beating them back and annihilating their forces. The Japanese fear us as they would tigers. In addition to military offensives, they employ every means, especially political intrigues, to destroy us. They spread calumny and they propagate anti-Communism, in an attempt to destroy our Army, to defeat our war of resistance, to end guerrilla warfare in the Yangtze Valley—all aimed at destroying China and enslaving the Chinese people.

All of this you know, and that is just why all the people of the Yangtze Valley co-operate so closely with our Army. Supported by this co-operation, our Army has won many, many victories. But Chuang Mei-fang, the Magistrate of Chinkiang, cannot lead the people in support of the war of resistance. Quite the opposite, he spreads anti-Comomunist propaganda to hinder the operations of our Army. Many times he has murdered soldiers of our Army. In December he murdered two of our representatives at Luchuang. In September he murdered the entire family of Ma Feng, a political worker of our Army. His actions are entirely for the benefit of the Japanese. In order to appease public opinion, the Special Administrative Commissioner for the District South of the Yangtze River put Chuang Mei-fang on trial.

As an administrative official, Chuang Mei-fang should not have been duped by the Japanese. Sincerely hoping for unity, we have borne with his conduct time and time again, in order to frustrate the enemy's attempts to promote friction among us. But again Chuang Mei-fang has murdered three of our fighters. Stubborn and cruel, he is no different from a Japanese agent.

With the aim of strengthening our unity and of clearing bad elements out of our anti-Japanese front, we make this incident public to all of you. And at the same time we have reported to higher authorities, so that this butcher of our anti-Japanese fighters may be given his due punishment, that the souls of our murdered comrades may rest in peace, that the anger of our whole Army may be appeased, that the ugly, hidden reactionary elements in our front may be cleared out, that our anti-Japanese united front may be fortified, and that victory may be secured.

Fellow-Countrymen: We appeal to you to aid in exposing and cleaning out these evil saboteurs, not only for the good of our Army and the people of the Yangtze Valley, but for the annihilation of the enemy and for our future victory in the war of resistance.

(Sgd.) Political Department of the
New Fourth Army

November 24, 1939

Reactionaries in North Shensi

Yenan (*Sin Hua* News Agency) :

Since our war of defence entered its second stage, the Japanese have altered their tactics and are now concentrating on the political rather than the military offensive. Their intrigues to provoke and to encourage surrender have become more open, more concentrated and more fierce. The followers of Wang Ching-wei, the Trotskyists and the reactionaries have become more active and are intensifying their efforts to create friction between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. There are some who aspire to becoming anti-Communist "heroes" through their attacks on the administrative integrity of the Border Region and on the Eighth Route Army. There are those who make sabotage of unity between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party their profession. There are even some who, while pretending to be Eighth Route Army men, buy Japanese goods, smuggle opium and build up personal fortunes while they exacerbate friction.

For instance, the Eighth Route Army Headquarters in North Shensi has discovered that Ho Shao-nan (Special Administrative District Commissioner of the Second District of Shensi Province, county magistrate and concurrently head of the Transport Department for the garrison force in Suiteh), has ordered Kao Pu-yuan, Hu Chih-sheng and three others (all divisional heads of the Transport Corps) to forge Eighth Route Army armbands and passports of the 115th Division of our Army. Using the false credentials, these subordinates have smuggled in large quantities of opium for sale in Shensi Province.

Discovered in their crimes, these criminals have been arrested and handed over to the Headquarters of the Eighth Route Army and of the Yellow River Defense Corps for delivery to the Central Government for punishment. The authorities report that the criminals have been turned over to General Cheng Chien and Commander Den of the Generalissimo's Provisional Headquarters in Sian. The following is the official charge forwarded to the Sian Headquarters:

"To General Cheng Chien, Head of the Generalissimo's Provisional Headquarters at Sian, General Yeh, Commander, and General Den, Commander-in-Chief:

"The reports of police headquarters in the district comprising Suiteh, Meichi, Tanhsien, Wupao, and Chinchien Counties (Shensi) and the reports of local authorities charge certain individuals with smuggling opium in defiance of the law, with degrading the reputation of the Eighth Route Army in order to accumulate personal fortunes, and with creating friction by disguising themselves as soldiers of the Eighth Route Army.

"I investigated these reports and found that Ho Shao-nan, Head of the Transport Department of the garrison at Suiteh, had ordered his subordinates, Kao Pu-yuan, Fung Chih-sheng and three others to issue forged passports and to co-operate with opium smugglers along the border of Shensi Province. We seized quantities of opium and eight forged passports, which had been smuggled from Suiteh into Shansi. We also found forged passports of the 115th Division of the Eighth Route Army and a green uniform and armbands of the Eighth Route Army for 1939.

"Examination secured confessions from Kao Pu-yuan and his fellow criminals that they had been duped by others,

that they had smuggled and helped to smuggle opium into Shansi and East Hopei under the name of the Transport Corps and that they had disguised themselves as Eighth Route Army men. We have detained the evidence and the criminals and we are forwarding to you photographs of these men and of all the opium, forged passports, armbands, uniform, etc., that judgment may be made in the case.

"Further examination has revealed that the head of the Transport Corps is concurrently Special Administrative Commissioner for Suiteh County and concurrently magistrate of the city of Suiteh. Since this official is the instigator of the crimes committed by his subordinates, and since he is an official appointed by the National Government, we ask that Ho Shao-nan be tried by your honours. The conduct of Ho Shao-nan, a high official, is notorious; his crimes are detrimental to the reputation of the army and the prestige of the Government.

"We await your judgment of these criminals.

(Sgd.) Hsiao Chin-kwang
Yellow River Defense Headquarters"

December, 1939

Friction, Compromise, and Surrender

By GENERAL PENG TEH-HUAI

(An interview granted by General Peng Teh-huai, Deputy-Commander of the 18th Army Corps, Eighth Route Army, to Yun Tien, Correspondent for the *Sin Hua Jih Pao*, Chungking, at his residence in Sian, December, 1939.)

Question:

What is your impression of conditions in the rear?

Answer:

Much that has come to my attention is unsatisfactory. Since the disappearance of Hsien Hsia-fu, friction has increased. Hsien Hsia-fu was the Chief Adviser of the General Staff of the Eighth Route Army and one of the first graduates of the Whangpo Military Academy, where he was educated by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, himself. He was kidnapped by reactionaries, taken to Nanshan and murdered. This incident has never been cleared up.

Other members of our Army have been detained from time to time; and recently members of political departments in Sian, Shensi Province, even seized five of our transport trucks at night. Fortunately the head of Provisional Headquarters at Tienshui, General Chen, and Yang of the General Staff executed justice in the incident and had the trucks returned to us.

Recently, as I was returning to Sian from a conference with General Yen Hsi-shan in Ichuan, I passed through San-yuan on December 10th. It was troubled several times by the gendarmerie searching the bus. East of Chianyang, although I showed the police my passport and identification

card, and permitted them to search me in accordance with regulations, they detained me by force under the pretext that I had not paid the tax for highway repair. They even declared that Communist "bandits" are not permitted to ride on the buses. I did the only possible thing under the circumstances, I took the policeman, Chao Erh-hsin, to the Provisional Headquarters at Tienshui for judgment.

A few days ago I went around to the bookstores in Sian for books and periodicals to take back to the front. I found nothing but publications by Trotskyists and reactionaries, who are bent on creating friction. Such publications will do no good to either national unity or the war of resistance.

In the old days, the first Ch'in Emperor (Shih Huang Ti, 264-210 B. C.) burned books and buried scholars alive. These atrocities are being repeated today. At a political meeting held in Sian a few days ago, the first item on the agenda was "Anti-Communism." Many people have remarked on this scandal; and if it is true, then certainly the future of our country will suffer.

Question:

What are the basic causes of this friction?

Answer:

Such friction results from the rather widespread attempts of the local authorities to check the activities of the various political parties. Such unfortunate measures are taken not only in Sian but frequently in many other parts of the country. For instance, there was the Hsin County (Shan-sui, West of Shensi) Incident, the Pinkiang Massacre, the Choukuo Incident, not to mention the many conflicts along the boundaries of the Border Region. The number of Communists, officers and soldiers, of the 18th Army Corps, who have been killed or murdered by backward elements in

North China up to August, 1939, totalled 1,417 men! Recently it has been rumoured that practical programs for the suppression of Communists are being worked out. Rumor has it that they have gone so far as to discuss practical military measures against the Border Region of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia.

Question:

What is the attitude of the 18th Army Corps toward these military measures?

Answer:

At a time when our Eighth Route Army is desperately fighting the Japanese in North China, we will undertake defense of the Border Region against all attacks. And we are prepared, if necessary, to station a strong garrison in the Border Region for its defense against unfortunate incidents caused by reactionaries and backward elements. Our measures will be taken only for self-defense and because under present conditions we have no other alternative.

Question:

Do the Generalissimo and General Cheng Chien know of the plans for "The Control of the Activities of Alien Parties" and "Practical Plans for the Suppression of Communism"?

Answer:

Chen Shao-yu (Wang Ming), representative of the Communist Party in Chungking, showed "The Control of the Activities of Alien Parties" to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The Generalissimo stated that he had been shown such a program before and that he had not endorsed it.

On the 11th of December I called on General Cheng Chien

and asked him if he knew anything of these plans to suppress Communism. He replied that he did not.

These circumstances demonstrate the outrageous character of the secret intrigues of the Trotskyites. Documents that have not been endorsed by the Generalissimo are spread all over the country and officers made military preparations without consulting their superiors, who are responsible for order in the Northwest. Severe punishment should be meted out to such criminals who intentionally undermine unity and sabotage the war of resistance. Yet such steps have not been taken, I very much regret to say.

Question:

Is it true that Ho Shao-nan creates friction in North Shensi Province?

Answer:

Yes, it is true, Ho Shao-nan has engaged in various activities in North Shensi that are detrimental to both national unity and the war of resistance. He is corrupt and criminal in his defense of and co-operation with unscrupulous merchants, who smuggle silver out of the region. A double-dealer, he detains his erstwhile colleagues and confiscates their belongings. He has organized gangsters to murder Eighth Route Army men, prohibited the people from selling food-stuffs to the Eighth Route Army, traded in opium on a large scale and forged armbands of the Eighth Route Army—all aimed at provoking friction between the Army and the people. The people of the region have come to the Headquarters of the Eighth Route Army and to the Provincial Government of Shensi and denounced the crimes of Ho Shao-nan. Now Ho Shao-nan is in Sian, but he has still not been taken before the courts of law.

Question:

How can this tendency to split unity and to surrender be overcome?

Answer:

At the present time the best way to pass through the crisis and strengthen the war of resistance is by continuing to fight the Japanese, increase democracy, effectively execute the Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, convocate the National Congress, practice universal suffrage, publish the constitution which should protect the interests of the majority of the people, and guarantee freedom of speech, the press, organization, thought and belief. At the same time, we should resolutely exterminate the traitors in our anti-Japanese camp—the followers of Wang Ching-wei, the Trotskyists and the reactionaries—who do nothing but provoke friction. In the third place, following the principles of equality and democracy, both the Kuomintang and the Communist Party should closely co-operate in the mobilization of the people for the fight against splitting, compromise and surrender.

Question:

What is the strategy of the Japanese in North China today?

Answer:

The military offensive of the enemy is embodied in their vigorous "mopping-up" campaign, aimed at routing us from all the anti-Japanese bases. Along communication lines the Japanese are enforcing economic blockades; while much of their attention is paid to the fortification of their own bases.

The political offensive is carried on under the guise of "befriending" the Chinese people. The Japanese spread

rumors, provoke friction and propagate anti-Communism in order to win over the reactionaries. The Japanese are trying their best to destroy our national consciousness by dissimulating vicious slanders.

In spite of the fact that the intrigues of the Japanese and their offensives have been defeated, the war situation in North China is still critical. Although the Japanese are strong, they are not to be feared.

What is important is that policies of "anti-Communism" and "control of the Communists" provoke friction; and friction weakens our strength in the war of resistance. If these fantastic programs are not quashed, then the enemy will be aided in his work of "conquering China with Chinese." If friction can be eliminated and if we can progress toward democracy, then we can carry on the defense of North China and the Northwest, which is fundamental to the successful prosecution of the whole war of resistance.

An Appeal to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek

December 22, 1939

For three years peace and order have reigned in Chingyang, Hosui, Chengyuan, Chengning, Huanhsien and other Counties in Eastern Kansu Province, as well as in Sunyi and Chunghua Counties in Central Shensi. These counties lie within the boundaries of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, the Eighth Route Army having been designated by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to station troops in this area.

Last summer Central Government troops suddenly seized Sunyi and besieged Chengyuan and Ninghsien Counties. Mediation resulted only in a temporary lull. Recently similar incidents have occurred on a larger scale. According to an urgent report made by Brigade Commander Wang Wei-chou, commander of our garrison at Chingyang, dated December 10, the Peace Preservation Corps in Ninghsien, supported by one regiment of the 97th Division of the Central Army, launched a surprise attack upon our garrison force, a battalion commanded by Major Lo. This attack was preceded by the explosion of mines placed underneath the garrison town by means of tunnels secretly dug beforehand. The battalion suffered heavy losses, half the men being killed and Major Lo, himself, seriously wounded. The survivors, hurriedly evacuating the town, encountered another unexpected attack from the combined forces of the Sifeng Peace Preservation Corps and a detachment of the 97th Division, whose object undoubtedly was the annihilation of the whole of Major Lo's force.

On the 12th of December the Magistrate of Hoshui County personally led the Peace Preservation Corps of that County in a surprise attack on Brigade Commander Wang's forces. At midnight on the 14th, the 51st Regiment of the 97th Division at Chengyuan, together with a battalion of infantry, a company of artillery and the local Peace Preservation Corps, attacked our garrison, inflicting many casualties. On the 16th our battalion fought its way out of the siege.

On the 14th, branch headquarters of Colonel Wang's Brigade at Sifeng was attacked. Meanwhile, the garrisons of Central Government troops at Chuyupa, Taiping, Chihchen, Paichiapan and Tentzechen, and the local Peace Preservation Corps, successively attacked our forces. They cut communication lines and arrested our political workers. And it is reported that the 165th Division is moving toward Sifeng for large-scale action against the Eighth Route Army.

On the 19th an airplane, bearing the Kuomintang insignia, reconnoitered several times over Ninghsien and Chengyuan Counties. It is also reported that the notorious Trotskyists, Yeh Ching, Chang Mu-tao, and Chang Kuo-tao, secretly returned to Sifeng from Lanchow, with a view to destroying unity and fomenting civil war. At the same time, the commander of the 578th Regiment of the 97th Division made a speech to his men at Chihchen to the effect that he had received orders from above to annihilate the Eighth Route Army; he said that the 97th Division and the 165th Regiment were to attack Eastern Kansu, while the New First Army would attack our garrison at Tingpien, and the Second Division attack Luhsien.

According to another urgent report, forces have been mobilized in Central Shensi Province for new attacks on the

Eighth Route Army. On the 13th, the Magistrate of Pinhsien moved his Peace Preservation Corps to Yunglocheng; the Commander of the 97th Regiment of the Peace Preservation Corps of Sunyi led his forces to Lungtienchen; more Central troops have poured into Hsinminchen, Tientsangchen, Pingtzechen, Wuhanchen and Chitienchen, with the aim of attacking Eighth Route Army forces in Central Shensi and the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region.

Under the leadership of the Central Government and the Generalissimo, since the beginning of the war, the Eighth Route Army has courageously defended North China. Our garrisons in the rear have never gone beyond the boundaries of the twenty-three Counties assigned to us by the Central Government. At a time when the Japanese lines are but a few miles from our positions, and genuine unity of all our forces is required to repel the enemy, how can we afford to indulge in internecine struggle? It is shocking to hear that an officer of the Central Government forces claims to have received orders for the destruction of the Eighth Route Army. While the Japanese are intensifying their political intrigues to split our unity, and are advocating an anti-Communist crusade, we should reply by strengthening our unity.

We have instructed our troops to remain calm and self-possessed; at the same time we appeal to the Generalissimo, as the leader of the nation, to put a stop to the unlawful acts reported above, so that our unity may be strengthened, and internal friction be first localized and then eliminated.

(Sgd.) Chu Teh, Lin Piao, Liu Pai-chien,
Kao Kang, Peng Teh-huai, Ho
Lung, Lin Tsu-han, Hsiao Chin-
kuang.

December 22, 1939

Telegram of the Eighth Route Army to the Central Government

January 23, 1940

To Hon. Lin Sen, President of the National Government, Chungking; Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Chairman of the National Military Council and President of the Executive Yuan; Hon. H. H. Kung, Vice-President of the Executive Yuan; Hon. Yu Yu-jen, President of the Control Yuan; Hon. Sun Fo, President of the Legislative Yuan; Hon. Tai Chi-tao, President of the Examination Yuan; Hon. Chu Cheng, President of the Judicial Yuan; Hon. Tan Cheng, Vice-President of the Judicial Yuan; Members of the People's Political Council, Members of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang; Members of the Leading Committees of the several War Districts; General Cheng Chien, in charge of the Generalissimo's Headquarters at Sian:

According to current newspaper reports, General Chen Cheng, Director of the Political Department of the National Military Council, in his recent speech at Shaokwan, Kwangtung, made a statement to the effect that the Eighth Route Army merely roams about the country and does not strike at the enemy, citing as proof the absence of wounded soldiers in Yen-an, etc.

While the authenticity of these reports is still in doubt, we must point out that it was none other than Wang Ching-wei who first raised an outcry against the alleged "aimless wandering" of the Eighth Route Army. Traitors everywhere responded to Wang Ching-wei's charge, using it as a slogan to defame our Army and to disrupt the solidarity

between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. We trust, therefore, that General Chen Cheng, who is an intelligent man, did not actually utter such a piece of irresponsible and senseless slander.

The rank and file of our Army, however, on hearing this news, could not but experience mixed feelings of distress and high indignation. It is an indisputable fact that the fighting front of the Eighth Route Army extends to the sea in the East, and to the desert in the North. And it is no exaggeration to say that our Army stands in the forefront of resistance to Japan. Of the total of forty Japanese divisions sent to China, seventeen are engaged in fighting the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies. This means that these two Armies have succeeded in engaging more than two-fifths of the Japanese forces in China. For the last two and a half years, all the fighting fronts of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies have been held intact. In the vicinity of the strategic cities and towns of Kweisui, Tatung, Kalgan, Kupeikou, Peiping, Tientsin, Tsinan, Tsingtao, Hsuehchow, Pukow, Nanking, Chinkiang, Wusih, Wuhu, etc., in fact within but two or three miles of all these centers, there proudly flies our national ensign, held aloft by the Eighth Route and the New Fourth Armies. In the last two and a half years the casualties of the Eighth Route Army have reached a hundred thousand, while it has inflicted more than two hundred thousand casualties upon the enemy, capturing more than twenty thousand men and forty thousand rifles.

The Eighth Route Army receives a monthly allowance of \$600,000 for its 220,000 soldiers, averaging \$2.72 per soldier per month. With the fall of the exchange rate of our national currency, the real value of the monthly allowance amounts only to \$150,000, averaging 63 cents per soldier

per month. No other army anywhere in the country receives such poor treatment.

On occasion, units of two to three thousand men have been promoted to the rank of an army; other units of seven to eight thousand men have been given the rank of an army corps. But the three fighting divisions of the Eighth Route Army still remain without proportionate recognition.

The Eighth Route Army has done its part for the whole nation. Yet these slanders charge that "the Eighth Route Army merely roams about the country and does not strike at the enemy," that it is wrong to mobilize the masses for the realization of the Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and of the Programme for Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction, that it is wrong to recover lost territories and to establish local anti-Japanese political power, that it is wrong to help the growth of the people's armed forces and to strengthen the anti-Japanese bases. What could be more absurd than this idle chatter?

Despite the icy weather of North China, our poorly-clad and meagerly-equipped Army has never for a moment relaxed in its fight against the enemy, fulfilling all the orders of the high command and carrying out the will of the people. Truly, the Eighth Route Army has done its best for the whole nation. Yet these insufferably vicious slanders are circulated. Could there be more monstrous injustice?

In Hopei, Shansi, Suiyuan, Chahar and Shantung Provinces, the Eighth Route Army has recovered lost territory and established anti-Japanese bases, which defend the vast central plains and all Northwest China. The tasks of the Eighth Route Army are numerous and urgent; its achievements real and unimpeachable. Yet there are commentators who proclaim that anything done by the Eighth Route

Army is wrong and must be wiped out. Those very generals and officials, who only yesterday abandoned their territories and ran away in the face of Japanese onslaught, now order their forces to attack the rear of the Eighth Route Army and call such action "recovery of lost territories." They destroy our anti-Japanese bases, annihilate our guerrilla fighters, disband our mass organizations, and murder local functionaries. They make every effort to create internal conflict, which would mean the destruction of the entire nation. Is it possible to find in history episodes more disgraceful than this?

The Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, comprising twenty-three counties, is the rear of the Eighth Route Army. Official recognition of this Region has never been granted. Furthermore, special agents have been sent into the Region to create disturbances inside, while huge armies have been sent to surround it. One day they raid a city, another day they seize a county. All this they call "recovery of lost territory," "overthrowing the rebel border region," and "destruction of the rebel Eighth Route Army and its rear." Thousands of these unfortunate incidents have occurred. Yet our fighters on the anti-Japanese fronts stand firm, refusing to budge an inch. Thus the Eighth Route Army has demonstrated its boundless devotion to the whole nation.

The Sian-Yulin Highway and the Lunghai Railway are transportation lines leading to the Eighth Route Army. These two lines are dotted with special detective agencies. Members of the *San Min Chu-I* Youth Corps intercept and kidnap travelers along them. "Reception houses" have been established for the sole purpose of "rectifying youths who blindly follow the Eighth Route Army." Students of the Anti-Japanese University apparently have no right to

travel freely. Once kidnapped, they disappear. They are forced to sign "statements of repentance" and to join the "training corps." Many innocent young people have been persecuted in this way.

Incontestable evidence can be produced concerning the theft of cars belonging to the Eighth Route Army and the forging of that Army's official passes.

These are merely a few examples of the unceasing unlawful acts, which if not stopped are bound to undermine our national judicial system, impair the dignity of our Central Government and make our country a laughing-stock in the family of nations.

The insolent audacity of the special detective agencies knows no bounds. They have even established graded prizes for captured Eighth Route Army men—\$200 to \$300 for first class workers, \$150 to \$200 for second class, \$40 to \$100 for third class. Thousands of dispatches, circulating false, baseless rumors, have been sent out. A tremendous amount of money has been squandered for disruptive activities. In Hunan Province, the Pingkiang Incident took place; while in Honan there was the Chuehshan Incident. A series of repressive measures has been put into effect, the so-called "Procedure for Curbing the Activities of Alien Political Parties" apparently being insufficient. This was supplemented by "The Procedure for Handling the Problem of Alien Political Parties" and was followed by "The New Working Plan for Handling Alien Political Parties." Training classes have been organized, their curricula containing nothing but methods of promoting internal conflict. Anti-Communist outcries grow louder and louder.

Does not this gathering storm seem to indicate that there

is a movement toward repetition of the disastrous tragedy of ten years ago?

Yet the Eighth Route Army, enduring untold hardships and bearing heavy burdens, has remained tolerant in its attitude, realizing as it does that resistance to our powerful common enemy must stand above all other problems. The Eighth Route Army is conscious of its responsibility to the nation and confident of the brightness of the future.

In the course of the nation-wide anti-Japanese war, during the last two and a half years, China has clearly shown progress in the military field, but has failed to show progress in the political field. Corrupt officials and greedy local gentry are running amok everywhere. They profit from the national crisis. They thrive on internal conflict. Innumerable scandals are hidden behind veils; government officials shield each other, preventing true information from reaching the highest authorities. This is a warning sign of national disintegration. The situation has developed to such a point that our valiant Army, fighting under most difficult conditions, is subjected to disparagement, the rear of our Army is threatened, vital communication lines are interrupted. If such a situation is tolerated much longer, the whole nation will be in danger.

An ancient proverb says, "When high officials refrain from talking, minor officials must speak." We cannot remain indifferent to the cries of our men who are fighting the enemy, nor can we remain silent ourselves. Continuation of the present abnormal conditions will be detrimental to both the interests of national unity and those of the anti-Japanese war.

After thorough deliberation, we respectfully request you to dispatch General Chen Cheng to the front, so that he

may conduct an investigation on the spot, and so that he may obtain a clear picture of the casualties suffered by the Eighth Route Army, the number of Japanese it has captured, the square miles of territory it has recovered, the number of battles it has fought, the number of times its rear has been disturbed and its communication lines interrupted, etc. Knowing General Chen Cheng's profound concern over the fate of frontline fighters, we are confident he will not refuse to come, and we are ready to extend a hearty reception to him. Such a trip could dispel the rumors and stop the campaign of slander, end the disturbances and block the activities of treacherous elements, re-establish justice and cement solidarity between the front and the rear, thus insuring successful prosecution of the anti-Japanese war.

Signed:

The Eighth Route Army

Chu Teh, Commander-in-Chief

Peng Teh-huai, Vice Commander-in-Chief

Wang Chia-hsiang, Head of Political Department

115th Division

Lin Piao, Commander

Chen Kwang, Vice-Commander

Lo Hsiung-wan, Commissar

120th Division

Ho Lung, Commander

Hsiao Keh, Vice-Commander

Kuan Hsiang-ying, Commissar

129th Division.

Liu Peh-cheng, Commander

Hsu Hsiang-chien, Vice-Commander
Teng Hsiao-ping, Commissar

Shansi-Hopei-Chahar Border Region

Nieh Yung-cheng, Commander

Central Hopei Corps

Lu Cheng-tsao, Commander
Cheng Tze-hua, Commissar

Shantung Corps

Chang Ching-wu, Commander
Li Yu, Commissar

Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region

Hsiao Chin-kwang, Commander

January 23, 1940

Résumé of the Shansi Incident

January 28, 1940

Since the establishment of the Republic of China (1911), General Yen Hsi-shan has been known as the "model governor" of Shansi Province. General Yen was among the first generals to undertake the anti-Japanese fight. In the winter of 1936 he led his Shansi and Suiyuan armies against the Japanese, under the slogan: "Defend our land! Resist the Japanese!" The Suitung, or East Suiyuan, battles brought much honor to China and were the prelude to the present war of resistance against Japan.

Before July 7, 1937, General Yen Hsi-shan had the following four armies:

61st Army, under General Chen Chang-chieh, in Southwest Shansi;

19th Army, under General Wang Ching-kuo, in the Northwest;

13th Army, under General Sun Tsu, in Southeast Shansi; and a cavalry detachment under General Chao Chen-shou in the Northwest.

These four armies are the main bulk of his "old army" and they total about 100 regiments. They have followed General Yen for many years but they are reactionary and have no fighting spirit. The fall of Tatung, which was defended by General Li Fu-ying, an officer of General Yen's Old Army, who was later executed for delinquency, strengthened General Yen's belief that it was necessary to organize new forces to safeguard Shansi Province.

The New Army that was formed now comprises 40 regiments. It was organized at the start of the war of resistance, although the detachments were only formally recognized last spring (1939). The New Army includes the following:

(1) Detachments of citizen-soldier troops organized in the Suitung War.

(2) The Anti-Japanese Youth Volunteers, formed at Taiyuan, Shansi Province, on August 1, 1937. Most of the members have been active in the National Salvation Sacrifice League, the most powerful patriotic mass organization in Shansi Province. On September 21, 1937, these volunteers were sent to the Wutai District to participate in active armed struggle against the Japanese forces. After the fall of Taiyuan, the military authorities in Shansi reorganized the Cadet Training Corps into the Youth Volunteers. Since then, the Youth Volunteers have been steeled in constant battles against the invaders. With the support of the masses, they will become an invincible force.

(3) The Workers' Defense Corps which was organized by the workers in Taiyuan under the leadership of the National Salvation Sacrifice League. Since the fall of Taiyuan, its members have been carrying on guerrilla warfare in Western Shansi. They have struck repeated blows at the Japanese forces in Wenshui, Chaochen, Fenyang, etc., and they have established a firm anti-Japanese base there.

(4) The Political Defense Corps, organized in the spring of 1939. Their special function is protection of anti-Japanese political power. They are chiefly composed of workers and peasants, the leaders being selected from the Youth Volunteers.

The soldiers of the New Army belong to the National Salvation Association, the chief mass movement in Shansi Province. The slogans of the Army are: "Fight to the end! Consolidate all political parties for one common aim! Build democracy!"

The Political Commissars are the highest authorities in the New Army. They are responsible to the National Salvation Association and to General Yen Hsi-shan, himself. They supervise and direct political as well as military affairs in the army. This system widely differs from that of either the Central Government Armies or the Eighth Route Army.

The New Army is divided into four detachments:

1st Detachment, led by Pei Yih-po, in Northwest Shansi;

2nd Detachment, led by Chang Wen-hou, in Southwest Shansi;

3rd Detachment, led by Yung Tze-ho, in Southeast Shansi; and

4th Detachment, led by Liang Hua-tze, in Northeast Shansi.

The New Army has played a splendid role in the defense of Shansi Province. It has trained thousands of young cadres and rallied about one hundred thousand young workers and peasants. It has well earned the enthusiastic support of the people of the Province; but at the same time it has aroused the hatred of reactionaries, who are not interested in the final victory of the anti-Japanese war, and who prepare to capitulate to Japan by disrupting the National United Front.

Because of basic political differences the Old and New Armies have been at loggerheads since the beginning of the

war. The first open clash came at the Senior Officers Conference (held in Chiuling, Shansi, spring of 1939). There the New Army officers advocated destruction of all city walls, maintenance of the political commissar system, equal payment for officers and men. These proposals were all opposed by the officers of the Old Army. Thus has developed mutual distrust between the two.

Instances of illegal arrests of progressive district magistrates, and of members of the National Salvation Association, of disarming units of the New Army and of killing political workers, were frequent occurrences long before recent large-scale incidents between the two armies.

These latter began in November, 1939. At that time, after reaching a secret understanding with the officers of the Old Army, the Japanese forces in the area suddenly withdrew to West Shansi. Then Chen Chang-chi, Wang Ching-kuo and other reactionary commanders of the Old Army, who had been responsible for earlier reverses in the Province, mobilized 47 regiments and systematically carried out a planned attack on the Shansi New Army. On November 29, Chen Chang-chi's 61st Corps besieged the headquarters of the Sixth Administrative District and the Independent Second Brigade stationed at Huangtu village, near Hsihsien. After a day of fierce battle, the brigade, led by its political commissar, broke through the siege.

On December 3, Wang Ching-kuo's 19th Corps, after detaining Pai Han-shan, Commander of the 196th Brigade of the Shansi New Army, attacked the Brigade, and caused it to suffer casualties numbering half its forces. On the same day, the 209th Public Defense Brigade of the Sixth Administrative District Defense Corps was also attacked. Eleven regiments of the New Army, which succeeded in

breaking through the siege, withdrew toward Northwest Shansi. En route they were several times mercilessly attacked by the Old Army. These encounters resulted in losses on both sides.

(1) Meanwhile, Chao Cheng-shou's cavalry corps and Kuo Chung-feng's 33rd Corps attacked the New Army in Northwest Shansi. The New Army hastily but valorously defended itself. The attackers, being defeated withdrew south of Lishih. There are now about twenty regiments of the New Army concentrated in Northwest Shansi.

(2) Sun Tsu, Commander-in-Chief of the 13th Army Corps, after arriving in Southeast Shansi, secretly conferred with the officers of Central Government forces and secured their consent to attack the New Army, the headquarters of the Fifth Administrative District, and a number of county governments. On December 9, Liu Kan's troops, belonging to the 93rd Corps of the Central Government Army, actively assisted in the raid on the local government of Tsinsui County. In this raid, the chairmen of the Third and Fifth Administrative Districts were killed. Chen Wu's troops, belonging to Chen Ti-chun's 83rd Division also participated. Li Chi-hsiang's troops, belonging to the 47th Corps, besieged the local government in T'sin County. This battle lasted four hours, resulting in more than one hundred casualties, including the death of one department head of the county government. The troops sacked the Public Safety Bureau and carried away more than 400 rifles. On December 19, Peng Yu-ping's troops of the 14th Corps raided the local government in Hukwan County, executing the government head, Lo Hung-chang. On December 21, Pang Ping-hsun's troops of the 40th Corps attacked the local government of Lingchuan County. On December 26, Fan Han-chi's 46th Division of the 28th Corps

attacked the Kaoping County local government, while the 27th Corps attacked the headquarters of the Fifth Administrative District. In addition to the loss of two whole regiments of the New Army, the toll taken by these attacks reached more than 500 officials of various county governments, functionaries of the National Salvation League and other mass organizations, and more than 70 members of the Eighth Route Army, all of them brutally murdered. Reactionary leaders are preparing, together with the Central Government Army, to initiate new attacks against the Third Administrative District.

(3) Japanese forces in Southwest Shansi co-ordinated their movements with the murderous attacks of the Old Army. They sent gifts of food supplies and ammunition to the Old Army. At Shuangchu town, the Japanese gave quantities of "articles of comfort" to the Old Army. At Touchuikuo, Chen Chang-chi, Commander of the 61st Corps, exchanged telephone messages with the Japanese Army and even assisted the Japanese in recruiting Chinese soldiers. Wang Ching-kuo's troops of the 19th Corps appointed a traitor, president of the Japanese puppet organization in Si County to the post of county magistrate.

Kuo Chung-feng, Commander of the 33rd Corps, in his address to the troops, said: "Our enemy is the New Army and the Eighth Route Army. In striking against the New Army, we do not have to worry about the Japanese. They will not attack us. They will help us and will co-ordinate their movements with ours. If the New Army strikes back and our reinforcements do not arrive in time, the only way is to ask help of the third party"—which means the Japanese troops stationed at Lishin and Liuchi.

It is reported that for some time Wang Ching-wei's representatives have been very active in Shansi Province. Yen

Hsi-shan once sent his assistant, Feng Yu-k'un, to Taiyuan, to carry on negotiations. Su Ti-jen, the puppet governor of Shansi, appointed by the Japanese, has been in Linfen conferring with certain leaders of the Shansi Old Army. All these acts of collaboration with the enemy and of breaking up our resistance to the invaders have become open secrets.

(4) Today, as always, the New Army reports to Yen Hsi-shan and asks for his instructions. The New Army demands resolute continuation of resistance to Japan, the imposing of penalties on those who are responsible for the attacks on the New Army, restoration of the National Salvation Association and other mass organizations, redress for the victims of incidents and compensation to their families. The New Army reiterates that it has never resorted to rebellion, nor to any other kind of unlawful act.

(5) The Eighth Route Army has consistently tried to mediate the internal conflicts in Shansi. The Eighth Route Army desires the cessation of attack by the Old Army, preservation of the New Army, and the continued application of Yen Hsi-shan's ten point program. The Eighth Route Army stands against internecine warfare. Immediately after the outbreak of the friction, Peng Teh-huai, Vice-Commander of the Eighth Route Army, rushed to Chuiling where he did his best to convince Yen Hsi-shan how harmful internecine warfare is to the cause of resistance. Since then, the Eighth Route Army has repeatedly represented to Yen Hsi-shan that it is willing to help mediate peace. But in Southwest Shansi, a detachment of the Eighth Route Army, led by Chen Ssu-chu, was attacked by forces of the Old Army, resulting in several hundred casualties, and the forced withdrawal of the detachment to Northwest Shansi. The Old Army also cut the supply lines of the Eighth Route

Army, killing more than one hundred wounded Eighth Route soldiers.

(6) The leaders of the Old Army, Wang Ching-kuo, Chen Chang-chi, Sung Tsu and Chao Cheng-shou, have practically ceased to fight the Japanese during the past year and a half, since their withdrawal from Linfen and the stationing of their forces in the rear. Along the Tatung-Puchow Railroad, only the Eighth Route Army and the New Army are conducting heroic resistance to the Japanese invaders. Since the Chuiling Conference held last spring, the reactionaries have intensified their disruptive activities against the New Army, against the National Salvation Association, against the Communist Party and the Eighth Route Army, and against all progressive measures. Now these reactionaries have sunk to the level of rendering active support to the enemy and openly carrying on internecine warfare. Under these conditions, the New Army is entirely justified in undertaking to defend itself. With the active support of Central Government troops, the Old Army has occupied half of both Southeast and Southwest Shansi. More than five thousand members of the Communist Party and the Eighth Route Army have been killed throughout Shansi. If these suicidal activities are not checked, the whole future of the anti-Japanese struggle is endangered.

January 28, 1940

The Delegation of the People's Political Council

(Yenan, Shensi, February 13, 1940, to the *Sin Xua Rhboa*, Chungking.)

The Communist members of the People's Political Council, headed by Mao Tze-tung, have sent a telegram to the secretariat of the Council. The message in full reads as follows:

"To the Members of the Secretariat, People's Political Council, Chungking:

"Persistent reports have reached us recently that Special Detective Agencies in Shensi, Kansu, Shansi, Hopei, Honan and other Northern Provinces have issued the following instructions to their subordinates:

"A delegation of the People's Political Council will soon leave on a tour of inspection of North China. Its chief mission is the collecting of materials which will prove the guilt of the Communist Party, the Eighth Route Army and the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region with regard to various incidents of internal conflict in North China. Based upon these materials, the delegation will propose concrete steps to the Government. The delegation will also make a motion at the coming session of the People's Political Council that the abnormal features of the Border District and the Eighth Route Army be abolished, thus dealing a blow to the Communist Party. Functionaries of the Special Detective Agencies should pay attention to the collection of such materials. They should cooperate with the Party (Kuomintang), Government and military authorities in pre-

paring a welcome for the delegation and aiding in every way the realization of its mission. . . .

"Because of the anonymous character of these reports, we have found it hard to believe them true. The latest telegram of the Secretariat of the People's Political Council, however, made us realize that such a delegation has been organized. When we examined the composition of the delegation, we discovered that no Communist members of the People's Political Council have been invited to participate, and that even those members, who made the motion in the Fourth Session of the People's Political Council to organize the delegation for a tour of inspection of North China, have been excluded—such members as Shen Chun-ju, Chow Tao-fen, and the honored elder members of the Council, whose impartiality is well known: Chang I-lin, Huang Jen-tze, Kiang Heng-yuan and Chang Piao-fang. The delegation is composed entirely of Kuomintang members of the Council, with two exceptions: none other than Liang She-chiu, member of the Nationalist Socialist Party, and Yu Chia-chu, member of the Nationalist Youth Party. These members spoke at the Second Session of the Council in support of Wang Ching-wei's 'peace policy' and bitterly attacked the Communist delegation and other members of the Council who stood for resolute continuation of resistance to Japan. Obviously, a delegation formed of such elements cannot be free from bias in its observations, nor can it arrive at any conclusion conforming to the interests of the people. The logic of the situation makes collaboration between the delegation and special detective agencies inevitable.

"We can still recall that in December, 1938, Chang Chung-mai (Carson Chang, leader of the 'National Socialist Party') wrote an article advocating 'the abolition of the abnormal features of the Border Region and the Eighth Route Army.'

This was soon followed by Wang Ching-wei's circular telegram of December 29, 1938, calling for an anti-Communist campaign. If the purpose of the delegation is identical with that of Chang Chung-mai and Wang Ching-wei, it might as well sit peacefully in Chungking and, with the writings of these two gentlemen for guidance, prepare lengthy essays and resolutions, thus saving itself the discomfort of travel in bitter cold weather!

"It is extremely ridiculous to think that the public can be deceived by this 'inspection tour' and that a legal basis for an anti-Communist campaign can be established at the prompting of these people, with their known backgrounds and on the basis of a report of two or three hundred thousand words based upon fabricated materials collected from special detective agencies. The real solution of the political problems of our nation can be achieved only on the basis of rational principles, and not through unprincipled intrigues.

"Some might retort, 'You Communists have misjudged the delegation. It is an honest body and has no mean motive. Its mission is to promote co-operation between the political parties and to arrive at a rational settlement of the issues arising from the Special Border Region, etc., on the basis of national unity and progress.' If this were true, in contradiction to what we have said above, and if an improvement of our national affairs could be expected, we should be ready to greet the delegation and to discuss with it the problems of national unity and salvation.

"Members of the People's Political Council

Signed: Mao Tze-tung

Chen Shao-yu (Wang Ming)

Lin Chu-han

Wu Yu-chan"

The Balance of Forces and Our Tasks

(An address by Mao Tze-tung at a Mass Meeting,
February 1, 1940, Yen-an.)

Comrades: Do you know what our purpose is in holding this mass meeting in Yen-an today? It is to express our determination to fight against Wang Ching-wei, and to support Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in the war against Japan, for the salvation of our country. Recently, Wang Ching-wei signed a secret agreement with Japan, in which he sought to sell out China to the enemy. After two and a half years of our war of resistance, we have forced the enemy into a situation where he must use such tools as Wang Ching-wei to set up puppet governments.

The situation today is entirely new, and therefore our task is new. These are the things I want to talk with you about today. The weather is very cold, yet the fact that so many have come out to this meeting proves that you are not afraid of the cold. With such a spirit we can discuss and arrive at an understanding of many questions.

1. Wang Ching-wei, Representative of China's Great Capitalists

We Communists have pointed out many times that the Japanese imperialists are determined to destroy China. Despite the many changes which the Japanese Cabinet has undergone, their fundamental program for the destruction of China's independence and the subjugation of our country to the position of a colony remains unchanged. For if they were to alter this their fundamental program, then the Japanese capitalists and warlords would cease to exist.

In this situation, Wang Ching-wei, pro-Japanese traitor and political representative of the pro-Japanese big capitalists of China, is driven into a panic; he falls on his knees before his masters and signs a secret agreement with them for a wholesale betrayal of China. To fight against our anti-Japanese government, he tries to set up his own puppet government. To fight against our anti-Japanese armies, he wants to build up a puppet army. To fight against the anti-Japanese Kuomintang, he wants to organise a puppet Kuomintang. Wang Chingwei's policies have three characteristics: (1) They are pro-Japanese; (2) they oppose Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek; and (3) they are anti-Communist.

Being pro-Japanese, he kneels before his masters and sells out Chinese body and soul to his Japanese overlords. Of late he has been silent on his anti-Chiang Kai-shek policy; and it is rumoured that he wishes to persuade Chiang Kai-shek to join him. He wants to drag the Generalissimo into the water with him, but sadly enough for Wang Ching-wei, Generalissimo Chiang sees through this trick. He knows it is but an effort on the part of Japan to stop the war, to split the Kuomintang, and, finally, to destroy him, the Generalissimo. And since Generalissimo Chiang is a very intelligent man, he understands the whole manoeuvre. That is why he refused the terms offered by Konoye; and that is why he has repudiated Wang Ching-wei's secret agreement with Japan. Further, he has urged the people of China to fight the Japanese aggressors to the bitter end, and he has called upon those who dream of peace through surrender to wake up and face the real situation.

As to Wang Ching-wei's anti-Communist policy, it is plain to everyone that this is but another trick attempted by the despicable Wang Ching-wei and his masters. They know

very well that the Communists of China are determinedly anti-Japanese; they know that co-operation between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang is a fundamental condition for the prosecution of the war. That is why they do their best to break the co-operation, to split the unity between these two parties. It would be much to their advantage if the two parties were to fight each other. Hence they make use of a small group of obstinate people in the Kuomintang to light fires of provocation in many places. The Pingkiang Massacre in Hunan was such an instance; the Choshan Incident in Honan another. In Shansi, the Old Army fights the New Army. In Hopei, Chang Yen-wu led his men to battle against the Eighth Route Army. In Shantung, Chin Chi-yun fought against our guerrillas. In East Hupeh, Chen Yu-huai had six hundred Communists killed. In the Border Region of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia, internal friction developed, an outside blockade was imposed, and there are rumours of a military crusade to destroy the progressive forces there. In addition, thousands of false reports have been sent to the Government to deceive Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and as a result thousands of progressive youth have been arrested and placed in concentration camps. Recently they employed such sophists as Chang Chun-mai, leader of the National Socialist Party, and many others to advocate publicly the annihilation of the Communist Party, of the Border Region Government, of the Eighth Route and the New Fourth Armies. They also employed such Trotzkyists as Yeh Ching to write articles against the Communists.

All these manoeuvres and tricks have but one aim, that is, to split the United Front, and to degrade the Chinese people to the position of slaves of Japan. And all of these are engineered by the big Chinese capitalists, by the defeatists and quondam defeatists.

Thus we have summoned today's mass meeting, to expose these intrigues. We call this gathering a "Mass Meeting Against Wang Ching-wei and in Support of the Generalissimo." I think the name explains our purpose. What is our policy? It is very simple. It is to fight against Wang Ching-wei's surrender and sell-out of China, and it is to support the Generalissimo to the end.

2. Fight for Progress and Against Pessimism and Despair

Now I want to say something about the present situation. Of course, you already know how Wang Ching-wei has tried to sell out the country, how the obstinate elements work to harm our unity, and how both groups cooperate to create chaos. Many people are confused, believing that things are going from bad to worse and that there is no hope for improvement. I should say to think this way is entirely incorrect. Time and time again our Communist Party has pointed out that it is equally possible to change the situation for the better, or for the worse. These two possibilities clearly exist.

We believe that the objective conditions both within China and abroad make it possible for China to be rejuvenated, and that the country can be swung in the direction of progress. Either we do that or the life of our nation will be extinguished. In June of 1938, I wrote a little book called *The Protracted War*. In November of the same year I wrote another book called *The New Stage*. In both books I discussed the theory of China's so-called inevitable ruin, and that of an early conclusion of the war. I also dealt with the Kuomintang, saying that most of its members have a brilliant future ahead of them, while prospects are dark for only a small portion of the party. These, of

course, are the opinions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, not only my personal opinions. And these are not only the opinions of a single party such as ours, but of the majority of the people of the whole country. And the fact that the majority of our people welcome the opinions and proposals of the Communist Party proves that these theories are correct.

Of course, not everyone agrees with my opinions. Many people who do not understand the situation do not agree, I am certain. When those two books were published, many people doubted our theories, and even now there are still many who remain doubtful. The obstinate elements in the Kuomintang, in particular, are creating provocation everywhere, propagating so-called "measures to control the activities of alien parties," "practical programs to check other parties," and so on. This business is very queer, is it not? The fomentation of surrender has confused many people. They do not see the minority of scoundrels, and the majority of anti-Japanese elements. Yet, beyond question, we must take proper measures against conscienceless scoundrels, the people who attack the rear of the Eighth Route and the New Fourth Armies, the people who instigate the Pingkiang Massacres and the Choshan Incidents, the saboteurs and the plotters against the Border Region, the people who dare to fight against the progressive armies and who wish to destroy progressive organizations and progressive people.

Of course, we shall not permit such activities, for if we do, unity will be split, the war of resistance will fall, and China will be ruined. Those who create friction, promote massacres, and manipulate split of unity at a time when the enemy has invaded our country, at a moment when the life of the nation hangs in the balance, no matter how they

explain their motives, in reality these people are helping the enemy, helping Wang Ching-wei. In reality they are harming the national war of resistance, and harming our unity. In truth, their conduct is that of traitors. Some of these people have been traitors all along, hiding under cover. If those people who dare to attack the progressive forces are not punished, then we can say that their crimes are condoned and that they are given license to be traitors. The people who tolerate such behavior are not faithful to the national war of resistance, they are disloyal to our native country, disloyal to the united front; and thus they become our worst enemies, destroyers of the united front, and rebels against the national policy.

If we are to protect the national united front and hold on to progress, we must punish and counter-attack these defeatists, anti-Communists and obstinate elements. That is why we regard as good friends all those who are loyal to the anti-Japanese war, those who are not defeatists, those who are not obstinate, even though they are not Communists. We regard most of the Kuomintang members as good friends. We do our best to unite with them; we respect them and are willing to co-operate with them indefinitely in order to build up our great country. Anyone who tries to set this fact aside is unable to protect the united front and thus violates the policy of our Party.

Our Party follows two major policies: first, to unite all progressive forces and all people who are loyal to the anti-Japanese war; and second, to oppose all conscienceless scoundrels, defeatists, anti-Communists and obstinate elements. As you can see, these policies have but one aim, that is, to follow the path of progress in order to fulfill our purpose of driving out the Japanese. You may ask, how can we overcome the Japanese by following the path of

progress, and why are we certain we can do this. To explain, I must review the objective conditions both in China and abroad which favor our victory.

First of all, there now exist in China the Communist Party, the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army. No matter who wants to surrender or to rebel against our Government, we shall not compromise but will fight such people to the bitter end.

Second, the majority of the Kuomintang members oppose surrender to Japan; they insist upon pushing forward the anti-Japanese war, maintaining unity and progress. Aside from the defeatists, the anti-Communists and the obstinate elements within the Kuomintang, most of the members are loyal and trustworthy.

Third, all of the people throughout China, all the parties, the political groups and the progressive anti-Japanese elements oppose surrender, splitting, and retrogression. These are the objective conditions existing within China.

Fourth, Japan's program for the subjugation of China is very harsh. The Japanese warlords and capitalists offer the people of China their choice between annihilation or fighting for liberation; there is no other alternative.

Fifth, England, the U. S. A. and France on the one hand, and Japan on the other, cannot yet bring their conflict of interest to the point of compromise. The situation has greatly changed since the outbreak of the European war. That war has reduced the power of Britain and France in the Far East, and it is therefore impossible, for the moment, to carry through a Far Eastern Munich. Of course, this is a disappointment to a great many people; that is why, in the first half of last year, there were a number of people

who hoped to solve the China "Incident" by calling a conference of the signatories of the Nine Power Treaty; but as soon as the war in Europe started, they changed their tune, saying that China's problems must be solved simultaneously with the European War.

For the moment, the U. S. A. is watching from the sidelines. The Americans wish to have China continue to fight against Japan for some time. If some Power were to sponsor a sort of Pacific Conference, naturally Japan would not participate, nor would the U. S. A. be in the mood to join in. True, the U. S. A. has abrogated her commercial treaty with Japan, yet she still wants to do business with the latter; that is to say, she still wants to supply Japan with war materials to enable her to carry on the war. At the same time, she does not mind supplying a little ammunition to China, so that China, too, may continue to fight. In my personal estimation, the program of the American capitalists is something like this:

In the second half of this year, or early next year, they will force Japan to yield up part of the booty and give them a share of the spoils, and this will be done in the name of the Open Door Policy. Because, you must know, the U. S. A. understands that by the end of this year, or the early part of next, or perhaps a few months later, Japan's economy will no longer be able to maintain the war. The American capitalists look forward to this profitable arrangement hand-in-hand with the big Chinese capitalists who are pro-European and pro-American. (Incidentally, I want to make it plain that there is a great difference between these capitalists and the pro-Japanese capitalists.) These native and foreign capitalists act in concert, so that the danger of compromise with Japan is not yet over. There are still those who have advocated surrender, although for

the time being they are silent. But their old song will be sung again some day in the not too distant future. For the moment, there is still a very serious conflict of interest among England, the U. S. A. and France and between these Powers and Japan. And for us, these conflicts favor our turning the present situation in favor of progress.

Sixth, a strong Soviet Union with a positive policy of assistance to China must also be counted upon in the solution of world problems. It should by now be plain to everybody that the European problems cannot be solved secretly, without the participation of the Soviet Union. The same is true of the Far East problems. Those people who entertain fantasies of an anti-Soviet crusade are impractical philosophers. This is one of the important conditions which helps China march along the path of progress.

In a word, the factors and conditions in favor of improving the present situation are: within China, the existence of the Communist Party, the Kuomintang, and the strong determination of the people to carry through the anti-Japanese war. The international factors in our favor are: Japan's unyielding attitude, the conflict of interest among Britain, France and America, as opposed to Japan, and the Soviet Union's support of China. Because of these favorable factors, our mission as Communists and the duty of the people of China is to mobilize all the progressive, anti-Japanese forces to fight against the defeatists and reactionaries, to swing the situation in the direction of progress. This is our fundamental task.

When we examine the facts, we find no foundation for pessimism and disappointment. Yes, I repeat, we must not be pessimistic or disappointed. We must be firm. We must not fear the defeatists nor the attacks of anti-Com-

munist forces. On the contrary, we have to destroy and we must destroy them. It is certain that the Chinese people will be liberated. China will not be ruined. It is certain that China will make progress, and that this temporary retrogression is but a detour in the general course of progress.

3. Strengthen Unity and Build Progress Against Japanese Imperialism

Today, through this meeting, we want to make clear our attitude to the whole of our Party and to the people of China. On the principle that the war of resistance comes before all else, we want to emphasize also that unity and progress come before all else. There are many people who lay great stress upon the war of resistance, but who do not realize the necessity for unity and progress. This is incorrect. How can we speak of the war of resistance against the Japanese, without strong and genuine unity, and without rapid, practical progress? How can we destroy Wang Ching-wei and drive out the Japanese imperialists, without unity and progress? To think we can achieve these ends without unity and progress, is to be an impractical dreamer. Within the Kuomintang the obstinate elements (obstinate as I defined them) talk about unity, a unity in form but not in reality. What do they mean, many ask? By unity these people mean abolition of the Communist Party, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, and the Border Region Government. They claim that China cannot be unified so long as the Communists, the Eighth Route Army and the Border Region Governments exist. They want to persuade all Chinese and the Kuomintang to support a one-party dictatorship and to enlarge it. How can that be called unity?

To speak plainly, had it not been for the Communists, the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army, and the Border Regions, all of whom honestly advocated the cessation of civil war and a war of resistance against the Japanese, the anti-Japanese National United Front would not have been formed, the Sian Incident would not have been solved peacefully, and therefore there would have been no one to carry on the anti-Japanese fight. Today, if there were no Communists, no Eighth Route Army, no Border Region Government, our country would be in chaos.

The Eighth Route and the New Fourth Armies are holding at bay two-fifths of the Japanese forces in China—seventeen out of forty Japanese divisions. These two armies receive pay of only \$730,000 a month; the Eighth Route Army receives \$600,000 and the New Fourth \$130,000. Since Chinese currency has dropped to half of its pre-war value, each soldier is receiving on the average less than one dollar a month. Why should such soldiers be abolished?

The Border Region is the most progressive area in China, a territory functioning democratically, a base for the anti-Japanese war. Here there are no corrupt officials, no corrupt landlords and gentry, no gambling, no prostitution, no concubinage, no beggars, no profiteers, no despair, no scoundrels who live by creating friction and profit from the national crisis. Why should it be abolished?

Only shameless people can speak shameless words. With what qualifications do the obstinate elements speak ill of us? Comrades, the Border Region must not be abolished! On the contrary, the whole country should learn from the Border Regions. The Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies cannot be abolished; on the contrary, all of China's

armed forces should learn from them. The Communist Party cannot be abolished; on the contrary, the whole people should learn from it. The progressives must not be dragged down to the level of the backward; on the contrary the backward should hurry to keep up with the progressives.

We Communists are the most enthusiastic advocates of unity. We initiated the United Front. We strengthened it and we raised its slogans. Who else could have done that? Who else could have carried it out? Who else would be content to receive \$5 a month as pay? Who else could institute such an honest and thrifty political administration? Yes, some people talk about unity. The defeatists have their own special interpretation of unity. They ask us to unite with the defeatists, the anti-Communists and the obstinate elements. They want us to unite with destruction and retrogression. Shall we do as they wish? A unity which halts the war of resistance, a unity without progress as its basis, cannot be called a real and living unity.

Another purpose of our meeting today is to correctly understand what "unity" means. In our interpretation, unity means that all the people of China who have a conscience must be unified. And this unification must be based upon the war of resistance and upon progress. Only when progress is achieved, can we speak of unity. Only when unity is achieved, can we speak of the war of resistance. Only when progress and unity are achieved together, can we speak of the unification of the nation. This is our interpretation of unification, unification that is genuine, reasonable and practical. False, unreasonable and formalistic interpretations of unification will bring our country and our race to ruin. Such interpretations are

worked out by men without conscience. These men want to abolish the Communist Party, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, the Border Region Government, and all the people's anti-Japanese forces; they want to force everybody into one single party. Actually, this is an intrigue to establish a dictatorship while pretending unification. Such talk of unity is merely camouflage for dictatorship. Those who have no faith, who present such fantastic ideas, are entirely devoid of a sense of shame. Our meeting today aims at exposing this camouflage. We must oppose all those who hide under this camouflage.

4. The Ten Important Tasks of the Communist Party

We must decidedly oppose the obstinate elements, but at the same time we must work to strengthen the unity of all progressive people. We must endeavor to improve the situation, and to overcome the Japanese in both ways. If we are to achieve this aim, we have many tasks ahead. Not long ago the Central Committee of the Communist Party held a meeting in which a resolution setting forth ten important tasks was adopted. These are as follows:

In order to improve the situation, to overcome bad tendencies, we must lay stress upon the war of resistance, upon unity, and upon progress. The following ten tasks are to be carried out toward this end:

(1) We must expose universally all Wang Ching-wei and traitor propaganda, tear off all the camouflage covering defeatists and splitters, beat down the defeatists and anti-Communists politically and ideologically. We must declare and prove conclusively that anti-Communism is the first mark of the reactionary, devised by the defeatists in order to bring about surrender to the enemy.

(2) We must by all means strengthen the united front of all political parties, of all political leaders, military forces, cultural workers and citizens of our nation. We must follow the path of progress. We must co-operate cordially with the majority of the Kuomintang in order to beat down the defeatists and the anti-Communists.

(3) We must promote and extend the movement for a constitutional government, for the introduction of democratic politics. Without democracy, we cannot achieve the final victory in the war of resistance.

(4) We must fight against any form of surrender, and against the attacks of anti-Communist forces, against all defeatist groups, anti-Communist groups, and obstinate elements. We will not attack anyone, so long as we are not attacked. But if we are attacked, then we shall offer a decided counter-attack, for otherwise the united front will be split and our anti-Japanese war will be frustrated.

(5) We must encourage the anti-Japanese mass movement on a large scale. We must unify all anti-Japanese intellectuals with the anti-Japanese mass movement, and with anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare. If we do not, we shall not be strong enough to beat down the defeatists and the obstinate elements.

(6) We must drastically reduce land rent, interest, taxes and improve the living conditions of the workers. We must help the people by democratic economic measures. If we do not, then it will be impossible to arouse enthusiasm for the war of resistance.

(7) We must strengthen and enlarge all anti-Japanese military bases. In these bases, we must set up completely democratic regimes, in which the defeatists and anti-Com-

munists can have no part. These should not be regimes of peasants, alone, or of workers or petty bourgeoisie; but they must be governments of all the people who support the war of resistance, and who stand for democracy and human rights. They must be Anti-Japanese United Front administrations. They must be the local governments of several united, revolutionary and democratic classes. All plots to destroy the anti-Japanese military bases must be wiped out. All traitors or anti-Communists hiding within the anti-Japanese forces, within the anti-Japanese governments, within the anti-Japanese organizations, must be cleaned out.

(8) We must strengthen and enlarge the progressive armies. Without these armies, China cannot exist.

(9) We must promote the anti-Japanese cultural movement on a broad scale; and we must improve the cultural level of the anti-Japanese troops and their staffs. Without a cultural struggle to co-ordinate the anti-Japanese military forces, we cannot win final victory in the war.

(10) We must fortify the organization of the Communist Party. In places where there is no Party organization, or where it is very weak, we must strengthen it or set up a new one. Without a strong Party, we cannot solve any of the serious problems of the anti-Japanese war nor of our national salvation.

If the above tasks are fully and correctly carried out, then it is certain that we can strengthen the anti-Japanese, progressive forces, and overcome the defeatists and the reactionaries. Then we can improve the present situation; we can check the bad tendencies and destroy the intrigues aimed at splitting the united front, sponsored by the defeatists among the big capitalists.

Comrades, these are the ten important tasks outlined by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. What do you think of them? We believe that they constitute the very medicine that will cure the dangerously ill patient. These are ten tasks, the execution of which will drive out the Japanese imperialists. These are the ten tasks undertaken by the Central Committee. But they are not to be carried out only by the Communists. They are tasks for the people of the whole of China; because the present dangers concern not only the Communist Party, but the whole people. Of course, the Japanese imperialists do not welcome these ten tasks, nor does Wang Ching-wei, nor do the anti-Communists, nor do the obstinate elements. They cannot welcome them, and we should not care to please them—rather let them be offended.

In this meeting we want to raise our voice to the people of China, to all the parties, to all political groups. We must save our native land in this time of crisis. We must build up a new country. We must drive out the Japanese imperialists. We must destroy Wang Ching-wei. We must destroy the anti-Communist plotters. And we must shout out our slogans:

(1) Support the national policy for prosecution of the war of resistance, and to defeat Wang Ching-wei's secret sell-out of China.

(2) Urge the people of China to unite, to support the Generalissimo, and to fight against the traitor Wang Ching-wei.

(3) Support the National Government and destroy the puppet governments under Wang Ching-wei.

(4) Support the co-operation between the Kuomintang

and the Communist Party, and destroy Wang Ching-wei's anti-Communism.

(5) Destroy all anti-Communist traitors who support Wang Ching-wei's anti-Communist intrigues aimed at splitting the united front.

(6) Strengthen national unity and wipe out internal friction.

(7) Improve government administration and promote the movement for constitutional government that a democratic political system may be established.

(8) Give freedom to political parties! Give all anti-Japanese political parties legal existence!

(9) Give all the people their rights of anti-Japanese national salvation organization, speech, press, and assembly.

(10) Develop the mass movement; reduce land rent, interest and taxes; improve the workers' livelihood.

(11) Fortify all anti-Japanese bases. Fight against traitors, anti-Communists and all intriguers and provocateurs.

(12) Compensation for anti-Japanese fighters, who serve the national war of liberation; and adequate ammunition supplies for all fronts.

(13) Develop anti-Japanese culture; protect progressive youth; destroy the traitor press and propaganda.

(14) Fight for the national liberation of the Chinese people.

Resolutions on the Present Situation and the Tasks of the Party

(Adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist
Party of China, February, 1940.)

The present situation in China is characterized by a strategic balance between our forces and those of the enemy, between the tendency to surrender to the enemy on the part of the big capitalist and the movement to support the war of resistance on the part of the masses, the petty bourgeoisie, and the middle class. This division of tendencies is becoming more and more obvious as the struggle grows ever more acute.

Since the progressive forces of China are still not strong enough to overcome the compromising and defeatist tendencies, there is great danger at the present time that the country may turn to surrender and retrogression. But the presence of a number of powerful factors makes it exceedingly difficult for the defeatists to succeed in their anti-Communist campaign. In the first place should be noted the existence of the Communist Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies. Then there is the determined prosecution of the war of resistance by the majority of Kuomintang members and the masses of the Chinese people; there is the Japanese drive to destroy China; the great conflict of interest among Great Britain, the United States and France, on the one hand, and Japan on the other; the weakening of British and French power in the Far East because the war in Europe renders impotent their desires to sponsor a Munich in the Orient; and there is the strengthening of the Soviet Union and her continued positive support to

China. It is the presence of these telling factors that has kept the forces of defeatism and reaction in check. The mutual antagonisms and the struggle may result in a turn in favor of the progressive forces, or vice versa. But if a correct program is laid down and the whole of the people support progress then the balance may be swung in favor of the progressive forces. Our fundamental task is to strengthen the progressive anti-Japanese forces, struggle against the retrogression of the defeatists and endeavor to turn the situation in favor of the progressives. It is entirely incorrect to hold that there is no hope of our winning out in the situation, or that we should passively prepare for the break up of national unity.

Recent developments have been the exposure of Wang Ching-wei's secret agreement with Japan and his preparations for the inauguration of his "new government," and Chiang Kai-shek's anti-Wang declaration. These two developments have weakened the defeatists, anti-Communists and all obstinate and reactionary elements; while they have given new strength to the progressives and to the supporters of the war of resistance. These two developments are aiding us in the struggle to swing the balance in favor of the war; but the defeatists and reactionaries have only sustained a temporary set-back and they are even now trying to extend their influence. Localised conflicts and incidents between the reactionaries and the progressive forces still occur. This friction is symptomatic of the collaboration between the big capitalists and defeatists in Free China and the pro-Japanese faction of Wang Ching-wei; and these incidents indicate the dis-unity which weakens the progressive forces and prevents them from overcoming the defeatists and reactionaries. Chiang Kai-shek's declaration lays much emphasis on the war of resistance, but it pays

little attention to the problems of internal unity and progress. Without national unity and progress the war of resistance is impossible of prosecution and final victory unattainable. Victory over reaction will come only at the end of a long, hard struggle; and, although friction now is localised, we must be on the alert for future incidents so that we may seize every opportunity to turn the situation in favor of progress.

Victory over defeatism and reaction can only be accomplished through energetic prosecution of the war of resistance, staunch support of national unity and struggle for progress. These three things are closely interdependent and none can be successfully achieved alone. Therefore we have determined on fulfilling the following ten tasks:

(1) We must expose universally all Wang Ching-wei and traitor propaganda, tear off all the camouflage covering defeatists and splitters, beat down the defeatists and anti-Communists politically and ideologically. We must declare and prove conclusively that anti-Communism is the first mark of the reactionary, devised by the defeatists in order to bring about surrender to the enemy.

(2) We must by all means possible strengthen the united front of all political parties, of all political leaders, military forces, cultural workers and citizens of our nation. We must follow the path of progress. We must co-operate cordially with the majority of the Kuomintang in order to beat down the defeatists and the anti-Communists.

(3) We must promote and extend the movement for a constitutional government, for the introduction of democratic politics. Without democracy, we cannot achieve the final victory in the war of resistance.

(4) We must fight against any form of surrender, and against the attacks of anti-Communist forces, against all defeatist groups, anti-Communist groups, and obstinate elements. We will not attack anyone, so long as we are not attacked. But if we are attacked, then we shall offer a decided counter-attack, for otherwise the United Front will be split and our anti-Japanese war will be frustrated.

(5) We must encourage the anti-Japanese mass movement on a large scale. We must unify all anti-Japanese intellectuals with the anti-Japanese mass movement, and with anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare. If we do not, we shall not be strong enough to beat down the defeatists and the obstinate elements.

(6) We must drastically reduce land rent, interest, taxes and improve the living conditions of the workers. We must help the people by democratic economic measures. If we do not, then it will be impossible to arouse enthusiasm for the war of resistance.

(7) We must strengthen and enlarge all anti-Japanese military bases. In these bases, we must set up completely democratic regimes, in which the defeatists and anti-Communists can have no part. These should not be regimes of peasants, alone, or of workers or petty bourgeoisie; but they must be governments of all the people who support the war of resistance, and who stand for democracy and human rights. They must be anti-Japanese united front administrations. They must be the local governments of several united, revolutionary, and democratic classes. All plots to destroy the anti-Japanese military bases must be wiped out. All traitors or anti-Communists hiding within the anti-Japanese forces, within the anti-Japanese governments, within the anti-Japanese organizations, must be cleaned out.

(8) We must strengthen and enlarge the progressive armies. Without these armies, China cannot exist.

(9) We must promote the anti-Japanese cultural movement on a broad scale; and we must improve the cultural level of the anti-Japanese troops and their staffs. Without a cultural struggle to coordinate the anti-Japanese military forces, we cannot win final victory in the war.

(10) We must fortify the organization of the Communist Party. In places where there is no Party organization, or where it is very weak, we must strengthen it or set up a new one. Without a strong Party, we cannot solve any of the serious problems of the anti-Japanese war nor of our national salvation.

And these are the slogans we must shout:

(1) Support the national policy for prosecution of the war of resistance, and to defeat Wang Ching-wei's secret sell-out of China.

(2) Urge the people of China to unite, to support the Generalissimo, and to fight against the traitor Wang Ching-wei.

(3) Support the National Government and destroy the puppet governments under Wang Ching-wei.

(4) Support the co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and destroy Wang Ching-wei's anti-Communism.

(5) Destroy all anti-Communist traitor who support Wang Ching-wei's anti-Communist intrigues aimed at splitting the United Front.

(6) Strengthen national unity and wipe out internal friction.

(7) Improve government administration and promote the movement for constitutional government that a democratic political system may be established.

(8) Give freedom to political parties! Give all anti-Japanese political parties legal existence!

(9) Give all the people their rights of anti-Japanese national salvation organization, speech, press, and assembly.

(10) Develop the mass movement; reduce land rent, interest, and taxes; improve the workers' livelihood.

(11) Fortify all anti-Japanese bases. Fight against traitors, anti-Communists, and all intriguers and provocateurs.

(12) Compensation for anti-Japanese fighters, who serve the national war of liberation; and adequate ammunition supplies for all fronts.

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On Study Inside The Communist Party

By Mao Tse-tung*

THIS is the opening day of the Central Party School and I want to make some points dealing with the mode of thinking and working of our Party.

Why is it necessary to have a revolutionary party? We must have a revolutionary party in order to be able to defeat our enemies. Moreover, it is not just any kind of revolutionary party, but one like the Communist Party that we must have, for without such a party it would be impossible to vanquish our enemies. In order to vanquish our enemies, our forces must be united, our steps in line, our soldiers well trained and our fighting weapons effective. Without such conditions victory over the enemy is impossible.

What are the problems confronting our Party today? There is no question that the main tactical line of our Party is correct, and our work has had considerable success. We have hundreds of thousands of Party members who are fighting with the people against our national enemy under overwhelmingly difficult conditions; and such exemplary bravery and spirit of sacrifice, such glorious results of serving the people, are visible to all that leave no ground for doubts regarding the correctness of our tactical line.

Well, are there any other problems confronting our Party? Are there any defects in our work? In my opinion we still have to solve problems, and there are defects in our working which, in a certain sense, are quite serious.

What are these problems? There are certain tendencies among our comrades which are not correct, which are not Marxist. Such wayward tendencies are expressed in our way of thinking, in our efforts to tackle the problem regarding the relation between Party and non-Party people, and in the way we

*A speech delivered on February 1, 1942 at the inaugural function of the Central Party School.